Urban Form, Sharing Practices and Resilience:

an actor-network analysis of the urban environment of the kgotla

By

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I **Buccah Goitseone SEBITLA** declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise reference or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis. This document has not been submitted for qualification at any other academic institution.

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prayers of my dear mother and the family without which I will not have endured through time. Finally, to my wife Lilian. G. Mwaijele, son Ryan. K and daughter Rachel. S, you are indeed God's send support team for this work and my life, I say thank you for encouraging me with your kind words and everything throughout this research project. Now it has come to an end, by the grace of God, and I hope to spend more time worthy of your calling in my life, if God allows. For the completion of this thesis was purely by the grace of God; despite the moments of extreme struggle and challenges – and for that grace I am grateful oh! Lord. Thank you Lord.

DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this thesis to my Lord and Saviour, for with Him and by His strength I can do all things; anointed servant Senior Prophet TB Joshua for the encouraging messages, prayers and mentorship; my immediate and extended family and to generations yet unborn. All the glory and honour belongs to God.

CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

ABSTRACT

The urban form of the kgotla is a distinct kind of organisation of residences commonly found in rural and regional towns of Botswana. Major features include; clustering of residences in a semi-circular form of arrangement, common access, shared open space and the cattle kraal. The urban form evolved over many years to meet the needs of the communities for whom living was integral to sharing. In recent decades, regional areas began to be reshaped for participation in more global ways of life. Nonetheless, studies that focus on the potential contribution of the urban form and the resilience of the community, although remain an important and prominent feature of regional towns are little researched. Studies in this area largely focus upon human relations within the organisational form. In contrast, this study departs from the human orientated perspective as it explores the relationships between the spatial qualities of the urban form and sharing practices to understand how the interactions of diverse human-non-human actors contribute to community resilience. Specifically, the study serves to explore how traditional urban environment can support the resilience of the community by encouraging and strengthening multiple interactions in the way people are operating in sharing practices. The study is built on three part research questions; 1) Are sharing practices active? 2) In what ways does traditional urban fabric support these sharing practices? and 3) how can community resilience be an effect produced by the interactions in sharing practices? Three sharing practices explored in this study, namely; sharing decision-making, sharing experiences and sharing labour based on special activities, rather than everyday activities.

The study draws upon actor-network theory and those who have build upon it to give equal weight to both human and nonhuman participants in the urban environment.

The study applied actor-network orientated research methods in tracing the relationships. The methods used include; discourse analysis; photographic materials of sharing activities during fieldwork as well as from journal articles and the Internet; participant observation of naturally occurring activities; focus group discussion and in-depth interview with key participants in their residences. The methods used allowed me to explore many actors that may otherwise be forgotten or excluded during data collection. The actors were also traced in the analysis.

The study establishes that, firstly; sharing practices are active, an important kind of performance of the community and that each of the practice help build a sense of belonging within the community. Second, the urban form provides an environment within which all sharing practices flourish. The study contributes to the scholarly research community by showing that some of the spatial qualities of the urban form, which are traditionally considered to be important in cultural activities, could actually be omitted or replaced without impacting upon the significance of sharing. Lastly, the study establishes that resilience is important to the urban fabric of the kgotla in regional communities and identifies particular qualities of the community which gives an insight into what attributes of the community are important in cultivating and sustaining sharing practices in fostering resilient communities of the future.

GLOSSARY

B

Batswana : refers to the people of Botswana (singular – Motswana).

Bogadi/lobola : bride price; customarily, it comprises of cows and sometimes with a sheep. The number of cows varies from one community to another.

Botho : a shared value system which embraces spirit of community; respect; good behavior; belonging etc

G

Go-folosa : official registration of the marriage; the signing of certificate of marriage and exchange of rings.

Go-laya : to counsel; to guide or teach someone the rules concerning a particular practice or behavior.

K

Kgotla : community meetings place: physical environment characterized by a distinct arrangement of residences in semi-cycle or horseshoe (plural – *dikgotla*)

Kgosing : the kgotla of the chief; a place for tribal administration duties of the community: a ceremonial place for the entire town or village.

L

Loobo : shelter / kgotla shelter; customarily it is made of mud walls, timber posts and thatched grass; often times used for informal and formal meetings if it is public (in the kgotla) or as a cooking space if it is within the compound.

M

Malwapa : clustering of residences around the shared open place of the

      kgotla clearing (singular – *lelwapa*).

Mokoto : finely cooked meat (meat and salt only) customarily prepared

      during special occasions such as weddings etc; It is also a

      common practice that this meat is prepared in the cattle kraal.

P

Patlelo : semi-private open space of the kgotla clearing.

Patlo : a process of asking for the bride's hand in marriage.

S

Sego : handcrafted African calabash commonly used for serving

      Water.

Sego-sa-metsi : bride; receptacle of water; the 'one' who brings water.

Setswana : national language of Botswana; can also refer to the culture

      of Batswana in general.

T

Tswana : A group of Setho-Tswana speaking people of Southern

      Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING SHARING PRACTICES IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Cities and towns in Botswana are rapidly becoming part of the global world. Botswana became a significant participant in the global economy for the first time in the 1970s after the discovery of diamonds. Since then the combination of diamond-led economic growth and the relatively stable political and economic institutions of Botswana has contributed significantly to lifting the country from being one of the poorest countries in the world to one with a largely middle class population (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson 2003; Beaulier & Subrick 2006; Poteete 2009). Although the economic transformation of Botswana began in the mid 1970s, it was not until the mid 1990s that regional areas began to be reshaped for participation in more global ways of life (Poteete 2009). The rapid growth of regional centres over the past 20 years has brought contemporary international urban forms and new ways of life to regional Botswana (Kalabamu & Thebe 2002). If the current trend of urban growth and development continues, Botswana's regional towns are likely to conform more and more to globalised urban forms and lifestyles, and the traditional Botswana urban form and ways of life will gradually disappear.

Despite significant urban transformation, the older urban form remains an important and prominent feature of the fabric of regional towns and many people in Botswana continue to live in traditional ways. The potential contribution of traditional urban forms to the future of regional Botswana needs to be critically assessed and understood while these urban forms and ways of life are still present. A key question is: what is the future of regional towns in Botswana? Given the current debate about

economic instability and environmental change in Botswana and elsewhere, the assumptions that shaped twentieth century urban forms are being challenged (Fritz & Koch 2014; Jackson 2009; Jorgenson, Rice & Clark 2010). In particular, the shift towards a society of independent individuals who are mobile and without strong community ties, which is common in Western society, may be inappropriate to the challenges of the twenty-first century (Fritz & Koch 2014; Jackson 2009). Although ongoing change to urban forms in regional Botswana is both likely and appropriate, the urban form that will best serve communities may be different from the globalised form suggested by present trajectories. A starting point for this thesis is the assumption that towns and cities will need to foster resilient communities, and that new urban initiatives will be needed to achieve this. The purpose of this thesis is to explore how the traditional urban environment, such as the urban form of the *kgotla*[1]*,* can support resilience by encouraging and strengthening multiple interactions[2] in the way people operate in sharing practices in the urban environment of the *kgotla* in Kanye, Botswana.

By following an actor-network theory perspective on theories on sharing practices and community resilience, this research positions sharing networks as an outcome of the associations of diverse materials and relations, which are not simply human (Law 1992; Murdoch 1997a; 1998). Sharing practices presented in this research are not exclusively about the way local people operate in various practices nor are they about which entities are traditionally gathered together for symbolic purposes. Sharing

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[1] A kgotla comprises of family groups 'living in a same village or part of the village' (Schapera (1955,

[2] Traditionally people work together as a group in 'domestic affairs as betrothal and marriage negotiations, the organization of feasts, the division of estate – matters regarded as concerning, not only a particular family, but the group as a whole' (Schapera 1955, p. 16).

practices are a collection of humans, roles, movable things, the physical environment of the kgotla and cultural ideas interacting with one another in the construction of their world. While community resilience is an outcome of these networks of relationships, it offers policy makers an insight into what characteristics of the community are important for shaping resilient communities of the future.

In recent years, scholars exploring objects of material culture have shown a keen interest in the application of actor-network theory and how it might contribute to archaeology (Olsen 2010; Witmore 2004, 2008), heritage (Webmoor 2007) and material culture (Olsen 2003). The identification of the multiple networks linking all kinds of materials and entities has been used as a relevant tool for studying culture and nature (Olsen 2003; Witmore 2008). The underlying premise of the world made up of complex relations and associations of humans and nonhumans indicate the strength of actor-network theory, of going beyond the standard form of network relations (Latham 2002). Actor-network theory introduces a concern with the qualities of the material world previously left behind by traditional forms of documentation in the urban environment of the kgotla. As well as actor-network theory, this thesis also draws on the heritage of thinking in material culture, on the lived experience of the urban environment that was nurtured through the earlier works of social theory.

This thesis provides an insight into the role of the urban fabric of the kgotla in multiple sharing practices. The thesis positions the urban fabric as a multigenerational entity that contains different roles, relationships and materials, and different people at different stages of life. In exploring sharing practices, the thesis provides a new reading of sharing practices, which recognises particular qualities of the urban fabric

as important in supporting multiple sharing practices that help build a sense of belonging to a community. By exploring further the multiplicity of relationships between sharing practices and the urban environment of the kgotla, this thesis illustrates the innovative aspect of the interactions that position the resilience of the community as an outcome of the collaborations.

This chapter introduces Kanye in Botswana as a site for this research, explains sharing practices as supported in the urban environment of the kgotla, provides background on the urban fabric of the kgotla and presents the research aims. The chapter then explains the significance of the study, which illustrates the inherently complex and interconnected characteristics of sharing practices and the urban fabric of the kgotla, and concludes, with the structure of the thesis.

1.1 WHERE IS KANYE?

The site for this research is the town of Kanye, which is located approximately 80 kilometres south of the capital city of Gaborone in the Southern District of Botswana. The district is bordered by three other districts on the east, north and west, and to the south by Republic of South Africa (see Figure 1). Kanye is the administrative and commercial centre of the district. With its rich historical urban context, which includes its reconceptualisation as a planning town in the mid 1990s, the coexistence of the traditional urban form and contemporary international urban forms and ways of life, Kanye offers the opportunity to explore the potential contribution of the urban form of the kgotla. The setting of the kgotla is a distinctive cultural achievement in Botswana (Grant & Grant 1995). People continue to live in traditional ways and these ways of life are reflected in sharing, which is mediated by unique qualities of the

urban fabric absent from other urban communities. Some of the most significant

characteristics of the kgotla explained in the following chapters include the role of

various physical structures, communal spaces and sense of belonging to a community.

Given the different cultural activities that take place in the urban environment of the

kgotla, this research focuses on three sharing practices: sharing decision-making,

sharing experience and sharing labour.
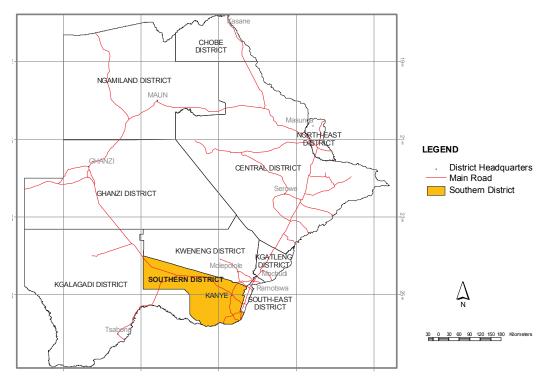
Figure 1: Location of regional town of Kanye in Southern District, Botswana

Source: Government of Botswana (2003).

1.2 SHARING PRACTICES IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT OF THE KGOTLA

In regional communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla, sharing

practices might include a number of activities that enable harmonious relations to

exist and a disciplined environment to operate so that people can cooperate with one

another. These activities can be divided into two categories: everyday activities and

special activities. Everyday activities include activities such as looking after another

community member's belongings or using goods belonging to another member without having to own them. However, what is valued as important and necessary is the idea that people are able to participate, share and effectively work with others in a number of daily activities so that everyone is involved in doing something for the benefit of all. The underlying interest of people in taking part in such activities is because people voluntarily share the interest and pleasure of taking care of one another. Special activities involve shared participation in special occasions that draw on the interest of the community such as weddings, funerals, thanksgiving and remembrances. For these activities, it is important that they allow a caring and supportive environment to exist so that people voluntarily participate in organising and delivering associated activities together as a collective group. This commitment is important because of the shared memories or attachment, enjoyment and shared pleasure in the urban environment of the kgotla. It is all about the work that goes into preparing and shaping the occasion that is shared in this community. This research focuses on special activities.

Since people continue to live in traditional ways and the way of life organised around sharing is still present and real in the way people live, there is an organising structure that holds these things into place and it is supported by the material world. The role of these sharing practices is important as they not only bring and connect people together, but also 'materialise' the practices. The main focus of the research is to explore the material processes of sharing practices by drawing on the insight provided by actor-network theory. This approach pays attention to the role non-human actors play in the interaction and relations between diverse human and non-human entities.

1.3 THE URBAN FABRIC OF THE KGOTLA

Studies on the urban fabric of the kgotla in Botswana have predominately reflected a view that situates human actions at the centre of the relationship between the human and nonhuman world. Most of the studies are concerned with the way communities living in the urban environment are organised and how the urban form reflects values and attributes of Botswana society. Studies have been made of power relations and traditional political structure (Huffman 1986; Morton 2004; Moumakwa 2011; Reid et al. 1997; Roberts 1985; Schapera 1955; Schapera 1972; Vengroff 1975), social organisation (Schapera 1955; Schapera 1972; Schapera & Roberts 1975), gender lines (Sekgarametso 1995), and organisation of space and the way humans shape space to reflect their culture (Hardie 1981). The urban fabric of the kgotla in this literature has been depicted as a site for human activities in which material things are seen as an outcome of human actions.

Additionally, researchers who are interested in understanding polity and power relations from the way the group is put together argue that the organisation of the urban form reflects the nature of Tswana[3] communities in terms of their social and political relations with their chief (Reid et al. 1997; Schapera 1955). As the chief is the first settler within any given group, the study suggests that the physical location of the house of the chief is always located at the centre of the settlement for political reasons (Schapera 1955). Similarly, the arrangement of residences belonging to the chief's relatives within the urban fabric also follows a particular pattern that reflects a

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[3] The term Tswana is a common name of all Tswana group of the Sotho-Tswana group of the Bantu speaking people of Southern Africa (Reid et al. 1997; Schapera 1953). The people belonging to the Tswana group are referred to as Batswana (singular – Motswana). The Tswana speaking people are found in Botswana and in some parts of South Africa and they share historical experiences. In using the term Tswana, this thesis refers only to the Batswana living in Botswana.

social structure centred around power relations (Schapera 1955; 1972). These power relations are duplicated in all associated urban environments of the kgotla as a means of extending power and control to the headperson in each cluster (Reid et al. 1997; Schapera 1972). These arrangements form the basis for the traditional political system, which the communities living in regional towns of Botswana have enjoyed for many years. In a recent study, the researchers observed that the traditional political system still plays an important role in the Tswana culture, and that it contributes towards promoting peace and stability in the country (Moumakwa 2011). However, when the non-human world is interpreted as a reflection of human achievement, this highlights the need to take a balanced approach towards the active role objects of material culture play in supporting the things that people value.

In relation to the way spaces are organised, the literature also reflects the view that the organisation of space around the urban fabric suggests how labour is organised between men and women (Sekgarametso 1995). According to Sekgarametso, the gender separation of men and women based on their daily activities is central to understanding the physical organisation of the urban form of the kgotla (Sekgarametso 1995). Sekgarametso argues that through the separation of activities people understand and negotiate their position within the urban setting, with women occupying the periphery, which is associated with household activities, while men occupy the central space (Sekgarametso 1995). This view builds on and supports an earlier study by Hardie (1981) in which the researcher investigated the concepts, which organise the use of space in Tswana communities, particularly how spaces within the house and settlement have been shaped by cultural practices. Hardie concluded that 'the human use of space is always culturally shaped – indeed it is a

product and expression of culture' (Hardie 1981, p. 197). This perspective by Hardie (1981) represents the general approach in the literature on the urban fabric of the kgotla, that the urban fabric can be understood as a reflection of power, defence and social organisation based on gender, and that it is a product of human culture.

However, there have been few studies that focus on understanding the interaction between human and material objects in the kgotla, without separating the human and non-human into distant realms, interpreted as cause and effect or as active and acted upon. A notable study is Fewster (2006), which developed an account that gives credit to elements of the physical form rather than the cultural form, as an explanation of the continuities of the settlement's architecture This study is of interest to this research as that it recognises to some degree the contribution that objects of material culture have made to how the settlement is changing. Although Fewster (2006) recognises the role of material things, it reverts to what other studies have done by giving priority to the idea that humans act on inert material things to make sense of their everyday life. As a result, the material things emerge as a support to, and effect of, human structures through which the urban form of the kgotla is understood. In contrast, this thesis gives equal weight to human and nonhuman participants in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. The thesis also draws on the concept of resilience to explore the quality of life in these communities. This research is innovative as it explores resilience as an effect or outcome of an array of human–nonhuman collaboration and relationships. In exploring these interactions, collaborations and relationships, actor-network theory is the primary method of investigation of this research. The tools provided by actor-network theory allow the investigation of the

associations between diverse material relations that include both human and non-human actors.

1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

There are several key terms used in the study. Schapera (1972, p. 94) notes that:

> The grouping into wards, organized on more or less uniform pattern, appears to be common to all the Tswana tribes, and may therefore be regarded as a basic feature of their social organization.

The term 'urban form of the kgotla' in this study refers to a particular kind of urban form or social unit through which a community is organised, to paraphrase Schapera, which is commonly found side by side with contemporary international urban forms in regional towns of Botswana. The urban fabric of the kgotla was regarded as an organising feature of regional towns until the late twentieth century.
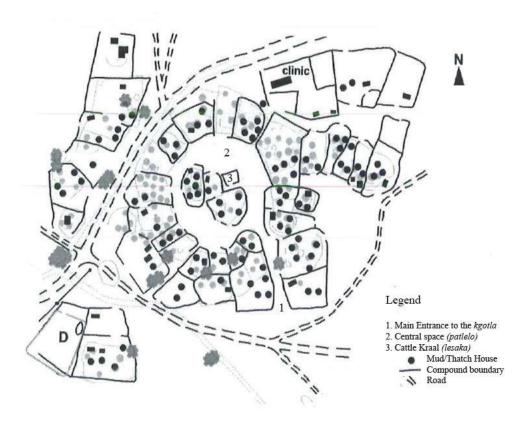
Figure 2: Basimane ward in 1969 (grey scale) and 1987 (darker shading)

Source: Fewster (2006, p. 74).

The urban form of the kgotla is characterised by a distinct physical arrangement of compounds or residences (*malwapa* – in Setswana[4]) arranged in a horseshoe or semi-horseshoe, a semi-private space of the kgotla clearing (*patlelo* – in Setswana) and a cattle kraal (Schapera 1955; Sekgarametso 1995), as shown in Figure 2. The urban environment of the kgotla is normally presided over by the headman. However recent social changes have led to new developments where women take part in the leadership role of some wards (Moumakwa 2011; Schapera & Roberts 1975). Most *dikgotla* (plural for kgotla) are named after the prominent ancestors of the headmen (Schapera 1972), while the main kgotla has always remained as *kgosing* (the kgotla of the chief – in Setswana). Kgosing is a place for tribal administrative duties of the community, a ceremonial place for the entire tribe, a political place where issues of the community are discussed and an official place where the state government can meet with the community (Reid et al. 1997). The dikgotla are arranged and organised according to their historical seniority, with those closely related to the chief located close to kgosing, junior members located further away and the newcomers on the periphery (Grant & Grant 1995; Schapera 1972). The spatial location of any kgotla within the town is established by reference to its relationship to the main kgotla. The entire urban structure is organised informally with passageways and gravel roads that meander through, providing access and connection to each urban setting.

There are typically between eight and twelve residences within the urban environment of the kgotla, but this number varies from one setting to another as reflected in Basimane ward in Figure 2. The residences are framed around the cattle kraal

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[4] Setswana is a national language spoken by the majority of the population in Botswana. However, English is the official language of Botswana.

structure with the kgotla clearing providing a communal space through which the residences are accessed. The kgotla clearing also provides an additional shared space for everyday activities such as a playing area for children, socialisation and everyday interaction of the community and for community activities such as ritual wedding ceremonies and funeral memorials. It also allows for the possibility of activities within the residences to overflow into this communal space to accommodate the community. Residences are mostly separated by either a fence or a hedge but boundary walls made of cement bricks are also being constructed. The shape, colour, form and materials of each residence vary.

Existing studies of the urban fabric of the kgotla have focused on human relations within this organisational form (Huffman 1986; Morton 2004; Moumakwa 2011; Schapera 1955; Schapera & Roberts 1975; Sekgarametso 1995). This research differs as it follows an actor-network theory approach in understanding the whole gathering of actors, not only humans but also nonhumans as participants in a network of relationships. The focus of the research is on the role that the urban fabric plays in supporting sharing practices and the contribution this makes to the resilience of the communities living in the urban fabric of the kgotla in regional Botswana.

1.5 RESEARCH AIM

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how the traditional urban environment, such as the urban form of the *kgotla, can* support resilience by encouraging and strengthening multiple interactions in the way people operate in sharing practices in the urban environment of the *kgotla* in Kanye, Botswana. Theorists of social resilience have argued that communities with well-developed and supported sharing practices are

more likely to remain resilient throughout changing circumstances and challenges than highly individualised communities (Adger 2000; Folke 2006). Practices central to traditional Botswana communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla provide an important resource from which ongoing and new sharing practices can be nurtured in Botswana. The thesis argues that sharing practices should be an ongoing part of Botswana community life. While urban form will undoubtedly evolve, it is important that it continues to support the community in its commitment to both ongoing and new sharing practices.

This thesis examines the role of the urban fabric of the kgotla in supporting past sharing practices. The focus of this research is the relationship between the urban form of the kgotla and the ongoing resilience of urban communities in Botswana. The thesis is built on three key research questions:

1) Are sharing practices active in communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla in Botswana.

2) If sharing practices are active, in what ways does the traditional urban fabric of the kgotla support these sharing practices

3) How can community resilience be an effect produced by interactions between humans and non-humans within the sharing practices of the kgotla?

1.5.1 Warrant for a focus on sharing practices within communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla in Botswana?

Sharing practices have been central to traditional ways of communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla in regional towns of Botswana. From traditional value systems, communities understand that it is through their support for one another

that the strength of the community can be realised (Ncube 2010; Swanson 2008). A community mode of living is embraced over individualism, since what matters and defines the community is what is shared collectively such as beliefs and behaviours (Hord & Lee 1995). Hord and Lee (1995, p. 7) argue that in these traditional communities 'the identity of the individual is never separable from the sociocultural environment'. This traditional orientation to community has been retained within the communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla in regional towns of Botswana.

These qualities of urban life are connected to the core values of *Ubuntu*, short for the *Nguni*[5] proverb *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, which translates to 'a person is a person through others' (Gade 2011, p. 303; Ncube 2010, p. 79). The equivalent of *Ubuntu* in the Setswana language of Botswana is *botho*. This term embraces the spirit of community, caring for each other, respect, love, sharing, participation, support and belonging (Ncube 2010; Swanson 2008).

Jackson (2009), an advocate for economic change in developed economies, draws on the concept of Ubuntu when he argues for the importance of shared goals, shared resources and the 'balance between self and society' (p. 203). In his text *Prosperity without Growth: Economics for a Finite Planet* Jackson (2009) argues that a radical shift in thinking is necessary to create a future that is economically and environmentally sustainable. He suggests that a focus on community practices such as sharing will be crucial for the future of communities, as such practices will enhance their ability to cope and support each other during challenging times (Jackson 2009).

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[5] Nguni language consist of a group of Bantu languages in include Xhosa, Zulu, Swati and Ndebele spoken by the Nguni people in Southern Africa.

1.5.2 Warrant for a connection between community resilience and sharing practices.

The concept of resilience that the thesis draws on was developed in the field of socio-ecological resilience (Adger 2000). Adger (2000) defined the concept of social resilience and established how resilience can support people through periods of social change by exploring the connection between social resilience and ecological resilience. Following Adger, theorists have been building on this concept to understand the quality of life of people living in communities (Adger 2000; Folke 2006; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010; Redman & Kinzig 2003; Wilson 2012). They argue that social resilience is an important quality for communities that face significant challenges. They also suggest that communities that are currently undergoing rapid change should understand what has been most important about their community, and draw on this as a resource for shaping change (Folke 2006; Wilson 2012). Wilson (2012) also suggests that all communities need to focus on finding ways to build the resilience of their communities.

Researchers of social resilience suggest that social networks and social memories (Folke 2006), socialised behaviours as well as roles and norms (Adger 2000), and a sense of belonging and community problem solving (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010; Wilson 2012) are all necessary for shaping future resilient communities. Some of the qualities of a resilient community, such as the existence of an active and supportive social interaction and relationship that provides a sense of belonging, social networks, a cohesive group and mutual support, are also recognised as key qualities of a sharing community (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). From the perspective of Botswana community, resilience may stem from the underlying shared cultural value system of botho (Ncube 2010). In Botswana it is the shared value system of botho, which

translates into interpersonal connections between members in a community. It is argued these connections facilitate sharing practices and also cultivate resilience.

1.5.3 Warrant for a focus on the urban environment and material culture of the kgotla

Similarly, researchers on African material culture have also indicated the importance of the complex relationship between material objects, individual and community, and the environment. According to Hardin and Arnoldi (1996), the current concern is to understand the connection between objects that the community produces or uses and the community. In a study on the relationship between objects and people, Ntole (1996) argues that 'material culture exerts a permanent action on people and their history' (p. 140). According to Ntole (1996)., objects are assigned symbolic and ideological divisions such as family or personal distinctiveness, gender against those which can be shared with the community, and thus they become 'critical agents in the conceptualization of self and defining one's relationship with others' (p. 136). Within traditional culture there is an expectation from the community about the way one should act in a particular setting or social context, especially in ritual, political practices and ceremonies. The interpretive lens provided by actor-network theory emphasises the role of the non-human in all social contexts. It is therefore vital to explore and understand the way objects of material culture participate in both social forms and the meanings that are shaped through community modes of being in the world.

1.5.4 Warrant for selecting Actor-Network Theory as a methodological approach for addressing the research questions.

Since the mid twentieth century there has been a growing body of sociological theory that focuses on the connection between the made things that shape and populate our

material environment, and the ways that we inhabit that environment. The urban form of the kgotla, as an object of material culture, provides the setting and an opportunity to explore these connections. The kgotla exists as a dynamic environment in and through which the community engages in their everyday life activities. The focus of the research is on the ways in which the spatial forms and qualities of the kgotla participate in and contribute to community practices of sharing.

Previous studies exploring the relationships between humans and non-humans in the urban environment of the kgotla have focused exclusively on understanding human culture (Fewster 2006; Hardie 1981; Moumakwa 2011; Roberts 1985; Sekgarametso 1995). The specific contribution of non-human actors in the understanding of human-environment relations thus remains under-explored. Non-humans are often missing from the literature (see Chapter Five) and this research draws on the insight provided by actor-network theory to explore the interaction between diverse materials and relations to address this limitation.

Actor-network theory, associated with the works of Bruno Latour, John Law and Michel Callon in the late 1980s and 1990s, provided a critique of human-centred sociologies, arguing that important insights could be gained by giving equal weight to the human and non-human actors that work in association to give impetus to a particular trajectory or disposition of the world. Theorists associated with actor-network theory argue that *things* participate in relations that hold society together (Latour 1990; Law 1992).

Recently, researchers in urban studies have shown an interest in how the actor-network theory lens might contribute to this field of study. The identification of multiple networks that include human and non-human actors has been used as a relevant tool for studying urban life (Bender 2010). Actor-network theory allows urbanists to question the way urban life is put together and provides theoretical tools by which it can be disassembled or reassembled to make sense of the diverse relations that shape a community (Bender 2010; Brenner, Madden & Wachsmuth 2011). Although the theory critiques the priority given to humans in earlier sociological studies, the approach of actor-network theorists can be seen as a radical extension of, rather than a break from, the work of theorists such as Bourdieu (1977), Lefebvre (2005) and Miller (1987). In contrast, actor-network theory emphasises the distributed and collaborative agency of assemblages of non-human actors in the interaction between active human and non-human actors. This lens then shifts notions of agency away from humans into distributed networks of actors.

In adopting an actor-network theory approach, this research needs to understand the different ways in which the urban form of the kgotla participates in 'holding in place' a particular community's orientation and ways of doing things. The thesis draws on the work of actor-network theorists and those that have built upon their insights, but it also draws, where appropriate, on the heritage of thinking about material culture, practices and the lived experience of urban form nurtured in earlier works of social theory.

1.5 ACTOR –NETWORK THEORY, REFLEXIVITY AND POSITIONALITY

Theorists of actor-network theory and those who have built on it suggest that studies drawing on actor-network theory recognise theory, methodology and the researcher as an indispensable association through which emergent reality is produced (Callon 1986b; Latour 1987). Researchers need to pay exclusive attention to the relationships within the network, of which the researcher is also a participant. As Callon and Law (1995a) and Latour (1987) point out, the construction of facts is a collective process produced by an interaction of heterogeneous entities. Similarly, Knorr-Cetina (1981, p. 38) suggest that 'summarizing the interests of many can be equivalent to collecting their support'. In order to acquire knowledge, as Latour (1987, p. 103) suggests, we have to abandon any decision about subjectivity and objectivity and 'follow its tortuous history instead, as it went from hand to hand, everyone transforming it into more of a fact'. The researcher weaves to and fro between the complex and messy data on one hand and emerging relationships on the other hand to find out how actors negotiate their network building activities through others they have enlisted in their network (Latour 1999; Law 1994). This reflexive process, according to Law (1994), points to the ordering process of the actor-world. This level of sensitivity and awareness to the research process is vital to the success of any research with an actor-network theory centred approach, as is this research.

Reflexivity is more concerned with the relationship between the researcher and the research network, 'the network of beliefs, practices, and interests that favour one interpretation over another; and, ideally the way that one interpretation rather than another comes to predominate' (Collins 1998, p. 297). It is also concerned with the way the research is positioned within the wider research network of scholars in

published journal articles and books. In the course of the research, the researcher lives through this complex and challenging environment of data and other endless resources and allies that the actors have gathered in the process. Similarly, Hardy et al. (2001) reminds us that the interest of the study is not only on how the researcher impacts the research process and its outcome, but also on the role played by other research actors. Similarly, Sheppard (2002) argues that it is about putting into place and describing how different research actors are positioned relative to one another. As such, positionality is a relational construct and it is always being negotiated.

Reflexivity in actor-network theory studies revolves around the process of translation and the role of the researcher is to articulate the nature of the networks themselves (Callon & Latour 1981). Correspondingly, Latour (1987, p. 164) suggests that the researchers are 'the tip of the iceberg; many more are needed who work outside to make the inside possible, and those who help in the definition, negotiation…and spread of the facts are part and parcel of the research'. In an actor-network theory study various resources such as the interviews, journal articles, photographs and many others are mobilised and enrolled as active participants in the process of translation. The researcher interacts with all the bits and pieces that constitute the data, the 'conception about the world' and 'theories about the character of the social world' and is accountable for their due contribution (positionality) in the construction of their world (Law 1994, p. 50). The outcome of putting together these bits and pieces has a bearing on the literature, which it seeks to contribute to, for instance urban studies and resilience in this research.

Reflexivity also requires the researcher to identify and discuss their position as a researcher throughout the process. As a researcher, raised in a regional town of Botswana, though in a setting where all relations are entirely different to that of the urban environment of the kgotla, everyday engagement with the communities living in the kgotla is highly encouraged and is unavoidable lest to say. Thus, I share history with the people being investigated one way or the other: my family is from Botswana; some of my extended family still reside in the environment of the kgotla; and I have participated in cultural activities in my childhood and in recent years. For these reasons, my interest in studying cultural activities in the setting of the kgotla is tied to my connection with the people and things on the one hand and a quest for knowledge.

1.6 MOTIVATION FOR TRACING SHARING PRACTICES OVER EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES

I acknowledge that all the practices about how people are living in the urban environment of the kgotla are important for this study. In that respect, I acknowledge that the way people organise and structure their everyday activities or daily life when there are no special activities is also important in understanding the human-environment relationships. Exploring everyday activities is important in a number of ways. Firstly, it can provide an insight onto what really motivates people to do what they are doing. Secondly, the daily activities might be different for different people. That is, the children might stay at home and play together in the open space the whole day, which would be different to the elderly, parents, employed, unemployed, those who go to school etc.

However, a number of issues impacted on the processes surrounding data collection for this study. These issues include but not limited to time and access. In relation to

time, everyday activities are guided or protected as opposed to special activities and thus, requires a considerable time to access and collet data. On the other hand, since sharing practices are open to public and everyone is free to attend without invitation including me. As such, accessing sharing practices was less demanding and viable within limited time of the fieldwork to establish and maintain working relationships for the purpose of data collection than it would have been for everyday activities. Thus, because of these reasons, this study did not incorporate everyday activities as open activities presented themselves as rightful during data collection.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis has seven chapters. **Chapter One** introduces sharing practices, and the connection between sharing practices and the urban environment of the kgotla. It discusses the research aims and the relevance of sharing practices in fostering the resilience of the community.

Chapter Two explores the theoretical concepts and the context of actor-network theory, which inform this research. Firstly, it explores the literature on sharing as well as the literature on material culture of the urban fabric of the kgotla to develop a consistent interpretation of human-environment relationships. There is also a discussion on the significance of sharing in building communities. Secondly, the chapter explores the concept of community resilience and sets out a strategy for analysis of the claims and assumptions of the interactions in sharing practices by demonstrating how the emergent characteristics of the community can be examined against the established models of community resilience. Lastly, this chapter concludes

with the overarching theoretical toolkit provided by actor-network theory that guides the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Chapter Three presents the actor-network theory oriented methodological approach adopted for this study, including a discussion on how actor-network theory as a method of research explores the complexity of interactions between humans and nonhumans. Consistent with the tradition of actor-network theory, this chapter reviews the various techniques used to trace the multiplicity and complexity of the interactions and relationships that support the events and actors in sharing practices. It discusses the relevance of these techniques, including in-depth interviews, participant observations and discourse analysis, to show how these crucial tools are used to follow the entities in their network of relationships in sharing.

Chapter Four reviews the literature on the established symbolic order in the urban environment of the kgotla. Firstly, the chapter discusses how different scholars have examined the symbolic established order in the urban environment of the kgotla and how this research questions the role of material things in defining the order. This study focuses on roles from an actor-network theory perspective and how they contribute to establishing order. It argues that roles are crucial for the established order. The chapter explores the ways in which both human and nonhuman actors participate in the established order, which plays a meaningful role in various sharing practices. Secondly, it argues there is a shifting trend in the way roles are negotiated, that they have become more open to other aspects of life. Lastly, the chapter explores the way the physical structures of the urban fabric and movable things play an important role in understanding the established order. It argues that roles, structures

and spaces and movable things assigned to humans in sharing practices is an established process through which the symbolic order informs human relationships.

Chapter Five investigates the question that ask if sharing practices are active in the way people are operating and also the one that seek to explore a connection between sharing practices and the urban fabric of the kgotla. It examines how spatial actors and movable things participate in sharing practices. The processes for three sharing practices of sharing decision-making, sharing experiences and sharing labour are explored in detail. The chapter also shows that multiple sharing practices support a sense of belonging to a community and the urban fabric of the kgotla provides a physical context, which helps people to play their roles. In these explorations, the research demonstrates that certain spatial actors, which are traditionally considered essential to roles, are intermediaries in the way people operate in sharing practices. The chapter argues that if these multiple sharing practices are to continue and help build a sense of belonging to a community, then the urban form of the future will need to support the multiple sharing practices.

Chapter Six explores the question concerning a connection between sharing practices and the resilience of the community. It does so by exploring resilience promoting concepts that emerge from the multiple interactions between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. It shows that the resilience promoting concepts, which embrace many concepts identified by two scholars in this field of study, are important characteristics of sharing practices and meaningful to the sharing community. It argues cultivating the concepts identified as relevant and necessary for resilience will strengthen the community and that the urban fabric of the

kgotla has a role to play in advocating for urban planning policies that foster resilience of the community.

Lastly, **Chapter Seven** concludes by reflecting on the arguments developed in the thesis and highlights the specific contribution of the actor-networks initiated in sharing practices to the literature on understanding objects of material culture and community resilience. The research supports cultural ideas as crucial actors that assemble particular humans and nonhumans in sharing networks. The chapter identifies possible areas for further research and how such studies must consider a collection of actors including people, places, spaces, roles, movable things, ideas and an established order that constitutes a cultural activity, in this case a sharing practice. While these collections of actors are increasingly being considered in research studies in archaeology, African studies, economic geography, material culture studies, political science and planning theory, this thesis harmonises all these theoretical positions by drawing on an actor-network theory perspective, which offers a coherent reading of economic activity based on sharing practices.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORISING ACTOR -NETWORKS

Sharing Practices, Community Resilience and Actor Network Theory

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets the foundation for the thesis by providing a basis for investigating the relationships between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. Firstly, sharing practices are explored, based on the most recent literature on sharing as well as the literature on material culture of the kgotla. Secondly, community resilience is explored. As the concept of community resilience is still evolving, the focus is on recent studies that connect the resilience of individuals to that of the community (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). In this thesis the concept of community resilience is conceived as an outcome of the relationships and is explored in detail. Lastly, the chapter presents a detailed review of actor-network theory by focusing on the specific tools of the theory that help study the relations of actors that traditionally are there all the time but are invisible in the construction of the sharing world. The thesis draws on the work of actor-network theorists and those that have built upon their insights, but it also draws, where appropriate, on the heritage of thinking about material culture, practices and the lived experience of urban form that was nurtured in earlier works of social theory.

2.1 UNDERSTANDING SHARING

2.1.1 The concept of sharing

In the literature, sharing is presented in two ways; first as a historical and culturally sensitive practice and second as a contemporary arrangement in which material and immaterial things are shared, such as knowledge sharing (Abdul Rahman 2011; Hendriks 1999), car sharing (Fellows & Pitfield 2000) and information sharing (Phillips et al. 2004). This study focuses primarily on the first concept because of the historical and culturally oriented communities at the centre of this research, but also includes an important focus on the role of things; not only as shared, but as supporting the sharing practices.

From the literature on anthropology of economy, scholars understand that 'sharing happens for the sake of sharing of substances and of the shared participation in life' (Widlok 2004, p. 62). As Hunt (2000) suggests, this concept of sharing emerged from the early works of economic anthropological studies in egalitarian societies in the 1960s. From their studies, researchers understand that the way resources such as food, and in particular meat, are negotiated in the hunter-gatherer way of life plays a significant role in the way sharing is understood (Hunt 2000; Kishigami 2004; Widlok 2013). There are contemporary societies which pursue other modes of subsistence living and these groups have continued to practise sharing among themselves as a way of living (Widlok 2013).

Similarly, other scholars understand sharing as 'the act and process of distributing what is ours to others for their use as well as the act and process of receiving from others for our use' (Belk 2007, p. 127). Sharing involves the relations that emerge

from how resources are used and shift positions between individuals and the community. Consistent with this human-resource relationships, Belk (2007)suggests 'sharing defines something as ours' (p. 127). In this way, sharing is concerned with dissolving the distinction between what is owned individually by allowing other members to use and experience the benefits that arise from possessing a thing (Belk 2007; Widlok 2004). It focuses on joint use of resources and on shared participation in life (Wagner 1991; Widlok 2004). One member has to have something and the other does not for sharing to take place (Hunt 2000). Sharing is concerned with the multiple relationships between the things that are being shared and the practices that give shape to different sharing practices.

The practice of sharing is wrapped around the interconnected forms of relationships between resources and the ways of life of the people. According to Belk (2010) sharing has particular forms of attributes which include, among others, nonreciprocal, social links to others, shared ownership, network inclusion, dependence, sharing context, love and caring. It is therefore possible to trace these attributes among societies or groups that practise sharing. Additionally Kishigami (2004) identifies the organisation of the social structure around kinship as a predominant force that gives shape to sharing in these groupings. Likewise, Belk (2007) agrees that the forces of kinship are paramount for sharing and suggests that 'sharing is a culturally learned behaviour' (p. 130). Sharing is learned and it is influenced by the cultural environment, which shapes one's early years. It is therefore nurtured through time and becomes invisible in the life of the people for whom it is a routine.

However, Wenger and colleagues argue that besides learning sharing is also an important source for change (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002). Through change, sharing allows for other alternative forms of behaviours, such as borrowing and lending, to emerge that may forge relationships necessary for shaping sharing in the future. For instance, if one neighbour asks another, 'May I borrow salt', no one expects that the borrower will return the salt. As such, this act of sharing initiates or strengthens relationships that one can draw on in the future. However, if one borrows a pot for instance (see Chapter Five for details), the expectation is to return it as soon as one finishes using it because it is something that is shared. Change also impacts on the context within which sharing takes place. As a sharing context extends to include other relations other than the original kinship and resources, it becomes more interesting and has its greatest social and theoretical implications (Belk 2010). In this study, the practice of sharing is mobilised to study diverse relationships involving people and things in the urban environment of the kgotla. The initial assumption is that people in these communities depend on the support of each other in their everyday practices, communal activities and many other activities in a way that fosters sharing. But what entities are recruited for sharing in these communities and how do they relate to the literature on sharing?

2.1.2 Sharing of entities

Researchers working on sharing understand that people participate in sharing not because they are forced to but because they see it as a way of living (Abdul Rahman 2011; Belk 2007; Franzen & Eaves 2007; Widlok 2004; Ziker, Rasmussen & Nolin 2016). They also understand that it is the resources that are shared which are at the forefront of the emergent relations associated with sharing. The practice of sharing is not only limited to physical things such as places (Belk 2007) and food (Belk 2013;

Hunt 2000; Kishigami 2004; Widlok 2013; Ziker, Rasmussen & Nolin 2016) but also include abstract things such as experiences (Ziker, Rasmussen & Nolin 2016), knowledge (Abdul Rahman 2011), and ideas, responsibility, values and time (Belk 2007). Belk argues that even people and animals can be shared (2007). For instance, in sharing labour one may ask another neighbour, 'Can you send your family members here to come and help?'. This illustrates the idea that labour is indeed a participant in sharing.

In this study, there are three sharing practices that have emerged and they are: sharing decision-making, sharing experiences and sharing labour (see Chapter Five for details). Firstly, sharing decision-making explores the idea that the way people and things are pulled together in various spaces and places represent the way in which they operate. Secondly, sharing experiences explores the idea that the urban environment allows a caring and supporting environment to exist so that people voluntarily participate in organising and delivering all kinds of associated activities together as a group. Lastly, sharing labour explores the way in which people participate or offer help to one another in activities in a way that cannot be separated from the way they live with others in the urban environment of the kgotla. As Belk (2007) argues, sharing of food or tools in nomadic communities is necessary for their livelihood, so is sharing in the life of people living in the urban environment of the kgotla. However, the interest is to understand how sharing decision-making, experience and labour are supported as continuing practices through urban structures, spaces and ways of doing things in the community.

2.1.3 Sharing and its role in shaping communities

As an economic form of interaction in a community, sharing has been discussed by many scholars as an influential effect in fostering participation in communities (Belk 2007, 2010; Wagner 1991; Widlok 2004, 2013). For Wagner, it is the shared resource that is 'influential in building integrated structures as well as creating a sense of community' (Wagner 1991, p. 365). Similarly, Widlok (2004) suggests that it is the collective use of a resource that creates a shared base, which gives rise to communities and shared identities. For Belk (2010), 'sharing tends to be a communal act that links us to other people' (p. 717). Sharing facilitates the relationships that hold people together. These relationships manifest in small-scale groups such as families and neighbourhoods and as well as in large-scale groups such as communities.

From the literature, sharing identifies the two primary modes that enable sharing relationships to emerge as informal interactions (Abdul Rahman 2011) and trust (Abdul Rahman 2011; Barbalet 2009; Belk 2010; Fukuyama 1995). Interactions between individuals within a group allow the building of relationships that have resources attached to them. Trust plays a crucial role in holding the relationships in place and as Fukuyama (1995) suggests, trust is important to the survival of the individual and the community. Likewise, 'the more people trust each other, social capital theory holds, the more likely others will participate in trusting relationships and be confident in their dealing with others' (Barbalet 2009, p. 377). Thus, these two attributes play important roles in sharing networks and in the way people operate in their everyday life. For this thesis, the role of sharing cannot be underestimated. Sharing practices are still active in the communities under investigation. The interest,

therefore, is to explore the way people are operating in sharing practices. In turn, this helps understand how the physical structures, spaces, places and things participate in sharing. The research draws on actor-network theory in exploring the relationship between sharing practices and the physical structures, spaces, places and things in the urban environment of the kgotla.

2.1.4 Investigating sharing practices through actor-networks

Researchers exploring cultural practices and objects of material culture have shown a keen interest in how the tools provided by actor-network theory might contribute to the understanding of nonhumans in the construction of their world. The identification of multiple networks connecting all kinds of materials and things has been used as a relevant tool for studying culture and nature (Olsen 2003). In these networks, objects of material culture are indeed 'being in the world alongside other beings, such as humans, plants and animals' (Olsen 2003, p. 88). They participate and contribute in both 'social' forms and meaning that are shaped through community modes of being in this world. Similarly, Witmore (2008) suggests that the use of common language in following the entities in their network building processes offers an important insight into practices, such as sharing, by recognising the role of things in the construction of the world. This understanding provides a guide on what actor-network theory offers to material culture studies in sharing.

This study focuses on the qualities of the material world that give shape to cultural practices and that have previously been left behind by traditional forms of documentation. This helps understand changes in the qualities of the material world specifically in the way new material entities give shape to the cultural forms of interactions on which sharing relies (Widlok 2013). Sharing serves as a principal

concept in this study to help understand economic forms of practices, in particular the role of roles and the role of material things in the urban fabric of the kgotla. The interpretative lens provided by actor-network theory emphasises the role of non-humans in all social contexts. This is important for sharing practices because it provides an opportunity to study the built form and material things that give shape to sharing practices and the resilience of the community. Community resilience is explored next, including a perspective that explores community resilience as an effect produced by an association of humans and nonhumans in the urban environment of the kgotla.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE

2.2.1 The concept of resilience

Resilience is a central concept in this research to explore the relationships between the everyday life of the community and the cultural context of the institution of sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. The concept of resilience has been used widely in a number of disciplines in the literature. Resilience is a concept that is generally used widely in ecology but the way in which it is associated with other disciplines is challenged.

The ecologist Holling introduced resilience as one of the behavioural properties of an ecological system (1973). For Holling (1973), resilience is 'a measure of the persistence of systems and their ability to absorb change and disturbances and still maintain the same relationships between populations' (p. 14).

The concept of resilience has grown beyond the original concept of an ecosystem to include other fields of inquiry such as social-ecological systems (Adger 2000; Folke

2006; Folke, Berkes & Colding 2003), sustainable development (Perrings 2006), social sustainability (Magis 2010) and health sciences (Buikstra et al. 2010; Eachus 2014; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). Each field has provided a specific definition and components that guide and organise the inquiry relating to resilience in that area.

In social-ecological systems Adger (2000) explores the potential relationship between social and ecological resilience from the original use of resilience in ecology. Adger 2000) defines resilience as 'the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change' (p. 347). For Adger (2000) the connection between social and ecological resilience is institutions. The institutions suggested in the literature encompass a broad range of parameters including socialised behaviours as well as norms that give shape to the society. Consistent with the definition of social resilience, institutions take the form of community phenomena as opposed to individual relations. This focus on socialised behaviours and social norms is relevant to this thesis, as my field work findings point to the importance of social norms within the sharing behaviours of the kgotla. The focus on socialised behaviours and social norms, in the social-ecological systems approach, is relevant to this thesis as my fieldwork findings pointed to the importance of social norms within the sharing behaviours of the kgotla.

In contrast to the social-ecological systems approach, scholars exploring resilience from a health science perspective challenge the community phenomenon and study resilience among individuals (Buikstra et al. 2010; Eachus 2014; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). In a recent study, Eachus (2014) examines the diverse traits of resilience from a positive psychological perspective to establish how they may help understand

the relationships between individuals and community resilience. According to Eachus (2014) the resilience of the individuals interacting with their environment through closely connected institutions such as a community group or local authority gives shape to the resilience of the community. Consistent with this connection, Baek and colleagues (2015) suggest that the 'systems' in the ecological definition provided by Holling can be individuals, community, society, nature, environment, urban or a mix.

Theorists of resilience from multiple disciplines have pointed to tensions between Holling's original descriptive definition from ecology and more recent definitions that describe resilience as a two-sided concept (Brand & Jax 2007). According to Brand and Jax (2007), there is the descriptive aspect of resilience, that is, the ecological concept (Holling 1973; Walker et al. 2004) and then resilience as a boundary object (Adger 2000; Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Doron 2005; Folke 2006; Folke, Berkes & Colding 2003). Resilience as a boundary object takes a trans-disciplinary perspective, by drawing on insights from, between and across disciplinary borders. Resilience is used in this study as a boundary object to consider human-environment relations and how these relations shape opportunities for the future.

2.2.2 Community resilience

The way in which individual and community attributes interact in supporting resilience is established in the literature (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Doron 2005; Eachus 2014; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). According to Berkes and Ross (2013) the resilience of individuals, the household and the community is all connected. Similarly, Eachus (2014) suggests that 'it is the resilience of these individuals interacting with their environment through relevant institutions' that gives rise to community resilience (p. 348). For Buikstra and colleagues (2010) the social and physical environments are central to the interactions of individuals. Resilience is manifest through the interactions between the individuals, resources, and relational networks among them and in their practices (Chaskin 2008). The focus of community resilience is on those aspects that promote resilience among community members and that give character to community resilience. Community resilience addresses the key concepts that relate the resilience of individuals to that of the community.

In a study that focused on the relationships between rural communities and adversity, Kulig and colleagues define community resilience as 'a process that describes change, provides an opportunity to focus on strengths and offers opportunities for residents to be involved' (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010, p. 385). This definition is consistent with the focus of the original ecological resilience on the 'adaptive capacity' of the system or rather the individuals, community, environment, and ecosystem in the face of change. Hence resilience building can be achieved by developing and encouraging the capacity 'to drive in an environment characterised by change' (Magis 2010, p. 402). For Redman and Kinzig (2003), communities and societies should develop a way of reflecting and learning from past experiences in a process of enhancing resilience.

Likewise Berkes and Ross (2013) suggest that the actions and processes for building community strengths can be a great asset in understanding resilience at community level. In an environment characterised by change, community resilience will seek to identify critical components of resilience that have enabled communities, over a long period of time, to engage and develop in a process of strengthening the community.

A resilience approach also understands that through change there should be continuity in the form of 'activities, actions, decisions and attitudes that inform decisions about all aspects of life and that reflects existing social norms and processes' (Nelson, Adger & Brown 2007, p. 397). Change is an integral part of the human world as communities and societies continuously adjust their everyday life and their immediate environment to take advantage of new ways of living. In this study, this concept of community resilience helps to understand the activities and processes of sharing practices that have enabled communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla over the years. It also helps understand the role these practices might play in building resilient communities in the future.

2.2.3 Understanding characteristics of community resilience

Scholars working in the field of health have developed four models, with a mix of interrelated and distinct attributes or components of resilience, that were used to explore emerging qualities of the community in this research. The four selected studies of community resilience include three case studies which examine the role of the environment in the way individuals function (Buikstra et al. 2010), ways of strengthening components of resilience as a result of forced migration (Doron 2005) and relationship between health status and community resilience (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010) as well as an analysis of the productive common ground between social-

ecological systems and psychology of development and mental health (Berkes & Ross 2013). The components of community resilience in these studies are presented in Table 1. The three studies agree on key sets of community strengths of networks, leadership and a positive outlook (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010).

While these are remarkably compatible sets of social characteristics across all the studies, they do not address economic or environmental characteristics. Other studies further recognise the role of the environment, infrastructure and economic attributes as factors in enhancing community resilience (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010). Similarly, other researchers in community resilience have also recognised the role of built resources as important to community resilience (Eachus 2014; McManus et al. 2012). In contrast, researchers in a study that focused on why the community continued to be resilient despite several economic crises observe that the community needs to be receptive to external forces (Kulig 2000; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). These external influences include, among others, economic attributes.

Similarly, Doron (2005) observes in a study on forced relocation that, even though the participants had greater economic resources than most of their counterparts around the world, they were still weak in some other components of resilience. These observations point specifically to the interaction of the components of resilience as key to the development and maintenance of community resilience and less to the external influences. Thus, this study is concerned with identifying the internal components of resilience in the interactions of people, resources and in their sharing practices without limiting itself to any particular model. The thesis argues that

community resilience can be used as an emergent quality of the interactions. The question this study addresses is how community resilience can be an effect produced by the interactions between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla.

Table 1: Summary of Studies on Community Resilience

Context, research aim and references	Strengths, process and contributions
Community Resilience: Towards an Integrated Approach (Berkes and Ross 2013) Developing an integrated approach to community resilience	People-place relationships Leadership Knowledge, skills and learning Values and beliefs Social networks Engaged governance Positive outlook Community infrastructure Diverse and innovative economy
Community Resiliency and Rural Nursing: Canadian and Australian Perspectives (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010) A quantitative study that focused on the relationships between health status and community resilience	Community problem solving Community togetherness Mentality/outlook Ability to cope with divisions Getting along Networks Ability to cope with change Leadership
The Components of Resilience – Perceptions of an Australian Rural Community (Buikstra et al. 2010) The study reports the components of the community and the individual resilience identified through participatory action research	Identified 11 resilience concepts in which individual, community and environmental attributes interact: • Social networks and support • Positive outlook • Learning • Early experience • Environment and lifestyle • Infrastructure and support services • Sense of purpose • Diverse and innovative economy • Embracing differences • Beliefs • Leadership
Working with Lebanese Refugees in a Community Resilience Model (Doron 2005) Uses Sarig's model to strengthen certain components of community resilience that have been hurt as a result of forced migration	Applies Sarig's model of community resilience that contains seven components: • Sense of belonging • Control over situation • Challenges and proportion • Maintaining optimistic perspective • Learning relevant skills and techniques • Values and beliefs • Community support Sarig (2001) *Components of Community Resilience, unpublished paper*

2.2.4 How does community resilience contribute to sharing practices?

Resilience has been studied from a wide range of disciplines which include ecological systems (Holling 1973), social systems (Adger 2000), social-ecological systems (Folke 2006; Folke, Berkes & Colding 2003) and social sustainability (Magis 2010), but resilience in sharing practices in the urban environments is little researched. The relevance of place-based communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla cannot be underestimated in negotiating community resilience (Berkes & Ross 2013). The concept of resilience brings another perspective to sharing practices in the urban environment and provides an important resource from which ongoing and new sharing practices can be nurtured. This thesis explores how community resilience might help understand the key characteristics of the community and processes of sharing practices through which resilience is manifest. The emergent characteristics of the community are then compared against the established models of community resilience from various scholars including Buikstra et al. (2010); Kulig and colleagues (2010) and Berkes and Ross (2013). This forms the basis of the analysis in Chapter Six.

2.2.5 Investigating community resilience through actor-networks

Studies exploring the concept of community resilience have used quantitative techniques (McManus et al. 2012; Thomas et al. 2010) as well as qualitative techniques (Buikstra et al. 2010; Edward 2005; Janssen et al. 2006). Janssen and colleagues used a network perspective to explore the relationships between entities (Janssen et al. 2006). This approach provides an entry point to the methodology used in this study. It offers a particular way of understanding, which pays attention to both the social settings and social relationships. Similarly, Anderies and colleagues (2006) suggest that research exploring the concept of resilience is better framed as a way of

understanding complex relations from a wide collection of ideas, which is the focus of the interpretative lens provided by actor-network theory. Actor-network theory emphasises the role of nonhumans in all social contexts. Thus, actor-network theory provides a necessary toolkit to explore these complex relationships and investigate how resilience can be an effect produced by the interactions between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. This research proposes a deeper understanding of the term resilience: resilience can be reconceptualised as an emergent quality of the interactions between humans and nonhumans and the ways of doing things in various sharing practices.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY

2.3.1 The concept of networks

The concept of networks has been used widely in a number of disciplines in the literature. The term network is commonly used in social science to describe relations, structures and processes of technological, economical, political and social forms (Murdoch 1998). According to Mitchell (1969), the notion of networks in sociological writing has always been associated with metaphorical ways of understanding and suggests that the idea can be expanded to analytical concepts in a 'more specific and defined ways' (p. 2). The specifics of networks are traditionally defined by the type of relations that connect sets of people, objects and activities (Mitchell 1969). These connections were characterised by nodes and links, where the node represents an organisation or an object and the link depicts the relations between the nodes (Janssen et al. 2006). The connections between these entities are therefore referred to as a network structure (Murdoch 1995). However, in recent development of networks

analysis, the concept of network has evolved to capture complex relations between entities without recourse to structure.

A network has been defined as an organisational space within which relations are based on reciprocity, preferences and supportive actions of individuals and the organisation (Cooke & Morgan 1993). It is the collective of individuals that constitute the network and each party has a role in maintaining the working relationship rather than a desire to exit the network, which holds the network together. The assumption is that human actors are mutually dependent on resources controlled by others and that continual engagement in an active network allows access to those resources (Cooke & Morgan 1993). Thus, this particular kind of network organisation is based primarily on durable relations between human actors and they 'entail indefinite, sequential transactions within the context of a general pattern of interaction' (Powell 1990, p. 301). In these, network relationships are embraced by continual interaction of actors, which in turn contribute to the mode of exchange in a network. The benefits of networks do not depend only on those who are involved but also on the extent to which contacts develop trust of those who interact with one another (Schneider et al. 2003). However, Powell (1990) argues that the most important information in a network is what flows down the chain of command in an organisation. Thus networks give information to all individuals in a manner that a continual interaction can strengthen and increase a flow of information that would otherwise not occur. These forms of interaction between individuals support the network first as a source of information for collaboration and cooperation.

Networks have also been understood not purely as an organisational form nor as structural, but as relational processes (Dicken et al. 2001). This group of theorists advocates for the understanding of structural powers that hold the network of the global economy together as a mixture of individuals, material and organisational powers within it (Dicken et al. 2001). It suggests the analysis of the network should focus on the relational space of the network rather than the individuals. However, Smith asks, 'but what kinds of network should we study?'(2003, p. 39). Smith (2003) contends we should study how the network is made and maintained and how power emerges as an outcome rather than just the economic networks. The concern with networks, and more importantly the understanding of the relational space of diverse social and material processes, is a great contribution to the network paradigm attributed to actor-network theory.

2.3.2 Actor-Network Theory

The use of the concept of network in actor-network theory is distinct and powerfully different from the standard ways it is used in sociology (Law & Callon 1988). Networks in actor-network theory draw together materials, which have their own space-times, into new and distinctive associations (Murdoch 1998). Each network traces its own distinct space-time, which captures an array of materials used in the network building processes and the relations put together between the joined entities (Murdoch 1998). The notion of actor-networks is useful as it pays attention to the way networks are put together or rather constructed, consolidated and stabilised (Murdoch 1995). The distinctive and powerful aspect of actor-network theory is its ability to focus attention on what is happening inside the network activity to understand the organisation and reorganisation as an effect of the network building processes. Latour (2011) suggests that the notion of networks is of use 'whenever action is to be

redistributed' (p. 797). It is used to 'designate a *mode of inquiry* that learns to list, at the occasion of the trial, the unexpected being necessary of any entity to exist' (Latour 2011, p. 799). A network is a concept that helps to redistribute and reallocate action.

According to theorists working with actor-network theory, an actor-network can be distinguished from a standard or simple network as it consists of an array of entities or materials, which are both human and nonhuman and they are mutually defined in the course of their association (Callon 1986a; Law 1992; Murdoch 1995). Latham (2002) suggests that this underlying premise of the world made up of complex relations and associations of humans and nonhumans indicates the strength of actor-network theory of going beyond the standard form of network. Actor-network theory is concerned with the commitment to materiality and it argues that speech, bodies and their gestures, subjectivities and materials such as architecture, ships, aircrafts or firearms, are all an outcome of a network effect (Law 2002). Materials stabilise the relations and hold everything together.

The most important aspect of actor-network theory research is that it is 'based on no stable theory of the actor; rather it assumes the radical *indeterminacy* of the actor' (Callon 1999, p. 181). Studies in actor-network theory are interested in tracing the associations between diverse human and nonhuman relationships and they aim to give the nonhuman actors proper recognition for their role in the construction of the world. The theory is thus the study of association between diverse materials and relations with interest in how society, organisations and spatial relations, or 'network effects', come to be wrapped up in the association of diverse materials and relations, which are not only human (Law 1992; Murdoch 1997b, 1998). The theory claims that if humans

form a social network, it is because they interact not only with other humans but also with a diverse array of material things (Latour 2005; Law 1992; Murdoch 1997b, 1998). Singleton and Law (2013a) suggest that actor-network theory should be better thought of 'as a way of asking *how* is it that people and animals and objects get assembled in those practices; and as a way of *mapping* the relations of practice' (p. 7). Actor-network theory thus traces the relations and materials, which are both human and nonhuman, and the processes in which they are put together in a network. According to Latham (2002), actor-network theory further allows us to trace and understand how social structure and hierarchy are put together and maintained through an association of diverse relations and materials. This understanding forms the core of actor-network theory, the ability of the network to be so diverse in material forms and the emergent network of relations between an array of human and nonhuman entities.

Actor-network theory is concerned with learning from the actors (human and nonhuman) themselves and without imposing on them *a prior* condition of their world (Latour 1999, 2005; Law 1992; Murdoch 1998). Latour suggests that 'actors know what they do and we have to learn from them not only what they do, but how and why they do it' (Latour 1999, p. 19). Latour (2002, 2011) suggests that to understand an actor one has to go and look through the network it has traced, that is its network. Thus the actor can be ceased as a network of relationships. According to Latour, this represents the reversibility of the actor, that 'an actor is nothing but a network, except that a network is nothing but actors' (2011, p. 800). This shift of movement from substance to attributes and back serves to define the actor or the network relations. Actor-network theory is interested in the idea that entities are produced in relation to

one another in a network of relations and applies this notion 'ruthlessly' to all the materials (Law 1999). Actor-network theory claims this focus on a network of relations of diverse materials dissolves the boundary between human and nonhuman and thus gives rise to objects and dualisms that constitute our world; the dualism between subject-object; nature-society; inside-outside and many others (Murdoch 1997a). This division is overlooked by the focus on networks instead.

Conforming with the commitment to trace the network relations, actor-network theory pays attention to the actors as they negotiate in their struggle to enrol others in their network (Callon 1986a; Latour 2005; Murdoch 1995). It is concerned with their ability to enrol, convince, control and mobilise diverse resources or other actors, such as physical, economic, social and technical resources, into their network on condition that they can speak on their behalf (notion of power) (Callon 1986a; Murdoch 1995; Murdoch 1997b). Actors achieve their due position in a network by being in relation to other actors, in a network of relations (Law 2006). According to Law (1999), these relational positions of entities are not just connections, but they are performed (process of translation). They represent a point of struggle, interactions and negotiation between diverse materials and none of these entities is privileged over the network building process. An actor-network theory approach is thus concerned with the processes by which some actors enrol others in their network of relations in order to give greater weight to a particular project or disposition of the world. Callon argues that:

> The actor-network is the context, which gives each entity its significance and defines its limitations. It does this by associating the entity with others that exist within its network (Callon 1986a, p. 30).

Network relations are central to actor-network theory and allow us, through the commitment of following the actors, to move beyond what separates social and natural scientist and focus on the collective and the way in which humans and nonhumans exchange properties (Latour 1994, 2000). Actor-network theorists argue that important insights could be gained by giving equal weight to the human and non-human actors that work in association to give impetus to a particular trajectory or disposition of the world. The network building processes in the construction of an actor network world have methodological implications for the role of diverse materials, referred to as heterogeneous association, the process of translation, immutable mobiles and the role of power. These actor-network components are discussed in the rest of this chapter.

2.3.2.1 The notion of heterogeneous associations

The insight provided by actor-network theory that critiques the earlier priority given to humans in earlier sociological studies can be seen as a radical extension, rather than a break away from social theory. The theory argues that if humans form a social network, it is because they interact not only with other humans but also with a diverse array of material things (Latour 1986; Latour 1992; Latour 1994, p. 806; Law 1992). This insight, which suggests that in these 'social' relations there are diverse materials, forms the basis of a radical extension. Its contribution to social theory is centred on the notion of relationality of entities (human and nonhuman), which suggests that entities are produced in network relations and applies this concept 'ruthlessly to all materials' (Latour 1986; Law 1999, p. 4; Murdoch 1997b, p. 312). This particular way of conceptualising the world, the radical position of actor-network theory, aims to describe the 'nature' of societies without limiting itself to human actors, but also to draw on the attention of nonhuman actors or *things* such as texts, machines,

architectures and many others in the constitution of the world (Latour 1990, 1992; Law 1992; Murdoch 1998). Actor-network theory is concerned with rendering the diverse materials and relations their proper recognition for their role in the construction of the world.

Material *things* that constitute our world are not passive but, instead, they do participate in the relations that hold society together (Latour 1990; Law 1992). As Law reminds us, 'whenever we scrape the social surface we find that it is composed of networks of heterogeneous materials' (1991, p. 10). What are these heterogeneous materials? How are they put together? To say networks are materially heterogeneous suggests that the network is constructed of diverse arrays of human and nonhuman material things (Law 1992). The network metaphor is used to highlight the interconnected arrays of human and nonhuman entities, which are assembled together in a network of associations. In a study titled *Hybrid Geographies: Rethinking the 'Human' in Human Geography*, Whatmore suggests that studies should be:

> concerned with studying the living rather than abstract spaces of social life, configured by numerous, interconnected agents – variously composed of biological, mechanical and habitual properties and collective capabilities – within which people are differently and plurally articulated (1999, p. 26).

Whatmore articulates a relatively 'new' approach in human geography that embraces the idea of hybrid geographies, which recognise the capabilities of the collective entities (1999, p. 26). This shift towards the collective associations represents a decisive move that is crucial in actor-network studies. It is a way of recognising that agency, in collective associations, is a relational achievement involving arrays of diverse materials and relations in the construction of the world (Callon & Law 1995b; Latour 1986; Law 1992; Whatmore 1999, p. 26). Murdoch captures the agency and relational aspects effects in the network and suggests that:

> When one acts the others act too. When we consider these others to include nonhumans as well as humans then we can begin to appreciate how the dualisms might begin to break down: subject-object; nature-society; real-relative; inside-outside; context-content – all are, to some extent, undermined by the focus on networks (1997a, p. 743).

The study of the associations of diverse materials and relations highlights the thinking process behind actor-network theory, that is, the way it questions the processes of *how* human and nonhuman are put together in practices and as a way of tracing the relationships that emerge in the construction of the practices (Singleton & Law 2013a, p. 7). The implication of these processes is that material things, which have always been seen as an outcome attributed to human actions, emerge as a support to and effect of relations between human and nonhuman actors in a network.

The focus on the networks is not about paying attention to those entities, as they ceased to exist, but it is about the emergent relations that make up the networks (Murdoch 1997a). According to Law and Mol the entities do not exist in the network and of themselves but instead, they are constituted in relations they form with others in their networks (1995, p. 227). This relational conception understands that roles, identities and actions are network effects established as a result of actors as they engage in their struggle to enrol others in their network of heterogeneous relations (Callon 1986b; Murdoch 1997a). This represents the underlying principle behind the actor-network theory approach, that is, its ability to trace network relationships that are materially heterogeneous.

According to Hetherington and Law the interest of the actor-network theory approach in the notion of relationality serves to blur or dissolve the distinction between human and nonhuman, object and subject, inside and outside and others, thus leaving issues

such as agency or action to network building activities (2000, p. 127). Once agency is taken out as a cause of action by actors and undermined by paying attention to network activities, what is it then that connect actors into a network? Latour suggests that whenever this kind of question is asked, a new association is made that draws us together (1986, p. 273). These associations, according to actor-network theorists, are made possible because of *things* which draw actors into associations with others and also through interaction where their roles are defined and aligned to the interest of the network building process (Amin & Thrift 1995, p. 50; Latour 1986, p. 273; Murdoch 1995, p. 747). As a result of the building process, actors obtain their new identity within the network of relations they formed with others. Similarly, Latour further reminds us that networks are 'not made from some substance different from what they are aggregating' and thus the outcome of the network is determined by the processes of the network building activities (1993, p. 122). According to Law,

> Nothing that enters into relations has fixed significance or attributes in and of itself. Instead, the attributes of any particular element in the system, any particular node in the network, are entirely defined in relation to other elements in the system, to other nodes in the network (2006, p. 88).

In a network, actors achieve their relational position through performance and it helps redistribute and reallocate action in a relational manner (Latour 2011; Law 1999). So in terms of the relational position of the actors in the network, what defines their relations? According to Callon, it is the intermediaries passing between actors which 'defines their relationship between them' (1991, p. 134). The intermediaries take the form of anything which the actors can enrol, convince and enrol into their network such as inscriptions (including books, articles and notes), artefacts, human beings (including skills and knowledge) and money (Callon 1991). They participate in the network processes, and form part of the heterogeneous network they describe and the ordering of the networks. For Callon (1991) what matters for the network processes at

the end is to be able to describe it, and to do so does not depend on the complexity of the intermediary but on the consistency of the intermediary as it passes through actors in creating network associations. Chapter Five on sharing decision-making, sharing experiences and sharing labour explores how the intermediaries that are circulated through sharing practices in the urban environment help to understand the role of human and nonhuman actors in the construction of their actor-network world.

An actor (or actant to use Latour's word) is an 'emergent effect', a 'network effect' or a '*collectif*' or 'collective' created by the interaction between diverse materials and relations that make up the network (Callon 1991, p. 135; Callon & Law 1995b, p. 485; Latour 2005, p. 247; Law 1999, p. 5). The human and nonhuman materials that constitute the networks are assembled together without imposing a *prior* condition on their world building capabilities (Law 1992, p. 383; Murdoch 1998, p. 367). This attention to materials reflects the principle of generalised symmetry in actor-network theory (Callon 1986b). The interest is in how society, organisations, spaces, objects of material culture and things come to be wrapped up in the association of diverse materials and relations, which are not only human (Law 1992, p. 380; Murdoch 1997b, p. 331; Murdoch 1998, p. 369). What is to count as society, nature, human, object and many other material things is a matter of constant negotiation and struggle between materials and relations in a heterogeneous network. According to Latham, this represents the first strength of actor-network theory that is, the 'underlying premise of a world made up of complex "imbroglios" of human and nonhuman actants, that is to say a world of complex intertwining of actor-networks' (2002, p. 130). Actor-network theory allows us to trace different levels of interactions and exchange and discover, in

a messy process, materials and things that seem to be there all the time but were invisible that hold together these diverse heterogeneous associations.

The wrapping up of materials and relations dissolves the boundaries between inside and outside, human and nonhuman, micro and macro and many others and replaces them with connections that create and order an actor-network (Latour 1990; Latour 1994; Law 2006). The network of associations becomes the focus not dualisms that make up the world. The associations thus allow us to see actors, 'some human, some nonhuman, some skilled, some unskilled', that swap many properties with those they have come into association with in their network of relations (Latour 1992, p. 236; Latour 1994, p. 793). The focus on associations implies that artefacts, text, knowledge, and skill are neither human nor nonhuman properties but they reside in a network of diverse materials and relations.

The notion of heterogeneous association makes it possible to trace the connections between diverse human and nonhuman actors in a network of relations. Thus a heterogeneous network is a collective of human and nonhuman entities. Latour uses the notion of network to suggest that in actor-network theory it 'designates a *mode of inquiry* that learns to list, at the occasion of the trial, the unexpected being necessary for any entity to exist' (2011, p. 799). This represents, according to Singleton and Law the sensibility of actor-network theory in tracing the '*unexpected* forms of power' as a network effect (2013a, p. 11). According to Latour (1986), power does not belong to those actants that 'hold' power in principle but to those actants who perform network activities. Power is thus the expression of the capabilities of the actants to mobilise, enrol and control diverse resources or other actants to order the network and

'talk' for others they have enlisted into their network of relations (Dicken et al. 2002; Murdoch 1995). It is therefore necessary to go back to network associations and obtain power from those actants who are actively performing the network building activities in a relational manner. In an actor-network theory approach, whenever the question of why certain actants have acquired the right to represent others in their associations emerges, the theory adheres to the processes of translation. For this study, translation is important in exploring the re-important continuities in practices and in looking at how the practices are shifting over time and they are supported in different ways over time by nonhuman things and designed things. It is about the need to understand how things change over time and different translations of the same kind of sets of relations or same kinds of values in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla.

2.3.2.2 Actor-network theory and translation

Studies in actor-network theory are interested in exploring the processes by which some actors enrol others in their network of relations to give greater weight to particular projects or disposition of the world. In such studies, researchers participate in the network building process as actors and it allows us to recognise those actors we enrol and mobilise for the purpose of translation.

Translation in actor-network theory is used to study the roles played by actors in organising the relationship between entities by explaining how certain actors acquire the right to 'speak' for other actors they have mobilised and enrolled in their network of relations (Callon 1986b). According to Callon (1986b), the three methodological principles of translation should be followed to achieve a balanced perspective between the natural and social world. Firstly, the principle of agnosticism ensures that

all entities are free to speak about themselves or their social world without pre-conceived definition of their world (Callon 1986b; Latour 1999). Secondly, the principle of generalised symmetry requires the use of common language in following the entities as they entangle in the network of relations. Thirdly, it is the principle 'following' the actors in the network building (Callon 1986b; Latour 2005; Murdoch 1997b). This principle requires the observer to concentrate on following the actors as they build their network to ascertain how they manage to enrol other actors into their network so that they can speak for them.

The research draws on this methodological principle of translation to explore the multiple relationships between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices to understand the processes by which some actors interest, mobilise and enrol other actors in networks in order to speak on their behalf. This will help understand how some actors leave and others come into the network and give the same effect.

2.3.2.3 Actor-network theory and power relations

Actor-network theory, sometimes known as a sociology of translation, is concerned with power and domination (Law 1992). According to Law 'we should analyse the great in exactly the same way as we would anyone else'(1992, p. 380). Actor-network theory studies treat actants in a balanced manner, use neutral language and pay attention to the actors as they engage in their struggle to enrol others in their network (Callon 1986b; Latour 2005). The powerful are 'those who drive the networks and make things happen' (Dicken et al. 2002, p. 93). It is in their ability to enrol, control and mobilise diverse resources or actors (such as physical, political, economic, social, technical) to order the network and 'talk' for others (Dicken et al. 2002). The final outcome of these arrangements generates a network or relational effect of power

(Latour 2005; Law 1992). Actor-network theory study thus seeks to explore the processes by which some actors enrol others in their network of relations to give greater weight to particular projects or dispositions of the world.

The notion of power is important to this research in exploring the complex relationships between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. In using an actor-network theory oriented approach, power represent the capability of this theoretical framework in recognising the complexity of the actors, collaborations and translations between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices and according both human and nonhuman actors their due position in the construction of their world. Thus, sharing practices and the urban environment of the kgotla are recruited, mobilised and enrolled as actors and intermediaries for the main purpose of translations.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided context for the thesis by articulating the theoretical framework that establishes the connection between sharing practices, community resilience and actor-network theory. The first section of the chapter reviewed the literature on sharing and its role in building communities. The second section discussed the concept of community resilience and its connection to sharing practices. Although the literature connecting sharing and community resilience is evolving, recent studies from the health strand of resilience indicate that sharing initiatives can promote community resilience. Resilience contributes a particular way of understanding the interaction between people in sharing practices. The last section of

the chapter reviewed the literature on actor-network theory and discussed the toolkit

for the empirical work.

This framework highlights the potential of actor-network theory in exploring the

connections between the urban form of the kgotla and the way people operate in

multiple sharing practices that promote community resilience, and in informing urban

planning practices that may help build more resilient communities. The following

chapter presents the data collection tools used to trace the network connections in this

study.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDING AND TRACING ACTOR-NETWORKS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter discusses the methodological framework which mobilises participant observations, qualitative interviews and discourse analysis to study the relationships between multiple and complex networks that constitute the urban life of the community including. In it, I pay attention to the techniques used to trace the interactions and connections between these diverse materials and relations in sharing practices.

This chapter discusses how actor-network theory as a method of research explores the complexity of interactions between human and nonhuman actors. Consistent with the qualitative methods commonly used in actor-network theory studies, I use interviews, participant observations and discourse analysis to explore the sharing networks and the urban environment as translated by the actors themselves. This chapter has three sections. In the first section I explore the strategy used in the research process, which questions why some actors are able to interest, mobilise and enlist other actors into their network of relationships, and the role of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is key to the methodology as it provides an insight into the diversity of relationships of the established symbolic order[6] and in multiple sharing practices translated by the actors put together in the construction of their world. By drawing on both written and spoken texts, discourse analysis follows actors in their struggle as they construct their networks in sharing practices.

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[6] Symbolic order here refers to the order that is made manifest through roles, spaces and places, and through things in the way people are operating in various activities.

In the second section I explore the role of participant observation in the study. I also discuss how pre-existing relationships with both the human and nonhuman entities and the regular walkabout helped me in re-establishing relationships with the urban setting and gaining access to various activities within the community.

In the third section I build on the earlier sections, and discuss my interviews with members of the community living in the urban setting of the kgotla. Interviews are crucial to this study. Conducted in the physical context that plays a particular role in sharing practice, these interviews provide a richer engagement with both human and nonhuman actors. Chapters Four and Five then discuss the role of the established symbolic order and how the ordering, place defining things and movable things together produce sharing practices.

3.1 ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY AS METHODOLOGY

Founded on the concern of learning from the actors themselves without imposing on them a prior condition of their world, the principle 'follow the actors' became the methodological backbone of an actor-network theory approach (Callon, Law & Rip 1986a; Latour 1999). Additionally, Latour (1999) argues that actor-network theory is not so much a theory but a way of tracing the circulations that perform the events and entities. Actor-network theory studies trace the actors as they engage in their struggle to interest, mobilise and enrol others in their networks (Callon 1986b; Latour 2005). They seek to explore the processes by which some actors enrol others in their network of relations to give greater weight to particular projects or dispositions of the world. The use of an actor-network theory oriented approach in urban studies is firmly

established in the literature (Bender 2010; Hitchings 2003; Pineda 2010; Power 2005; Ruming 2009; Smith 2010). For instance, Pineda (2010) explored the dynamics of knowledge and technology in urban life and through actor-network theory, new elements of the cityscape such as lanes, bus stations and high platforms emerged as participants in the re-organisation of the city and the everyday experience of the citizens. My study, together with many others, highlights the power of actor-network theory in tracing connections and in according both human and nonhuman actors their due position in the construction of the world.

In a similar way, I draw on actor-network theory in exploring how the symbolic order appears and is made present through roles, spaces and places and through things that play a meaningful role in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. To achieve this objective, I use qualitative analysis of the symbolic order and sharing practices, which, through participant observation, interviews and discourse analysis, explores the multiplicity of relationships of the urban networks.

3.1.1 Actor-network theory, texts and discourse analysis

A methodological framework in actor-network theory studies recognises that research findings are themselves actor-networks, constructed by a researcher from an array of diverse entities. This section outlines the actor-network theory basis on which I understand my own activity as a researcher.

Within the networks, there are texts and/or documents, which also play an important role in the way diverse things are mobilised to build an actor world. Callon (1991, p. 135) suggests that 'text may be seen as an object which makes connections with other texts'. The objects define skills, actions and relationships of entities that are

materially heterogeneous (Callon 1991). According to Callon et al. (1986a, p. 12), 'text not only reveals the world building strategy of the authors but also the nature and force of the building blocks' derived from the available resources or actor network from which it draws and to which it contributes. The way text is organised traces the network of relationships that need to be considered in order to contribute to the existing knowledge.

For Callon et al. (1986a) this represents the success of text, that is, the extent to which text interests other actors to accept the proposed translation or discourses as a reliable and applicable outcome. Text is an actor in its own right, just like human actors in expressing the appreciation of words through language. It combines with other heterogeneous entities, making possible the connection between entities to exert control over the environment. To describe such associations, which are heterogeneous and dynamic, Callon et al (1986b) suggest that the notion of the actor-network is introduced. This particular way of enlisting actors is appropriate and relevant to understand how entities exert control and power in sharing practices networks in the urban environment of the kgotla.

While text is presented as a carefully structured actor-world, its strength is found in the way it builds a 'bridge of interest' or connects with other texts, work and institutions (Callon, Law & Rip 1986a; Rip 1986). Similarly, texts such as interview scripts and literature, for example as in this study, become the starting point from which to trace the connections that constitute the networked world. As Jacobs (1999) suggests, our understanding of the material world is constructed in relation to discourse. This understanding underscores the central position of language in

discourse (Atkinson 1999). Language is 'not just a representation of an underlying reality, but a vital component of how we conceptualise the world' (Jacobs 1999, p. 203). Through discourse analysis and by staying within the methodological framework of actor-network theory to 'follow the actors', meaning and the role of texts are received, recognised and mobilised to build a research actor world (or extend the network) and translate.

In compiling a research actor-network for this research, I draw greatly on the analysis of interview transcriptions, observations, field notes and existing literature mainly through the process of discourse analysis. Hastings (1999) suggests two ways in which discourse studies might contribute to urban policy practices and their influence to urban change. Firstly, discourse analysis is interested specifically in how language is used within the discourse event and 'it seeks to situate the instance of language use within a social setting or context' to understand how it is negotiated within its context (Hastings 1999, p. 9). Secondly, it is interested in exploring the 'conventions and patterns of language use within these settings and how the conventions position the participants in the discourse in relation to one another' (Hastings 1999, pp. 9-10). My research into the urban environment of the kgotla is concerned with these two important issues; that is to explore and understand the potential role of the urban form in future urban development in regional towns of Botswana; and to explore how the associations between spaces, structures and movable things and relations produce sharing practices.

At the core of our understanding of the material world is the way in which our experiences are 'shaped by the processes and practices by which we signify or

represent the world' (Hastings 1999, p. 7). According to Hastings (1999), the way meanings are made, shaped or negotiated is connected to the processes that participate in shaping our practices and change. Similarly, Jacobs (1999, p. 203) suggests that the material realities are 'constructed discursively'. Thus language which presents the discourse is therefore 'not just a representation of an underlying reality, but a vital component of how we conceptualize the world' (Jacobs 1999, p. 203). The processes through which discourse analysis approaches 'texts' see things or entities in discourse as 'things that are worked up, attended to and made relevant in interaction rather than being external determinants' (Potter 1997, p. 158). By exploring the process of discourses, it is possible to focus on texts in their own right and observe the way things are negotiated in a web of relationships.

In exploring discourses, Atkinson (1999) reminds us that discourses determine what can be incorporated in and what is omitted from debate. Furthermore, Atkinson (1999, p. 60) argues that discourse 'produces its own "regime of truth" in which knowledge and power are inextricably bound together'. This linkage between discourses and the conception of power is shared in the literature (Atkinson 1999; Hastings 1999; Jacobs 1999). Thus, discourse analysis provides ways to explore the questions of power relations (Hastings 1999) which form the basis of the process of translation in actor-network theory studies (Callon 1986b; Callon, Law & Rip 1986b) and the concept that power is negotiated in a network of relationships.

Within the research framework of actor-network theory studies, discourse stand for intermediaries that are circulated through a network, which in turn defines the relationships between actors (Callon 1991; Ruming 2007). For Callon (1991, p. 135),

discourse, such as in the choice of journal, language and the title as in article writing, is a way in which a new translation 'seeks to define and build an interested audience'. Similarly, Mills (1997, p. 17) argues that a discourse 'produces something else (an utterance, a concept, an effect), rather than something which exists in and of itself and which can be analysed in isolation'. In this study, discourses or intermediaries in the urban environment and in sharing practices are mobilised by some actors to give weight to a particular project and silence an array of associations, which create the established symbolic order. By staying within the actor-network theory principle of 'follow the actors' we are able to follow the discourses, as intermediaries and actors, as they pass through multiple networks and translations. This is illustrated in the later chapters where discourses such as sharing practices or community resilience are mobilised by certain actors to talk on their behalf in a sharing and resilient network in the urban environment of the kgotla.

Discourse in material culture studies have focused on human relations within the organisational form of the urban environment of the kgotla, paying less attention to other entities. The identification of multiple networks linking all kinds of materials and relations has been used as a relevant tool for studying culture and nature (Olsen 2003). In recent studies, scholars have shown that all physical entities, which are commonly referred to as material culture, are indeed 'beings in the world alongside other beings, such as humans, plants and animals' (Olsen 2003, p. 88). In this sense, the 'new' arrangements of texts (words, ideas and concepts) that organise the networks describe relationships that are materially heterogeneous, not just human (Callon 1991). It also makes connection with other texts, and renegotiates and expands the network to be found in this research study. This research investigates the

discourses translated through journal articles and books on material culture of the kgotla mediating sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. Discourse does not differentiate between these texts but instead it 'allows us to analyse similarities across a range of texts as the products of a particular site of power/knowledge relations' (Mills 1997, p. 23). Discourse allows us to explore texts, as an actor, in any process of power.

However, the document translations do not necessarily stand for a text delegated and transmitted from the local authority but it is through the local enrolment and translations of actors that a structured actor-world (spaces, structures and things) is build up distant from the point of origin. The documents are neither a sole product of the local nor a combination of isolated entities but an outcome of diverse interactions of actors at a certain location. As such, the relevance of the ordering strategies in the urban environment (established symbolic order) and sharing practices were investigated in this research (Chapters Four and Five respectively).

3.1.2 Actor-network theory and photographic materials

The methodological approach of actor-network theory recognises the multiplicity of actors, including photographic materials, in the construction of the world. Photographic materials, just like text, also play a vital role in the expression of actor-networks. As Callon (2001) suggests, photographs are inscriptions. The research network thus offers the multiplicity of actors being studied 'to write' in the form of photographs, which can be put together with other data for the purpose of comparing and interpretation (Callon 2001). Photographs are produced in relation to other various networks of being and observing the setting and of technology (Edwards 2012; Law & Hetherington 2000; Thompson & Adams 2013). Similarly, Hevia

(2009) suggests that the material resources mobilised to assist the photographs 'speak' exist outside the photographs themselves. Photographs exist in relation to a pre-existing body of knowledge about material things and practices. Thus, they have the capacity to mobilise new material realities.

According to Thompson and Adams (2013, p. 350), 'it is what it is in a particular moment because of the temporal and spatial networks of relations in which it is ensnared'. Similarly, Schwartz (1989, p. 120) observes that as a record, a photograph produces 'an unmediated and unbiased report'. Schwartz (1989) contends that it is within such interactive environments that photographs acquire meaning, that is in relation to other resources they have mobilised. Thus, photographs just like any other actors, can be negotiated, translated and transformed in a network of relationships with other endless entities. They are understood within 'the work that they do' (Edwards 2012, p. 230). Recording or photographing practices and the everyday life are not separate worlds but instead they are connected continually, negotiated by the recordings of humans and nonhumans in various activities.

In addition photographs give the researcher the opportunity to explore what and how humans do what they do and most importantly how they interact with other endless non-humans (Larsen 2008). Photographs carry with them or rather 'take the relay' of action and relationships across space and time (Van House 2011). They are what Latour (1990) refers to as immutable mobiles in the sense that they retain their material character and consistency as they travel over space and time. As they are brought into relationships with new materials and relations, they often transform the meaning they are supposed to carry, thus new translations, perceptions or

interpretations emerge (Schwartz 1989; Van House 2011). Photographs are therefore mediators, but not intermediaries, in the relationships they form with other entities.

In my study, photographs are a way of tracing the association of humans and nonhumans that perform activities and entities in and across various sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. As the study is mainly based on naturally occurring activities, the use of photographs to capture interactions fits well with the material presence that the photographs offer for the purpose of analysis (Ball & Smith 1992). Thus, as a researcher, I had to travel physically from one activity to another and mobilise technological resources, such as a digital camera and phone camera, to record sharing practices as they unfolded in the environment of the kgotla during research fieldwork. Most of the activities in the kgotla are usually open to the public and in most cases people are also free to take photographs as long as they do not interfere with the processes. In staying within the ethical requirements, I had to seek permission from the organisers before talking the photographs, see Appendix One for details. The interactions observed and recorded in the photographs mobilised for the purpose of this research include sharing decision-making, sharing labour and sharing food (see Chapter Five).

In addition to the use of technology to photographically capture moments in the field, the study also required me to travel through other photographic records in two ways. In the first place I traced connections with photographs from journal articles and books. As a component of the journal or book of the printing press network, Law (1986, p. 256) suggests that photographic resources 'may be seen as a revolutionary improvement in the textual means of long-distance control'. In the second place I

traced photographs from a diary journal of a tourist in a web blog site. This again represents the way photographs are networked with technological materials other than the camera, such as computers, internet and web blogs and in which they realise their relational aspects with this research. The focus on tracing relationships and networks physically through a camera and through communications follows the relational practices of actor-network theory.

3.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation is 'one of the several methods that fit into the general category of qualitative research' (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011, p. 2). The interest of qualitative research is to understand the nature of an observable occurrence or things rather than quantifying the data in the collection and analysis (Bryman 2008). As a technique for gathering data in qualitative research, participant observation is widely accepted as the foundation method for ethnographic research for both cultural anthropological and sociological studies (Brewer 2000; DeWalt & DeWalt 2011; Kawulich 2005; Silverman 2005; Walsh 2009). For anthropologists and social scientists, participant observation is more than just a method, it also involves a wide range of other methods of data collection (Bryman 2008), which is why a more inclusive term 'ethnography' is generally preferred rather than participant observation in most of their studies. Ethnography refers to both a method with associated features such as participant observation and as well as 'the written product of that research' (Bryman 2008, p. 402). This research takes a 'narrow' view of the method in its own right as a data collection technique and the way in which the method is shaped by the overarching theoretical framework of the study.

Participant observation involves a constant search and engagement of the researcher in the daily life of the people being investigated over an extended period of time, observing the way they interact in their activities, asking questions while collecting data (Brewer 2000; DeWalt & DeWalt 2011; Gomm 2008; Mason 2002; Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte 1999; Walsh 2004). Participant observation seeks to understand how human 'actions' and establishments are constructed 'in the natural setting and context which influence and shape people's meaning' (Brewer 2000, p. 34). The idea of pursuing naturally occurring activities has received great support from many scholars. Some suggest that the way the researcher engages with the setting is a way that does not impose meaning on what is being studied (Brewer 2000; Gomm 2008), while others suggest that it fits better with the 'idea that a researcher's job is to collect or excavate knowledge' (Mason 2002, p. 88). Participant observation draws attention to people's behaviours, gestures, clothing, spaces and structures, what they do and where, and things they interact with in a natural occurring environment, see protocols for undertaking for this study in Appendix Two. The data collected through this method and guided by the theoretical framework offers a deeper insight into human-nature relationships. For Giddens (1993), the method offers a deeper and relevant understanding of the 'social' life. Giddens (1993) that, if this method is applied successfully, the information the researcher gathers about the social life is richer than most of the other methods. It is the most appropriate method for the researcher who wants to learn about how people interact in practices in their own natural environment.

3.2.1 Negotiating access: Challenges and Opportunities

Scholars have also indicated that one of the challenges in field investigation is the problem of getting access to a local group that is relevant to the research problem

(Berg 2009; Bryman 2008). According to Berg (2009, p. 194), 'access is based on sets of relationships between the researcher and the researched' since it is an ongoing process of negotiations and renegotiations in the life of the study. Access is also about establishing and maintaining working relationships with the local people. Access can be negotiated in a number of ways. From the literature, the researchers may use pre-existing contacts to get access (Bryman 2008; Giulianotti 1995; Gomm 2008), get introductions and referrals (Berg 2009) and explore obstacles to access at an early stage of the research in order to facilitate ways of mediating the setting (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995). For example, Andersson (2011) and colleagues were visible to the participants in a study where the focus of the participant observer was on the daily use of the common spaces in assisted living facilities of the elderly. In contrast, Giulianotti (1995) mobilised existing contacts to get access to the research group, which was football hooligans, and took a covert position by adopting a group character in terms of attire and language of the group. These two examples illustrate the idea of access and that the strategy that the researcher adopts also affects the position the participant observer takes on in the field and the nature of the setting.

Similarly, the participant observer requires ongoing access to carry out the daily duties of data collection. The researcher has to find a role to occupy that would allow them to fade into the setting (Gomm 2008). According to Marshall and Rossman (2011), this ongoing access demands the engagement of the participant observer (depending on the role taken on) both as a participant and as well as an observer. Gold (1958) explains the four kinds of relationships that are behind participant observer roles: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and complete observer. For Bryman (2008, p. 410) this classification of roles is a kind of

ordering which illustrates the 'degree of involvement with and detachment from members of the social setting'. For this study, the observer-as-participant role was chosen as the most appropriate role for two reasons. First, there were cultural limits that define the extent of engagement in the group setting. This condition, together with other constraints such as the time frame of the research, contributed to me adopting the observer-as-participant role. Unlike Marshall and Rossman (2011, p. 139) who suggest that 'the researcher may enter the setting with broad areas of interest without predetermined' things to observe, in this study there was a tentative schedule of things and activities for me to observe, guided by the theoretical framework. Second, it allowed me to collect two types of data: interactions in naturally occurring cultural activities as well as detailed description of how the nonhumans participate in those activities.

In this study access was negotiated in two ways. Firstly, access to the local group was established through a pre-existing relationship with the local authority. This phase of the study allowed me to conduct regular walks throughout the community, which were crucial to developing relationships with participants. The walks provided an opportunity to see people interacting in spaces and understanding the context where gatherings such as weddings and funerals took place. While in these gatherings, there was also the opportunity to engage in conversations and observe the activities. The initial information gathered provided a context for further and focused observations (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011), which represents the flexible nature of the method to adjust to unexpected or emerging events during the course of the research process (Giddens 1993). The interview guide was also revised to adjust to the emergent data.

Secondly, access to the cultural activities was facilitated by the key informant. The informant was recruited to provide guidance on local events and ethically required to negotiate the gender issues between me, as the researcher, and the community being researched. Thus, the informant accompanied me on a daily basis both in public and semi-public activities except in the early stages. However, most of the activities that are conducted in these communities are deemed public or open to everyone and do not require invitations. Everyone is free to attend as long as they adhere to the cultural demands of the community of which I am partially familiar with. I managed to access all activities as an ordinary visitor, without the need to negotiate access. As an ordinary visitor, this role gave me access in the same manner as other male visitors. I was limited to those activities that took place where men gathered and was also excluded from gatherings that were meant for elders, women or married people.

I was able to observe how participants interacted with each other, how they shared, what was shared and where, in various sharing practices to establish how these interactions can be followed or traced through qualitative interviews. Sharing practices covered included sharing of food, goods, information and labour. All observations focused on sharing practices that take place in the urban environment of the kgotla. Throughout the course of the study, a total of three full day cultural events (two weddings and a funeral) and an open kgotla gathering were recorded, partially small clips of video and mostly photographs, overing a wide range of sharing practices. The data collected included fieldwork notes on activities, behaviours, gestures, clothing, artefacts, sketches and photographs that capture a wide range of nonhumans see an example of my fieldwork notes in Appendix Three.

3.3 QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Interviews in qualitative research are observed primarily as 'a conversation with a purpose' (Lincoln & Guba 1995, p. 268). The main purpose is to elicit different forms of information from individuals and groups (Berg 2009; Seale 2004). Interviews organised to gather qualitative data offer a suitable tool that allows the researcher to access complex issues on a wide range of things that cannot be traced or followed through semi-structured interviews (Seale 2004). Interviews are mainly conducted in an environment that is familiar to the participant and the presence of the natural setting may trigger and open up more in depth data collection (Brewer 2000). This technique has been widely used as an integral part of the methodologies of qualitative research in urban studies (Doak & Karadimitriou 2007), human geography (Ruming 2009), cultural geography (Hitchings 2003) and architecture (Fallan 2008). Interviews have been used to access and mobilise individual experiences and values on how people interact in different practices. Bryman (2008) contends that, unlike in quantitative research where data collected as a result of going off tangent is considered a nuisance and discouraged, in qualitative interviews it is accepted and encouraged. According to Bryman (2008, p. 437) 'it gives an insight into what the interviewee sees as relevant and important'. Similarly, the objective of this study, which is consistent with studies grounded in an actor-network theory centred approach, is to 'follow the actors' (Latour 2005); and learn from the actors themselves in their twist and turns as they construct their network of relationships.

While qualitative interviews have been associated with research studies that explore the relationship between people and the material world, recently the identification of multiple networks linking all kinds of materials and things has seen qualitative

interviews as a relevant technique for tracing the relationships between culture and nature (Olsen 2003). Researchers suggest that qualitative interviews give the interviewer the flexibility to ask 'follow up' questions, thus providing access to specific areas of interest that cannot be observed or accommodated through formal interview (Bryman 2008; Byrne 2004). Byrne (2004) suggests that most researchers prefer qualitative interviews to explore areas which they believe have been overlooked or misrepresented in the past. The goal of qualitative interviews in this study was to engage the participants on specific areas of interest without limiting the discussion to the observed norms and values relating to humans or their experience but also to draw attention to nonhuman things.

However, scholars have also identified the challenges of sensitivity of cultural issues in interviewing in communities. Dennis and Giangreco (1996) suggest that the role of the interviewer is to learn and adopt culturally sensitive measures from others who share the culture with the interviewees in order to enter into meaningful conversations. Similarly, being sensitive to cultural issues affects how access is negotiated into the communities (Shah 2004). Researchers suggest that the advantage of an outsider is that they can be accepted as people who can be taught as opposed to an insider (Sands, Bourjolly & Roer-Strier 2007). In contrast, insiders have the benefit of getting easy access and creating an environment that makes it easier for the interviewees to participate (Sands, Bourjolly & Roer-Strier 2007; Shah 2004). In this study, most of the participants saw the invitation to participate as an opportunity to share their cultural ways of life with me, as I was partially an insider. I grew up in a totally different setting from the urban environment of the kgotla, although still in Botswana,

where all relations are different. For these reasons, I was fit for a conversation with, and in a position to engage with, participants.

In exploring the areas of investigation with the participants, semi-structured interviews were used to allow the interviewees to tell their own stories, see Appendix Four for details. Similarly, it also allowed them to share their own unique experiences and engagement with their material world. This particular technique of learning from the actors is consistent with research tools commonly used to study things that populate the world including *Reconfiguring the Archaeological Sensibility* (Webmoor 2007), *Materiality and Memory in Photography in Western Solomon Islands* (Wright 2004) and *Material Culture and the Living Room* (Money 2007). For Power (2005), the use of interviews in the study of human-environment relations has two benefits: first, interviews allow nonhumans to emerge through their interaction with humans by focusing on the practices, and second, when interviews are conducted in the presence of nonhumans, the nonhumans draw the attention of the participants in search of memories, thoughts and perhaps through demonstration of roles.

3.3.1 Ethical considerations

Similarly, this study adopts this particular line of inquiry and thus, special attention has been given on how to engage with people through research relationships, in their own physical environment, and the effects of the outcome of the contributions that they might have on both the participants and the wider community (Kelly & Ali 2004). To address these considerations and keeping with research ethics requirement, this research was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Technology Sydney, Australia, in January 2013 (Approval No. UTS HREC REF NO. 2012–443A, see Appendix Five). A further research clearance was also approved by

the Ministry of Lands and Housing, Government of Botswana, Botswana consistent with Botswana ethics requirements in February 2013 (Reference No. CLH1/19/1 III (13) – see Appendix Six).

3.3.2 Focused Group

The recruitment process involved the initial approval from the tribal chief office, as a gatekeeper to the community, and it provided an opportunity to organise a meeting as it legitimised the research with the local community as well as providing me with initial local contacts. The initial contact with members from the community for data collection began with a focused group meeting arranged by the chief representative (head of the committee) and held in a formal office setting, at the Main Kgotla, with the seven chief advisory committee group. An introduction was delivered by the chair of the committee, explaining the reasons for the study and the need to allow me to carry out the study and their role in making sure that I had their support. It also gave the participants an opportunity to present some of their own reflections and comments on the research project. For me, the gathering was also helpful in identifying potential participants for interviews. Of the seven members who participated in the meeting, four agreed to an interview in their respective places.

3.3.3 The recruitment process

The enrolment of participants involved sharing the Information Letter (Appendix Seven) in the language of their choice (either in English or Setswana see also Appendix Eight), which outlined the scope of the study and also appealed for their participation in an interview. The letter had information about why the participants were selected, the main purpose of the research, background about me, and my association with the university and many others. This allowed the participants to

understand my role and their role if they wish to participate in interviews. They were also provided with the Information Sheet – Stage 1 (Appendix Nine) that details the area of interest to be discussed as well as highlighting the ethical considerations taken to make sure they are protected. Participants were contacted through phone calls a week later to arrange for interviews. On the day of the interview, participants were also provided with a second Information Sheet – Stage 2 (Appendix Ten) and a Consent Form (Appendix Eleven). The ethical considerations of the research were discussed with the participants before the interview to make sure they were aware of what the study involved and their rights as volunteers.

The study was based on fifteen key participant interviews, organised around three groupings. Firstly, there was an open-ended discussion with seven participants - where 3 were male and four were female, recommended by the chief sometimes referred to as the advisory council of the chief (Schapera 1955). Of the seven participants from the focused group, only four were able to take part in interviews. Three of the four interviews were conducted at the residences of the participants while one was conducted in the kgotla shelter. Secondly, five interviews were conducted with people living in the urban setting of the kgotla who voluntarily agreed to participate after I randomly initially asked them to participate. Lastly, the participants recommended I speak to other people (snowballing effect). Of the recommendations, only one list was very effective in generating leads and it was explored and five more interviews were conducted. A total of fifteen interviews were held with a total of twenty-three people where 13 were male and 10 where female.

All interviews were conducted in Setswana, see Appendix Eight for details. The duration of the interviews varied with the first set of interviews ranging between 35 minutes and one hour while the last few were no more than 25 minutes. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and translated. Table 2 summarises the list of participants and interview details. Throughout the course of the study a total of nine interview requests were either abandoned or declined: two members from the focused group, two headpersons and five local residents.

People living in the environment of the kgotla were the main focus in the recruitment of participants. Through the practice of snowballing, recommended contacts were explored to established more contacts with other people in a similar arrangement (Bloch 2004; Bryman 2008). Schensul et al. (1999) suggest that it is a useful way to benefit from the people who are involved in the social network. However, Bloch (2004) suggests that the challenge of snowballing is that there is a likelihood that the researcher end up conducting interviews within one group or network with similar experiences and thereby, might bias the research findings. In this sense, the networks are defined by the type of relations that connect sets of people, objects and activities (Mitchell 1969). In contrast, the interest of this study is in the way networks of materials and relations, which are both human and nonhuman, are put together in a network of relationships.

All interviews focused on sharing activities, such as sharing experience, labour, food and usable things, or practices that take place in the environment of the kgotla, particularly looking at the role of the different things that participate in those practices. The interviews covered most human roles in the structure of the kgotla (such as

headperson, kgotla elder and the ordinary resident) and also covered all sharing

practices analysed in this study, which are sharing decision-making, sharing

experiences and sharing labour.

Table 2: Participants interviewed in this study

Interview	Interview date	Location	Roles	Recruitment
Participants recommended by the Chief / Focused Group Meeting				
Focused group	13 March 2013	Main Kgotla (Kgotla of the Chief) *In the meeting room on the ground floor of the two story office building*	Group of Headpersons Seven participants attended including Participants 1, 2, 3 and 4 Chaired by Participant 1	Participant 1 – first contact from the Chief
Kgotla headpersons				
Participant 1	5 April 2013	Mongala kgotla *In the kgotla shelter*	Headperson *Present: Two kgotla elders*	Initial contact
Participant 2	26 March 2013	Ntwaagae kgotla *Residence and in the back courtyard*	Headperson *Present: wife and son*	Initial contact
Participant 3	26 March 2013	Modietsho kgotla *Residence and in the front yard*	Headperson	Initial contact
Participant 4	22 March 2013	Mabe kgotla *Residence and inside the house*	Headperson	Initial contact
Individuals who live in the kgotla				
Participant 5	9 April 2013	Tsima kgotla *Residence and outside the front house*	Kgotla elders *(Husband and wife)*	Randomly asked
Participant 6	11 April 2013	Tsima kgotla *Residence and inside the back house*	Kgotla elders *(Husband and wife)*	Randomly asked

Participant 7	11 April 2013	Mokonopi kgotla *Residence and outside the front house*	Kgotla elders *(Husband and wife)*	Randomly asked
Participant 8	16 April 2013	Mongala kgotla *Residence and in the front courtyard*	Kgotla elder (widow) *Present: brother*	Recommended by Participant 5
Participant 9	16 April 2013	Modukanele kgotla *Residence and inside the front house*	Kgotla elders *(Husband and wife)*	Recommended by Participant 8
Participant 10	17 April 2013	Tsima kgotla *Residence and outside the front house*	Headperson	Randomly asked
Participant 11	22 April 2013	Modukanele kgotla *Residence and in the veranda of the front house*	Resident in the kgotla	Recommended by Participant 8
Participant 12	22 April 2013	Modukanele kgotla *Residence and at the back of the front house*	Resident in the kgotla	Recommended by Participant 8
Participant 13	22 April 2013	Modukanele kgotla *Residence and at the back of the front house*	Resident in the kgotla	Recommended by Participants 11 & 12
Participant 14	24 April 2013	Tsima kgotla *Residence and in the front courtyard*	Resident in the kgotla	Randomly asked

3.4 CONCLUSION

This study adopts the methodological strategies of learning from the actors themselves through qualitative interview, observations, photographic resources and discourse analysis, consistent with the methodological strategies commonly used in actor-network theory studies, to explore the role of nonhuman entities in sharing practices in the environment of the kgotla. The techniques of interviews and discourse analysis allowed me to trace the relational practices of actor-networks as they construct their world in sharing practices. Also consistent with actor-network theory strategy, the chapter has reflected on my role as a researcher in compiling the research actor networks they are describing.

The following three chapters articulate the findings of the research. Chapter Four explores the ordering within the urban environment, which is materialised through roles, things that are place defining and movable things. Chapter Five then explores the role of things that are place defining, roles and the movable things in multiple sharing practices while Chapter Six examines how community resilience becomes an effect or outcome produced by those associations in the urban environment.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SYMBOLIC ORDER IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT OF THE KGOTLA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the symbolic order in the urban environment of the kgotla. The chapter has four sections. The first section briefly sets the ground for understanding the established symbolic order from the literature point of view. However, of interest for this study is how the understanding in this thesis depart from the rest of the literature by illustrating that the order is played out through roles, physical environment and other endless material things that support human relationships in various practices. The second section explores how roles are thought through within different orderings that inform human relationships. In particular, the interest is on how the nonhumans are helping people to recognise those roles and a sense of order. The third section illustrates how space-defining things of the urban environment of the kgotla, such as spaces and structures, support the roles that inform human relationships. Lastly, the chapter explores how movable things help people to recognise the symbolic order and the different kind of roles. In Chapter Five, the analysis demonstrates in detail how these entities; roles, spaces and structures and movable things are put together in three specific sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla.

4.1 EXPLORING THE ESTABLISHED SYMBOLIC ORDER

The symbolic order of the kgotla is established in the literature. In its simplest form, the symbolic order refers to the order that is made manifest through roles, things that are space defining (structures and spaces) and through things in the way people

operate in various activities. The most significant contribution was by Schapera in the 1930s in which the anthropologist made repeated visits to learn from the accounts of the local people how they make sense of the kgotla (Schapera & Roberts 1975). From such studies and many others that followed, Schapera (1953; 1955; 1972) noted the interrelationship between the built form and the way people operate in various practices. In the order of the kgotla, hierarchy is a particular way in which these relationships are understood (Fewster 2006; Moumakwa 2011; Schapera 1953; 1955; 1972; Sekgarametso 1995). Hierarchy has been at the centre of all discussions in the literature, but in the context of this study, the order that is established is played out through roles and the physical environment and other endless materials that support these roles.

In the environment of the kgotla, roles are organised through the way the built form is put together and also through the way human relationships, or 'ranks' to use Schapera's (1953) term, are understood and agreed upon. Accordingly, the symbolic order is made present through places, positions and things they take on. For instance, to occupy a place or position on either side of the most senior individual (such as in the way residences are arranged or in a gathering) makes a difference and it has a symbolic association (Sekgarametso 1995). This means that it is clear to everyone what roles support other roles. Hierarchy and rank are the important things that have been established by the existing research on the symbolic order of the kgotla. These understandings give a background on the kinds of relationships in the way people operate in the urban environment of the kgotla in various practices.

While the fieldwork in this study reaffirms the symbolic order, as described above, it also questions the absence of material things and their role in the urban fabric of the kgotla. Thus, given this background understanding on the ordering, two important considerations are observed; first, people are born into (inherit) a set of understandings that everybody living in this environment shares; and second, they are also initiated into a set of practices that involves a set of material things. These elements include things that are place defining in the urban fabric such as residences, kgotla wall and kgotla clearing and they also include things that are movable such as chairs, clothes and blankets that participate in the symbolic order. People live, and have continued to live together, based on these understandings that everyone knows which role will support them and in which way. There is still a strong regard for order, rank or seniority in the way people operate. For instance, seniority still plays an important role in these communities and it is reflected in the use of the word 'elder'to establish or position a person within the order. Participant 2 said:

> Then you include the other elders who are concerned, that is the older siblings and the younger siblings respectively according to their seniority.

This study contributes to the understanding established by these scholars by suggesting that, in addition to the roles people inhabit, the physical structures of the urban fabric and movable things also participate and play a role in the symbolic order. This particular understanding of the role of things suggests that the idea of a symbolic order is not only limited to humans but is open to other diverse materials and things that give shape to different kinds of negotiations in various practices. For instance, in the relationship between the headperson and the rest of the people living in the urban environment, the alignment of the kraal gate with the residence(s) plays a meaningful role within which roles are understood or the symbolic order is manifest. Participant 3 said:

> In the kgotla, the kraal gate faces the eldest one's yard, as a sign that he is the owner of the kgotla, the eldest one.

Some scholars have briefly noted some of these relationships in the urban environment of the kgotla, but they have not fully established how they play into the symbolic order of the kgotla. Because this interpretation of the symbolic order draws on existing literature and the data collected for this study under the overarching theoretical lens provided by actor-network theory, this work contributes to the literature in its focus on the nonhuman as well as human roles as participants in the symbolic order. The study suggests that roles, structures and spaces, and movable things assigned to humans in the environment of the kgotla is an established process through which the symbolic order informs human relationships. This study explores 1) the way the built structures and other place defining things such as trees participate and reinforce the symbolic order by supporting roles; and 2) the way movable things also play into the symbolic order.

4.2 ROLES

Exploring roles and relationships that give rise to the symbolic order.

This section explores and understands roles, the particular kind of arrangement of roles and the idea of order that is manifest in the urban environment of the kgotla, which create some kind of continuity and stability. Previous studies have recognised attributes such as age or seniority, gender and lineage as the main factors that determine which role one can take on (Schapera 1953; 1955; 1972; Schapera & Roberts 1975). However, other scholars have also built on this and suggest that sometimes social, economic and political attributes are key players in how way people are recruited into their roles. Some studies suggest that roles were allocated in relation

to responsibility (Sekgarametso 1995), division of labour by gender (Sekgarametso 1995; Van Waarden 1989), and distribution of power by lineage or seniority (Fewster 2006; Reid et al. 1997; Roberts 1985; Schapera 1972). In contrast, some studies have also shown that this perception is changing in the contemporary urban environment of the kgotla, so that sometimes lineage and sometimes gender are not the things that determine which role one can take on (Moumakwa 2011; Schapera & Roberts 1975). Roles are still there and the hierarchy that holds those roles in place is still there, but who takes on those roles has become more open to other qualities such as gender and age. This study confirms the latter and explores and understands how nonhuman things that are deployed through the physical environment of the kgotla help people to articulate or recognise those roles and define a sense of order.

Some of the underlying entities identified in this study that help to hold a particular kind of order in roles and the way in which the established order is played out do not exist in the literature. The idea that order is partly a function of the physical environment but also of how people conduct themselves in negotiations suggests that there are firstly, certain kinds of interrelationships between people and roles. Secondly, those relationships need to be supported by the material world. The understanding of human roles is required to explore the role of nonhuman things in producing this order, which play a meaningful part in various activities. This section demonstrates how the following roles in the urban environment of the kgotla shape the established order: the headperson (commonly referred to as headman), kgotla elders, family elders, parents and children. Two important considerations are explored; first, the way existing roles are organised; and second, the way roles are

being renegotiated and reorganised. This illustration of roles shows how the urban environment of the kgotla is providing a stable environment for change.

4.2.1 Existing roles and the way roles are organised

At the top of the hierarchical structure is the role of the 'eldest' or the headperson among all community members. Some of the main duties associated with this role include mediating in conflict matters and other activities, assisting the local people during troubled times and acting as an intermediary between the community and the local authority (Schapera 1953; 1972). The role of the headperson appeals to the place of the kgotla. The way this role operates is supported by structural elements of the urban environment, which help people either to articulate or recognise where to go. Participant 1 said:

> Whenever you arrived, you would face the kraal gate, when you face there… the kraal gate is facing that yard's gate. You would then know that the yard whose gate is facing the kraal's gate is the eldest one.

The physical elements of the urban environment give support to the 'oldest one' (see Section 4.3.1 for details). The kraal gate, the yard gate and the residence of the 'eldest' together establish some kind of symbolic relationship that orders the urban fabric of the kgotla. From there, the residences either on the left or right of the 'eldest one' have a symbolic relationship, whether one is closely related to the headperson or not (Sekgarametso 1995). They symbolise the hierarchical order. This study confirms this ordering and suggests that sometimes these relationships are discussed under a particular kind of arrangement based on seniority, which is based on lineage. The positions of the residences are also understood as a function of lineage. Participant 1 said:

> From there their position in the kgotla is determined by their seniority according to their lineage as they know it.

The quotation above illustrates that there is also a defining relationship between the physical location of the residences and the place that one holds within the order. This relationship is symbolic. It holds in place a particular kind of order so that those who are highly positioned in the hierarchical structure, sometimes referred to as kgotla elders, are associated with the right side of the residence of the eldest, with those lower or not related positioned on the left side. Indeed the kgotla elder(s) is the second highest position in the ordering and it is 'formalised' in the way people are operating. The main role of the kgotla elder(s) is to assist the headperson in all matters concerning the local community, such as conflict resolution. Participant 3 said:

> When no resolution is reached, the issue is brought to the kgotla elder, who would be the most senior of them. When the kgotla elder is unable to resolve it, he takes it further to the headman who would then take it further to the chief if it is still unresolved.

The quotation gives a clear hierarchical relationship in how the two roles discussed so far are organised and the way people conduct their affairs in the urban environment of the kgotla. For Schapera (1953), this is based on the traditional belief founded on the basis that all members are obliged to advise and help one another. The representation of their residences in the way the built form is organised is a constant reminder in the life of the people that they can rely on their support in times of crises.

A third role is the role of the family elder(s), sometimes referred to as older siblings. Participant 2 said:

> Everything that needs to be done is first discussed inside the house. Then you include the other elders who are concerned, that is the older siblings and the younger siblings respectively according to their seniority.

The above quotation illustrates first, the role of the family elder and second, the way order or seniority works. It is by this established ordering that people know where

they belong within the hierarchy and they understand what role supports them. This enhances and continues the practice that everyone living in the urban environment of the kgotla understands and values. The house, a material thing, supports the claim. This shows the interest of the house in shaping this valued practice. See Section 4.4 for details.

In the fourth position is the role of parents. The main role of parents is to support one another in many activities such as sharing the responsibilities of raising the children or those at the bottom of the hierarchy. Participant 2 said:

> The time when a child could be punished by any parent, not necessarily their own, was the best because children were not wayward as they knew that if any elder sees me doing wrong they would punish me.

The playing together of the children in the shared space of the kgotla clearing facilitates this arrangement. A participant in the focused group meeting said:

> For us to know each other back then, we played in a central playground in the middle of our kgotla.

As illustrated in the quotations, the role of the parents was connected to the way people live in the urban environment of the kgotla. People value the idea that the children belong to the community, and the physical organisation of the kgotla is crucial in how the role of parenting is played out. The urban environment gives the parents the authority to take action against any emerging poor discipline at any time without first involving the family members of the children. It is within these established relations that roles that people take on and the relationships between those roles are understood and adhered to in various practices in the urban environment of the kgotla.

4.2.2 Emerging trends in the way roles are negotiated

From the literature, scholars have indicated the shifting trend in the way roles are negotiated. For instance, Fewster (2006) observed that the role of headperson has become more open to other aspects of life than lineage. The scholar discussed the way the role of the headman was contested and noted the disruption in the established order as a result of headmen residing outside the setting of the kgotla (Fewster 2006). This shift brings new ways of negotiating the role of a headperson, which was not initially common in regional towns because the local people only know that such roles have to be attained through lineage. Similarly, a recent study by Moumakwa (2011) showed that women have now taken on the responsibilities of heading the kgotla. In their later study, Schapera and Roberts (1975) also observed a shifting trend in the way the roles of family elders were becoming more open to other qualities of life than male gender. Similarly, these scholars observed that women headed some of the households, in a new arrangement. This new negotiation of roles brought new dimensions to the roles that women play in the environment of the kgotla. Women are no longer limited to domestic activities as previously indicated. The fieldwork for this study supports these findings. In addition, the study suggests that the way in which the built form participates and reinforces the symbolic order has shifted over time.

Two observations are made on these trends. Firstly, there is openness in the role of the kgotla headperson, evidenced by the balanced representation of men and women at the presentation I made to the advisory committee (focused group meeting), which was organised by the chief. From the literature, the people who constitute the advisory group were usually close male relatives to the chief and other male heads within the entire community (Fewster 2006; Moumakwa 2011; Reid et al. 1997; Roberts 1985;

Schapera 1953; 1955; Sekgarametso 1995). However, the representation of women as kgotla heads as well as advisors to the chief illustrate that the role of the 'headman' has become more open to other qualities of life than just male gender. Secondly, there is a shift in the way the built form plays into the order of the urban environment, which I observed when following the relationships between the participant who took part in the focused group meeting and the built form. In an interview setting in the kgotla shelter, where all relations including the rule of the fireplace and seating arrangement were observed (see Section 4.3 for details), Participant 1 said:

> A long time ago, whenever you arrived, you would face the kraal gate, when you face there… the kraal gate is facing that yard's gate.

From the above quotation, it emerged that the residence on the opposite side of the cattle kraal belonged to one of the kgotla elders but not the headman as expected. Thus, the way the symbolic order is manifest in the way people operate does not translate or has little to do with the built form. This is mainly because the headman does not live within the urban setting as dictated by the symbolic order of the urban fabric of the kgotla as initially conceived. In this instance, the symbolic order that is reinforced by built form such as the cattle kraal and the residence have escaped this association. However, the symbolic order is only manifest through the way people and things interact in various practices and there is less interest in other aspects such as structures or gender.

There is also a shifting trend in the way the role of parents is being re-negotiated in the urban environment of the kgotla. Participant 2 said:

> Nowadays when the child has not been censured at home, and you see him/her doing wrong and you try to admonish them they would look at you in a funny way.

As illustrated above, this represents the general concern of the parents since the practice of disciplining the children does not interest the whole village now.

Participant 2 said:

> This is all because we have lost our Setswana culture, which dictates that a child belongs to the whole village… when a child could be punished by any parent, not necessarily their own.

People value the idea that children belong to the community and thus the boundaries of the village or urban fabric, shaped by the material world, determine the extent to which one belongs. This belonging has a meaningful role in the way children are raised. Likewise, under this arrangement, children living in the urban environment of the kgotla 'belong to the whole village'. To belong here is to appeal to shared participation and shared responsibility of parents or people in a common project of bringing up the children. The established relations and materials of the urban environment allow the possibilities and commitment of such roles to exist. This study has indicated how roles might be considered from an actor-network theory perspective and how they contribute towards establishing a certain kind of order. The following sections demonstrate how structures and spaces of the urban environment and the movable things are negotiated and re-negotiated in the established order.

4.3 PHYSICAL STRUCTURES AND SPACES

Exploring the role of the physical structures and spaces that participate in the symbolic order and how structures and spaces are played out in various sharing practices.

This section illustrates how the established symbolic order is played out through things that are place defining in the urban environment of the kgotla. From the literature, the way structures and spaces operate in the setting of the kgotla has always being discussed as an outcome of human activities (Reid et al. 1997; Schapera 1953;

1955; 1972; Sekgarametso 1995). According to these scholars and others, structures and spaces only give support to human activities. The literature discusses the relationships between built things and humans in three ways. Firstly, scholars have established that certain places in the environment of the kgotla hold a particular kind of order such that men are associated with the central place of the kgotla while women are associated with the periphery, where residences are situated (Reid et al. 1997; Schapera 1955; 1972; Sekgarametso 1995). This is the overriding principle that creates a boundary between people in their everyday life as well as in various activities.

Secondly, the literature discusses the cattle kraal and kraal gate arrangement as a significant aspect in the ordering of the urban environment. Some studies discuss the relationships between the cattle kraal and the residence of the headperson as the primary mode of ordering of the urban environment of the kgotla (Fewster 2006; Sekgarametso 1995). In particular, that the residence of the headman is always built facing the cattle kraal. Consistent with this ordering, Sekgarametso (1995) argues that thereafter the position of each residence within the setting has a bearing on whether one is related to the headman (and how) or not. To occupy a place on the right or left side of the headman or even on the opposite side makes a difference and it has a symbolic association with whether a person is trusted or not (Fewster 2006; Sekgarametso 1995). Roles are mapped into the physical environment of the kgotla. This arrangement between people and structures is paramount to the way people engage in their everyday life and in various activities.

Thirdly, there is the ordering within the individual residences. Studies suggest that the arrangement of buildings or structures within the residence were organised according to the front and back of the residence (Sekgarametso 1995). This particular ordering was centred on everyday domestic activities such as cooking and sleeping. Activities are mapped into structures or spaces such that the front of the residence was associated with cooking and sleeping spaces and also spaces such as the courtyard, where visitors are entertained (Schapera 1953; Sekgarametso 1995). The back of the residence was associated with structures responsible for providing storage such as granaries.

These accounts are not dissimilar to the data gathered in this study, but the actor-network theory lens makes it possible to follow things that are place defining and understand the role they play in the construction of the world. For instance, in this study structures such as the cattle kraal and the gate are not just passive but they do something in the way they engage with other material things and relations in conveying authority in the environment of the kgotla. They are not separated from the place within the hierarchy, but they are indeed part of what defines hierarchy.

The study argues that as people construct their activities through their experience of having lived and participated in activities, the various parts that constitute the urban environment can then be realised by paying attention to the space defining entities as they engage in their struggle to enrol other entities, both human and nonhuman, in their association in sharing practices (Callon 1986b; Latour 2005). The presence of such things that are space defining are claimed to validate the role they play in the established order in the environment of the kgotla.

Roles are indicated by physical structures in terms of where certain activities take place, such as a house, courtyard, kgotla clearing, windbreak poles of the kgotla wall and many others. They may also be indicated by spaces defined by naturally occurring features such as a tree in the kgotla clearing or kraal gate and many others not mentioned here. Participant 3 said:

> When hearing a case and it gets too hot, you seek shelter under the shade of the tree at the kgotla clearing.

This section asks how these structures and spaces are operating in the established order in the urban environment of the kgotla. What are the ongoing values of these structures and spaces of the urban fabric of the kgotla in the lives of people in regional towns? In responding to these questions, the study demonstrates that structures and spaces are not passive – they do things and they participate together with other endless things in shaping and maintaining the established order in the urban environment of the kgotla. The study argues that structures and spaces do three things: firstly, they hold in place the established symbolic order; secondly, they reinforce the established order and help people recognise which role is in play; and thirdly, they participate in the performance of roles. The study also examines how certain things have continued over time and different materials have also come in to support the established symbolic order, as the ways of life that shaped the historic urban fabric of the kgotla are being challenged or renegotiated.

4.3.1 Hold in place the established symbolic order

The structural elements that demarcate space in the environment of the kgotla also impact the way people gather and engage in sharing practices. They shape the ways in which people inhabit those environments. Participant 4 said:

> When giving advice, the women do it in the yard. The woman is advised in the yard and the man at the kraal.

The spatial divisions within the urban environment, in this case the residence and the kraal, give shape to the gatherings in community activities. In a similar way, Murdoch (1998, p. 361) reminds us that 'spaces are arranged so that certain types of action can be conducted'. The way specific practices emerge in this particular setting is a product of diverse materials and relations that include various components of the urban environment as well as the naturally occurring features such as trees. Understood in this way, this section shows how certain spatial divisions, in this case the wall of the kgotla, cattle kraal, courtyard and the naturally occurring elements, offer themselves to various activities in the life of the community. All these elements offer different ways of supporting or engaging with people in different sharing practices, and in the everyday life of the urban environment. Participant 10 said:

> It would be very wrong if there is no kraal because the kraal helps us to pen the bride price cattle in it, they arrive in there. The bride price cattle can then be easily identified when in the kraal.

As illustrated in the quotation, the fence of the cattle kraal offers an enclosure that is mostly used for holding domestic animals such as cattle or donkeys. It offers a close containment of animals with plenty of space for them to move around and eat grass or drink water if these resources are provided. These animals offer a number of benefits to the owners such as financial support when they are sold, means of transport, source of meat, payment of debt or, in the case of cattle, are given as bride price during events such as weddings. The cattle kraal found in the urban setting of the kgotla offers a holding place or a temporary accommodation for animals. The unevenly spaced wooden studs and the fence of the cattle kraal also have a particular way of recognising the different kinds of practices in the environment of the kgotla. The fence demarcates space into an enclosure that makes an important contribution in

various cultural activities. In a ritual wedding for example, the enclosure offers a containment that is used for holding the cattle given as bride price and is also a space for preparing the meat reserved for a particular group of people (see Chapter Five for more details). Participant 6 said:

> The meat reserved for the uncles is cooked at the kraal there, pots are taken there and meat is cooked in the kraal.

The cattle kraal is centrally positioned and thus it is generally found in an open and semi-public space in the environment of the kgotla. The physical location, the height of the wooden fence and the see-through properties of the fence, offer an open process to show and identify the cattle given as bride price during ritual weddings. These qualities associated with its location, the openness of the cattle kraal (one can move around the structure) and the irregular wooden stud and wire are not found in boundary structures such as in the fencing of the residences despite all being boundary elements that demarcate space. The boundary structure of the residences appeals to other forms of arrangement such as steel post and wire, brick and mortar and many other contemporary forms of building elements.

Similarly, and as established in the literature, the wooden frame of the kgotla wall and its alliances participates in shaping sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla (Reid et al. 1997; Schapera 1953; 1955; Sekgarametso 1995). From the literature, scholars have established that men would occasionally sit by the fireplace in the kgotla as a sign of acting out their role in the activities. Men would spend most of the time in the kgotla and thus protect the residence by observing the entire environment by being at this place (Schapera 1955). This study confirms this position and demonstrates that it is also the role of structures and spaces that give people the 'right to go and ask what is happening'. Participant 7 said:

> When you are in the kgotla and I had told you that I won't be around, when you see something happening at my yard, you have the right to go and ask what is happening.

The 'right to go and ask' is influenced by the representation of an array of material things and relations, such as cattle kraal, gate, kgotla clearing, hierarchy and many other things, which have the interest to support this valuable practice in the life of the people but not the 'power' to do so.

The structural elements of the kgotla wall include the tightly placed wooden studs, which have an opening into the cattle kraal. Besides its primary role of demarcating space and providing protection against the wind, the wall also creates a boundary between people and the way they engage in sharing practices. Participant 2 said:

> When you see the men sitting by the fire at the kgotla, then you would know that there is something that they are gathered there for; when there is a marriage, a case to be tried or someone has died, then you will see the men gathered at the kgotla.

This represents the shifting nature of the practice of staying in the urban environment of the kgotla, with or without any activity going on around, into an ordering that is symbolic. Thus, the gathering of people and things in contemporary kgotla has a bearing on activities that are shared by all rather than how it used to be, as clearly articulated in the above quotation. Contemporary gatherings are observed as a way of playing into the established symbolic order of the environment of the kgotla. The relationships between the kgotla wall, men and their alliances are reconstituted through the way in which the physical structures and people are put together in different sharing practices.

4.3.2 Reinforce the order in the urban fabric of the kgotla

The hierarchical relationship of the physical elements of the urban fabric of the kgotla is established in the literature. These relationships that are mapped into the physical environment also play into the way people interact in the everyday activities and in sharing practices. For instance, the kgotla wall and its alliances offer a place that is mostly used by a particular kind of group of people in all forms of activities. Participant 13 said:

> The men never hold their discussions in the yard; they hold them in the kgotla.
>
> The men are the ones that I mostly see removing the grass. I have heard that the women never clean the kgotla.

Men are associated with the responsibility of cleaning the place of the kgotla which is predominately used by men during various activities, and the open space of the kgotla clearing, which is normally used by children as a playground. The place of the kgotla and the kgotla clearing reinforce the set of understandings of the role of different elements in the urban environment of the kgotla.

Men sit in the kgotla to offer their support, sharing their experiences, negotiation skills, and the willingness to participate and are in turn served their meal in this semi-public space.

Similarly, women are associated with the responsibility of taking care of all the activities that take place in the residence. Women are linked with all forms of activities that relate to the residence such as informing others of communal activities. Participant 6 said:

> As for the women we are ones who go house to house informing other women about a function.

Roles are mapped into physical structures that constitute the urban environment. The structural elements and spaces together with their alliances play an important role in recruiting and enlisting the support of people into their association in various sharing practices, as shown in Figure 3 and Figure 4 below.

Figure 3: **Men, open space of the kgotla clearing, naturally occurring trees, food , chairs, clothing and the tightly placed wooden wall structure**

When people are having meals here in a ritual gathering, they are with the trees, clothing, chairs, the kgotla wall and many other material things and relations and they operate as unit through which human relationships are understood. Source: Author**.**

Figure 4: Men, open space of the kgotla clearing, naturally occurring trees, clothing and the wooden structure

When people are having meals here in ritual practices, they are with the trees, clothing, chairs, the kgotla and many other material things and relations and they operate as a unit. Source: Author.

However, the wooden wall of the kgotla and the kraal respond to the changing environments in ways that are specific to their characteristics, often through decay as the natural wood is not treated. It has to be replaced after a certain period of time or the wall may opt to offer itself to other forms of materials in its association. The new materials such as stone and mortar step in and join the association and give shape to human relationships established in the earlier works of the wooden wall structure of the kgotla wall. Unlike the finished and plastered wall of the residence, the stone and mortar wall retains the unfinished and raw qualities similar to the uneven studs of the wooden wall. The structural modifications offered by the stone and mortar arrangement are in part an effort by people to reduce the ongoing maintenance of the structure and the constraint that the wall puts on an environment that is unsustainable.

Likewise, the role of the fireplace in ordering in the urban environment 'fits' in well within this arrangement. Just like other entities in its associations, the fireplace helps people to recognise the different sets of human relationships and various elements of the urban environment.

I observed the role of the fireplace in an interview with one of the participant who attended the focused group meeting, which was organised by the chief. On arriving at the kgotla for the interview, I was welcomed by a group of local elders, including the headperson, who were already waiting in the kgotla clearing. The interview or meeting was held in the kgotla shelter (*loobo* in Setswana), thus confirming that the place of the kgotla is a place where visitors are entertained (Sekgarametso 1995). Similarly, it confirms Schapera (1953)'s position that the kgotla clearing is occasionally used for official meetings. The role of the fireplace place and the seating were observed (see also Section 4.3 for details). However, on following the relationships between the cattle kraal and the kraal gate, Participant 1 said:

> When you find the kraal facing that yard, you would know that the person staying there is the oldest.
>
> The most senior headman in the kgotla does not live within the settings of the kgotla.

It emerged that the residence on the opposite side of the cattle kraal belongs to one of the elders in the kgotla but not the headperson as expected. Thus, hierarchical order in an interview setting in the place of the kgotla is observed, but that does not translate into the idea that a similar kind of ordering that is embedded in the physical structures is manifested through the way people and things are put together. This is because that headman does not live within the setting as dictated by the physical elements of the kgotla as initially conceived. In this instance, the relationships between people and things have shifted and the symbolic order that is reinforced by structures and spaces

such as the cattle kraal and the residence have escaped this association. The physical environment of the kgotla is providing a stable environment for the symbolic order to shift. The residence of the headperson and the kraal gate relationship is an intermediary in this arrangement. Roles are there and the hierarchy that holds those roles in place is there, but the things that reinforce the order have shifted or are shifting.

On the role of the residence in reinforcing the symbolic order, this study suggests that the separation of activities based on roles is still there but it has enlisted new materials and relations in its arrangement. For instance, the front side of the house, which is mostly associated with spaces where visitors are entertained, played into the way the activities such as interviews, wedding gatherings, and funerals emerged during fieldwork. Similarly, activities, which are associated with the role of women for instance, play into these symbolically placed elements of the residence such as the veranda or courtyard which are located in the front end of the residence, Participant 12 said:

> During funeral proceedings for women, the deceased is placed in the veranda in the morning until she is taken to the graveyard.

Roles are mapped into structures and spaces. This study suggests that the physical organisation of structures and spaces has significantly shifted so that sometimes structures, which were initially represented as an isolated entity, like the cooking or sleeping place, have now come into association with other structures and spaces. Spaces are still there and the ordering that holds those places together is still there or is being renegotiated in a different way and the things that reinforce the order have also shifted altogether.

4.3.3 Participate in the performance of roles

Participant 3 said:

> In the kgotla, the kraal gate faces the eldest one's yard, as a sign that he is the owner of the kgotla, the eldest one.

The association between the place of the kgotla and the kraal gate offers an insight into the role of the 'eldest one' in the way they interest and enlist the 'the eldest one's yard' in their association. Through this arrangement, the different parts of the urban fabric help people to recognise the role of the headperson and the different parts of the urban environment. They give order to the urban setting. The residence of the headperson draws on these relationships and gives symbolic connection or presence to the individual who lives in a specific residence, 'the eldest one' role that they play in their community. The kraal, in association with the kraal gate, enlists the support of the residence to give authority to certain people over others. These elements of the urban fabric participate in their own right in shaping and ordering the urban environment.

In following these entities in their struggle to enlist new actors in their association, the study observes that sometimes these relationships shift so that the person who occupies the role of the headperson moves out of the residence and builds somewhere within or outside the setting of the kgotla. The study establishes that such changes will most definitely undo the established relations and the question is whether the person who remains behind in the aligned residence automatically becomes the headperson because of the cattle kraal, gate and residence relationships. In what way(s) can the order be re-established? In responding to these questions, the study observes that the relationship has to be realigned if the headperson moves within the urban environment. Participant 1 said:

> When the older one wants to realign the gate, the one who sanctioned that kgotla to be there is then called, the kraal gate is not just realigned, it has to be reconstructed.

This realignment of the physical structures, and hence the order, represents the interest of the kraal gate and its alliance in giving authority to the 'older one'. This particular attention to the interest of these relations and the headperson here explains the source of power of the kraal gate and may become an obligatory passage point. This shows that the role of the headperson is influenced by the representation mobilised by an 'alliance' of actors and intermediaries – residence, cattle kraal, kraal gate and many others not mentioned here, who on their own have the interest to give support to the role of the headperson but not the 'power' to do so. In turn, the inconsistent position of 'power' suggests that the role of a headperson is based on acquiring the support and participation of other materials and relations in the urban fabric of the kgotla.

The structural wall of the kgotla offers an insight into who can participate in the activities. It creates a boundary between particular groups of people such as between men and women, boys and girls. Participant 12 said:

> As you see that the kgotla is facing over there, you would never see me grabbing a spade and saying I am going to remove the grass at the entrance, no. Even when there is a funeral, you would never see a woman going to make the fire at the kgotla, I grew up knowing that it is men who do that.

The gathering of men in the place of the kgotla, the engagement of men in cleaning the kgotla, and the practice of fire making in the place of the kgotla during various community activities is an established order within which the symbolic order of the environment of the kgotla informs human relationships.

Within such an arrangement, the fireplace and the wooden wall of the kgotla also participate in the way human relationships are understood and the way hierarchy is

106

played out through the set of positions, such as who can sit along the wall. Participant 14 said:

> Just as you see a kgotla like this, this side is suitable for our elders. It is well protected from wind and every one can see them.

The wall of the kgotla plays into the performance of roles, and roles are determined by the place where one sits in the kgotla because some places are regarded as 'suitable for our elders' (see quotation above) or are reserved for the kgotla elders. Thus, the ordering is symbolic. Similarly, to occupy a seat on the right or left of the fireplace also has a symbolic relationship with whether a person is trusted or not. This representation of things illustrates the interest of these entities in their association in holding in place a particular kind of order so that everyone knows where they can sit except for those who are not familiar with this kind of setting such as me. But the round concrete form of the fireplace worked to re-orient and guide me. The local people represented a stronger association with the concrete element in the kgotla shelter in redirecting me to around the fireplace. Upon entering the place, I located an empty chair on the right side of the interviewee (headperson), which he intended to occupy for the purpose of data collection. Thus, the fireplace has a particular way of bringing people together as a group, within which roles and order, which facilitate sharing practices, are understood and adhered to.

I, having grown up in an environment where all relations are completely different and are not connected with the place of the kgotla, can claim that since the fireplace did not work in revealing or performing the order, it was mainly because he did not grow up knowing such relations. On the other hand, the local people who claim to be the fireplace's representative may agree that since it did not work for me, then it was because I lost connection with the values placed on this element. This negotiation

uncovers the lack of connection between what local people value and myself. I did not

have an interest in the value placed on the fireplace, but instead focused on securing a

chair to sit on in order to conduct an interview. In this interaction, the fireplace did

not do anything but instead it was the local people who built the connection between

the fireplace and me.

The fireplace and its associates thus define a program of action or behaviour that

takes into consideration the kgotla wall, people, chairs and clothes, which are

supposed to act (Akrich 1992). For Latour, this association is structural since

materials, roles and even hierarchy that hold in place those roles are 'consolidated and

preserved by material objects' (Cited in Murdoch 1998, p. 360). Thus, the fireplace is

observed in the seating and no one is allowed to pass through it, as Participant 4 said:

> Just as you can see the children playing in the *patlelo*. Back in the day, though, they
> didn't play at the fireplace, where the men sit… and no one is allowed to pass
> through there.

Furthermore, the kgotla wall would do nothing on its own, but it does something in

the way it interests the fireplace to give order for the purpose of community

gatherings and activities that take place in the kgotla. The structural organisation of

the urban fabric of the kgotla can therefore be referred to as a relational effect where

people and things come together to give rise to a stable spatial arrangement.

Lastly, it emerges that new material things in the form of concrete have also come in

to give shape to the fireplace. Thus, roles, hierarchy, fireplace and the kgotla wall are

all there, but different materials have come in to give support to the established order

that people value in the environment of the kgotla. Similarly, the way the materials

shift over time serves to represent the re-important continuities, where some

connections between physical elements that sustain various sharing practices, which are valuable in the way people are operating, are reconfigured. They help understand the way in which people are creatively bringing non-human things, such as concrete, into supporting the things that are important to the people in the urban environment of the kgotla.

4.4 MOVABLE THINGS

Exploring the role of movable things that participate in the symbolic order and how they are played out in various sharing practices.

This section explores the role of movable things by paying attention to the way they operate in the symbolic order of the kgotla. Studies have shown that movable things are important participants in the understanding of human relationships (Huffman 1986; Schapera 1953; 1955; Sekgarametso 1995). A significant contribution in this understanding was made by Schapera (1953; 1955) who established the connection between the practice of looking after cattle and men. For instance, Schapera (1953) argues that the association between cattle and men holds in place a particular kind of order that explains why men are always associated with the place of the kgotla. Understood in this way, the cattle assigned to men is an established process through which the symbolic order informs the way roles participate in various practices in the environment of the kgotla.

However, a further study by Sekgarametso (1995) builds on this and provides another way within which movable things help understand the symbolic order of the kgotla. Sekgarametso (1995) argues that there is an imaginary line that passes through the cattle kraal, which both people and the cattle use when entering the setting of the kgotla. This suggestion is the first to set out clearly the nature of the relationship

between movable things, in this case the cattle, and the way they inform human relationships. In this case, the imaginary line informs us about the person who stays on the opposite site of the cattle kraal, the one the people and the cattle have to seek approval from when entering the urban setting, that is the headperson. Nevertheless, the specific contribution of the cattle, in this case, in the ordering is missing in the literature. The cattle and many other movable things only come in to provide support to human relationships. Thus, this study demonstrates that movable things observed through the actor-network theory lens play an important role in understanding the symbolic order that informs human relationships in various sharing practices. They too are always under constant negotiations and re-negotiations with humans and other endless material things in ordering and re-ordering the environment of the kgotla.

This section of the thesis demonstrates that movable things help to hold a certain kind of symbolic order so that roles are mapped into things that are movable which include chairs, clothing, animals and food. Roles are identified by the type of dress, the kind of food people eat and the chair they sit on that come in to reinforce or give weight to those roles. Participant 9 said:

> This is because there is a time when men eat the meat meant for the men only, and this is where they should eat it, at the kraal.

The meat holds some kind of order that informs us about who can participate in the ritual process. This shows how significant eating meat is to the underlying order, which provides a mechanism for getting people to play their particular roles so that the whole community can work together in their activities. Thus, movable things are actors in their own right. The study argues that movable things do things and that they participate in shaping and ordering human relationships. In this section, the study suggests that movable things do two things: firstly, they help people to recognise,

which role is in play; and secondly, they help in the performance of the role in practices.

4.4.1 Help people to recognise which role is in play

Movable things play into the way human relationships are understood in the urban environment of the kgotla. As shown before, the significance of the relationship between a domestic animal and a cow and the ways of doing things in all forms of life cannot be underestimated. For example, in a ritual wedding the receiving of the cows paid, as bride price in the place of the kgotla is an example. Participant 4 said:

> Cattle for the bride price come here… right here in this kraal.

Participant 6 said:

> We would not have anything to say, except wait for the cattle at the kgotla.

The waiting of people in the place of the kgotla helps people to recognise the kind of installation of group that is in play. But can anyone participate in such a group? In following this question, I observed that there are some gatekeepers to these kinds of ordering which include marriage status and clothing. Participant 14 said:

> If you are a married man, you should not be wearing like young boys lest you are mistaken for boys and denied the space in the kgotla.

Being married and clothes play into the kind of role one can take on. Roles are determined by marriage status and the clothes people wear. This representation of clothes illustrates the interest of movable things to give greater weight to the symbolic order. A particular kind of order that everyone understands except for those who are not familiar with the practice is manifested in the way people are operating. For instance, in the case of welcoming the cows, they represent a stronger association with particular groups of people than others. Participant 6 said:

> After they have welcomed them and the cattle are penned, we run to them [cattle] scaring them with our blankets.

Only the married women would be ululating at this juncture.

There is interplay between the garments or blankets, married women and the practice of ululating (howling) in welcoming the cattle, see Figure 5. The blankets and other entities help people to recognise the role of married individuals as gatekeepers in this arrangement. However, blankets are made according to the manufacturer's intention, to provide warmth especially during cold conditions or just to cover the body particularly in private spaces (because they are associated with sleeping). In this specific arrangement, they did not result in the maker's intended outcome. Instead, in this particular kind of association, blankets enable human relationships to be realised. The association of clothing and material things such as dresses, blankets and head clothes represents some kind of ordering that determines who can participate. They are like gatekeepers to this arrangement. These entities apply to married women only. Clothing and material things such as blankets establish a certain kind of order that determines the kind of role one can take on.

On the other hand, the receiving of cows by men is wrapped around the responsibility of men of looking after the cattle, which is not found in other domestic animals such as goats or sheep despite all being referred to as sources of 'meat' or domestic animals. Roles that men take on are recruited into this arrangement so that they can continue the practice of looking after the cow beyond its existence. The preparation of meat offers an insight into the very 'nature' of their activities or functions. In a specific practice such as a ritual weeding, for instance, the meat preparation draws on the interest of the cattle kraal. The focused group meeting said:

> When we have a ceremony like a wedding, when we are gathered in the kgotla, we can have meat reserved for uncles (*mokoto* in Setswana).

Participant 6 said:

> The meat reserved for the uncles is cooked at the kraal there, pots are taken there and meat is cooked in the kraal.

The uneven wooden studs of the kraal fence offer an enclosure that demarcates space, which makes an important difference or contribution in the process of cooking 'meat reserved for the uncles'. In contrast, for other functions such as funerals, the cooking of the meat does not take place in the cattle kraal, but is prepared by the host in their residence. However, in both occasions, sharing the meat takes place in the place of the kgotla where men gather (see Figure 6). Participant 9 said:

> This meat is eaten at the kgotla, at the kraal; as you can see this kraal, we sit just in front of its entrance.

The meat appeals to the different kinds of installation of groups. For example, a group of men sitting by the wall of the kgotla, as shown in Figure 6, represents how a practice such as sharing meat (or sharing the cooking of meat) can give a particular weight to the gathering. It is the symbolic significance of the meat that has drawn them into this arrangement. This particular attention to the interest of the men and the gathering in the place of the kgotla explains the source of power of the meat – *mokoto* and may become an obligatory passage point. The meat assigned to men in functions is a mechanism through which the symbolic order informs human relationships. The meat mapped into physical structures operates as a network together with other endless materials and relations within which roles and human practices are understood in the urban environment of the kgotla.

Other movable things are pots, wood, chairs and containers, which allow preparing, cooking and carrying out tasks with other indispensable tools. Someone would have provided the handcrafted wooden stick that they use to stir the pot, see Figure 7 for illustration. Producers of large containers made it possible to have the large serving

dishes and baskets which are used to carry out and prepare the meat for cooking; and the need of people to rest while waiting for the meat to be cooked is made possible by the presence of chairs. These chairs are limited and they represent a hierarchy. The iron pots, just like the chairs, are also flexible enough due to their mobility to allow for different kinds of arrangements to exist. They offer themselves to other forms of arrangement not necessarily in the cattle kraal. They can be used at home, in a private setting, to prepare the food for all kinds of family or community gatherings.
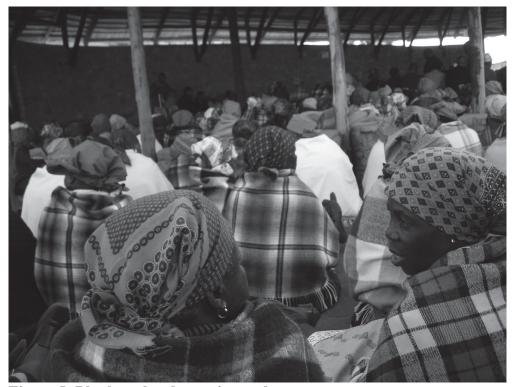
Figure 5: Blankets, head covering and women

Women wear traditional attire during a ritual wedding process. When women are gathered in a ritual practice in marriage processes, they are with blankets, head clothes (covering their heads), and other entities and they work as a unit through which human relationships are made real and present through the way they are operating. Source: Moumakwa **(**2011**).**

Figure 6: Men, chairs, wooden wall, trees, open spaces and people

The uneven and tightly placed wooden studs wall create a solid wall, which has an opening into the cattle kraal. There is an open space in front of the kgotla wall, which is normally used by children as a playground. When people are seating here in ritual activities, they are with the kgotla wall, chairs and the kgotla clearing and they operate as a network, within which roles are understood. Source: Author.
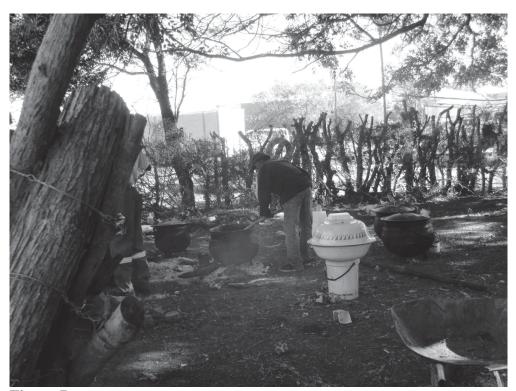
Figure 7: Men, pots, fire, wooden studs and budge wire enclosure and serving dishes

The uneven studs spaced at irregular distances from one another and budge wire create a see-through enclosure on three sides of the cattle kraal. The tightly placed uneven wooden studs of the kgotla wall, with an opening complete the fourth side. When people are cooking here, they are with the kgotla wall, enclosure of the cattle kraal, fire and chairs and they operate as a network, within which the ordering of roles is made real and present. Source: Author.

4.4.2 Participate in the performance of roles

There are also other movable things such as chairs and clothing that influence or reinforce the understandings that everybody living in the urban environment of the kgotla recognises in various activities. They participate in ordering of endless materials and things in their network of relationships within which the sets of roles and the different kinds of relationship are understood. For instance, the way the chairs engage with people and things in various practices has a distinctive role in the performance of roles. Chairs, just like other movable things, give some individuals or groups of people authority over others. Participant 14 said:

> He does not bring a chair here. Someone has to bring it that shows respect. Even me, I can just go and get my headman chair and bring it here.

The participant interests, mobilises and enlists the support of the chair to give authority to the headman. Roles are determined by the kind of chair one sits on. This representation of the headman chair illustrates the interest of the chair in holding in place a particular kind of order so that everyone knows that to bring a chair for someone higher in the hierarchy is a sign of respect. Participant 14 said:

> Even me when I say I bring a chair here, it will not be me doing that. One of my sons or anyone at home has to bring my chair here.

The organisation of chairs around a gathering also has a symbolic relationship because it gives rise to the roles that all people know. As people are recruited into chairs, they are also enlisted into roles and responsibilities that come with those positions they occupy relationally. For instance, where the value placed on the fireplace did not work for me (as explained in Section 4.4), the focus was directed towards securing a specific position to allow interviewing and recording only. However, the position or side within the gathering arrangement which I moved to occupy provided some resistance in the way the local people build the connection

with the chairs, fireplace, roles and their relationships, as well as the new entity (being me in this case). Thus, the arrangement of chairs defines a program of action that takes into consideration all the entities that seem to be present all the time 'but were not visible before and that appear in retrospect necessary for its sustenance' (Latour 2011, p. 797). Perhaps the chairs might have appeared ordinary and inviting, then after being re-directed to move to the opposite side, I realised that it might have been easier to ask the people for guidance on their complex arrangement.

The chairs, on the other hand, are different. Some are handcrafted wooden chairs made of wood and dry animal skin mostly from domestic animals like cow and are produced by local people, while other chairs are made either of plastic or metal, all mass produced. The wooden chairs are used specifically by men in everyday activities and in ritual activities, while the mass produced chairs are used by both men and women. The things that are movable, foldable and easy to transport such as the handcrafted wooden chairs indicate roles.

While these findings suggest that chairs, and all other attributes such as care, respect and authority, by extension operate as a complex web of materials and relations that participate in the performance of roles, in the traditional practices the overriding relation between humans and chairs remains one of 'power'. The presence of a handcrafted chair(s) amongst different types and styles of chairs, see Figure 8 below, is in part due to men seeking complete control over chairs by denying the factory manufactured chairs their due role in the construction of their world. The factory chairs only come in to give support to the handcrafted chairs and the performance of

roles. Thus, chairs recognise different kinds of gatherings and relations in various activities.

Figure 8: Chairs, clothes, people and the stone and mortar wall

When men are having their meal here during ritual funeral, they are with the stone wall of the kgotla, the open space of the kgotla clearing, chairs and operate as a network, within which roles are understood. Source: Author.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The study has drawn on the literature on the symbolic order of the kgotla and the data collected for this study to show how roles are thought through within the endless networks of the actor-network theory perspective. Most importantly, the study has shown how roles, which are valued in these communities, are being established as having presence and are enduring and tangible through the nonhuman things that being used in the urban environment. The study has shown how the physical elements of the built environment support those roles, and enable stable and harmonious relations and a disciplined and organised environment to operate, something that is missing in the literature. Similarly, the study has also shown how some qualities of

movable things help people to recognise the symbolic order and the different roles in how people operate in various practices. Finally, this chapter has offered a particular way in which the urban form of the kgotla needs to be realised to see the things that are important to their ways of life and how they are shifting over time. For instance, it has shown how roles have become open to other qualities of life and the way in which material things that support them can change and the different translations of the same kind of sets of relations or same kinds of values. Roles, values, structures and spaces and movable things have not escaped the diversity of actor-theory networks. The following chapter demonstrates how this network of relationships interests diverse materials and relations in sharing practices.

CHAPTER FIVE

SHARING PRACTICES AND ENROLMENT OF MOVABLE THINGS, ROLES, STRUCTURES AND SPACES

Tracing sharing interactions and the enrolment of actors in sharing practices, and the Negotiation of Spatial Actors - *urban environment of the kgotla*

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores various sharing practices through interviews, field notes and observations and through personal experience to describe relationships between spatial entities, movable things and humans in the urban environment of the kgotla. As Murdoch (1998, p. 361) suggests, 'action in actor-network theory configures space'. Sharing networks observed in this way assemble particular humans and nonhumans in the urban environment of the kgotla.

Interpreting these narratives of sharing practices reflects my experiences. I grew up just outside this kind of environment in neighbouring urban communities where all relations were totally different. As a child, I participated in different activities such as playing in the kgotla clearing and in cultural activities such as funerals and weddings. As an adult, I have also visited these historic places many times because some of my extended family still live in such environments, and my memories of the old urban fabric and modern town may resonate in these accounts.

The three key research questions are: 1) Are sharing practices active in communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla in Botswana; 2) If sharing practices are active, in what ways does the traditional urban fabric support these sharing practices; and 3) How can community resilience be an effect produced by interactions between

humans and nonhumans within the sharing practices of the kgotla? These research questions primarily serves to explore above all the role of the urban fabric in supporting sharing practices, which have traditionally been supported by particular qualities of the urban form of the kgotla, and the contribution this makes to the resilience of communities living in the urban fabric of the kgotla in regional Botswana. There is a need to understand how the urban environment of the kgotla supports multiple sharing practices, and how the urban fabric changes over time and the different translations of the same kinds of sets of relations or same kinds of values relating to sharing practices. This chapter explores processes for three sharing practices: sharing decision-making, sharing experiences and sharing labour. The interactions mediating these sharing practices are discussed first.

5.1 INTERACTIONS ENABLING TRADITIONAL SHARING PRACTICES

To illustrate the role of interactions, a series of interactions enabling marriage arrangement in communities living in the regional communities of Botswana are discussed. The series of interactions that take place over a considerable period of time leading to the actual marriage occasion include 1) the announcement by the 'groom to be' to his close family members of his intention to marry and the first visit between the families; 2) a series of visits between the families of the bride and the groom to get to know each other and to facilitate all other negotiations; 3) consultation with the relatives in their respective neighbourhoods in which the decisions are made public; 4) when the official notice of intention marry are ready, the groom's relations bring the agreed bride price[7] to the kgotla of the chief , and they are registered and the certificate ownership and the animals are handed of over to the bride's relations (*Go-*

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[7] Bride Price – comprises of cows and sometimes a sheep, which the groom relations give to the family of the bride as a sign of appreciation. Note: The number of cows varies from one area to another.

folosa in Setswana) ;5) asking for the bride's hand in marriage (*patlo* in Setswana) which is followed by counselling of the bride and the groom; and 6) interactions in the ceremonial activity.

These are the key interactions in which people and things operate in marriage arrangements. However, the interest is in understanding the different ways in which the physical structures, spaces and things participate in holding in place these performances and the ways of doing things. Traditional sharing practices in marriage arrangements are presented below.

5.1.1 Sharing Interaction One: First visit between families

In Interaction One, interactions are characterised by the first visit by the relations of the 'groom to be' to the family of the 'bride to be', referred to as the first visit between families. The two families could be within the same township, that is a walkable distance from one another, but sometimes they could be in different towns. This first interaction is crucial for the way different families engage in marriage negotiations in traditional communities. It expresses traditional ways of doing things that are valued by the people. Participant 1 said:

> [A] Setswana wedding starts from the very first consultation, when the man asks for permission from his elders to reserve a woman for marriage.

Participant 5 said:

> After we have called the uncle, we hold discussions first, to see how we are going to handle the issue at hand.

These quotations illustrate two things. First, they illustrate the significance of a call to 'reserve a woman' to highlight the initial step in the negotiation process relating to marriage as the 'groom to be' has made his intentions known to the elders. Second, it is the way people are enlisted into these negotiations. In this case, the process pays

attention to the hierarchical ordering that is attributed to seniority. The role of the 'elders' to give permission or to approve the marriage as established processes in the way people are operating is negotiated into these interactions to order particular aspects of the negotiations.

The visiting group meets at the residence of the parents of the 'bride to be' and both families discuss with each other and make decisions on a number of issues including the dates for future meetings, who to consult and all other necessary requirements. These decisions taken at the beginning, at home, are encouraged and respected in the way people are operating in marriage processes in regional communities. While they might not be able to discuss all the issues at the first meeting, it is this same group of people that will make decisions on these matters before the rest of the community is informed.

This sharing interaction is characterised by tea drinking and sometimes the eating of food. The host residence organises the refreshments according to their preferred interests. In summary, the first visit between families offers an opportunity to get to know each other and build relationships to facilitate negotiations on key aspects of the marriage processes such as important dates and the negotiation of the bride price.

5.1.2 Sharing Interaction Two: Negotiation of all necessary essentials

On an arranged day, the same group of people that participated in the first visit, but sometimes with some changes, appear again at the residence of the 'bride to be' to negotiate the necessary requirements for the marriage arrangement to proceed. As part of the series of decision-making processes, this particular interaction is characterised by focused decisions, the character of places and the roles that people take on.

Decisions that are taken in this interaction include but are not limited to the negotiation of bride price (*lobola* or *bogadi* in Setswana), important dates, *patlo* − actual handing over of the bride price and many others. Participant 5 said:

> A wedding in our culture is determined by when the boy's parents are ready to pay the bride price.

This illustrates the significance of the bride price in creating a gateway into the marriage arrangement. The bride price becomes an actor which poses a kind of struggle in the arrangement, as for marriage to happen it has to pass through this condition which becomes an obligatory passage point. The bride price can be defined in different ways. Participant 5 said:

> We then say how many cattle our bride price will be together with the sheep that is reserved for the uncles.

Participant 10 said:

> We grew up knowing that the bride price consists of eight cattle, we say this one is the best one… This bride price is accompanied by a ram.

The bride price is domestic animals, in this case cows and a sheep (the inclusion of a sheep is commonly practised in some places). The cows and sheep given as bride price are the gatekeepers in marriage negotiations and they represent the way people and animals operate in marriage arrangements. These decisions are shared or made public in the urban environment of the kgotla and structures, spaces and things participate in these interactions.

5.1.3 Sharing Interaction Three: Consultation with relatives

The engagement with relatives facilitated through this interaction represents the first point of contact with the rest of the community in which the marriage negotiations are made public. This interaction is characterised by a twofold process in each family grouping, which is based on everyone doing their bit within the community to shape

the success of the ceremonial activity. Firstly, it involves home visits, which are carried out by the mothers of the bride and groom or their close relations in their respective urban settings. Participant 3 said:

> The mother goes around the yards informing other women.

> The kgotla has a way of helping to disseminate information and getting the people together.

These quotations illustrate the role played by women and also highlight the way in which the urban environment of the kgotla helps to make the decisions public. The mothers of the bride and the groom go into each residence in their own neighbourhood setting and beyond to inform other women and perhaps arrange for a gathering with them, which is normally held in their residences. This publicising of the decisions concerning marriage might take a number of days or sometimes even weeks. When completed, the women then meet in their residence to discuss provision of non-meat food, cleaning of the residences and any other engagements that draw their interest. These meetings are characterised by tea drinking and sometimes also eating of food and they could take place anywhere within the residence.

Secondly, the interaction involves an open meeting that takes place in the place of the kgotla, which is normally organised by the fathers of the bride and the groom or a delegated elder(s) in their respective places. Participant 2 said:

> When you see the men sitting by the fire at the *kgotla*, then you would know that there is something that they are gathered there for; when there is a marriage.

To make the decision or 'agreement reached' at home public, the men share it with other men at once in the place of the kgotla. The decisions are conveyed to the men by the father of the house or a family elder. Participant 3 said:

> The father goes and informs other men at the kgotla.

However, sometimes the family delegates an elder to act on their behalf. Participant 9 said:

> The delegated leader would then let the kgotla know, and lead all the proceedings from start to finish.

The delegated leader is also a participant in the process and leads the proceedings from start to finish. If there is a gathering of men in the place of the kgotla, the delegated person makes a request to announce the marriage there. However, if there is no meeting, the delegated person then organises a date convenient to everyone for the gathering where they announce all the decisions taken and seek support from the gathering in the kgotla. When the gathering is organised, the headperson together with elders in each kgotla, in particular men, then go into their respective kgotla.

Unlike women who are informed individually in their private residences, the sharing interaction involving men in the place of the kgotla is a single event and is open to all male relations. Together as a group, they discuss and make decisions on specific ways to help organise the event in their own neighbourhood including provision for gathering firewood, collection and handing over of the bride price, repairing of the cattle kraal if required, the cleaning of the kgotla clearing and the cattle kraal, the cooking of the meat and who is going to take on which role. These decisions show how the community can contribute towards shaping the processes of traditional marriage. In summary, consultation with relatives offers an opportunity to further engage with others and discuss other areas that might need their support in achieving the desired outcome.

5.1.4 Sharing Interaction Four: Handing over of the bride price

Interaction Four represents the most significant occasion the decision-making processes in traditional marriage arrangement, where the cattle given as bride price are confirmed and handed over from one family to another, referred to as *patlo* in Setswana. On an arranged day, the relatives of the groom bring the cows and a sheep to the relatives of the bride. Handing over the cows needs the support of married individuals to deliver the bride price. The activity draws on the interest of this specific role of people and some people are not allowed to participate. Participant 6 said:

> Those who are single are not allowed to be present

This activity takes place around the place of the kgotla and only married men are allowed to participate. Participant 6 said:

> Men go to the kgotla to wait for the bride price cattle.

The bride price, the place of the kgotla and married male individuals are all actors in this arrangement. Women participate in their own right as they watch the cows from the courtyard of the residence. Participant 6 said:

> As the women we go to the yard… we stand just outside the courtyard, watching the cattle.

The courtyard and the women participate in welcoming the bride price. The courtyard has to be arranged in such a manner so that women can see the cows as they arrive. The roles are mapped into those places so that the courtyard is associated with women while the place of the kgotla is associated with men. There are some negotiations relating to the practice of *patlo* between the two families before the cows are welcomed. The negotiations take place in the kgotla clearing where the visitors are welcomed. Participant 6 said:

> They would then go and kneel again at the kgotla clearing, with the cattle there… because they came to plead for a wife.

The kgotla clearing has to be cleaned. The visiting family relations kneel or sit on the bare ground in the kgotla clearing, as they are not provided with chairs until the negotiations are over. The chairs help create an order within the gathering and support a particular group of people, related to the bride, which gives rise to human relationships.

5.1.5 Sharing Interaction Five: Counselling the couple

This interaction is characterised by counselling activities that involve a particular group of people, the bride and the groom and the designated spaces or enclosures of the residence and the place of the kgotla. Counselling in a traditional marriage arrangement involves the process of guiding the bride and the groom to a setting(s) that affords the sharing of experiences. The way in which these sharing experiences are negotiated differs from one region to another. In some areas both the bride and the groom are counselled together while in other areas they are counselled separately. In this study in Kanye, counselling is characterised by two separate gatherings, one organised by the women and the other by men. Although counselling is conducted separately, each gathering plays an important role in facilitating and advising the couple on marriage related issues in the practice of sharing experiences.

In these gatherings, each group openly shares their experiences relating to marriage with the bride and the groom. Women counsel the bride in a designated place in the residence or yard. Participant 4 said:

> When giving advice, the women do it in the yard. The woman is advised in the yard.

Women conduct their counselling at the residence of the bride's parents. It takes place in the courtyard where every woman can have a space to sit and the women normally sit on mats or hide rugs but not on chairs. Every woman normally wears a traditional

dress (*leteisi* – in Setswana), head clothes or covering and mini-blanket (see Section 5.3.2 for details). The women perform songs and ululations to celebrate the end of counselling.

Men conduct their counselling in the place of the kgotla. Participant 7 said:

> We guide our son as men alone in the kgotla together with the kgotla elder, right here in the kgotla.

Men also have a particular way of dressing for the occasion including trousers and jackets of different kinds. Unlike women who sit on the ground, men sit on chairs around the fireplace and in the place of the kgotla. They gather in front of the wooden wall of the kgotla around a fireplace or around such kind of arrangement, which resembles the kgotla. The counselling process is centred on encouraging the groom through sharing experiences with him. The groom is normally positioned so that everyone can see him (see Section 5.2.2 for more details).

5.1.6 Sharing Interaction Six: Engagements in ceremonial activities

Two ceremonial activities take place in the urban environment of the kgotla: the preparation of food and the cleaning of communal spaces before the wedding. In these activities, people living within the immediate neighbourhood and as well as those from the within the town come to help as a way of showing support for one another. Participant 4 said:

> We would go and gather it at the lands, dig up soil and then invite others to come and help us prepare for the child [sic] who will be getting married.

This suggests that people just 'invite others to come and help'. This is the kind of duty and/or obligation that people cannot separate from the way they live with others in the environment of the kgotla. The wedding food that is eaten by all needs to be prepared inside the residences. Participant 11 said:

The elders would cook some other food in the yard that is hosting the function. People come together in the host residence and prepare the food. Women work together and prepare non-meat related food while men prepare the meat in heavy iron pots, both inside and outside the family residence of the groom or bride. Many people from the village participate in preparing food that involves cutting, cleaning, putting the food in pots, making a fire and also the serving of food. It is possible that the people who prepared the food for cooking, those who serve the food and those who clean the immediate surroundings and residence afterwards are entirely different.

Men further enlist the support of the cattle kraal where they cook 'special' meat reserved for men in the kgotla. Participant 10 said:

Most of the time, the meat that is eaten by the men is cooked at the kraal.

The food that is prepared in the residence is served in big serving dishes and carried to the serving areas by women who are served their food inside the residence. Similarly, men also collect their food and are served separately in the place of the kgotla. Participant 10 said:

During functions we eat our food at the kgotla, we never eat in the yard.

I observed that the meat served in the kgotla is mostly served straight from the three-legged iron pot, unlike the other kinds of food. The pot is moved from either the cattle kraal or the residence, depending on the 'nature' of the ceremony, to the place of the kgotla, see Figure 18 for details. To move the pot, an indispensable piece of wood is needed to provide support for hanging and transporting it from one place to another.

People are drawn into some of these interactions without any invitation. People just turn up and give a helping hand in any area they might be asked to. Showing up at the

residence also suggests a person is ready to help, to provide labour and any support for others. Participant 12 said:

> But we are not invited to funerals because once we have heard that there is a death at so-and-so's yard; we get up in the mornings to go and make tea there and help out in any way we can.

Similarly, interactions in the cleaning of the communal spaces draw on the established relationships between people and things. For instance, women expressed their strong association with the responsibility of cleaning the inside of the residence while men take care of all the activities that take place outside the residence. Participant 12 said:

> As you see that the *kgotla* is facing over there, you would never see me grabbing a spade and saying I am going to remove the grass at the entrance, no.

Participant 4 said:

> The men clean the kgotla, us women we clean the compounds.

As in the preparing, serving and the eating of food by women, the boundaries of the residences also play into the way women participate in cleaning. Similarly, the cleaning and ongoing maintenance of spaces and structures outside the residences draws on the interest of men. As one of the participants suggests, 'you will never see a woman' in spaces and structures reserved for men only.

All these activities are always done under the guidance of an elder(s) or a 'delegated' individual whose main role is to represent the interest of either the family or the elders. Thus, sharing is played out in the way people conduct themselves in different kinds of negotiations. In these negotiations in the urban environment of the kgotla, there is a certain kind of ordering, which is played out through roles, and is reinforced by spaces, structures and things. The following section discusses how the different sharing practices based on the marriage arrangement interactions identify and follow significant roles in the practices.

5.2 DISCUSSION ON SHARING PRACTICES

In sharing practices, there are a series of significant roles, in which a collection of human and nonhuman actors participate, work together and do different things to share responsibilities. The roles are negotiated so that when all roles are agreed upon and performed, the practice of sharing responsibilities can take place with everyone participating. Within any given practice, a number of roles were identified and followed in their construction of their world. All actors participating in each role were identified and followed as they worked with others in their network of relations. The crucial actors that assembled all these human and nonhumans actors are explored in detail. In sharing practices, very important roles are played by important cultural ideas such as belonging, authority, responsibility and beliefs. However, the focus is not only on which actor(s) are traditionally gathered for each role, but also how necessary the presence of each actor(s) is, or whether they could be omitted or replaced without impacting the significance of the performance within sharing practice. The overarching question for this thesis is the role played by spatial actors in these sharing practices. Thus, the significance of these actors is considered in each section. First the various roles in sharing decision-making are traced, followed by sharing experience and lastly, sharing labour as they negotiate the course of action in their respective practices.

5.2.1 Sharing decision-making

In the marriage arrangement interactions outlined in Section 5.1, the first four interactions are about the processes for how decision-making is shared as the basis for performing roles. It is important to consider what roles are operating and how they are put together. Within this particular practice, three important roles are considered: 1)

the role of making final decisions; 2) the role of making sure that everyone is informed; and 3) the role of ensuring delivery of the key decision of the bride price. Responsibility, authority and belonging emerge as crucial actors in these interactions. This section explores how these crucial actors assemble particular humans and nonhumans in sharing decision-making.

5.2.1.1 Role of making final decisions

The role of making final decisions in sharing decision-making is played out by a collection of humans and nonhumans, the idea of home, the location of home and the idea of sharing responsibility. However, the three crucial actors that assemble particular humans and nonhumans in making final decisions were identified as responsibility, belonging and the bride price.

Firstly, the responsibilities associated with making final decisions in sharing decision-making processes are established processes in traditional communities of Botswana. In decision-making, responsibility is bestowed upon a particular category of humans. Participant 6 said:

> Then it will be the father, mother, maternal uncle and his wife. They are the ones who will welcome this delegation in the beginning, while the discussions are still in the yard.

This collection of humans represents a close group of immediate family relations that is assigned the responsibility of negotiating with another group of a similar arrangement. The group arises because these people work together to make decisions all the time. They know each other very well, they live together within the same urban environment and they agree together as a collective group. It is this everyday knowledge of each other that enable the people to engage in this manner. As such, this arrangement is an inherited and delineated to particular group of people in sharing

practices. Responsibility also pays attention to the way human relationships are understood and adhered to in various practices as highlighted above. Thus, responsibility as an actor orders particular aspects of decision-making processes by determining who can participate or not. However, responsibility also extends to those nominated, the 'trustworthy' elder, by people already recognised as having the responsibility. Participant 7 said:

> We have to include someone from the kgotla who is trustworthy to come help us with the negotiations.

As described above, the role of the trustworthy person is to help in the negotiations. This capacity to bring other people from the community into the group reflects the emphasis given to building a cohesive and unified team that can deliver this particular role. It also reinforces the importance of shared commitment and responsibility towards one another.

Secondly, belonging is a crucial actor in the way this role is negotiated. As people engage in their discussions, the decision-making process makes people aware that they belong to a community. Similarly, the idea that people share a physical location that they live in supports the sense of belonging to a community. As such, a person belonging to a community is prepared to discuss all matters with others first at home, inside the house. Participant 2 said:

> Most other issues, even though they were talked about in the kgotla, had to be first discussed in private and agreed upon… Everything that needs to be done is first discussed inside the house.

Negotiations first start at home or 'inside the house' and house or home belongs to a physical setting of the urban environment of the kgotla. The residence is located close to some of the participants taking part in the process and provides the physical context, which helps people to play out this role. It supports the idea of belonging to a

community. It is this nearness that makes it possible for residents to engage in such a manner. But the residence also has its own network of relationships. There are people as well as structures, spaces and things that belong to the place called home. But what do we know about the role of the residence and how it contributes to the marriage process? How necessary is the presence of the residence with the urban community? How does it reinforce the sense of belonging to a particular community? These questions can help understand the role of the residence as a site for decision-making in marriage arrangements, not necessarily the house alone, as suggested in the above quotations (see Section 5.2.1.3 for details).

Thirdly, it is the role of the bride price. Participant 5 said:

> A wedding in our culture is determined by when the boy's parents are ready to pay the bride price.

The bride price seems to pose a struggle in the negotiations for a marriage to happen. Thus, the bride price becomes a critical actor in ensuring that the decisions taken are implemented as indicated. But what do we know about the things given as bride price in these communities? The bride price comprises of domestic animals, in this case cows and a sheep. In order to deliver these animals, necessary actors are required to be in place. First, the animals have to be registered if they are transported from one region to another. Secondly, the animals need transport from the farm or cattle post to bring them to town when they are due to be handed over. Thirdly, the animals need food and water when they are transported and before they are delivered. The truck to transport the animals also conveys an expectation of the network around it, as a truck needs a driver and fuel. The cattle kraal that belongs to the urban environment of the kgotla provides an enclosure to hold the cows and has to be ready to provide such support (see Section 5.2.1.3 for details).

In following the practice of giving the bride price in the form of animals, there are emerging trends where other actors, such as money, also find their way into this arrangement. Participant 10 said:

Bride price in monetary [sic] is not highly encouraged; even at the main kgotla.

The translation of the bride price to a monetary contribution faces strong resistance, see also Figure 9 below. The 'main kgotla', which occupies a higher position in the town's hierarchy, emerges as the opposing force to a monetary arrangement and is an actor in its own right in the way the bride price is negotiated. The marriage decision arrangement to transform from animals to money in bride price negotiations is resisted by local people and the local authority for now. Even though the bride price is the network builder in traditional marriage arrangements, it does not necessarily mean that the role of cows in determining the conditions cannot change positions over time. A monetary contribution instead of animals is observed in some instances, even though it is not 'encouraged'. Thus, if a groom's family did not have the cows but the money, they could proceed with the marriage arrangement either through buying the cows from local people (see Figure 9 also) or by handing over money instead. In all instances, the people would still have to agree with each other on the number and value of cows. This could then be translated into money and the cattle kraal that holds the cows would not be required. The cows that are given as bride price and the cattle kraal are just actors and intermediaries because they do not really change the way people operate in sharing practices. However, as an actor the bride price determines the most important stage in decision-making. It determines whether to proceed or not, and without the bride price all negotiations collapse. Thus, bride price is a mediator in the life of decision-making in marriage arrangement.

Figure 9: **Notice of selling of calves given as bride price**

Translates to: 'We are selling the calves given as bride price (Bogadi), enquire for any number you want'. The notification here connects the possible buyer, cows, transport and the owner through which the bride price draws on the interest of the animals and leaves out the money. Source: Author**.**

5.2.1.2 Role of making sure that everyone is informed

In this role, humans, the residences and the place of the kgotla all participate in making sure that all members of the community are informed. However, the crucial actors that assemble particular humans and nonhumans in this role are responsibility and belonging. These two actors were discussed in Section 5.3.1.1 and their contribution to this role cannot be underestimated. Participant 3 said:

> For example, as in wedding proceedings, just as the father and the mother have discussed about it at home, the father goes and informs other men at the kgotla and the mother goes around the yards informing other women.

Responsibility is bestowed upon a particular category of humans. There are two important considerations. Firstly, it is the responsibility that is bestowed upon a particular category of humans: the mother(s) and the father(s) of the groom are given the responsibility of informing other members of the community. This particular way in which responsibility is played out creates an order in how people conduct themselves in making public the decisions concerning marriage. It also allows everyone to play their roles so that the whole community can function and creates stability for the community.

However, responsibility is also bestowed upon those nominated by the people already recognised as having the responsibility. Participant 9 said:

> The delegated leader would then let the kgotla know, and lead all the proceedings from start to finish.

Secondly, the places where people gather, such as the place of the kgotla and the residences, provide the physical context, which in itself supports a sense of belonging to a community. The mother(s) of the groom and bride, for instance, will visit other women in their homes to share the news. This particular way of informing others is given importance by visits in their own homes and the physical proximity of the residences reinforces their sense of belonging.

Participant 2 said:

> There is something that they are gathered there for; when there is a marriage.

This particular way of informing people in distinct places like the place of the kgotla illustrates the symbolic nature of the urban structures in supporting sharing practices. The gathering signifies that a particular kind of community is operating and it fits within the community understanding of what it is for, 'when there is marriage' and fire, kgotla wall and men are all there. They gather to receive the decisions.

Participant 2 said:

> An agreement is reached on what needs to be done, after that this is when the issue is brought before the kgotla.

Participant 6 said

> They gather at the kgotla. The function is publicised all at once when the men are gathered at the kgotla.

The 'agreement reached' at home is announced at once to all men who belong to the community in the place of the kgotla. Community members gather with others to

receive the information and the gathering of people and things signifies that a particular kind of community is operating.

To sit around the place of the kgotla, every man also has to bring a chair and dress accordingly. Participant 14 said:

You bring your own chair. You wear a jacket to show respect to the kgotla men.

The chairs offer a place to sit while wearing a jacket symbolises 'respect' to the place of the kgotla. The jacket, which is made to provide warmth, protect the body or just to provide aesthetic appeal, does not result in the maker's intended outcome in this arrangement. Instead, the jacket symbolises respect. Thus, respect, together with the people, the place of the kgotla, and clothing such as jackets and other associated things, represents some kind of ordering within which human behaviours are understood. For that reason, respect is an actor in its own right.

The place of the kgotla has its own network of relationships. The kgotla is presided over by the headperson who presides over all the activities that take place in the place of the kgotla including marriage gatherings. The wall of the kgotla demarcates space in the urban environment and shapes the way in which people inhabit these spaces during gatherings. The structural elements of the kgotla wall comprise the tightly placed wooden studs, see Figure 10 for details, and the wall provides enclosure and protection against the wind. Men sit at the kgotla wall to offer their support, sharing their experiences, negotiation skills and are in turn served their meal in this semi-public space of the kgotla. However, the wooden studs of the kgotla wall and the fence respond, through decay, to the changing environments in ways that are specific to their characteristics. They therefore have to be replaced after a certain period of time to ensure the 'good condition' of the fence is maintained for occasions. However,

new materials such as stone and mortar have also come to give shape to the wall of the kgotla, see Figure 11 and Figure 12 for details. This structural modification offered by the stone and mortar arrangement helps reduce the ongoing maintenance of the structure and hence the constraint that the wall puts on an environment that is unsustainable.

However, when asked if it is possible to conduct these kinds of gathering in an environment where all the relations concerning the place of the kgotla are different, Participant 7 said:

> We still follow the rule of the kraal and we will do everything accordingly by holding the proceedings outside, adjacent to their yard.

Participant 9 said:

> Where there is no *kgotla*, the owners of the wedding would construct a temporary structure using thorn bush branches that would resemble a *kgotla*, so that the men can sit there.

The role of the kgotla wall is identified as important in supporting these practices. The structural qualities of the wall seem unimportant but what matters is to have all the relations in place that 'resemble a kgotla'. Thus, the kgotla wall is a mediator in the way people are operating in marriage processes. The kgotla wall provides a structural element which helps men to play out their roles and that is why they 'will do everything accordingly by holding the proceedings outside' by constructing 'a temporary structure that would resemble a kgotla'. However, observing this negotiation or re-negotiation of the kgotla wall also suggests that the physical presence of the kgotla wall in the urban environment is just an intermediary because it does not change the way people are operating. If people live together but do not have a permanent kgotla wall within their urban environment, they could probably create a temporary wall and conduct the gathering without impacting sharing practices.

5.2.1.3 Role of delivering on the key decision of the bride price

The role of delivering on the key decision of the bride price is performed by a collection of humans and nonhumans including the physical environment of the kgotla such as the home, the place of the kgotla, the kgotla clearing and the cattle kraal. However, the responsibility assigned to a category of humans in the tradition of Botswana and sense of belonging are the two crucial actors that put together all these actors in this particular role in decision-making processes. In relation to the responsibility, the relationships operating in the way people are put together were discussed in Section 5.2.1.1. The responsibility that one takes on plays into the way this particular sharing practice is negotiated by letting some in while keeping others out. Those who are allowed to participate, and in particular women, are given particular weight by the presence of other actors such as blankets (see Section 5.2.2.1 for the role of blankets in detail) and ululation by women. Participant 5 said:

> The women also get out of the yard and welcome them by ululating.

Participant 6 said:

> After they have welcomed them and the cattle are penned, we run to them scaring them with our blankets.

The association of women, blankets and ululation operates as a unit through which human relationships are understood. They only appeal to a particular category of humans and the blankets and ululation indicate that the role is present during the handing over of the bride price, see Figure 13. This welcoming of the groom's relations activity reinforces the idea that cows given as bride price are gatekeepers in decision-making in marriage arrangement.

There are also spatial actors such as the place of the kgotla, courtyard and the kgotla clearing that participate in the welcoming of the bride price. These spatial actors come

in to indicate that the role is present and make people feel like they belong to a particular kind of community. However, the cattle kraal, which is a shared resource, provides a solid structural enclosure within which the cows are penned, see also Figure 14. The cattle kraal is commonly found within urban locations and is available to anyone living within a particular area to access at any time. It supports the role of sharing practice by holding the cows and making them accessible for everybody to identify and/or inspect. Participant 1 said;

> The kraal helps us to pen the bride price cattle in it, they arrive in there. The bride price cattle can then be easily identified when in the kraal.

The unevenly spaced wooden studs and the fence of the cattle kraal demarcate space that gives shape to an enclosure, which makes an important contribution to this sharing practice. From observation, the size and height of the kraal fence varies from place to place, but the space offers a close containment that could hold a number of animals with plenty of space for them to move around in and eat grass or drink water if provided. The cattle kraal is centrally positioned and is generally found in an open and semi-public space in the urban environment of the kgotla. The physical location, the height of the wooden fence and the see-through properties of the fence offer an open visual access into all the processes or activities that take place within it. These qualities associated with its location, openness of the cattle kraal and the irregular wooden stud and wire wall are not found in boundary structures such as the fencing of the residences despite these all being elements that demarcate space.

The role of the cattle kraal cannot be underestimated in this sharing practice.

Participant 4 said:

> When there is no kraal, where would the cattle for the bride price be penned? Unless there is a kraal somewhere nearby where the cattle would be temporarily penned because there is no space.

Participant 10 said:

> It would be very wrong if there is no kraal… Most of the time when we have a
> function you will find that we try by all means to erect a temporary kraal so that when
> the bride price are shown; they are nearby.

The cattle kraal is an important participant in this particular sharing practice. However,
because belonging is a crucial actor, if there is no cattle kraal but there is space to
construct a temporary enclosure or there is a cattle kraal within the neighbourhood
then this key activity can still be delivered. This indicates that the physical presence
or absence of the cattle kraal does not necessarily change the way people are
operating in this sharing practice. Thus, the cattle kraal is an intermediary in the urban
environment of the kgotla.

Similarly, the kgotla clearing is a shared resource. The kgotla clearing is a semi-
public space framed by the boundaries of the residences. Unlike the residences, which
are privately owned, the kgotla clearing belongs to all members of the community
living within the urban environment of the kgotla. It belongs to all the people. It is a
shared entity, accessible to all the people living in the urban environment of the kgotla
at all times. Belonging is a crucial actor, thus having a shared space such as the kgotla
clearing is critical to the realisation of commonly shared activities. Participant 13
said:

> Other functions are also held in our yards, but when we are involved in the actual
> functions, we go to the *kgotla* clearing.

Participant 6 said:

> They would then go and kneel again at the kgotla clearing, with the cattle there.

The kgotla clearing provides space where people can get together to make decisions
as a community. The gathering or kneeling in the kgotla clearing also signifies that a
particular community a person identifies with is operating.

The kgotla clearing has to be cleaned. Someone has to organise and prepare the place.

Participant 4 said:

> When you have a function to do, if you don't knuckle down and ensure that you run around and find people to ensure that the *kgotla* is clean.

Participant 9 said:

> Some only get involved when there are functions to be performed, that is when you will see them helping us to remove the grass and cleaning it.

The cleaning of the kgotla clearing requires guidance from the person having the function and in the way people voluntarily support it. It has to be cleaned because the people who are coming to negotiate are expected to kneel or sit on the ground, see Figure 14. They are not provided with chairs until the negotiations are over. Chairs are only made available for those who are closely connected to the kgotla and the host family usually arranges them. Thus, the way the chairs are playing into the gathering helps understand the kinds of relationships between the groups, who is the host and who is a visitor in the negotiations. Similarly, sitting on the ground is an indication that they are pleading for a wife in marriage. Participant 6 said:

> They would all kneel, the men who come with the cattle, because they came to plead for a wife, the receptacle of water.

The shared space of the kgotla clearing helps people to play out these activities in ways that are unique to their characteristics. The groupings and negotiations make people feel like they belong to a particular community. The fireplace, see Figure 15, fits within the community understanding of what such negotiations entail (see Section 5.2.2.1 for details). It plays into organising the people in the negotiations. Thus, the organisation is symbolic in the sense that it gives rise to human relationships. The fireplace helps people to articulate or recognise the different groups or sides of the gathering to which people belong.

Figure 10: The wooden wall of the kgotla, men, chairs and things

When men are s**it**ting here during a ceremonial activity, they are with the chairs, wall, the naturally occurring trees, specific clothing and they operate as a unit within which human relationships are understood. Source: Author**.**

Figure 11: The stone and mortar wall, chairs, men, clothes and things

When men hav**e** their meal here during a ceremonial gathering, they are with the chairs, stone and mortar wall. The stone and mortar wall has replaced the wooden studs wall of the kgotla wall. All entities operate as a unit within which human relationships are understood. Source: Author**.**

Figure 12: The stone and mortar wall and the fireplace

The stone and mortar wall has now come in to give shape to the wall of the kgotla structure. Source: Author**.**

Figure 13: Men and women on a journey to handover the bride price

When men and women are heading towards the kgotla of the bride to deliver the bride price, they are with their blankets, traditional dresses, and specific clothing and they operate as a unit within which human relationships are understood. Source: Turner and Turner (2009): March 2014**.**

Figure 14: Bride price, cows and the cattle kraal

The cattle kraal offers an enclosure suitable for holding the cows. When the cows are held here, they are with wooden structures of the kraal, the place of the kgotla, and the men in the kgotla and they operate as a network within which decisions concerning the bride price and marriage are made real and present. Source: Turner and Turner (2009): March 2014**.**

Figure 15: Processes concerning men in the handing over of the bride price

When men are discussing the delivery of the bride price, they are with the place of the kgotla, chairs, roles, fireplace and clothing and they operate as a network within which human relationships are understood. Source: Turner and Turner (2009): March 2014**.**

5.2.2 Sharing experiences

The fifth interaction outlined in Section 5.1 is about the processes relating to how experience is shared as the basis for performing roles. The kind of experience that is

considered valuable in this particular sharing is the experience that will help the person who is getting married to have a successful marriage, and thus it is an experience of a successful marriage. Thus, the interest here is to explore how sharing experience is supported by the allocation of particular roles so that when all those roles are accomplished, the practice can take place with all actors collaborating. Within sharing experience, two important roles were identified: 1) the role of guiding or counselling; and 2) the role of ensuring that visitors are welcomed. The crucial actors in these interactions are respect, experience and belonging. This section explores how respect, experience and belonging assemble particular humans and nonhumans in sharing experience in the way these roles are performed.

5.2.2.1 Role of guiding or counselling

In this role, a collection of humans, the idea of the courtyard, the wall of the kgotla, the idea of clothing and blankets, and cultural values associated with sharing a cup of water, play a distinctive role in the performance of counselling. However, actors such as responsibility, respect, experience and sense of belonging emerge as the most crucial actors that assemble particular humans and nonhumans in the role of counselling. The role of these actors in shaping the role of guiding in the practice of sharing experience is discussed.

Firstly, it is the responsibility bestowed upon a particular category of humans by the tradition of Botswana that gives shape to what role people take on. It is the belief that somebody who has managed to navigate their particular experiences in ways that are regarded as acceptable by the community has valuable experience to offer. A particular kind of experience which is valuable is the experience of a successful

marriage. Successful marriage experience is a gatekeeper in these negotiations and that is why bachelors are not allowed. Participant 1 said:

> When the groom is guided, bachelors are not allowed to be present during this proceeding.

Similarly, when asked if women who are not married are not allowed, Participant 6 said:

> She is not married, so who would listen to her advice.

For a person to participate in counselling processes or give advice, they have to have the relevant or necessary experience in order to share with those who are being counselled. The idea of valuing the experience gained in marriage participates in shaping this particular group of people in sharing experience. As such, this group of people are respected and they are given the platform to share their experiences with the newly married couple. The actor is respect for the kind of understandings and experiences that are attained through married life.

Secondly, a sense of belonging to a particular community plays into the way people engage in sharing experiences. On the one hand, a couple is prepared to accept the advice by the people being nominated and they did not have to choose the advisors. This requires a community to exist and members belonging to the community are prepared to listen to their advice. This moment of sharing experience is given sufficient weight by making the passing on of experience a ritual through the clothing they wear, singing songs and through a series of activities involving men and women in private spaces. The mini blankets and the traditional dress indicate that the role is present for women, see Figure 16 and Figure 17. The clothes that men wear, see Figure 18, also play a crucial role in the ritual of giving advice. Participant 6 said:

> After they have welcomed them and the cattle are penned, we run to them scaring them with our blankets.

The ordering of garments like the traditional dresses, mini blankets and head coverings indicates that now is the moment for giving advice to the couple. The clothes that women take on offer themselves to a particular kind of ordering which influences and reinforce the sets of understanding that everybody understands. Although these gatherings are not easy to access as an outsider and also because of the separation of male and female-oriented activities, as observed throughout the fieldwork, they are also interesting to observe from a distance for how things like blankets and the mats they sit on appear to an observer. Women also perform songs that carry messages on the duties and responsibilities of the bride in her new role. Just like the blankets and the dresses, the singing of songs also gives weight to this role in sharing experiences.

This occasion is a good example to follow, to explain the arrangement of garments and how they give a particular weight to some women more than others. For example, women put on blankets even during very hot days throughout the session without taking a break. The blankets are made to the manufacturer's intention to provide warmth especially during cold conditions or just to cover the body particularly in private spaces (because they are associated with sleeping), but in this specific arrangement, they did not have the maker's intended outcome.

Similarly, there is also an arrangement for men even though it is not as defined and pronounced as for women. For instance, it is uncommon to see short pants drawing on the interest of married men in the place of the kgotla. Participant 6 said:

> Men go to the *kgotla*, but people like you [me] are not allowed there.

Participants pointed to my short pants and casual footwear as things that are not welcomed in public gatherings, especially from married individuals. An accepted dress code, see Figure 18 for illustration, which includes trousers and jackets for men, is encouraged at all times. The attire gives rise to a sense of belonging or what others regard as showing 'respect' to men in the kgotla. Participant 14 said:

> You wear a jacket to show respect to the kgotla men.

While these findings suggest garments people put on are active allies in a web of materials and relations that give rise to this practice, the most important consideration in the relationship between humans and clothing is 'control'. The presence of different patterns, colours and styles of finely textured dresses and blankets are partly due to women seeking control over these entities by denying them their due contribution in their world. The emerging qualities of available materials in the production of clothing also form part of the ongoing changes in the global production of clothes and blankets. Global changes in the clothing industry are also intertwined with counselling and emerge as active participants that appeal to these practices. Similarly, the ways in which the new materials have negotiated their way into this arrangement help hold in place the relationships between things that support this practice. The things that people value, which are associated with counselling, are an emergent entity that is wrapped around a web of relations involving not only humans but also nonhumans.

Secondly, the activities that take place in designated spaces of the courtyard and the place of the kgotla play a role in the ritual of giving advice. They both play into the way the structural qualities of the spaces empower both men and women to come

together and organise their processes of counselling in distinct places with everyone

participating. Participant 7 said:

> We guide our son as men alone in the *kgotla* together with the *kgotla* elder, right here in the *kgotla*… The bride is also guided by her female elders alone in the yard.

Participant 4 said:

> When giving advice, the women do it in the yard. The woman is advised in the yard.

There are two observations. First, the role of the men in guiding the son is in the place

of the kgotla and second, the role of the women in guiding is in the yard. When

people are gathered in the processes of giving advice, the residence and the place of

the kgotla provide a context through which people play their role. The people and

their urban structures operate as a unit and make them feel like they belong to a

particular community with set boundaries in counselling. Participant 6 said:

> Then when we are at home and the women have been welcomed into the courtyard.

The courtyard, which is usually located in front of the residence, see Figure 16 for

details, becomes a site for the gathering of women. But what do we know about the

courtyard, its material qualities and how they changed over time, its role in everyday

activities and as well as in counselling gatherings? Traditionally, the courtyard walls

were made of mud bricks, see Figure 19 for details, to demarcate the space and to

provide privacy and protection against dust and windy conditions (Grant & Grant

1995). However, the mud wall is sometimes interrupted by a decorative piece of

moulding which gives the wall a particular kind of feature unique to its materials, see

Figure 19. As a result of the nature of the materials used for cladding, the mud walls

require ongoing maintenance and each time a new cladding is applied, it increases the

width of the wall.

However, unlike the walls of the earlier courtyards, which were mostly made of mud wall, requiring ongoing maintenance, ornamentations, and widely admired skills associated with women, the new walls are now made of cement brick and mortar. The new materials of cement and mortar have come into this arrangement to give support to this particular practice established in the earlier works of counselling activities in the life of the community.

The wooden frame wall in the place of the kgotla also plays into the gatherings by providing a space for men to conduct their counselling activities and the relationships operating here are very similar to the those discussed in Section 5.2.1.3. However, in the place of the kgotla in this occasion, people and other entities such as chairs are relationally put together around the pieces of firewood that resemble the fireplace.

The fireplace reinforces its authority over the gathering. The fireplace provided some resistance to me because my intention was to occupy a spare chair on the far right when he arrived for the initial meeting. I was asked go back and go around the fireplace on the right side instead and occupy a seat on the left side of the headman. The fireplace reinforced the order in the place of the kgotla. As such, the fireplace has its own way of recognising and reinforcing authority. But was the fireplace really passive? If it were, I would not have seen the fireplace represented a stronger relationship, placed upon such a fireplace in front of the gathering, by the local people. The fireplace helps people to articulate or recognise different kinds of roles and relationships between those roles.

The gathering is shaped and reshaped by the humans and nonhumans. It is important to observe that these relationships do not exist outside this arrangement. It is through the mobilisation of these 'alliances' that best describe how counselling in traditional marriage interactions is produced and understood. The understanding of this practice is in relations through which it is entangled in a web of relations, both human and nonhuman.

Unlike men who sit on chairs, women tend to sit on mats rather than on chairs while counselling. Although there are usually chairs available for them to sit on, only a few women sit on chairs while most of them sit on mats, with their legs stretched out, see Figure 17. As observed during fieldwork, these mats are made from the woven plastic packaging sack bags commonly used for packaging materials such as sorghum, maize and beans. The bags are made according to industry standards to provide a secure and durable package for different products. However, in this particular arrangement, the bags have being transformed from their original characteristics into a new character that makes it 'fit' well into this practice. They now offer protection against the rough surface of the ground, making sitting more comfortable for women.

In summary, the role of the urban fabric of the kgotla in supporting counselling requires certain spaces and structures to be in place. Firstly, it requires the residence to be in place where women conduct their activities. In the residence, there also has to be a courtyard space or an enclosure to provide privacy. However, this can happen in any urban form and it does not necessarily have to be in the urban fabric of the kgotla. Secondly, there has to be the place of the kgotla where men gather. But it does not have to be in any particular urban form as the men can construct a temporary structure

for the counselling activities. The role of the courtyard and the place of the kgotla, aspects of the urban fabric of the kgotla, are just actors/intermediaries in the processes of giving advice because they do not really change the way people are operating in sharing experience. They provide the physical context for the activities that take place in counselling and help people to play the roles that make them feel like they belong to a particular community.

5.2.2.2 Role of ensuring that visitors are welcome

The role of ensuring that visitors are welcomed is performed by a collection of humans, the eating of food, the idea of allowing the guest to enter the house and the sharing of a 'glass of water' by the guests. In this role, human relationships operating here are very similar to those discussed in Section 5.2.2.1. What is different is that two trustworthy individuals (see Section 5.2.1.1 for details) are given the responsibility to lead the delegation, and provide guidance in the welcoming processes in the courtyard at home and in the place of the kgotla. For instance, in the process of welcoming women at home, Participant 6 said:

> The woman leading the delegation of visitors will then ask the bride to go and get her a glass of water.
>
> The auntie, the bride and the bride mate will leave to go to the house and bring the water.

However, the crucial actors are not just humans but the emergent attribute of responsibility given to the person leading the delegation. The responsibility to lead is given weight by the ritual practice of asking for a 'glass of water' in the welcoming processes. The vessel of 'glass' enables the water to be passed between the group members so that each person can drink a little and participate in the ritual process of welcoming the delegation. Participant 6 said:

> As she receives the water, she can drink all of it or share with others until it is finished… after, which the visitors will be asked to go inside the house to avoid the sun or wind. They will then be given something to eat.

The 'glass of water' can do nothing itself, but it does something to facilitate the welcoming of the visitors into the house and the possibility of food eating. Traditionally, the water was served out of a handcrafted African calabash referred to as '*sego*' and as such the bride was referred to as '*sego-sa-metsi*' (in Setswana), which translates to receptacle of water. Participant 6 said:

> They would all kneel… because they came to plead for a wife, the receptacle of water.

In sharing the water in this practice, there is a particular vessel, the calabash, which is used for drinking water and which anybody could use at anytime. However, the idea that everyone can drink from it during this particular occasion symbolises that everyone is welcome and it reinforces that the vessel is a participant in the activity. However, a new material of glass has come in to give shape to this practice with the use of a 'glass of water'. Both the calabash and glass have similar material qualities: they are light in weight, breakable and thus they require care when handling. These qualities of the calabash and glass are not found in other water vessels such as plastic or stainless steel cups, despite all being referred to as cups.

The glass of water indicates that a particular community is operating. The visitors know that they are welcomed because of the water they are sharing and when they are allowed to enter into the house where they are given something to eat. Since this negotiation takes place in a setting similar to the one outlined in Section 5.3.1.1, this sharing activity could happen in any urban form and it does not necessarily have to be in the urban environment of the kgotla.

Figure 16: Clothing materials, women and authority in the process that involves women

The role of clothing in a ritual practice of counselling the bride – *'go laya'* ceremony. When women are celebrating the completion of the ritual practice of counselling the bride in their dancing, they are with traditional dresses, blankets and head clothes, and they work together as a unit within which beliefs and values associated with the practice are understood. Source: Sibonile Ellece (2011).

Figure 17: People, blankets, head covering, traditional dresses and the courtyard

The paved courtyard offers an open space suitable for s**it**ting down. When the women are s**it**ting here, they are with blankets, dresses, head clothes, courtyard and the residence and they operate as a unit within which experiences relating to marriage are shared and cultural beliefs and values are understood. Source: Turner and Turner (2009), August 2013**.**

Figure 18: Men, chairs, fire or fireplace, wooden structure and the open space of the kgotla clearing

The wooden frame offers a windbreak wall, and the seating follows the shape of the wall or takes a horseshoe shape around the fire or fireplace. When men are sitting or gathering here, they are with the wooden frame of the kgotla, fire or fireplace, chairs, clothing and they operate as a unit within which experiences relating to married life are shared and values and beliefs associated with this practice are understood. Source: Sibonile Ellece (2011).

Figure 19: The back of the residence showing the round mud and thatch houses, the mud wall which frames the courtyard with decorative mouldings

Source: Author.

5.2.3 Sharing labour

The sixth interaction outlined in Section 5.2 is concerned with the processes relating to the way in which labour is shared as the basis for performing roles. In these interactions, people are invited to come and give a helping hand in activities as part of their contribution. This is the kind of sharing labour that people cannot separate from the way they share or live with others in the environment of the kgotla. To understand the effect of these relationships, it is important to recognise that these people share a number of resources together such as the open space of the kgotla clearing, which offers a space commonly used by children as a playground or an overflow space from the residences, cattle kraal and place of the kgotla. People use all these spaces and structures in their everyday life activities as well as in ceremonial activities and they all participate in their ongoing maintenance. People also work together or support each other in activities such as preparing food, cleaning, repairing or fixing things on a regular basis without any expectation of reward in terms of payment. This arrangement suggests a broader engagement, which requires a different approach, that allows us to observe these relationships between people and things differently.

Two sharing labour activities are discussed: preparing food and cleaning shared spaces. In these sharing labour activities, two important roles were identified: 1) the role of ensuring that the food is prepared; and 2) the role of cleaning shared spaces. The crucial actors in these interactions are authority, responsibility and belonging. This section explores how these crucial actors assemble particular humans and nonhumans in sharing labour in the way these roles are performed.

5.2.3.1 Role of ensuring the food is prepared

In this role, the key actors include a collection of humans, the idea of a designated enclosure, the residence, three-legged pots, firewood and the cattle kraal, which are central to the way this role is performed. There are crucial actors like responsibility, authority and belonging that assemble all these human and nonhuman actors in the activities connected to the preparation of food.

Firstly, responsibility is given to groups of people by the traditions of Botswana. It is the belief that particular groups of people are best suited to prepare certain kinds of foods: women are best positioned to work together in specific places and prepare non-meat related food while men prepare pots of meat. Participant 11 said:

> When there are functions the meat is prepared in the kraal; and other things like cooking are done in the yard that is hosting the function.

Participant 10 said:

> Most of the time, the meat that is eaten by the men is cooked at the kraal.

There are two important considerations: the meat is 'prepared in the kraal', and 'other things like cooking' are done in the residence. In observing these relationships and in particular meat and the responsibility of men, the processes for preparing meat give an insight into how humans are recruited into this arrangement by the meat they eat. The significance of this relationship between the responsibility that men take on and the source of the meat that is the cows cannot be underestimated. The cows do nothing by themselves, but they combine with the cattle kraal to create an order within which responsibilities are understood. It is these understandings that everyone living in these communities share, that men look after cattle (Schapera 1953; 1955; Sekgarametso 1995), which is not found in other domestic animals such as goats or sheep despite all being referred to as domestic animals. Thus, the meat or cows come

in to give authority to men so that they may continue the practice of looking after the cow even beyond its life. The cattle kraal and the residence indicate that the roles are operating. The cattle kraal gives particular weight to the responsibility of men, to signal the moment that the meat, which is eaten by men only, is being cooked.

The relationships operating in the cattle kraal are very similar to those discussed in Section 5.2.1.3. But the same enclosure that is used to hold the animals now plays an important role in the preparation of the meat. These structural elements of the kraal and other alliances join forces to produce this arrangement that makes it possible for men to prepare the meat, see Figure 20. But men could prepare meat in places where there is no cattle kraal. From the observations, the cooking of meat would interest the residence in the same way it does in other cultural activities such as a funeral. In a funeral all the food is prepared inside the host residence by all those who are participating. In places where there is adequate space to allow for separate cooking areas, it is possible that women and men conduct their activities separately inside the residence. However, in other places they share one space or enclosure. Thus the negotiation and renegotiation of the cooking of the meat into the residence could be achieved since it is already happening in other cultural activities. This illustrates and reinforces that the cattle kraal is just an intermediary in this arrangement because it does not change the way people are operating.

In preparing the food, the traditional three-legged iron pots are enlisted into this interaction. The iron pots are big in size and heavy; see Figure 20 and Figure 21 for details, more than one person is needed to move them from one place to another. They

are used mostly during special events to prepare food for large gatherings and they are usually borrowed from other members of the community. Participant 8 said:

> Someone may borrow your three-legged pot; because we still use them during functions.

Due to their mobility the pots allow different arrangements, such as at home or at the cattle kraal, to exist. The weight, size and mobility of the pots allow cooking of a large amount or chunks of food, making it possible for a large quantities of food to be prepared at once for large gatherings. These qualities or properties of the iron pots are not found in pot materials such as clay or stainless steel despite all being referred to as metals or pots. These 'metals' however, offer themselves to other kinds of arrangement and engagement, such as steel for utensils, clay for cups and plates. Access to water is also required to prepare food. It has a certain expectation because water has a network of its own. There should be a constant supply of water. The producers of large stainless steel containers would have provided the people with large dishes to carry out activities such as cleaning, transporting and serving of food with ease.

Firewood is also needed to prepare the food using three-legged pots. This firewood is prepared or gathered some days before the actual event. As observed in one of the gatherings, these activities draw on the interest of men. Gathering firewood has its own arrangement that involves cars, people, fuel, axes and men. Because people belong to the same kind of setting and they know each other, they either come together to arrange the gathering of the firewood or someone just provides a truckload without any request. Firewood is a resource that is commonly shared within the community and people in these communities never say they are going 'to buy firewood', but rather they say they are going 'to ask for firewood'. Participant 1 said:

> You would never hear Mrs……….[name withheld] say I am going to Mrs……….[name withheld] yard to buy firewood; they would say I am going there to ask for firewood.

Similarly, some food is bought while some food is given as contributions. The foods that are contributed play a particular role in this negotiation of this role. They give particular weight to the responsibilities that people take on in this practice. Participant 1 said:

> So-and-so would have contributed a cow, so-and-so a goat, and the other a sack of sorghum, so you have to include those people in the proceedings.

The material things that people put forward as contributions give them more weight in relation to the responsibilities they play. However, the most important aspect about the contributions and the possibility of being included in the proceedings is that it requires a community. The role of the preparation of food means that people agree with each other, making people know that they belong to a community.

5.2.3.2 Role of ensuring the surrounding areas are clean

In this role, the idea of boundaries created by residences, the shared space of the kgotla clearing, categories of humans, and different kinds of brooms are central to the performance of this role. As in the role of preparing food, responsibility and belonging are crucial actors that bring together all these human and nonhuman actors to ensure the surrounding areas are clean. Responsibility is bestowed to groups of people and is played out through boundaries that demarcate spaces between the residence and the kgotla clearing, between private and public spaces. For instance, women are given the responsibility to clean the residences by tradition, as female Participant 4 said:

> The men clean the kgotla, us women we clean the compounds

Unlike the residences, which are privately owned, the open space of the kgotla

clearing is open to all community members and by its nature belongs to all residents

living in the urban environment. It is a shared facility and it draws on the collective

effort of all residents in cleaning it. However, it draws on the responsibility of all men.

Participant 3 said:.

> It is swept by the male children.

Male Participant 1 said:

> We are all responsible for the removal of the grass in the empty space that is around
> the *kgotla*, we help each other.

Cleaning and maintaining the shared spaces draws on the support of certain roles

more than others. To remove the grass in the empty spaces of the kgotla clearing, for

example, there is an arrangement that makes it possible for every male to take on their

responsibilities. How is it negotiated? Who does what, where and when? There are

multiple arrangements that exist within this cleaning arrangement. First, the grass in

and around the environment of the kgotla might enlist the concern of an elder who

might recruit the male residents into removing the grass. Participant 1 said:

> There is the elder who calls his younger brothers and says, gentlemen; let's remove
> the grass that is around the kgotla.

Second, the grass in 'front' of each residence could enlist the concern of the male

residents of that residence who might step in and take on those responsibilities given

to them by tradition. Participant 7 said:

> I would clean in front of my yard and everyone else would do that in front of their
> yards.

As women take on the responsibility of cleaning within the residence and men take on

the open spaces of the kgotla clearing, their roles are mapped into spaces and

structures of the urban fabric of the kgotla. Similarly, the role that material things play

in indicating what role is present is of great interest. For example, the way in which

the tools that women use in cleaning were mobilised in a discussion with one of the participants during fieldwork is interesting. As the participant was busy explaining the significance of the spaces and structures in practices, a woman appeared from the side of the house and started sweeping the front yard, just a few metres away from where we were sitting, using a grass broom. The conversation immediately shifted and Participant 3 said:

> Let me tell you one other aspect, in the yard the women sweep the yard using a grass broom, but at the kgotla the women don't sweep it.

The grass broom represented a stronger association with the women and the residence. To support the women to carry out an activity, the hand broom of dried grass 'fits' in well into this arrangement. The grass broom is light in weight. It is made from natural and locally available material. A woman has to learn how use it. As the broom is used, it wears out in ways specific to the characteristics of the grass. It therefore has to be replaced after a certain period of time. In contrast, the brooms made of branches give weight to the role carried out by men in cleaning outside spaces. Participant 3 said;

> The male children sweep the kgotla using a broom made of branches.

Just like the grass broom, the broom made of branches wears out over time and has to be replaced. But unlike in the residence where the women are still using the grass broom, I observed that the broom made of branches has left this arrangement. But why would the participant mobilise the broom made of branches? It is this shared memory or attachment that makes it possible to enlist broom into this relationship with spaces and men through stories. However, as observed during the research fieldwork, new materials such as a garden spade and rubber rakes have come in to give shape to this arrangement. Unlike the brooms, which were made from cheaply available material things, the spade and the rake are made from materials that last for a long period of time.

The dynamics of cleaning the shared areas are because these people work together to clean these spaces all the time. They know each other very well and they belong to a particular location. It is the ongoing everyday knowledge of each other that enables them to participate in cleaning in such an easy way. They have some rules about what outcomes are possible. They know that somebody has to clean the kgotla clearing and it has to be the men. However, if they live in different areas it is not going to work anymore. They will never get together to clean as a group in such an easy way. The urban fabric of the kgotla allows the community to work together. Sharing labour is part of sharing responsibilities and also making people know that they belong to a community.

Figure 20: People, pots, structure and fire during the cooking of the meat in the cattle kraal

When men are cooking here, during a traditional wedding ceremony, they are with the cattle kraal, kgotla wall, pots, serving dishes, meat and other endless entities and they operate as a unit within which labour is shared and human relationships are understood. Source: Author.

Figure 21: Men, pots, kgotla clearing and things

When the heavy three-legged pot with meat is moved into the kgotla clearing, people, pots, and the open space operate as a unit within which labour is shared. Source: Author.

5.3 DISCUSSION ON THE ROLE OF SPATIAL ACTORS

The role of the urban fabric of the kgotla in enabling and mediating sharing practices cannot be underestimated. The urban fabric itself is a multigenerational role with roles for different people at different stages of life. This multigenerational role is a product of complex and different roles and relationships; different people at different stages of life, a sense of belonging and the urban fabric of the kgotla support it. However, the study has demonstrated that certain spaces and structures, which are considered necessary in sharing practices, are just intermediaries because they do not change the way people are operating. For instance, the wall of the kgotla and cattle kraal in sharing decision-making, though they are important in supporting sharing, just provide a context for various activities that take place in decision-making. As demonstrated in the study, sometimes these spatial actors are omitted, replaced or represented by temporary structures without impacting the significance of the

interactions in sharing practices. This understanding of the role played by the spatial actors in sharing is consistent throughout the sharing practices discussed in this study. The spatial actors participate in sharing by supporting multiple sharing practices.

However, as observed from this study, people share the physical location, which is defined by the urban fabric of the kgotla, and the urban fabric supports a sense of belonging to a community. Sharing practices discussed in this study support a sense of belonging to a community. Most importantly, sharing decision-making and sharing labour are supported by the physical proximity while sharing experience only needs occasional proximity. That is, if you live in the same area and you never shared decision or labour you would not feel as much like a community as you do share decision-making. Also, if you live in a physical location and you share decision-making or labour and you never share experience, you would feel as much like a community as you do also share experience. But if you did not share a physical location and you never share either decision-making or labour but you do share experience, you would still feel a little bit like a community but probably not enough. What these relationships show is that types of sharing play a role in creating a sense of belonging to a community.

The findings have shown that each of the three different sharing practices helps to build the sense of belonging within the community and the urban fabric of the kgotla plays a particular role. If the urban fabric is taken away, then some of the practices will continue but over time they will change because the important things that they are supporting, that is the sense of belonging to the community, will gradually weaken or disappear because it can only exist if it is reinforced by multiple sharing practices

and the urban fabric of the kgotla provides the environment within which all sharing practices work. Similarly, people would not feel they belong to a particular community, or the community they identify with will not be the community of the kgotla. The urban fabric of the kgotla is important because it supports the multiple sharing practices that help build a sense of belonging in a community. The urban fabric of the kgotla also provides the physical context which helps people to play out those roles.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overview of the relationships between the multiplicity of roles in sharing practices and the urban fabric of the kgotla. This study has demonstrated that, firstly, sharing practices are active in communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla. Within any particular sharing practice, the existence and allocation of roles within the practice enables the sharing to take place so that when all roles are performed the activity can take place with everyone cooperating. Secondly, the study has demonstrated that movable and spatial actors come in to indicate that the role is present. For instance, the study has shown that sometimes the spatial actors such as the courtyard, house and kgotla wall but also movable things like the chairs, garments and blankets allow everyone to recognise that a person is playing a particular role. Most importantly, the study has shown that sharing practices are supported by particular qualities of the urban fabric of the kgotla. It has also shown that sometimes these spatial actors can be omitted or replaced without impacting the significance of the relationships in sharing practices.

The discussion identifies cultural ideas such as responsibility, experience, sense of belonging and others as crucial actors that assemble all these human and nonhuman actors together in sharing practices. The study has shown how each of the sharing practices plays a role in creating a sense of belonging to a community and since the urban fabric of the kgotla supports multiple sharing practices, it helps build a sense of belonging in a community. Finally, the chapter concluded with a discussion on the role of the urban fabric of the kgotla. As demonstrated in the following chapter, the relationships between sharing practices and the urban environment of the kgotla also contribute to the resilience of the community. The next chapter explores the multiplicity of actors that contribute to community resilience.

CHAPTER SIX

RESILIENCE OF THE COMMUNITY AS AN EMERGENT QUALITY

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents resilience promoting concepts emerging from this study which include people-place relationships; community togetherness; community problem solving; getting along; knowledge, skills and learning; ability to cope with divisions; ability to cope with change; social networks and support; and values and beliefs. These concepts emerge from the study that focused on the relationships between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the traditional urban form of the kgotla. This section of the study assumed that the urban form that will best serve regional communities of Botswana will need to foster community resilience and new initiatives will be needed to accomplish this. The potential contribution of the traditional urban form to facilitate and strengthen the people's sharing practices and hence resilience needs to be assessed and understood. The study also asks how community resilience can become an effect produced by a particular association of humans and non-humans within the urban environment of the kgotla. This section of the thesis responds to part 1 of the research aim, which hypothesises that there is a relationship between sharing practices and the resilience of communities.

6.1 THE EMERGENT QUALITIES OF THE COMMUNITY THAT AID RESILIENCE

The data from the transcribed interviews was analysed using Nvivo Software for evidence of themes relating to concepts of resilience. Themes relevant to resilience identified from 4 key texts, summarised in Table 1 (see page 40, this thesis) were mapped against themes that emerged from my research data. The emergent themes in

my data reflected themes identified in all 4 texts, but most closely reflected the themes developed by Kulig et al. (2010). The themes that emerged from my research data during the data analysis phase resonated with themes set out in one or more of the models developed in the key texts analysed in Table 1 (see page 40, this thesis), as set out below:

- Community togetherness (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010));

- Community problem solving (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010);

- Getting along (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010);

- Ability to cope with division (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010);

- Ability to cope with change (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010);

- Social Networks (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010) and Support (Buikstra et al. 2010; Doron 2005);

- Leadership (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010);

- People-place relationships (Berkes & Ross 2013);

- Values and beliefs (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Doron 2005); and

- Knowledge, skills and learning (Berkes & Ross 2013; Doron 2005).

These themes have structured my discussion of resilience in this chapter, as set out in the sections that follow.

6.1.1 People-place relationships

The relevance of people-place relationships as discussed in detail in Chapters Four and Five attest to this important link that aids community resilience. The importance of relationships between some qualities of the urban environment of the kgotla,

people and things in sharing practices is strongly emphasised as a network arrangement within which human relationships are understood and hence, community resilience. From people living in the urban environment of the kgotla, the community's own gathering places become an important asset in providing a setting for discussing individual and community issues and as well as allowing sharing activities. Participant 2 said:

> The *kgotla* is the place where issues are discussed, is where all activities of the *kgotla* are shared and addressed. It is the place that brings people together.

It also encourages cooperation, as Participant 9 said:

> The only thing that holds the kgotla together is cooperation. Our cooperation is the only thing that can strengthen our kgotla; that is the only thing

According to McManus et al. (2012), the importance of local practices and other attributes such as the quality of the urban environment are crucial in enhancing a strong sense of local community and potential for resilience. The urban environment of the kgotla provides a supportive environment for the individual and the community. It provides a stable environment for people to come together, share and cooperate, and plays a crucial role in strengthening the network of relationships between people and their environment. Thus, in the context of this study, the resilience of the community is attributed to all these emergent qualities of sharing, commitment to work together, cooperation and many others articulated in this chapter and elsewhere, mobilised by sharing processes in the urban environment of the kgotla.

6.1.2 Community problem-solving process

In relation to community problem-solving processes, what is valued in these communities is that people can live together with the understanding they will have the support of others and many other associated things in negotiating their problems or challenges. They will have the support of the community members and many others

in negotiating whatever challenges they may face either in their own residences or in the public place of the kgotla. It is also about the idea that people can continue living side by side with others, in a community, and work together towards shaping a disciplined environment so that everyone can live harmoniously with everyone cooperating. Problems that emerged from interviews included resolving conflicts or disputes, fights, harassment, not getting along together, and many others not mentioned here. Participant 3 said:.

> Now, when we are like this in the kgotla, when someone has a problem with the other, when we owe each other, when they have fought or when they have any other conflicts, they first had to go to their elder siblings through their seniority.

The problem-solving arrangement pays attention to the idea that it has to be negotiated first at home with the support of immediate relatives. The process also draws on the support of different kinds of roles and the way these roles are ordered within the hierarchical structure of the community or group. As such, 'seniority' within the families and the community is an active participant in the way people are operating in problem-solving processes as evidenced in the interviews. The people value this initial step because it encourages an environment characterised by commitment to unity and 'cooperation' within or between family members. Participant 9 said:

> The only thing that holds the kgotla together is cooperation……. The *kgotla* is the cooperation of the people.

The way the community approaches problem solving was seen as a particularly important attribute in creating a platform through which a shared approach, which everyone understands, is realised. Everyone knows where they belong within the structure of the group. For instance, in conflict resolution when a matter remains unresolved, the community would further enlist the support of an elder within the ordering of the structure of the group to step in and preside over the issue. However,

if the matter relates specifically to a woman, the matter is negotiated and settled inside

the residence and will never reach the 'headperson' or the kgotla. Matters relating to

women such as internal disputes, quarrels, fights and theft, are commonly agreed

upon and settled at home. Participant 10 said:

> When it's girls we never thrash them, most of their transgressions can be solved at
> home, and when we reprimand they normally listen and never repeat them.

It is also about the way spaces and places are negotiated into the processes as

illustrated from above. The place of the kgotla draws on unresolved issues from the

residences, which mostly involve men. Thus, if the elder(s) are unable to agree on the

decision concerning the matter at home, the process would further interest the eldest

among all of them, that is the headperson and hence the kgotla. Participant 9 said:

> If they are unable to mediate, they take the issue to the *kgotla*, and if they are still
> unable to solve the issue, the matter is taken to the higher *kgotla* this side.

Upon receiving the notification to participate, the headperson would send someone or

sometimes enter into every residence and invite the other experienced individuals and

the people at large to a meeting at a time agreed between the concerned family and

the other kgotla elders. On the arranged date and time, the headperson together with

the other elders would take their chairs and gather in the open space of the kgotla.

Order in seating arrangement is observed in these gatherings. Thus, the headperson

and kgotla elders would sit by the kgotla wall while the rest of the people would sit on

the opposite side facing them. While in the kgotla, the headperson and together with

the support of a group of kgotla elders, would then take over the matter and open the

discussion to the rest of the people. In this type of gathering everyone is free to raise

their opinions in the decision-making process (Moumakwa 2008; 2011; Schapera

1953; 1955). The headperson, by virtue of their position within the structure, presides

over all the activities in the kgotla. After engaging in an open discussion with the rest

of the people, the kgotla elders would provide a summary and the headperson would then announce the decision they have reached with the group of advisors on the matter. This is the way in which decisions are taken in the place of the kgotla. It is also expected that the headperson would act with the consent of the people in the decision-making.

It is important to note that this specific process in problem solving in the life of the community living in the urban environment of the kgotla is the main organising effect. Thus, the gathering of people and things over problem-solving networks represents the way in which people are operating while the relationships between the different parts represents an outcome of the practice in which people and diverse things are relationally pooled into residences, chairs in the courtyard or in the place of the kgotla. Similarly, it is also about emergent concepts such as 'seniority', 'cooperation', and 'strengthen our kgotla' discussion and 'mediation' mobilised by the problem-solving processes in the environment of the kgotla. From Kulig et al. (2010, p. 391), resilience is influenced by 'the ability to use community problem solving process'. Thus, in these communities, problem-solving indicators are mobilised as evidenced in the interviews and that makes the community resilient.

6.1.3 Community togetherness

In a historical urban setting of the kgotla, where the people have 'historical intimacy with their lands' according to Kulig et al. (2010), what is valued is the idea that the urban environment enables harmonious relations and a kind of disciplined environment to operate so that people can get along with each other. Thus, the way the people (the community) organise themselves or respond to an individual's or groups' concern on a daily basis and as well as during cultural activities is connected

to the key qualities that define the cohesiveness and togetherness of the community.

More often than not, various practices such as sharing experiences and labour

(discussed in detail in Chapter Five) shape the experience of togetherness. The

capacity of the community to manage difficulties, broker change, and engage in

culturally significant traditions is dependent on the community working together.

Participant 2 said:

> When you see the men sitting by the fire at the kgotla, then you would know that there is something that they are gathered there for; when there is a marriage, a case to be tried or someone has died.

Also Participant 11 said:

> We all come together and help each other, we also contribute money in our different yards and all the money is taken to the yard that is hosting the function.

As illustrated from the above quotations (and as discussed in Chapters Four and Five),

the gatherings are reinforced by the symbolic order and they are also reinforced by the

physical structures of the urban environment. Men gather in the place of the kgotla

while women use the residence. This symbolic ordering is unique to these urban

communities and is about the idea that everybody does their bit within the community

towards shaping their future together as a group. These communities understand that

it is through their support for one another that the strength of the community can be

realised (Ncube 2010; Swanson 2008). These activities, such as cleaning the shared

space together, checking on one another on a regular basis, and helping one another

materially or otherwise, perhaps with some of the changes already acknowledged in

Chapter Five, are a positive step towards maintaining and developing community

togetherness. Community togetherness is also fostered through voluntary

contributions, as illustrated in the above quotation, which each residence makes

towards helping other members of the community during both good and difficult

times.

6.1.4 Knowledge, skills and learning

Skills and knowledge need to be learned and shared to provide significant support in the future, given challenges that contemporary forms of life bring to these communities. Such skills and knowledge, which are grounded in the community's way of life, include sharing, the ability to engage with others, listening, belonging, respect, and serving or supporting one another. The ways in which these important concepts are passed on from one generation to another contribute to the resilience of the community. In the environment of the kgotla, there are ongoing formal and informal activities through which young (male) individuals are expected to acquire skills and necessary knowledge through listening and sometimes participating in asking questions in community gatherings. Participant 4 said:

> When growing up you would be called to the kgotla; where you would sit by the fire with men and ask questions.

In these gatherings, parents, elders and community leaders (who are predominately men) share their experiences with the young adults on different issues and situations. As argued in Chapter Four, this historically male orientated practice has become more open to women. The belief is that, when they grow up they will be able to establish the connections should they experience a similar condition in their life and apply the learning effectively. Participant 2 said:

> Then the children would learn about all the issues right there, and because they are growing up, they would need to learn about the norms of the Setswana culture.

As Doron suggests, a learning community is resilient when it is not only preparing but also practising for different situations (2005). Similarly, preparing the children and engaging them in various roles as they grow up also plays into the way knowledge and skills are transferred between members in these communities, Participant 4 said:

> As for the children, whenever there is any activity or function that brings us together, they get into any compound and help. You were told everything.

Being able to appreciate the roles and the duties that they are assigned in the everyday trials of life as well as in shared activities such as weddings and funerals exposes children to situations where they can observe how things are done. Learning in this way is observed to be equally important in enhancing the resilience of the individual as well as of the community.

6.1.5 Social networks and support

In relation to social networks and support, the presence of relationships involving families, friends and other relations based on shared cultural or economic interest were identified as critical resilience indicators (Buikstra et al. 2010). Similarly, the evidence of strong supportive networks that participate in various sharing practices, as discussed in detail in Chapter Five, were identified as key resources for the resilience of the community. Firstly, there is an organising arrangement comprising the family network that provides, for example, a stable environment for sharing decision-making to take place. Participant 14 said:

> We all come together, in our yard and discuss as family first before the case is taken to the kgotla elder. We have to do this because it shows respect.

Secondly, there is also an extended family network, as Participant 5 said:

> But when you stay in our kgotla…. when you want it I will help you, I would also be helping myself.

Lastly, there is also a supportive network from the neighbouring residences and community groupings that provide a timely setting for sharing, for example sharing goods, as Participant 12 said:

> During functions we borrow [from] each other lots of stuff; you can even go to a different kgotla to borrow three-legged pots.

Or sharing labour, Participant 1 said:

> People come in large numbers to help in performing some of the tasks, even digging the grave…. and the elders oversee everything from the kgotla.

All these networks participate in holding in place an understanding that everyone living in the urban environment of the kgotla adheres to in most instances. The communities are interdependent, they rely on each other. In the absence of other support, these communities have learned to draw on each other's resources, and share labour and know-how. The structure of the kgotla makes this interdependence easy to manage and everyone has a role to play. Thus, these networks of relationships have a role in supporting multiple sharing practices play into the resilience of the community.

6.1.6 Getting along

As an important entity that influences the resilience of the community, getting along as a community enhances interactions between individuals in a way that strengthens and unifies the group (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). For these communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla, getting along can be attributed to the historic character of the urban setting and ties of kinship relationships. In recent years, more and more people have been integrated into these communities, thus creating new kinds of relationships. However, the majority of the families or groups still perceive their communities as a kinship arrangement because some new members have attained 'extended family' ties over time. When asked about how they interact in functions, Participant 8 said:

> We are a united people. We meet, and if one of us has nothing to offer materially, they offer their ideas. We assist each other in functions, wholeheartedly.

The participant calls attention to the special interest in the unification of the people and in assisting one another in functions. These are the primary entities that define participation in these communities. For other participants, the cohesive appeal of the urban form of the kgotla brings people together, as Participant 10 said:

> When you live somewhere and you are all strangers, you may have something that
> unites you; and this could be the kgotla.

Others highlighted the cooperation between elders and as well as between young

individuals as necessary for getting along in various activities, as Participant 12 said:

> The elders cooperate very well and even the young people cooperate because we
> know that when there is a function we have to go and assist. If our parents are not
> around, we become their representatives in these functions.

All these qualities give character to the interactions that give rise to this important

aspect of a resilient community. They operate as a network that gives rise to the

interactions in community activities. Getting along in these communities is

characterised by a network of relationships involving the urban form of the kgotla,

elders, young individuals, and other endless things within which community

resilience is realised.

6.1.7 Leadership

Many researchers in the field of resilience have identified leadership within the

community as a participant in a network of relationships that give rise to community

resilience (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Doron 2005; Kulig, Hegney &

Edge 2010). In the study that Doron (2005) developed, leadership is intrinsic in

defining the qualities of a community leadership and the roles they must take on in

order to strengthen the resilience of the community. According to Doron (2005, p.

187), the leaders must have what other scholars refer to as a 'positive outlook', that is

the ability 'to see a crisis in the context of the community's identity and to use it to

rebuild and challenge the community's view of itself'. The role of the leadership is to

guide the community towards working together as a unit in order to meet the specific

needs of the people.

In the urban environment of the kgotla, leadership is organised in a hierarchical arrangement based on lineage (see Chapter Four for details). However, in recent years this model of leadership has become more open to other qualities of life. One of the duties of the leadership is to preside over all the activities within the urban setting and most importantly, as discussed in many interviews, to mediate between people when there are conflicts, as Participant 10 said:

> When in the kgotla, we have a kgotla elder and one of his duties is to mediate between people when there are conflicts between them.

6.1.8 Values and beliefs

The importance of shared values and beliefs among community members has been identified as one of the characteristics that a community needs to activate in order to be resilient (Berkes & Ross 2013; Buikstra et al. 2010; Doron 2005). From the traditional African value system, to the regional communities of Botswana, a community mode of living is embraced over individualism since what is shared collectively such as values and beliefs defines the community (Hord & Lee 1995). There is a shared value system placed upon the symbolic ordering as reflected in the physical environment of the kgotla (Reid et al. 1997; Schapera 1953; 1955; 1972) (explained in detail in Chapter Four), as Participant 1 said:

> Whenever you arrived, you would face the kraal gate, when you face there…the kraal gate is facing that yard's gate. You would then know that the yard whose gate is facing the kraal's gate is the eldest one.

Similarly, it is also about the way in which people have shaped structures and spaces to reflect their culture (Hardie 1981), as Participant 13 said:

> The men never hold their discussions in the yard, they hold them in the kgotla, and they can't be placed in an open area to hold their discussions.

The views on shared traditional political values, belonging to the same or similar urban setting and shared understanding are seen as more beneficial to strengthening

the resilience of the community. However, due to changes in the way positions within the political structure are negotiated, the community's vision of their urban setting has to change with their new environments.

6.1.9 Ability to cope with change

According to Kulig and colleagues (2010), for the community to work together they should be able to deal with change in a positive way. As observed in Chapters Four and Five, the changes that are taking place participate in shaping and reshaping the established relationships in the urban environment of the kgotla. The changes play into the physical environment and into the ways of life of the people. The participants suggest that the changes are not recognising the role of the traditional political structures and the people are left behind, Participant 1 said:

> Now when we look at the developments they are so rapid that we are governed by politicians…. not by our cultural leaders. 'Development' is leaving us behind as people, we are left behind.
>
> It doesn't encourage the kgotla system.

The wishes of the people are not carried along in the new administrative arrangement. The wishes of the people is to be allowed to continue to live in groupings, for it is something that brings them together them, as Participant 10 said:

> When you live somewhere and you are all strangers, you may have something that unites you; and this could be the kgotla.

Similarly, there are also changes in the way new materials have come in to continue the established relationships in the physical environment of the kgotla. With the coming in of new and durable materials, natural resources such as wood and soil, mostly used for building or maintaining traditional structures, are now placed under strict restrictions. People are now required to apply for permits to harvest natural resources. Participant 4 said:

> To make it easier, you just have to get one permit to build a permanent house, and then you build a wall and decorate it so that you don't always have to buy it when you need soil.

The skills that people used to apply in making structures such as walls or decorating are disappearing or have disappeared and their ways of living, as Participant 4 said:

> Back then the thorn bushes that enclosed our residences used to be beautiful, they were erected with skill, the soil we used on our huts was beautiful because skilled people applied it. Nowadays developments have made people turn away from their culture… that is what has destroyed our way of living.

Looking at these two developments, there is something more about the people that the developments are failing to address; the developments are made for the people not with the people. However, the coming in of new materials to continue the established order of the urban environment has produced some flexibility within the people. The community is open to change and new ideas. This particular shift in the way of doing things is an important aspect of the resilience of the community.

6.1.10 Ability to cope with divisions

Scholars of community resilience have observed that, for the community to work together, its ability to cope with divisions plays an important role in negotiations (Kulig, Hegney & Edge 2010). The divisions referred to are mostly associated with individual differences and to some extent cultural diversity (Buikstra et al. 2010). In this study for instance, the significance of the traditional political system based on kinship cannot be underestimated. Participants discussed the influences of kinship relationships as having shaped the ways of living in the past, as Participant 14 said:

> Life in the kgotla is great, we help each other, we work together in all forms of functions. That is how life is, as kinsman.

The coming in of new residents in recent years brought a new perspective, as Participant 1 said:

> Now we are all mixed up in the kgotla, before then when we used to live as one
> extended family in the kgotla, we first of all used to all know each other, secondly we
> helped each other and thirdly we consulted each other.

The perspective brought about by mixing up the traditional urban communities seems to suggest that people do not know, help or consult each other. However, when asked the main reason why this urban environment of the kgotla still exists in modern day regional communities, Participant said:

> To build the nation, to acquaint people with each other.

The way the urban environment of the kgotla is organised and the way people engage in various activities has a particular way of acquainting people with one another. The urban environment of the kgotla is an instrument for mitigating diversity. Understood in this way, the urban environment can play a crucial role in contemporary regional communities by integrating people locally as neighbours, as a community and as nation. It plays a positive role in building resilient communities.

6.2 THE ROLE OF SHARING PRACTICES IN FOSTERING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE

 By using the adopted model of community resilience as discussed in Chapter Two, the interaction between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices collectively addresses a wide range of needs of the people that are consistent with aspects of the traditional urban form of the kgotla. To understand the role that sharing practices play, we need to pay attention to the relationships they attend to, interaction as a collective unit, developing a sense of community and community participation of the model as discussed below.

6.2.1 Interaction as a collective unit

The loss of infrastructure and the subsequent loss of opportunities for interaction and networking are identified as key threats to rural sustainability (Kulig, Hegney & Edge

2010). These two aspects are essential for this study to critically assess and understand the potential contribution of the traditional urban form of the kgotla to the future regional communities of Botswana while these urban forms and the ways of life are still present. As established in Chapter Five, sharing practices have been central to the traditional ways of life in communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla (Swanson 2008). By drawing on a combination of resilience models, sharing practices (see Chapter Five for details) show that they can attend to a wide range of issues in the community while at the same time supporting the established cultural values system of *botho* (embracing the spirit of community, caring, respect, sharing, support, belonging – see Chapter 1) that all people understand (Ncube 2010). Shared values of botho are mobilised in sharing practices.

Activities relating to various sharing practices play an important role in the way the urban environment of the kgotla is mobilised, enlisted and enrolled into their network by enhancing relationships that foster feelings of 'kinships', 'hierarchy', 'symbolic order' and 'getting along'. Sharing practices mobilise these qualities of the community in a wide range of activities, functions and allow for endless levels of interchanges that foster interactions to exist. Some activities or functions are exclusive while the majority are inclusive. According to Harod and Lee (1995) what matters and defines the community is what is shared collectively such as beliefs and values. Communities are inclusive in the sense that everyone is free to participate in the actual function while some are exclusive in the sense that there are beliefs and values that are observed.

The activities in sharing practices engage the immediate community and extend beyond the boundaries of the physical environment (see Chapter Five for details) and recognise the neighbourhoods and the community's ways of doing things. Sharing practices participate in enhancing community members' sense of belonging. By paying attention to the established order, ways of doing things, and the role of the physical environment, sharing practices can organise and order activities that naturally result in increased community resilience.

6.2.2 Developing a sense of community

In almost all sharing practices, a designated group of parents, elders and the community leader is responsible for negotiating decision-making processes that influence activities in the urban environment of the kgotla. However, ceremonial activities require the leading group to work together with the rest of the community. The openness and willingness of the process to bring in other members of the community is in itself a positive move in developing cohesiveness and togetherness of the community. According to Kulig and colleagues (2010), a community's sense of togetherness can be promoted even further through activities that increase the pride within its membership. In these communities, community pride can be associated with practices that take into consideration beliefs and values of the people such as the practices of counselling the bride and the groom, and sharing experiences, knowledge and skills. It is also about everyday activities such as the cleaning of the shared spaces, which are normally associated with functions, even if there is no tangible group activity taking place, as Participant 1 said:

> People once saw me cleaning the kgotla and asked me if there was going to be a wedding… there is nothing that is going to take place. I am cleaning the kgotla.

Community pride can also be derived from the practice of looking after another's residence when they are away or even on a daily basis, as Participant 7 said:

> When you see something happening at my yard, you have the right to go and ask what is happening.

These quotations illustrate the importance of the relationships between the community living in the urban environment of the kgotla and their ways of doing things that strengthen their sense of community. They also illustrate the importance of the connection between the overall shared commitment or responsibilities towards their own urban environment and to one another and community resilience.

6.2.3 Community participation

Given the presence of the physical environment of the kgotla, the community, community leaders and the ways of doing things advocate for ways in which sharing practices need to be understood to endure in shaping future communities. As discussed in this thesis, processes surrounding any particular sharing practices such as sharing experiences or decision-making mobilise the participation of the community in ways that are unique to these environments. The experience of having lived in this urban setting and the support provided by the elders and leaders is an effective tool towards shaping a disciplined environment so that everyone can leave harmoniously with everyone cooperating, as Participant 9 said:

> The only thing that holds the kgotla together is cooperation. Our cooperation is the only thing that can strengthen our kgotla.

The people value these processes because it encourages an environment characterised by commitment to unity and cooperation within and between family members and the local group. Sharing practices play an important role in addressing the challenges and successes of the people. For example, sharing decision-making in conflict management can mobilise the relevant members of the community to help address the

divisions between people. It can also facilitate an environment within which traditionally knowledgeable members of the group can share their experiences on past events in order to shape the community's ways of doing things.

6.3 CONCLUSION

My exploration of the sharing relationships within the kgotla found many points of connection with the components of resilience identified in the models developed in the key texts analysed in Table 1 (page 40). This provides support for the idea that sharing and resilience are connected. My research focussed, in particular, upon sharing relationships within the negotiation of special occasions. Further research into everyday sharing relationships would need to be done, in order to confirm the significance of the relationship between sharing and resilience.

My research supports the idea that the sharing practices of the kgotla may play a role in community resilience. Further, the study has demonstrated the way in which community resilience can be seen as an effect, or outcome produced by the relationships between humans and nonhumans in the sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. The contributions of sharing practices to the components of the resilience model demonstrate that these practices are meaningful to local groups. Paying attention and cultivating these practices may strengthen the resilience of the communities even further. This understanding suggest the role that the urban form of the kgotla should play in advocating for urban planning practices that seek to foster resilient communities in Botswana. The resilience of the urban environment of the kgotla is not about practices versus the physical structures, but it involves the ways in which residents operate, including in local sharing practices, the quality of the

urban environment and a sense of community among residents. Attending to the significance of these relationships will help to build a future consistent with aspects of the urban form that are valuable and the ways of life.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This research has provided an analysis of multiple sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla in the regional community of Kanye in Botswana. This analysis has explored the economic forms of interactions and influences, which shape sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. By drawing on the insight provided by the theoretical framework supported by actor-network theory, and also drawing on the heritage of thinking about material culture, practices and the lived experience of the urban form that was nurtured with earlier works of social theory, the research has provided a unique reading of the material processes of sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. Sharing practices, which are central to this study, have been positioned as the product of the multiplicity of interactions between collections of humans, spatial actors, movable things, cultural ideas, and the established order in the urban environment of the kgotla. In following the multiplicity of the interactions between diverse actors assembled in sharing practices, this research further positioned community resilience as an effect or outcome produced by such interactions. The interpretative lens of actor-network theory provided an opportunity to explore the complex interactions and, most importantly, establishes an approach and a set of questions around sharing practices and the resilience of the communities as important to urban form in regional communities of Botswana. What do communities need? What can be replaced? What matters?

Although the interest of this investigation has been to explore the relationship between sharing practices and the urban fabric of the kgotla, the evaluation has focused on how the urban fabric of the kgotla is important. Positioned as something that contains complex and different roles and different relationships, and different people at different stages of life, the urban environment of the kgotla provided a distinctive site for sharing practices to be closely examined. The three sharing practices discussed are sharing decision-making, sharing experience and sharing labour based on special activities, rather than everyday activities. The exploration of these sharing practices has provided an opportunity for further investigation of the connections between sharing practices and the ways of life in communities in the urban fabric of the kgotla, not only in Kanye, but in other similar regional communities.

In concluding this research, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section evaluates the research aims of the study by looking into how each of the research questions has been achieved. The second section reviews the limitations of the study, while the third section discusses future opportunities for expanding actor-network research. Lastly, the fourth section provides some concluding remarks.

7.1 EVALUATING AIMS

The interest of this study was in exploring the role of the urban fabric of the kgotla in supporting sharing practices. Three key research questions were asked in order to explore the multiple and complex people and environment relationships in sharing practice. The first question sought to ask if sharing practices are real in the way people are operating in these communities, while the second question sought to

explore the different ways in which particular qualities of the urban fabric support these sharing practices. Lastly, the third question explores how community resilience can be seen as an effect produced by particular associations of humans and nonhumans in the urban environment of the kgotla. This section of the thesis summarises how these research questions were realised.

7.1.1 Question One: Are sharing practices active in communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla in Botswana?

The first question of this research was to demonstrate that sharing practices are active and crucial to the way people operate in communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla in regional communities of Botswana. They are also an outcome of multiple and complex interactions between humans, nonhumans, the established order and cultural ideas. Sharing practices provided an umbrella concept to study the relationships between people and things in these communities and the interpretative lens provided by actor-network theory was crucial in tracing the role of actors in sharing. The analysis paid particular attention to the different and complex ways in which humans, nonhumans, symbolic order and cultural ideas participate in sharing practices. Throughout the chapters, the study has demonstrated the different ways in which the multiplicity of the relationships and roles played by each network of actors can be understood.

In relation to the contribution of each chapter to this discussion, Chapter Four focused on the role of the established symbolic order, which plays a meaningful role in the way people operate in various sharing practices. From the literature, researchers exploring material culture of the urban fabric of the kgotla have explained the established order in many ways, but to explore this concept through roles is unique to

this research. Firstly, the chapter illustrated that the established order is played out through roles. A number of roles that exist such as headperson, kgotla elders, family elders etc. in the urban environment of the kgotla and their hierarchical ordering were discussed. In particular, the chapter explored the way in which roles assemble particular people and things into sharing practices. The chapter also illustrated a shifting trend in the way roles are negotiated, and has shown that they have become more open to aspects of life other than lineage. This shift has a bearing on the symbolic order. The established symbolic order manifests in the way people are operating in sharing practices and it has little or nothing to do with the significant attributes that support it. Secondly, the chapter also offers an insight into other attributes besides roles, such as physical spaces or places and movable things, which also participate in the symbolic order. The chapter illustrates how these attributes when observed through an actor-network theory lens play a significant role in the way we understand the symbolic order that informs human relationships in various sharing practices.

However, the role of physical spaces and places and movable things is best addressed in Chapter Five that focuses specifically on sharing practices. The chapter explored processes relating to three sharing practices: sharing decision-making, sharing experience and sharing labour. In these explorations, the study illustrated that the presence and distribution of roles within the practice enable sharing to take place and spatial actors and movable things support those roles. Interestingly, the study has demonstrated that certain spatial actors such as the cattle kraal and the wall of the kgotla, which are traditionally considered essential to roles, are indeed intermediaries in the way people are operating and they just provide a support for sharing practices.

The chapter also demonstrated that sharing practices also support a sense of belonging to a community and the urban fabric of the kgotla provides a physical context, which helps people play out those roles.

Lastly, Chapter Six explored further the multiplicity of actors in sharing practices against the key qualities that aid community resilience established through resilience theory. These attributes were compared against the established models of community resilience from various scholars including Buikstra et al. (2010), Kulig and colleagues (2010) and Berkes and Ross (2013) to develop the adapted model shown in Figure 22 In this chapter, we understand how resilience promoting concepts emerge from the study that focused on the relationships between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. This understanding illustrates further that sharing practices are active and necessary in fostering resilient communities of the future.

In summary, this study has demonstrated that what is important in sharing practices is the shared commitment to values such as shared participation, care, support, harmony, belonging and a disciplined environment, so that people can work with everyone cooperating. On the other hand, what is shared includes but is not limited to shared responsibility for decisions that are made, shared experience as a basis for performing roles, and responsibility for doing things such as cleaning. In all sharing practices, roles are important for how sharing works and different people play different roles in sharing practices. However, the assignment of roles to individuals is pre-destined based on harmony and continuity in the sharing practices. Thus, the existence of roles allows sharing practices to happen easily, because everyone agrees that responsibility in sharing practices is given to different people based on roles.
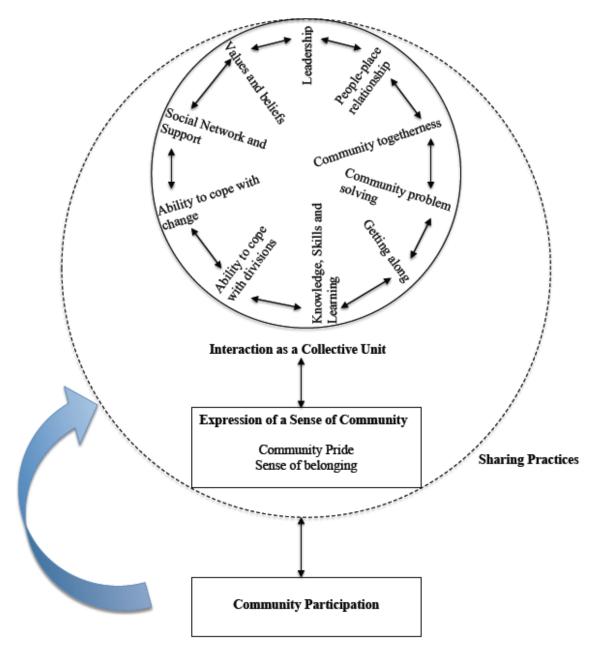
Figure 22: Adapted model from Kulig, Hegney and Edge (2010)

7.1.2 Question Two: If sharing practices are active, in what ways does the traditional urban fabric of the kgotla support these sharing practices?

Following from Question One, which demonstrated that sharing practices are active in the way humans and nonhumans are operating in the urban environment of the kgotla, the second research question illustrated how nonhumans and designed things support the multiple sharing practices. Chapter Five demonstrated how sharing practices are supported by particular qualities of the urban fabric of the kgotla. The study illustrated how important each sharing practice is in the life of the community and it showed that each sharing practice helps build a sense of belonging to a community. Throughout all the explorations, the study showed that what is valuable and important for sharing practices to continue in the future is some qualities of the urban fabric of the kgotla that support them. This provided an answer to the question: *Why is the urban fabric of the kgotla important?* It is important because it support the multiple sharing practices that help build a sense of belonging in a community.

However, the argument of the thesis is not about how to preserve the kgotla uncritically. Instead it is about understanding how people creatively use the urban fabric of the kgotla to support sharing practices, which foster the resilience of the community. The urban fabric of the kgotla needs to be understood for how it provides spaces, enclosures and context for these multiple sharing practices to happen. The research demonstrated in a number of ways how the spatial actors such as wall of the kgotla, courtyard and cattle kraal are supporting sharing practices and how some spaces or places can be substituted or omitted without impacting the significance of the relationships that are valued in sharing practice. Similarly, the research demonstrated how new materials, such as brick and mortar in the wall of the

courtyard, have negotiated their way into the structural elements to help hold in place the relationships that support a sharing environment. Lastly, the research demonstrated how this understanding of the role of the urban fabric can be used to build for the future in ways that are consistent with those aspects of the urban form that are valuable.

7.1.3 Question Three: How can community resilience be an effect produced by interactions between humans and non-humans within the sharing practices of the kgotla?

The third question of the research focused on exploring further the potential contribution that the actor-network perspective provides in exploring human and nonhuman relationships with all social forms. The research broadened the actor-network theory perspective through the exploration of attributes or characteristics of the community that give shape to the society as an effect of the interactions between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. This study positioned community resilience as an effect produced by particular associations of humans and nonhumans in sharing. As a result, the way the actor-network theory approach was deployed in this study recognised that sharing practices are wrapped around the interconnected arrays of relationships between a sharing community and the urban form of the kgotla. These networks of relationships made it possible to follow the actors in their twists and turns in sharing which allows key qualities of the community that aid resilience to be discovered through the investigation.

7.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As Widlok suggests, 'sharing happens for the sake of sharing of substances and of shared participation in life' (Widlok 2004, p. 62). Sharing is shaped by the resources

being shared and the shared participation (Wagner 1991; Widlok 2004). However, what is important is the forms of relationships that are wrapped around the resources and the interactions that shape sharing and this is influenced by many factors including geographical context and cultural environment. The processes by which sharing practices were followed in this study may help understand many other practices in other similar cultural contexts and in particular, how they are supported by particular qualities of the urban environment in which they take place.

For sharing decision-making and sharing experience, I based the investigation on the recollection of the 15 participant interviewees while in some cases my observations played a crucial role in filling the gap. Where the participant attended the interview alone, it was common for the participant to indicate that they did not know much beyond the question asked which limited further exploration of the activity in that particular interview. But since the study is not about participants but is instead about the actors themselves, this allowed me to follow up the actors when conducting further interviews. However, most of the interviews were attended by more than one participant, thus making the recollection session much more refreshing and revealing when they explored the actors together.

The fieldwork activities in Kanye, Botswana for this study were impacted by financial resources, which limited the duration of the fieldwork, by the dynamics of the social context and by the geographical location of the study area distant from the research office. As time was a major constraint in data collection, the study managed to follow a number of actors through in-depth interviews and observations without limiting itself to a specified number of participants. However, it was not about the number of

interviews, as the aim of this study was to follow actors in their twists and turns as they negotiate in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. Follow up interview session would have been ideal to explore emerging actors such as belonging, proximity etc., which were initially under-investigated in the first interviews. However, it proved difficult to arrange the visit due to lack of resources.

7.3 FUTURE ACTOR-NETWORKS

Findings from this study suggest several opportunities for further research. While the study focused on the relationships between sharing practices and the urban fabric of the kgotla, the data collection was only conducted with residents living in these communities in Kanye. There were instances where the investigations of these relationships also draw upon contemporary urban communities to tease out some accounts. As such, a future study could increase the scope of the work to include more communities in the town of Kanye and cover a number of important issues including everyday activities. One of those issues is the coexistence of the urban fabric of the kgotla and contemporary urban forms. Their inclusion in the research would allow a diverse view of the analysis of material processes in sharing practices in urban environments where the spatial relations are very different. Secondly, this analysis could provide a picture of the nature of the sharing practices, if there are any in contemporary urban communities, compared to those established in this thesis.

In a similar approach, research could be expanded to other regional towns, such as in a regional town of Molepolole in Kweneng District, which have a similar urban environment to the study area. Chapter Five noted that some of the practices differ from one place to another, one community to another, and thus an analysis of a

different sharing community would provide another complex reading of how the urban fabric supports sharing practices.

As stated in this study, community resilience emerges as an outcome of the material processes of sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. However, the emergence of this quality of the community living in the urban environment of the kgotla is revealing the good qualities of the urban fabric and their impact in shaping the ways of life. More general research specifically on the area of resilience would bring greater understanding in this area and a further study could be carried out to find how these practices can be best cultivated to strengthen the resilience of communities in the future as they face change in modern, globalising Botswana.

7.4 CONCLUSION

This research has followed a particular way of investigating human-environment relationships in cultural practices so that the research does not miss the complexity and multiplicity of actors in those relationships, which include issues related to roles, spatial actors, movable things, cultural ideas, animals and the resilience of the community. The analysis has shown how these multiplicities of actors are put together in their network of relationships, consolidated and stabilised. Though tracing these actors seems to be messy and contradictory at different levels of the interactions, the process represents a particular way in which each network traces its own network of relationships (Murdoch 1998). The network traces out complex relationships and asks how humans and nonhumans get to be assembled into these cultural practices (Singleton & Law 2013b). The identification of the complex relationships provide the opportunity to explore the specific contribution of nonhuman actors in human-

201

environment interactions, thus going beyond the traditional forms of documentation, which focused exclusively on understanding human relationships (Fewster 2006; Hardie 1981; Moumakwa 2011; Roberts 1985; Schapera 1953; 1955; 1972; Schapera & Roberts 1975).

An important insight provided by this research is that sharing practices are an outcome of the complex interactions across the communities living in the urban environment of the kgotla and particular qualities of the urban fabric play a particular role. Through an actor-network theory oriented approach, the study moves beyond other studies that focus exclusively on humans and recognises the role of nonhumans, such as spaces and places of the urban fabric, movable things and many others in different sharing practices. The analysis also demonstrated that each of the different sharing practices helps to build a sense of belonging to a community and the urban fabric provides an environment within which all sharing practices flourish. Thus, the urban fabric of the kgotla supports the sense of belonging to a community.

Likewise, the actor-network perspective also offered an innovative way of grasping the resilience of the community as an effect or outcome produced by relationships between humans and nonhumans in sharing practices in the urban environment of the kgotla. The identification of those particular qualities of the community resilience provide a platform for new urban initiatives by offering an insight into what attributes of the community are important in cultivating and sustaining sharing practices in fostering resilient communities of the future. Similarly, urban initiatives or strategies that seek to foster the identified components of community residence (see Figure 22) will inevitably enhance sharing of the community.

The thesis also offered a detailed analysis on how spatial actors of the urban fabric support sharing practices and most importantly, how they can be omitted or replaced without impacting the significance of sharing. A number of spatial actors, which are traditionally considered to be important in cultural activities, were found to be less important than anticipated. Instead, the issues of a community with multiple sharing, sense of belonging to a community, and physical proximity provided by the urban fabric of the kgotla remain important and the community must recognise these in shaping the urban form of the future that fosters community resilience.

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APPENDIX ONE: PROTOCOL FOR TAKING PHOTOGRAPHS

1) To identify the setting and location of the special activity together with the informant some days before the occasion.

2) Seek for permission from the people or community holding the occasion well in time so that they may be aware of my presence to avoid being treated as others in the mist many.

3) On the day: carry with me the information sheet and consent form so that they may be produced if required.

4) Seek a further permission from the responsible people within the gathering if the event is spread out before taking any recordings.

5) Record the physical environment within which the activity is taking place, trees, structures, spaces, people, animals and everything that the people are using in their special activity.

6) Take note of the time of the end of the session and quickly go to my residence and annotate the images.

7) Draw a sketch plan of the location and connect the pictures to the context in which they were taken while it is still fresh on my mind.

APPENDIX TWO: PROTOCOL FOR UNDERTAKING PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

1) To identify the setting and location of the special activity together with the informant some days before the occasion.

2) Seek for permission from the people or community holding the occasion well in time so that they may be aware of my presence to avoid being treated as others in the mist many.

3) Structure my daily activities to fall within 0900 – 1700 hours. Also let my friends and family know where I will be and what time I will be coming back.

4) On the day: carry with me the information sheet and consent form so that they may be produced if required.

5) Not the time, who is doing what and their behaviours? Take note of the clothes they are wearing, colour and anything that they are using. Record in detail the context of the activity.

6) Record the physical environment of the activity, trees, spaces and structures and describe it in details and if need be have a sketch plan to show how things move or how people move within the space. What are they using and where. How they seat, where and for how long? Describe the material qualities of those items they are engaging with.

7) Allow for a possibility to capture the moment through pictures or even videos if permission is granted.

8) Occasionally engage in casual conversation to ask question on why things are being done the way they are being done.

9) Retreat to a quite space or just behind the scene and use my mobile phone and write down all that I have observed.

10) Take note of the time of the end of the session and quickly go my residence and note down everything while it is still fresh on my mind.

APPENDIX THREE: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION – SAMPLE OF RESEACHER'S FIELDWORK

Project: Urban Form, Sharing Practices and Resilience: an actor-network analysis of the urban environment of the kgotla	**Event:** Multiple sharing activities in a traditional wedding setting 1300hrs **Kgatleng Ward**

Observer: *Buccah G SEBITLA (Mr)*　　**Date**: 13.04.2013	**Field Researcher's Comments**

Notes:

Recording: Arrived just before food is served at a ritual wedding and what follows are observations of the activities;

On one side there was a big white tent (see image 1) and on the other side the cattle kraal, with handful men seating on reddish plastic chairs facing towards the open space and the tent. The host residence and the cattle kraal are separated by an open space, which was blocked on one end to by a number of cars

Image1: Wedding tent in the *kgotla* at Kgatleng ward

The white tent, seen on Image 1, was used as a space for the wedding party and the people who were already seated when I arrived were all dressed up for the occasion, suits and ties for men and ladies were on formal dress. On couple of tables there were women wearing traditional dresses (*leteisi*). There wasn't any activity in the tent for some time and thus, I decided to change places and now focus at the kraal.

The activities at the cattle kraal looked more open and inviting; seating in an open space and not as formal as in the tent.

Image 2: The gatekeepers; two men plus a piece of wood mending the entrance to the kraal.

At first, there was a small group of men all wearing jackets, seating on plastic chairs. Behind them, there is a cattle kraal wall constructed out of wooden poles, providing a space or enclosure suitable for seating. Just by the entrance to the kraal, there were two men who kept on engaging with everyone who was coming closer to the entrance to the kraal. Furthermore, I could observe that the two kept on pointing their fingers at a wooden blockage to everyone who approach the entrance, see Image 2.

And as the food was served, these very two men were the first to be served.

Image 3: The gathering and the kgotla.

More and more people started coming in (mostly men) and they joined the queue at the far end of the seating, probably waiting to be served too. As they come in, they take off their hats or caps and kneel down, conforming to the seating pattern, see Images 3 and 4.

There was another person, who seems to be controlling the distribution of food. He kept on guiding everyone who is giving out the plates to; *go there and give to that one………..?* This went on for roughly half an hour, and everyone who seat around the gathering received their meal. I did not see any women let alone children coming closer to the gathering for the entire two hours I was observing the setting.

Following the meal session, I got interested in getting to see what was happening inside the kraal since there were was a group of men in there. And having being at the *kgotla* for some time now, I noticed someone whom I recognized as the wedding photographer and I asked him if the gatekeepers would allow us to take pictures inside the kraal. He proudly said to me; 'I will be heading there in a minute and you just follow me'.

Well, as time approached I followed him towards the entrance to the kraal. As we were about to cross into the kraal, I heard a voice behind us;

'Be careful of that man?' The cameraman whom I was following turned and asked; whom are you talking about? *There is no one here?* A voice replied; *'that men in front of you, he is mending the gate. We are together with him to stop unwanted people getting inside the kraal'*. Someone intervened and told him that we are taking the pictures for the wedding and that was when he allowed us to enter. By that time I wasn't confortable even-though we were given permission to go ahead.

Well, I proceeded to record and observe the cooking activity. There were five men and four big three-legged pots. Among all the four pots, only one pot had fire and two young men were talking turns in stirring that pot using long crafted piece of wood. We were instructed not to talk to them nor asked for anything, but just record what we were recording. For half an hour I was observing inside the kraal;

 I observed that one of the men looked elderly, who was seating most of the time while others where moving around, taking things form here to there, stirring the pot, was supervising the cooking. Interesting enough, I cannot remember seeing one of them taking notice of our presence. They were just busy with their work.

Big serving containers were later filled with seswaa and taken to the serving area provided in front of the kraal. The man who was seating down was the one who was dishing out the
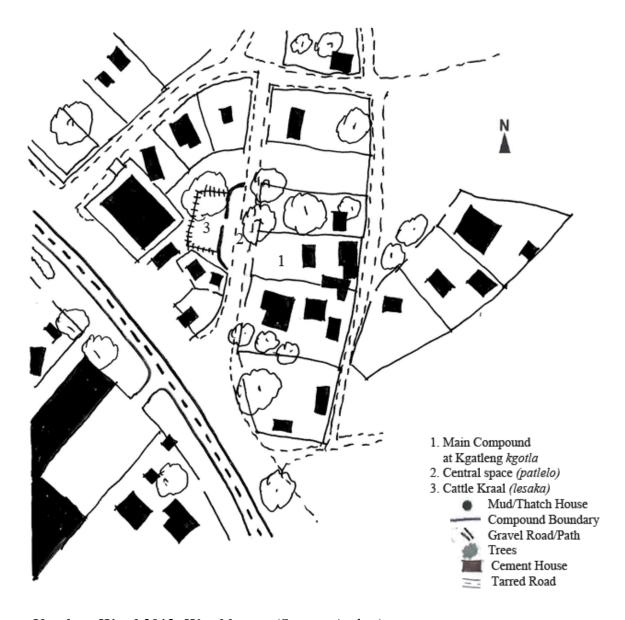
Image 4: People in the kgotla

Image 5: People, Roles and the kgotla activity (This man seems to be in charge of making sure that everyone get served. He kept on directing people who are distributing food)

Comments;

1. Men gathered by the edge of the cattle kraal and they are just chatting to one another.
2. The seating pattern at the kraal.

226

meat. **END…………**	3. The gatekeepers by the kraal 4. Wooden piece used to block the entrance to the cattle kraal (entrance into the cattle kraal was only limited to those who were involved in what was happening inside) 5. A group of young men serving food to the people 6. New comers arriving and taking their positions to receive food 7. Someone is directing those who are distributing the plates. 8. The cooking inside the cattle kraal

Legend:
1. Main Compound at Kgatleng *kgotla*
2. Central space (*patlelo*)
3. Cattle Kraal (*lesaka*)

- Mud/Thatch House
- Compound Boundary
- Gravel Road/Path
- Trees
- Cement House
- Tarred Road

Kgatleng Ward 2013: Ward layout (Source: Author)

APPENDIX FOUR: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) When you describe the kgotla to someone who doesn't know about the kgotla, what would you say a kgotla really is? When we are talking about the kgotla, what are we talking about?

2) What activities or functions do you normally do with others in the kgotla? Can you describe them me and how are they conducted?

3) Where does this activity take place? Can you describe it? Is there anything particular about this place?

4) Where and how are the kgotla activities performed? Why are they performed, where they are performed and not anywhere else? I want you to explain to me the purpose of the kgotla based on the activities you take part in with other in the kgotla.

5) Is it possible to use any other places than the one you've just mentioned?

6) Tell me, who is allowed to take part in this activity? Who is responsible for inviting others and why? How do you inform others in functions or activities of this nature? Is everyone who is allowed to participate forced to do so?

7) And, what are some of the things you might use to take part in this activity? Can you describe them? Is there anything particular about those things? Is it possible to use any other thing other than that one?

8) What makes you remember all of these functions and their importance?

9) Is there anything that you might look at and say, if this things was not there such and such activity will not take place?

10) When the kgotla is not there, would this kind of function be possible? How would it be conducted?

11) Describe your vivid memory…what makes this memory special?

12) Do you know all about this or were you taught about it?

APPENDIX FIVE: HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL LETTER, UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

Professor Desley Luscombe
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UTS CRICOS PROVIDER CODE 00099F

8 November 2012

Prof. Nicky Solomon
Dean, University Graduate School

Dear Nicky,

RE: CONFIRMATION OF CANDIDATURE, G. BUCCAH SEBITLA

I am writing to advise that today the Faculty has conducted its Doctoral Assessment of PhD candidate G. Buccah Sebitla, Student ID: 11139058.

Assoc. Prof. Sara Wilkinson, Chair of the Panel that conducted the Assessment, has advised me that the Panel has confirmed Buccah's candidature.

Yours sincerely,

Desley Luscombe

Att.

APPENDIX SIX: MINISTRY OF LANDS AND HOUSING APPROVAL LETTER, GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA, BOTSWANA

TELEPHONE: + (267) 3682000
TELEGRAMS: MERAFE
FAX: + (267) 3911591/3904826

Republic of Botswana

MINSTRY OF LANDS AND HOUSING
PRIVATE BAG 00434
GABORONE
BOTSWANA

CLH 1/ 19 /1 III (13)

15th February 2013

Director
Office of Research and Development
Private bag 00708
Gaborone

(Attention: Professor   I. Mazonde)

RE: APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT BY MR BUCCAH G SEBITLA:
PhD-studies at University of Technology Sydney, Australia

The above subject matter refers.

> Permission is being granted to conduct research on "**Community Resilience , sharing Practices and urban development:***An actant network analysis of the urban form of the kgotla*
> We trust the research programme will be conducted in accordance with local and international ethical norms and as per research guidelines of July 2004 issued by the Office of the President attached herewith.
> We request an oral presentation on the findings to the Senior Management and the final copy to be submitted to the ministry.
> The focal person for the ministry is head of research Mr.   Khawulani Ace Bachobeli
> The following personnel will be involved in the research:

   i.   Mr. Buccah G Sebitla (Principal Investigator)
   ii.   Prof. Marion Haas (Supervisor)
   iii. Professor Desley Luscombe(Co-Supervisor)

   Any changes on the research personnel should be communicated to this ministry.

> The research will be undertaken in the following areas:

i. Kanye

The project should run for a period of 10 months, commencing on the 15th of February 2013 to 30th November 2013.

Yours faithfully

Tutu Tsiang
For/Permanent Secretary

APPENDIX SEVEN: INFORMATION LETTER

INFORMATION LETTER

PROJECT TITLE: Urban Form, Sharing Practices and Resilience: an actor- network analysis of the urban environment of the *kgotla*

Dear Participant,

My name is Buccah.G. SEBITLA and I am a PhD research student at the University of Technology, Sydney.

I am conducting research into '*How the urban form of the kgotla together with an array of human and non-human collaborations and relationships in regional towns of Botswana can inform an urban planning policy that fosters a resilient urban community*' and would welcome your assistance. The research will involve taking part in a semi-structured interview and should take no more than an hour or two of your time. I have asked you to participate because you live/used to live/left/an elder or a leader and still have contact with the *kgotla* and experience of this community.

This research is for my studies in postgraduate degree.

If you are interested in participating, I would be glad if you would contact me at the following:

Tel: +267 355 5201
Mobile: +267 7................. (to be provided)
Email: Goitseone.B.Sebitla@Student.uts.edu.au

You are under no obligation to participate in this research.

Yours sincerely,

Buccah G Sebitla (Mr.)
BSc (Arch) | BArch (Usyd) |MArch

Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building | Peter Johnson Building | Room 6.45 | 2007
E |sebitlabg@gmail.com | **W** | Goitseone.B.Sebitla@Student.uts.edu.au | +61 2 9514 8010
UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY | NSW | Australia

NOTE:
This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au), and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX EIGHT: LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

UTS HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPLICATION

APPENDIX C

LANGUAGE & CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

Research involving people from identifiable language and cultural groups, including your own, may require special sensitivity. If the research is being carried out in another country, you must comply with UTS as well as local standards, laws and guidelines.

(a)   Is the research being conducted in English? If yes, please proceed to Question (j) below.

No

(b)   What language is the research being conducted in?

Setswana

(c)   What is your level of competence in this language?

Native language

(d)   Will you be using an interpreter?

No

(e)   What prior relationship, if any, does the interpreter have to the participant(s)?

N/A

(f)   How have you ensured that the interpreter will maintain confidentiality?
☐   confidentiality agreement
☐   clear briefing provided for both interpreter and participant
☐   clear explanation on consent form of role of interpreter
☒   other (explain)

N/A

(g)   Who has done the translations of the participant information (e.g. consent form, information sheet, etc.)?

Researcher (Buccah G Sebitla)

(h)   Have you translated the participant information from English into the relevant language(s)? Please provide copies of all material, clearly labeled, in English and other relevant languages. (Note: If the research is considered greater than minimal risk, the Committee will ask you to supply back-translations of all participant information, including consent forms)

To be supplied upon request

(i)   If you are using a translator/interpreter, describe who you will be using, their qualifications & experience, relationship to the group, and how you will ensure confidentiality. You must also provide translations and back-translations of any written information for participants.

N/A

(j)   How have you sought approval from the community or group involved? *(Please attach a copy of any letter of approval/agreement if appropriate)*

Ethics clearance will be lodged with the Ministry of Lands and Housing, Botswana. I contacted the responsible department (phone call) early this year and I was advised that I should lodge the application upon receiving a confirmation from UTS (Australia). The processing time for the application is estimated to be around 14 working days.

(k)   Was the research generated from within the community or group?

Yes

(l)   In what ways might the community or group be affected by this research?

The community in this study is unlikely to be affected by this research. They will be in their familiar environment. I am not seeking to disrupt or challenge their status quo, but to observe and discuss with them their sharing practices. To those communities who have been resettled to pave way for development, this study may bring some memories of excitement, disappointment, and anger, about things they miss in their current location as a result of their movement.

(m)   How have you incorporated consideration for local prudential rules and customs in your research design?

By selecting relevant and appropriate tools that allows for a considerable time to know the group and then engage with the community in their everyday activities while collecting data.

(n)   How do you intend to feed the research results back to the community?

I am intending to organise community discussion group in order to deliver the outcome of the research and get a feedback from the community.

(o)   If the research is taking place in another country, the Committee requests that you arrange for a local, independent contact person, to make it easier for your participants should they wish to confirm your identity or express any concerns. Please give details. *(Note that the contact person's details should also be included in any written material for participants.)*

Ass.Prof. Ben Bolaane The Head of Department Department of Architecture and Planning University of Botswana Tel: +267 355 5201

(p)   If the research is taking place in another country, do you require any special approval arrangements (e.g. visa)? Please give details. *Note: travel must be in accordance with the Vice-Chancellor's Operational Directives - Travel: http://www.gsu.uts.edu.au/policies/documents/travel-directive.pdf*

No visa is required

APPENDIX NINE: INFORMATION SHEET – STAGE 1

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

INFORMATION SHEET – STAGE 1

Urban Form, Sharing Practices and Resilience: an actor-network analysis of the urban environment of the *kgotla* (UTS HREC REF NO. 2012-443A)

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?
My name is Buccah G SEBITLA and I am a research student at UTS. (My supervisors are Dr Susan Stewart and Dr Jacquie Kasunic)

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?
This research is to find out about the practice of sharing by observing and discussing the kinds of activities that people and things do within the urban form of the kgotla

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?
I will ask you to take part in a casual conversation on activities that you regularly take part in your community?

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?
There are very few if any risks because the research has been carefully designed. The participants in the study will not be exposed to any harm in the investigation. They will be in their familiar environment and I do not seek to disrupt or challenge their status quo, but to observe and discuss their sharing practices and the quality of life in their community.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?
You are able to give me the information I need to find out about the practice of sharing and the quality of life of the community in the kgotla.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?
You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?
Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?
You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?
If you have concerns about the research that you think I *(or if applicable)* or my supervisor (Dr Susan Stewart (Susan.Stewart@uts.edu.au) contact: +61 2 9514 8630 or Ass.Prof. Ben Bolaane, HOD, Department of Architecture and Planning, University of Botswana at +267 355 5201 can help you with; please feel free to contact me (us) on sebitlabg@gmail.com.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on 02 9514 9772, and quote this number *(UTS HREC REF NO. 2012-443A)*

APPENDIX TEN: INFORMATION SHEET – STAGE 2

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INFORMATION SHEET – STAGE 2

Urban Form, Sharing Practices and Resilience: an actor-network analysis of the urban environment of the *kgotla* (UTS HREC REF NO. 2012-443A)

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?
My name is Buccah G SEBITLA and I am a research student at UTS. (My supervisors are Dr Susan Stewart and Dr Jacquie Kasunic)

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?
This research is to find out about the practice of sharing by discussing the kinds of activities that people and things do within the urban form of the *kgotla*

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?
I will ask you to take part in a discussion on activities that the community engages with on a regularly basis and how these is helping them as a community?

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?
There are very few if any risks because the research has been carefully designed. The participants in the study will not be exposed to any harm in the investigation. They will be in their familiar environment and I do not seek to disrupt or challenge their status quo, but to observe and discuss their sharing practices and the quality of life in their community.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?
You are able to give me the information I need to find out about the practice of sharing and the quality of life of the community in the *kgotla*.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?
You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?
Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?
You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?
If you have concerns about the research that you think I *(or if applicable)* or my supervisor (Dr Susan Stewart (Susan.Stewart@uts.edu.au) contact: +61 2 9514 8630 or Ass.Prof. Ben Bolaane, HOD, Department of Architecture and Planning, University of Botswana at +267 355 5201 can help you with; please feel free to contact me (us) on sebitlabg@gmail.com.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on 02 9514 9772, and quote this number *(UTS HREC REF NO. 2012-443A)*

APPENDIX ELEVEN: CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

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CONSENT FORM

I ……………………………………….. agree to participate in the research project **Urban Form, Sharing Practices and Resilience**: an actor-network analysis of the urban environment of the *kgotla* (UTS HREC REF NO. 2012-443A) being conducted by Buccah.G.SEBITLA (Mr.), Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building, 702-730 Harris Street, Ultimo, NSW 2007: Mobile: 0450 262 842 of the University of Technology, Sydney for his degree in Doctor of Philosophy. The University of Botswana, Botswana, has provided funding for this research (for correspondence: training@mopipi.ub.bw).

I understand that the purpose of this study is to inform urban planning policy in twenty-first century Botswana that supports the continued resilience of the regional urban community in the context of ongoing change.

I understand that I have been asked to participate in this research because I am living or lived or have regular contact with communities living in the urban form of the *kgotla* and hence, have relevant understanding of the ways in which these community is engaged in the practice of sharing and that my participation in this research will involve a discussion on sharing practices and the resilience of the community. The interview may take between 1-2 hours and will be audio recorded, and feel free to open up on any issue that you may think is relevant for this discussion. There are no possible ricks for you as a participant in this research.

I am aware that I can contact Buccah.G.SEBITLA or his supervisor(s) Dr Susan Stewart (Susan.Stewart@uts.edu.au) or Dr Jacquie Kasunic (Jacquie.Kasunic@uts.edu.au) and Ass.Prof. Ben Bolaane, HOD, Department of Architecture and Planning, University of Botswana at +267 355 5201 if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that Buccah.G.SEBITLA has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that does not identify me in any way.

_____   ____/____/____

Signature (participant)

_____   ____/____/____

Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:
This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.