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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE COMMUNITIES OF THE WETLANDS OF CHOBE AND NGAMILAND, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PERIOD SINCE 1960

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	African Development Bank
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
ANC	African National Congress
BAM	Botswana Alliance Movement
BAMB	The Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BCC	Botswana Christian Council
BDC	Botswana Development Corporation
BDF	The Botswana Defence Force
BGI	Botswana Game Industries
BLDC	Botswana Livestock Development Corporation
BMC	Botswana Meat Commission
BNA	Botswana National Archives
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme
CBPP	Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia
CDC	Colonial Development Corporation's
CECT	Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust
CHA	Controlled Hunting Areas
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CKGR	Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve
DWNP	The Department of Wildlife and National Parks
FAP	Financial Assistance Policy
FMD	Foot and mouth disease
FRD	Food Resources Department
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HATAB	Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune deficiency Syndrome
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IFAD	International Fund for African Development
KALEPA	Kazungula, Lesoma and Pandamatenga
MK	UmKhonto we Sizwe
NDB	National Development Bank

NDPs	National Development Plans
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OFA	Okavango Fishers Association
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PAC	Problem Animal Control Unit
PMU	Botswana Police Mobile Unit
RADs	Remote Area Dwellers
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAFEX	South African Futures Exchange
SAP	South African Police
SLOCA	Service to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
TFC	Tsetse Fly Control Unit
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America
VDC	Village Development Committee
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

GLOSSARY

Bamulwizi: Tonga term for ‘river people’

Bekuhane: Chisubiya term for the ‘river people’

bogadi: bride wealth

bogobe: thick porridge

bokgola: moist soil

chitenge: Zambian print cloth

chitemene: agricultural system practised by the Bemba in Zambia in which cleared bush was collected and burnt in order to add fertility to soils in the hope of increasing yields

dikgafela: dimension of tribute, usually gifts from crop harvests

dikhuting: lagoons

direto: totems

kapenta: packaged small dried fish

kgadi: illicit backyard brew

kgobela: German muzzleloader

kgomo ke Modimo: livestock is godly

kgope: aloe plant

kgosing ward: ward for aristocrats

kgotla: public assembly

kotselo: sleeping sickness

kwena: crocodile

laela mmaago: distilled alcoholic brew

leselo: winnowing tray

letsema (Setswana) *njambe*: (ThiMbukushu): work parties where people came together to help a community member in labour intensive activities

mabele: sorghum

madi ama tona: high blood pressure

madila: sour milk

mafisa: loan cattle

MaSorosi (*MoSorosi*, singular): a Chisubiya nickname for Zambian fish buyers at Lake Liyambezi

mberere: Mbukushu traditional millet beer

merogo: vegetables

mokola: palm tree

mokoro: dug-out canoe

mokoto: special delicacy prepared from sacral portions that were combined with offal

mokukubuyu: sterculia tomentose

molapo farming: flood recession cultivation – derives from *molapo* – river channel

motogo: soft porridge

motsetsi: lactating mother

motswiri: wood tree

mowana: baobab tree

muchimbami: Chisubiya term for *salvinia molesta* Kariba weed.

ndongo: Chisubiya term for groundnuts

ntlatlawane: course sorghum flour

peolwane: swallow bird

phuti: duiker

salaula: second hand clothes sold in bales in Zambia

sehuba: literally 'chest' from the chest meat portion of an animal, was prized for its delicacy and was given to the chief to show respect and honour. Broadly, *sehuba* tribute helped to establish the social foundations of traditional governance and reciprocity in pre-colonial Botswana.

senkobo: skin disease in cattle.

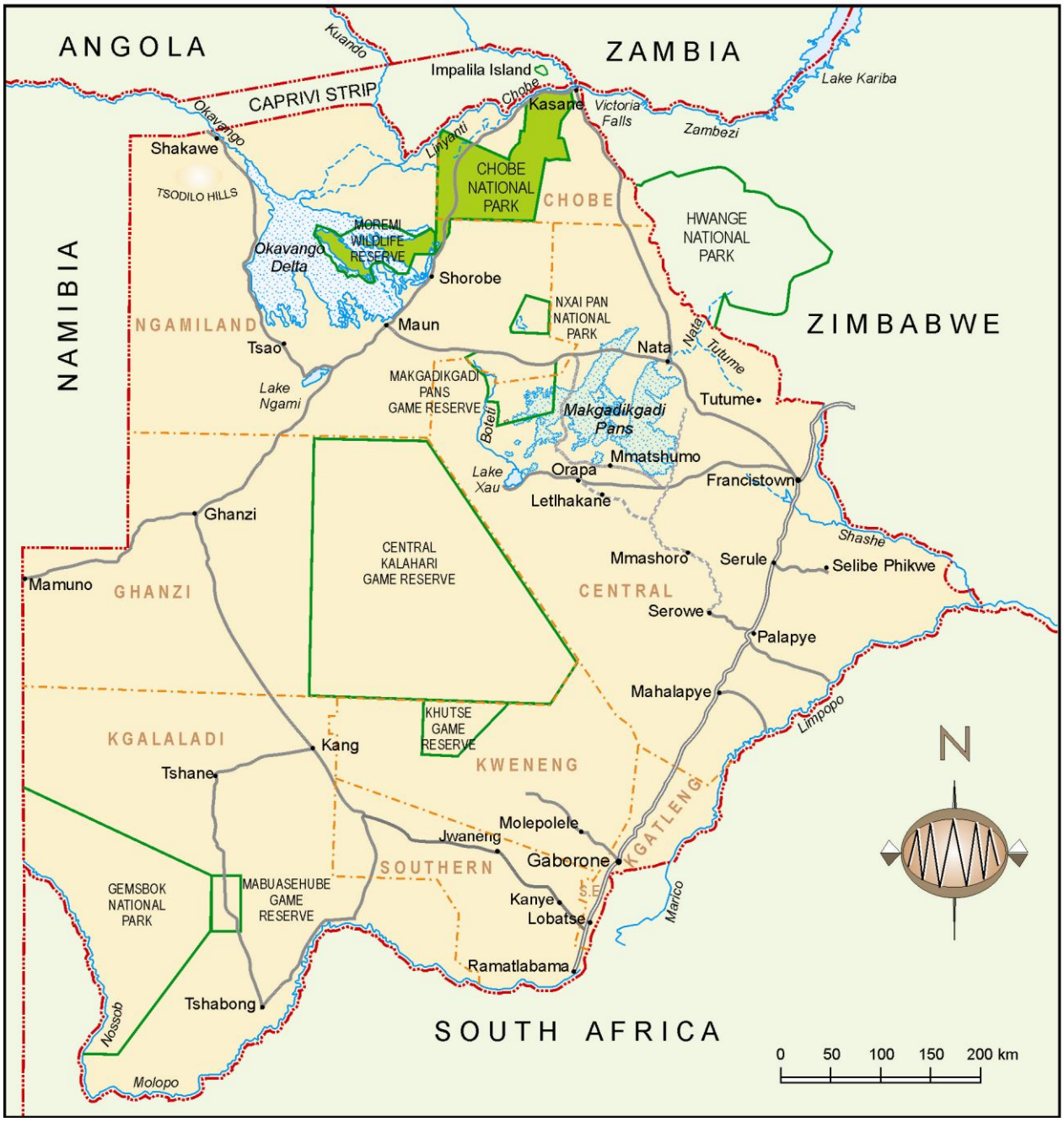
sjambok: long stiff leather whip for flogging

tilapia: bream fish

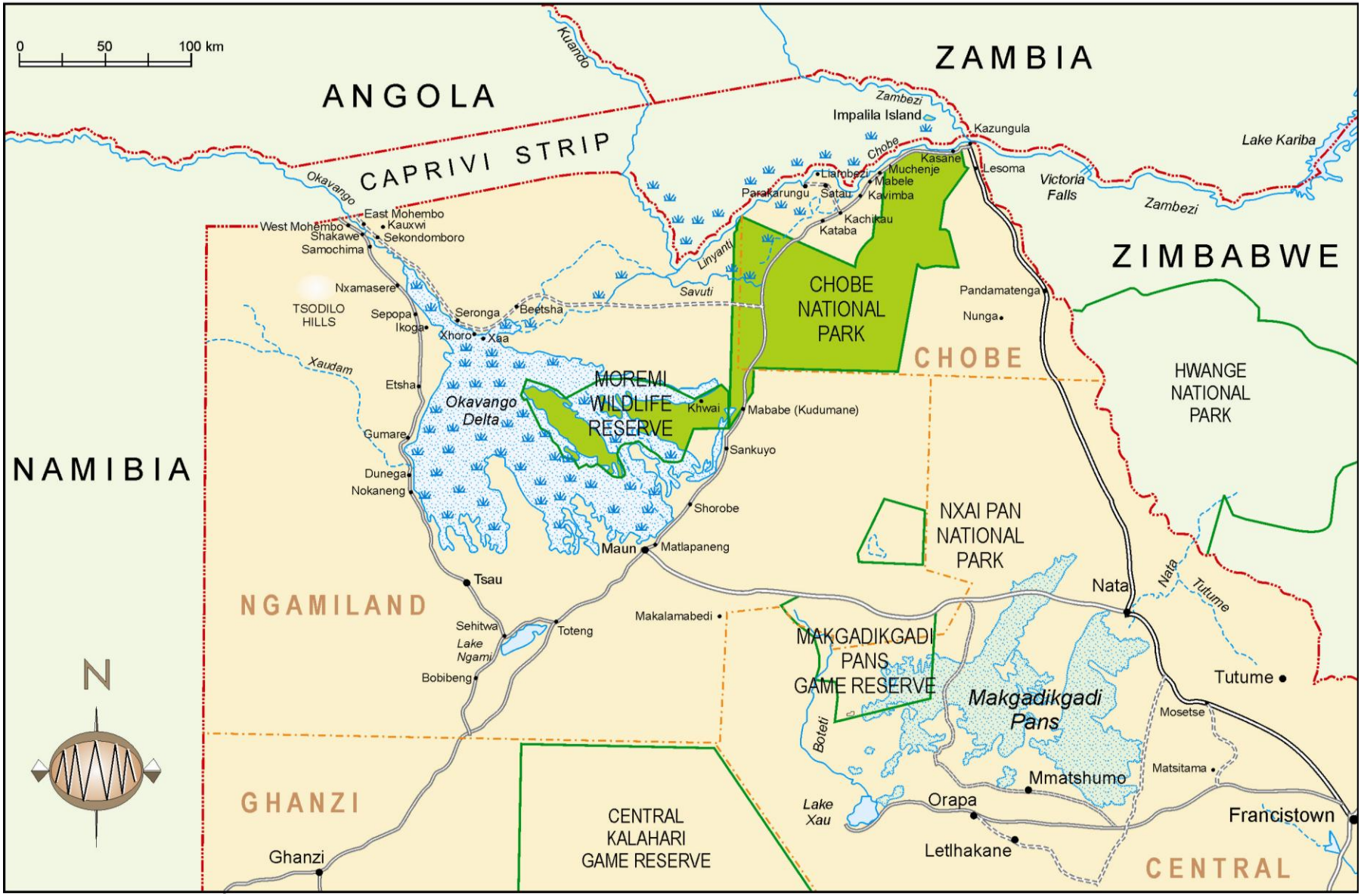
tlhaga: quelea bird

tswii: water lily (*Nymphaea caerulea*)

Map 1 Republic of Botswana showing districts of Ngamiland and Chobe and game parks of Chobe National Park and Moremi Game Reserve



Map 2 Wetland districts of Chobe and Ngamiland of Botswana



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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this thesis is to explore how the interconnections between people, the economy and the environment shaped livelihoods in the wetlands of Chobe and Ngamiland from c.1870 to the recent past. Beginning in the 1870s with the arrival of European hunters and traders and the Declaration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1885, the thesis explores economic and social change among the peoples of this region. First it tracks the efforts of the colonial government to eradicate disease and establish the foundations of a cattle industry in this ecologically sensitive and economically marginal area leading up to independence in 1966. Then it examines the articulation of development strategies on the part of the independent government of Botswana and their application to the challenges of economic upliftment in the economically marginal region of the north western wetlands. It shows how state interventions sought to mediate the fragile relationship between environment, development and people from the late 1960s to 2000 and most importantly, it explores how local people interacted with each other, the environment and the various arms of the state as they went about their daily lives.

The study does not seek to chart the history of the wetlands in order to bring this region into the ambit of a broader history of the Botswana nation.[1] Nor does it wish to privilege the environment above human and social development.[2] Rather, it seeks to demonstrate the value of exploring the interlinkages between people, environment and economic activity. As David Gordon notes:

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[1] For nationalist histories of Botswana, see S.M. Gabatshwane, *Introduction to the Bechuanaland Protectorate History and Administration* (Kanye: S.M. Gabatshwane, 1957), J. Ramsay, B. Morton, T. Mgadla, *Building a Nation: A History of Botswana from 1800 to 1910* (Gaborone: Longman, 1996), Fred Morton and Jeff Ramsay, (eds.), *The Birth of Botswana: A History of the Bechuanaland Protectorate from 1910 to 1966* (Gaborone: Longman, 1987), Peter Fawcus, *Botswana: The Road to Independence* (Gaborone: Pula Press and The Botswana Society, 2000).

[2] Neil Parsons and Michael Crowder, (eds.), *Monarch of All I Survey: Bechaunaland Diaries, 1929-37 By Sir Charles Rey* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1988); Glen S. Merron and Michael Bruton, 'Community Ecology and Conservation of the fishes of the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *Environmental Biology of Fishes*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (June, 1995), pp. 109-119, L.J. van der Heiden, 'The Okavango Delta: Current State of Planning and Conservation', in T.Matiza and H.N. Chabwela, (eds.), *Wetlands Conservation Conference for Southern Africa: Proceedings of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference held in Gaborone, Botswana, 3-5 June 1991* (Gland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1992), H.M. Masundire, S. Ringrose, F.T.K. Sefe, C. van der Post, *Botswana Wetlands Policy and Strategy: Inventory of the Wetlands of Botswana* (Gaborone: National Conservation Strategy Agency, November 1998).

> While scholars have recognized the need for connections across disciplinary boundaries, the lack of integration of economic and ecological studies has led to an incomplete appreciation of how environmental contexts structure human economies.[3]

In exploring these links, this thesis builds on and extends Thomas Tlou's work on the people of Ngamiland.[4] The study extends beyond Ngamiland to include the Chobe wetlands. The only substantial research on the Chobe wetlands has been that by Daniel Shamukuni.[5]

Historiography

Despite a growing body of literature on economic development in Botswana, there are relatively few empirical studies on the wetlands and fewer still on the economic and social history of this region. The wetlands have remained on the periphery of the history of Botswana. The existing literature on this northern region highlights in very general terms the settlement history in the pre-colonial period, aspects of colonial history, and post-colonial efforts at economic development. There has been very little scholarly research on livelihood strategies of local communities in the country as a whole and none on the wetland region.

Traders, hunters, missionaries and travellers were among the earliest to record pre-colonial activities in the wetlands in the second half of the nineteenth century. Edward Tabler collated and edited the diaries of George Westbeech, a prominent trader at Pandamatenga in the Chobe District. The collection consists largely of Wesbeech's fascination with the pristine landscape and the abundance of game animals in the unique riverine environment. There is little reference to livelihoods of the local people.

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[3] David M. Gordon, *Nachituti's Gift: Economy, Society and Environment in Central Africa* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), p. 5.

[4] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland, 1750 to 1906: The Formation of an African State* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1985). Other works on Ngamiland include Thomas Larson, 'The Hambukushu of Ngamiland', in *Botswana Notes and Records* Vol. 2. (1970), pp. 29-44. There is no equivalent on Wayeyi history. Barry Morton's PhD thesis focused on Toteng/Maun areas rather than wetland politics. See Barry Morton, 'A Social and Economic History of a Southern African Native Reserve: Ngamiland, 1890-1966', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Indiana University, 1996). Maitseo Bolaane and Michael Taylors concentrated on the Basarwa of the Okavango. See Maitseo Bolaane, 'Wildlife Conservation and Local Management: The Establishment of Moremi Park, Okavango, Botswana in the 1950s-60s, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 2004), Michael Taylor, 'Life, Land and Power: Contesting Development in Northern Botswana', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2000).

[5] Daniel M. Shamukuni, 'The Basubiya' in *Botswana Notes and Records* Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 161-184.

Occasionally, Basarwa and Basubiya are referred to in derogatory terms as 'kaffirs who feed until they couldn't manage anymore, then sleep'.[6] Geoffrey Haresnape gives an account of the wanton slaughter of game animals in the nineteenth century by trophy hunters such as Frederick Courteney Selous who killed more than two hundred buffaloes in the wetlands.[7]

While dwelling largely on the flora, fauna and water bodies of the wetlands, naturalists' accounts of biodiversity in the Okavango Delta also outline aspects of riverine livelihoods and so provide a basis for understanding the interconnectedness between people and the environment. Naturalist Karen Ross, for example, describes the pristine physical landscape of the Okavango Delta, the abundance of game animals, fish and plant food, and weaves into her narrative brief histories of the different communities inhabiting the region. Occasionally she mentions economic activities that drew from the natural resources around them and explains how the mosquito and tsetse fly compromised productivity, hampering the progress of local communities.[8] Ross also shows how the arrival of European traders in the nineteenth century enhanced exchange involving animal products and European goods. She also deplores the consequent depletion of wildlife. However, Ross is silent on agricultural activities such as crop husbandry.

Thomas Tlou was among the first generation of professional historians to write on the wetlands region of Botswana. A major authority on Ngamiland, Thomas Tlou makes an important contribution to a broader understanding of what preceded colonial rule. Tlou provides a detailed account on the establishment, organisation and consolidation of the 'Tawana state' by Batawana, the dominant ethnic group in Ngamiland from the second half of the eighteenth century.[9] His study shows how the different groups that settled in Ngamiland utilised the riverine environment for their subsistence. However, in focusing on the Batawana, Tlou does not cover other ethnic groups in Ngamiland in much detail. His study also excludes the Chobe wetlands. Moreover, it focuses largely on political

[6] Edward C. Tabler, (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland: The Diaries of George Westbeech, 1885-1888 and Captain Norman McLeod, 1875-1876* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 27.
[7] Geoffrey Haresnape, *The Great Hunters*, Elisa Series Vol. III (Cape Town: Purnell, 1974), p. 66.
[8] Karen Ross, *Okavango: Jewel of the Kalahari* (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1987), pp. 165-244.
[9] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland*, pp. 8-96.

processes. Andrew Murray outlines the history of some of the different ethnic groups of Ngamiland in both the pre-colonial and colonial periods, emphasising the subordination of Wayeyi by Batawana.[10] Like others, Murray glosses over the economy of the area. Jeff Ramsay, et al. also pre-occupy themselves with political history to the exclusion of livelihoods of the local people.[11]

Edwin Munger's discussion of the Bechuanaland colonial economy describes cattle as the 'lifeblood of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the principal form of savings', and crops as 'the poor cousin of cattle in both financial importance and status.'[12] This study helps us to understand the pattern of unequal investment in cattle and crops, a trajectory inherited by the post-colonial state, creating a 'cattle elite' that constituted the political leadership and directed development after independence in 1966. However, Munger's work does not discuss the wetlands.

Following independence in 1966, the Botswana government slowly began to pursue interventionist developmental strategies, directing economic development through state-led centralised planning for all the sectors of the economy. Development projects were articulated in five-year National Development Plans (NDPs) which outlined national policies and guided project implementation and review.[13] Jack Parson discusses the establishment of a development strategy in the post-colonial period as a political process that intended to remedy the underdevelopment that resulted from the decisions of the colonial administration.[14] Pauline Peters argues that Botswana's growing economy was anchored on the livestock industry by a ruling party dominated by cattle owners. This cattle-owning elite formed a strong bureaucracy and ensured that development policies centred on cattle, and the privatisation of land and water

[10] Andrew Murray, 'The Northwest', in Fred Morton and Jeff Ramsay, (eds.), *The Birth of Botswana: A History of the Bechuanaland Protectorate from 1910 to 1966* (Gaborone: Longmans, 1987), pp. 110-122.
[11] Jeff Ramsay, Barry Morton, Themba Mgadla, *Building a Nation: A History of Botswana from 1800 to 1910* (Gaborone: Longman, 1996), pp.116-131.
[12] Edwin S. Munger, *Bechuanaland: Pan-African Outpost or Bantu Homeland?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 50-57.
[13] N. Narayana, H.K. Siphambe, O. Akinkugbe and J. Sentsho, 'Botswana's Economy – an Overview', in Happy K. Siphambe, Nettem Narayana, Oluyele Akinkugbe, Joel Sentsho, (eds.), *Economic Development in Botswana: Facets, Policies, Problems and Prospects* (Gaborone: Bay Publishing, 2005), p. 20. For full article, see pp. 19-28.
[14] Jack Parson, *Botswana: Liberal Democracy and the Labour Reserve in Southern Africa* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), pp. 70-71.

sources.[15] Peters points out that these actions resulted in struggles over access and exacerbated inequality. Much in agreement with Peters, Pamela Mbabazi and Ian Taylor argue that Botswana was able to achieve and 'sustain long-term growth as part of a broader national developmental vision' due to a 'disciplined leadership that was not overly predatory'.[16] In addition, the bureaucracy was able to create institutions with the capacity to achieve this goal.

Debates on the developmental state revolved around the unequal distribution of cattle holdings in Botswana with the cattle industry perceived as development trajectory designed to benefit the post-colonial bureaucracy. In his analysis of the development trajectory of the Botswana state, Jack Parsons offers a telling account on a politically determined trend that recreated skewdness in cattle holdings. Parsons' observation is significant in explaining the prevailing inequality in the distribution of cattle in Botswana, including Ngamiland. He attributed the skewdness to a carefully planned development structure that was created by a strong coalition between a rising 'rural petty-bourgeois' and the ruling bureaucracy that used political leverage to secure favourable niches in the cattle industry.[17] However, Parson's study ignores a crucial dimension, that is, the importance of the role and type of education as a basis for participation in economic life and the wetlands were among the districts with the lowest literacy rates. Related to Parson's argument, Pauline Peters faults the developmental state's policy of privatisation of traditional communal land and re-zoning it into commercial ranches through the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) of 1975.[18] Peters argues that because wealthy cattle owners could raise capital for the purchase of large ranches they apportioned themselves extra pasture for their large herds in both the ranches and communal areas, staking unfair advantage over the poor.

[15] Pauline Peters, *Dividing The Commons: Politics, Policy and Culture in Botswana* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), pp. 1-21.
[16] Pamela Mbabazi and Ian Taylor, 'Developmental States and Africa in the Twenty-First Century', in Pamela Mbabazi and Ian Taylor, (eds.), *The Potentiality of 'Developmental States' in Africa: Botswana and Uganda Compared* (Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2005), pp. 147-152.
[17] Jack Parson, 'The Political Economy of Botswana: A case in the study of Politics and Social Change in Post-Colonial Societies' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1979), pp. 231-242.
[18] Pauline E. Peters, *Dividing The Commons: Politics, Policy, and Culture in Botswana* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1994), p. 4.

The establishment of the Moremi Game Reserve in Ngamiland is a subject of debate. According to Maitseo Bolaane, unlike many African game parks that were imposed by the colonial state, the Moremi Game Reserve was an initiative of the local ruling ethnic group, the Batawana. Bolaane argues that the Batawana who had a 'concept for sustainable use' of wildlife collaborated with conservationists who 'brought the idea of a national park' in order to conserve wild animals in Ngamiland.[19] A central element in her argument is that the project was an initiative not of the colonial regime but of the local chiefs. In contrast, Maano Ramutsindela argues that the park could not have been a local initiative, stating that Ngamiland, the district on which the park was established had always been an area of European interest, including Cecil John Rhodes who wanted to settle Europeans there.[20] Also, he states that some residents were in fact removed from the land to make way for the park, and that for Bolaane's argument to hold, this needs explanation. Ramutsindela points out that the much written about 'kgotla meetings' in November 1963 at which Batawana are said to have asked for a game reserve merely served to ratify ceding land to conservation interests.

That the park project was not exclusively an initiative of the British colonial administration is not in doubt. However, controversy over the way in which the park developed continue to rage. Bolaane portrays June and Robert Kays - the European hunters turned into conservationists of the Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland - as spearheading the marketing of the idea of the park. In Bolaane's view, their role was more significant that that of the Batawana chiefs. As she puts it:

> The Kays and their associates replaced their strategy to concentrate on local Africans rather than whites. They felt that wildlife conservation could be attractive to them [Batawana], if there were direct financial benefits.[21]

In a separate publication, Bolaane agrees that Basarwa who occupied the area that became part of the Moremi Park were removed by the Batawana together with colonial

[19] Maitseo Bolaane, 'Chiefs, hunters and adventurers: the foundation of the Okavango/Moremi National Park, Botswana', in *Journal of Historical Geography,* Vol. 31, No. 2 (April, 2005), pp. 241-245.
[20] Maano Ramutsindela, *Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies: Experiences in Southern Africa* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004), p. 63.
[21] Maitseo Bolaane, 'Chiefs and adventurers', pp. 247-248.

officials.[22] Evicting communities from parks is consistent with practices of colonial landscaping of wildlife sanctuaries and Ngamiland was part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate under the British colonial administration. There is no record of Batawana opposing the removal of Basarwa their subject peoples. The picture that emerges from this debate, then, is that the Batawana elite and the colonial authorities co-operated in a venture that displaced the Basarwa.

Linda Pfotenhauer's *Tourism in Botswana* comprises a collection of proceedings of a symposium on the nascent tourist industry in the wetlands. Describing the growth of the tourist sector and policies that regulate tourism, most papers argued that tourism was a viable alternative to the country's economy hitherto dominated by minerals. Some articles provide statistical data that helps to assess the extent of the sector's growth. Others debate the roles of the private sector and those of government and contestations over control of the industry.[23] However, the edition fails to explain why tourism development took off late in the 1980s. Also, the papers do not engage the problem of the interface between tourism development and livelihoods of local communities.

Lefatshe Mangole and Ofentse Gojamang give a pessimistic view of tourism as an engine of economic growth. They argue that Botswana's adoption of the 'high value-low volume' strategy in tourist visits to parks makes tourism an activity of the elite as it 'discourages visitation by low-budget tourists'. The parks remain under-utilised and opportunities for added income from more tourists are limited. As a result, local communities have borne the brunt of costs occasioned by this development trajectory. This trend

> imposes opportunity costs to the local communities adjacent to these areas' because 'for the peasant farmer or herder the costs of wildlife conservation are high and are experienced directly in terms of loss of potential forage and damage to crops, livestock, property and life.[24]

[22] Maitseo Bolaane, 'The Impact of Game Reserve Policy on the River BaSarwa/Bushmen of Botswana', in *Social Policy and Administration: An International Journal of Policy and Research,* Vol. 38, No. 4 (August, 2004), pp. 399-417.
[23] Linda Pfotenhauer, (ed.), *Tourism in Botswana* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991). Pp. 47-58.
[24] Lefatshe I. Magole and Ofetse Gojamang, 'The Dynamics of Tourist Visitation to National Parks and Game Reserves in Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Recods,* Vol. 37 (2005) pp. 80-96.

J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh explain the relationship between tourism and environment in the Okavango Delta. They state that while the industry contributed significantly to the economy of the region, tourists have also caused environmental degradation through creating illegal roads in environmentally sensitive areas. They generate noise pollution which disturbs wildlife and ignite bushfires which have destroyed tourist property and scared animals away towards human settlements.[25] However, Mbaiwa and Darkoh do not discuss monitoring and inspection of tourist establishments and they are silent on conflicts over fishing rights between tourists and subsistence fishermen.

This historiography has identified the development of the cattle industry as the main driver of Botswana's economy up to 1990. The development of the cattle industry has been attributed to the planning of a developmental state that was led by a professional bureaucracy that made strategic interventions to build a strong cattle economy.[26] This thesis has extended the study of cattle as the engine of development to the wetlands. It argues that government measures to control disease and to establish veterinary cordon fences to separate cattle from wildlife are significant interventions emanating form a developmentalist outlook on the part of the state. However, government interventions have also had ambiguous outcomes. For example, by destroying all the cattle in Ngamiland in the aftermath of the outbreak of the Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia (CBPP) in 1995, government exacerbated poverty levels and inequality in local communities. The region remained marginalised and highly stratified in cattle ownership.

With respect to the development of game parks, the debate on the origins of the Moremi Game Park has revolved around the initiatives of the Batawana and the Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland. This thesis argues that while Batawana may have been involved by ceding land for the park in order to prevent illegal hunting of game in their area, it would appear that the western conservationists spearheaded the project and persuaded local partnership.

[25] J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, *Tourism and Environment in the Okavango, Botswana* (Gaborone: Pula Press, 2006), pp. 134-153.
[26] Ian Taylor, 'Ditiro Tsa Ditlhabololo: Botswana As A Developmental State', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2003), pp. 37-50.

Tourism development has been presented in the historiography with more focus on macro-economic gains with very little attention to environmental matters. This thesis brings the linkages between environment and economy into focus. It shows how an understanding of this inter-connectedness brings sustainable utility to local communities.

Environment, People and Livelihoods

The wetlands of north western Botswana comprise the modern districts of Chobe and Ngamiland (See Map 1).[27] They are bounded by the Chobe river which originates in the northern Angolan highlands where it is known as Kwando or Kuando, and, as it runs along the Zambia-Angola border it becomes Mashi until it enters Namibia where it is known as Linyanti just before it enters Botswana and becomes the Chobe River. Entering Botswana at Ngoma, the Chobe drains into the Zambezi River at Kazungula (See Map 2).[28] With its source in the central highlands of Angola, the Okavango River (referred to as Kubango in Angola) enters Botswana at Mohembo village at the border with Namibia.[29] Before fanning out into the Kalahari sands to form the Delta, the Okavango River flows 'in a well defined relatively narrow channel of some 100 kilometres in length known as the Panhandle [due to the shape of the river in relation to

[27] Many writers attempted to provide a definition for the term 'wetlands'. The Ramsar Convention defined wetlands as 'areas of marsh, fen, peatland or water, whether natural or artificial, permanent or temporary, with water that is static or flowing, fresh, brackish or salt, including areas of marine water the depth of which at low tides does not exceed six metres'. See H.M. Masundire, et al p. 13. Signed in 1971 at the city of Ramsar in Iran (hence the name of the Convention), otherwise known as 'The Convention on Wetlands of International Importance', encourages conservation of wetlands and their resources. Botswana signed the convention in April 1997, when the Okavango Delta was declared a Ramsar site. See http://www.ramsar.org/pdf/wwd/10/wwd2010_rpts_botswana_finlayson.pdf 'Speech by Max Finlayson, World Wetlands Day Commemoration, Maun, 2 February 2010', accessed on 27/05/2010.

[28] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 1973-78, Part III, Local Authority Development Plans* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1973), no page number. (item 7.1.5). See also, http://www.botswanatourism.co.bw/attraction/chobe_river.html 'Chobe River' accessed on 7/03/2010.

[29] P. Wolski, H.H.G. Savenije, M. Murray-Hudson, and T. Gumbricht, 'Modelling of the Flooding in the Okavango Delta, Botswana, using a hybrid reservoir-GIS model' in *Journal of Hydrology*, Vol. 331, Issues 1-2 (November 30, 2006), pp. 58-72, Lapologang Magole and Kebonyemodisa Thapelo, 'The Impact of Extreme Flooding of the Okavango River on the Livelihood of the *molapo* Farming Community of Tubu village, Ngamiland Sub-district, Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vo. 37 (2005), p. 125. For full article, see pp. 125-137. See J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, 'Sustainable Development and Natural Resource Competition and Conflicts in the Okavango Delata, Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 37 (2005), p. 42. For full article see pp. 40-60, M.S. Dryden, 'An Expedition Across the Okavango', in *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 285, No. 6357 (December 18-25, 1982), p. 1832. For full article, see pp. 1832-1834.

the Delta].'[30] The Okavango River is the only river in the world that ends in an inland Delta and the Okavango Delta is southern Africa's largest wetland.[31] It occupies approximately 28,000 square kilometres.[32] The Delta and the Chobe River systems are home to aquatic vegetation, variations of open water and dryland, nurturing wildlife, livestock and later tourism, and communities living on the fringes of the wetlands.[33]

The rich biodiversity of the wetlands served as a resource base for local livelihoods. Grasslands, fish, papyrus, timber, wood, thatch grass, veld food, fertile and moist soils, and wildlife provided livelihoods for local communities, while the wilderness lured hunters and later, tourists, into the area.[34] The inhabitants regarded floods, a characteristic of the area, as 'part of the biodiversity production system and a source of livelihood' through the *molapo* flood recession cultivation' and fishing.[35] They used the rivers as transport systems, paddling dug-out canoes to visit relatives, fish, trade and hunt on far away islands.[36]

While most people in the riparian communities of this region created identities with the river and spoke Setswana by the 1880s, they demonstrated diverse histories, economic activities and cultural practices. These communities include people who identify themselves as Basarwa, Basubiya, Wayeyi, Hambukushu, Batawana, Baherero,

[30] H.M. Masundire, et al, p. 57.
[31] Masego S. Madzwamuse, 'Adaptive Livelihood Strategies of the Basarwa: A Case of Khwai and Xaxaba, Ngamiland District, Botswana', (Unpublished M.A. Thesis in Environmental Science, Rhodes University, December 2005), p. 34; W.N. Ellery and T.S. McCarthy, 'Environmental change over two decades since dredging and excavation of the lower Boro River and the Okavango Delta, Botswana' in *Journal of Biogeography*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (March, 1998), p. 361. For full article, see pp. 361-378.
[32] Susan Ringrose, Wilma Matheson, Timothy Boyle, 'Differentiation of Ecological Zones in the Okavango Delta, Botswana by Classification and Contextual Analyses of Landsat MSS Data', in *Photogrammetric Engineering and Remote Sensing*, Vol. 54, No. 5 (May 1988), p. 601. For full article, see pp. 601-608.
[33] Lapologang Magole, Henrik Borgtoft Pederson and Lotte Klinte, *An Introduction to the Okavango Delta Management Plan* (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Affairs, 2009), p. 5, L.J. van der Heiden, 'The Okavango Delta: current state of planning and conservation', in T. Matiza and H.N. Chabwela, (eds.), *Wetland Conservation Conference for Southern Africa*, pp. 111-112. For full article, see pp. 109-124, *Daily News*, 'Botswana reviews National Water Plan', 6 December 2005.
[34] J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, 'Sustainable Development and Natural Resource Competition and Conflicts in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', p. 42.
[35] Lapologang Magole and Kebonyemodisa Thapelo, 'The Impact of Extreme Flooding of the Okavango River', p. 125.
[36] International Court of Justice, 'Case concerning Kasikili/Sedudu Island (Botswana/Namibia), Responses of the Republic of Botswana to the Questions put to the Parties on 25 February 1999 and 5 March 1999', pp. 20-21.

Banambya and Bakalanga.[37] They live in close proximity, many are intermarried and they have been joined, since independence, by a succession of civil servants sent to the area for longer or shorter periods. As in many parts of Botswana, the settlement history of the wetlands showed that except for the San (known in Botswana as Basarwa), all the Bantu-speaking groups were immigrants from the southern African diaspora. Intermingling between these groups and the demands of the environment contributed to a greater diversity of cultural and economic practices than other parts of Botswana.

Basarwa were the earliest inhabitants of this region.[38] Often presented as a homogenous foraging society, Basarwa were not one people nor did they engage in uniform subsistence strategies.[39] The Basarwa of the Chobe District were known as Bakwengo.[40] In Ngamiland, Basarwa groups included Banoka, the 'River San', the Bugakhwe, the Deti, the Dobe and the Ju/'hoansi.[41] Banoka are believed to have been the earliest people to settle in the Okavango Delta.[42] Livelihood strategies evolved in relation to the water flows, game migrations and intermittent drought. Immigrant groups increased pressure on the natural resources of the area and, as Mbaiwa and Darkoh remarked, 'militarily strong groups could decide how other small groups should use land and the natural resources in the Okavango Delta'.[43]

Initially subsisting on hunting and fishing using spears in shallow waters, Basarwa interacted with Bantu-speaking immigrants, adopting new livelihood strategies such as

[37] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland,* pp. 8-15, D.H. Potten, 'Aspects of the Recent History of Ngamiland', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8 (1976), pp. 63-65. For full article, see pp. 63-85.
[38] Elizabeth Marshal Thomas, *The Harmless People* (Hamondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959), p. 19.
[39] Sandy Gall, *The Bushmen of Southern Africa: Slaughter of the Innocent* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2001).
[40] Edward C. Tabler, (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland: The Diaries of George Westbeech, 1885-1888 and Captain Norman McLeod, 1875-1876* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 29. See also Kafungulwa Mubitana, 'The Traditional History and Ethnography', in W.E. Phillipson, (ed.), *Mosi-oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region* (London: Longman, 1975), pp. 59-72.
[41] Megan Biesele, Mathias Guenther, Robert Hitchcock, Richard Lee, Jean Macgregor, 'Hunters, Clients and Squatters: The Contemporary Socioeconomic Status of Botswana Basarwa', in *African Study Monographs,* Vol. 9, No. 3 (January, 1989), pp. 109-151.
[42] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland,* pp. 8-9, Masego S. Madzwamuse, 'Adaptive Livelihood Strategies of the Basarwa', p. 38. They are known as Banoka or the river people because they lived around water courses, subsisting on the riverine resources. Basarwa in Botswana are also found in the districts of Kweneng, Kgalagadi, Ghanzi, Kgatleng, Southern, and Central.
[43] J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, 'Sustainable Development and Natural Resource Competition', p. 47.

raising animals and developing new fishing techniques.[44] Contact with Europeans led to trade in animal skins, ivory and ostrich feathers, goods that were in great demand in the Cape Colony in the nineteenth century.[45] Despite changes in the activities of Basarwa, most researchers tended to concentrate on the 'foraging adaptations' of the Basarwa ignoring wide social and economic change.[46] From the late nineteenth century, the Basarwa way of life underwent considerable change. In Ngamiland, the Ju/'hoansi, a Basarwa clan, adopted the agro-pastoral economy of their neighbouring Bantu speakers.[47] By 1800, the Banoka (river Basarwa) had established themselves along the rivers 'with permanent settlements, herds of cattle and a trading network that stretched for hundreds of kilometers in every direction.[48] Similarly, the Bakwengo, in the Chobe District and the Victoria Falls region, and 'Mbarakwengo' in Namibia responded to new socio-economic conditions, incorporating farming into the gradually diminishing hunting and fishing livelihood strategies and adopted a sedentary lifestyle.[49] As Madzwamuse commented, 'Basarwa can no longer be considered as pure foragers, as they have been involved in a complex set of interactions with cattle owners, traders and others.'[50]

Change was not always beneficial. Indeed, contact with Bantu immigrants for the larger part resulted in the progressive alienation of Basarwa in general from access and control over land and resources.[51] The Basarwa of the wetlands became an increasingly marginalised minority on the verge of poverty. As Sidsel Saugestad observed, 'Once the

[44] Russell Bondariansky, 'Effects of the Tourism/Wildlife industry on a Sedentary Khoisan Community (Khwai village, Ngamiland, Botswana)', (Unpublished paper, no date), p. 1.
[45] Robert Hitchcock, 'Anthropological Research and Remote Area Development among Basarwa', in Robert Hitchcock, Neil Parsons and John Taylor, (eds.), *Research For Development in Botswana: Proceedings of a Symposium held by the Botswana Society at the Gaborone Sun Conference Centre Gaborone, August 19-21, 1985* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1987), p. 288. For full article, see pp. 285-351.
[46] Richard K. Hitchcock, 'Socio-economic Change among the Basarwa in Botswana: An Ethnohistorical Analysis', in *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Summer, 1987), p. 220. For full article, see pp. 219-255.
[47] Susan Kent, 'Does Sedentarization Promote Gender Inequality? A Case Study from the Kalahari', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol. 1, No. 3 (September, 1995), p. 513. For full article, see pp. 513-536.
[48] Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1997), p. 145.
[49] Kafungulwa Mubitana, 'The Traditional History and Ethnography', p. 60. See also, http://orvillejenkins.com/profiles/mbarakwengo.html 'The Mbarakwengo Bushmen of Botswana and Namibia' accessed on 21/06/2007.
[50] Masego S. Madzwamuse, 'Adaptive Livelihood Strategies of the Basarwa', p. 39.
[51] Sidsel Saugestad, 'Review of Michael Taylor: Life, Land and Power. Contesting development in Northern Botswana', in *N#oahn/Newsletter: Basarwa Research Programme,* Vol. 5, No. 1 (August 2001), pp. 4-5.

indigenous people of all southern Africa, they remain a distinct social category, invisible, as a dispersed economic underclass, squatting at the margins of Botswana society.'[52] However, the post independence government slowly began to acknowledge that the domination of Basarwa by Bantu groups was 'a phenomenon sanctioned by history, not by nature and is therefore amenable to change.'[53]

The earliest Bantu-speaking groups to settle in the wetlands comprised Basubiya, Wayeyi and Hambukushu (or *Bekuhane* - the 'river people' as they call themselves) due to their use of the riverine environment for their livelihoods.[54] These groups originated from East and Central Africa, and settled in Middle Zambezi in Lozi country (south west of today's Zambia) before proceeding to Chobe and Ngamiland areas.[55] While larger groups settled in the wetlands in the sixteenth century, archaeological evidence at Divuyu and Nqoma around the Tsodilo Hills suggests that the area was settled by Iron Age artisans as early as the mid-sixth century and these people have been associated with Wayeyi.[56]. However, around 1750, fearing Lozi domination and absorption by the increasingly expanding Lozi kingdom, and driven by the desire to preserve their identity, the Basubiya, Wayeyi and Hambukushu migrated into the Chobe River basin and Ngamiland.[57] The fear of possible raids from the Lozi and Bakololo of Sebetwane in Zambia prompted Wayeyi and Hambukushu to move out of the Chobe area into the

[52] Sidsel Saugestad, *The Inconvenient Indigenous: Remote Area Development in Botswana, Donor Assistance, and the First People of the Kalahari* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2001), p.28.
[53] Teedzani Thapelo, 'Public Policy and San Displacement in Liberal Democratic Botswana', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* Vol. 17, No. 2 (2003), pp. 93-94. For full article, see pp. 93-104. See also, Motzafi-Haller, 'When the Bushmen are known as Basarwa: Gender, Ethnicity and Differentiation in Rural Botswana', in *American Ethnologist* Vol. 21, No. 3 (1994), pp. 539-563, K. Nthomang, 'Rethinking Basarwa Dependency on the RADP: Exploring an Alternative Approach to Basarwa Development in Botswana', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies',* Vol. 18, No. 2 (2004), pp. 15-25.
[54] International Court of Justice, 'Case concerning Kasikili/Sedudu Island (Botswana/Namibia): Responses of the Republic of Botswana to the Questions put to the Parties by Members of the Court on 25 February 1999 and 5 March 1999', pp. 17-20, Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1997), p. 133.
[55] F.J. Ramsden, 'The Basubiya', p. 2.
[56] Duncan Muller, *The Tsodilo Jwellery: Metal Work from Northern Botswana* Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1996), p. 12. As a process and not an event, it is likely that movements were made over time and that this was initially carried out by small groups of people.
[57] Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Revised Edition), (Gaborone: Macmillan, 2006), pp. 127-137. See also, A.B. Cunningham and S.J. Milton, 'Effects of Basket-weaving Industry on Mokola Palm and Dye Plants in Northwestern Botswana', in *Economic Botany,* Vol. 41, No. 3 (July to September, 1987), p. 386. For full article, see pp. 386-402. See also, Thomas Larson, 'The Hambukushu of Ngamiland', p. 29. A larger part of the Zambezi region, from Angola to Zambia, Caprivi, Chobe and Okavango in fact formed a diaspora for the Hambukushu as they were found in all these river areas and floodplains.

Okavango region while the majority of Basubiya remained in the Chobe area, straddling the river, paying tribute to Bakololo who had also conquered the Lozi in order to buy peace.[58] Wayeyi were the first Bantu-speaking people to settle in the Okavango Delta.[59] They have since remained the largest ethnic group in Ngamiland.[60] Like other people of the Zambezi region, Wayeyi were originally matrilineal, tracing their descent to the mother, as well as property inheritance and succession to chieftainship.[61] Intermingling with other groups led to the adoption of the local patrilineal system and integration of fishing in the local economy. The Hambukushu were renowned for their rain-making powers, a skill which spared them attacks by stronger groups who 'competed for jurisdiction' over them.[62] Basubiya, Wayeyi and Hambukushu were primarily agro-agriculturalists.[63]

Around late 1700s and early 1800s, Tswana-speaking Batawana pastoralists, an offshoot of Bangwato (the largest chiefdom in the country), broke ranks with the centre and migrated to Ngamiland.[64] In their early days of settlement in the wetlands, Batawana were subjected to occasional attacks by the Bakololo of Sebetwane, losing cattle and people who were captured and integrated into the Bakololo kingdom.[65] In Ngamiland, with their skills in cattle herding, the Batawana utilised the wetland environment to develop a strong cattle economy in the area. Because of their well-developed political

[58] International Court of Justice, 'Case concerning Kasikili/Sedudu Island (Botswana/Namibia)', p. 19. Bakololo established their capital at Linyanti on the Chobe.
[59] A.C. Campbell, *Traditional Utilization of the Okavango Delta, Paper for the Symposium on the Okavango Delta and its Future Utilization, National Museum, Gaborone, August 30th – September 2nd 1976* (Gaborone: Botswana Society, 1976), p. 1.
[60] James Raymond Denbow and Phenyo C. Thebe, *Culture and Customs of Botswana* (Westpoint: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 34. In the 1991 population census, Wayeyi constituted 40% of the population in Ngamiland, the largest of a single ethnic groups, while Tswana-speaking Batawana (who settled in the area in the 1820s) constituted 1% of the district's population. Despite their numerical superiority Wayeyi were however regarded as a minority group under the domination of Batawana.
[61] Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'From a Phone Call to the High Court: Wayeyi Visibility and the Kamanakao Association's Campaign for Linguistic and Cultural Rights in Botswana', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (2002), p. 686. For full article, see pp. 685-709, Diana Wylie, *A Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in a Southern African Chiefdom* (Johannesburg: The Witwatersrand University Press, 1991), p. 26.
[62] David Potten, 'Etsha: A Successful Resettlement Scheme', in *Botswana Notes and Records* Vol. 8 (1976), p. 106. Such competitors included Batawana and the Lozi on the upper Zambezi.
[63] Chris McIntyre, *Botswana: Okavango Delta, Chobe, Northern Kalahari* (Guilford: The Globe Prequot Press, 2003), p. 32, D.M. Shamukuni, 'The Basubiya', 161-184, D.H. Potten, 'Etsha: A Successful Resettlement Scheme', in *Botswana Notes and Records* Vol. 8 (1976), p. 106. For full article, see pp. 105-119.
[64] Jeff Ramsay, Barry Morton and Fred Morton, *Historical Disctionary of Botswana* (London: Scarecrow, 1996), p. 229, Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'From a Phone Call to the High Court', p. 686.
[65] Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* , pp.143-145.

institutions, they dominated the local groups including the Wayeyi, dispossessing them of land and livestock and subjecting them to a form of 'serfdom' by exploiting their dependence.[66] Despite the earlier misunderstanding with Bangwato, Batawana won the support of Bangwato against local minority groups due to the historical and cultural affinity between the two.[67] In 1912, another split occurred among the Batawana. A group led by Sekgoma Letsholathebe emigrated to settle among Basubiya of Kachikau in the Chobe District.[68] BaSekgoma (as they called themselves) claimed that the Chobe District was a Tawana hunting and herding region. The Basubiya resisted, prompting the colonial administration's intervention effectively in support of the politically dominant Batawana.[69] Following the death of Sekgoma Letsholathebe in 1914, and loss of cattle to tsetse fly in Chobe, most of Sekgoma Letsholathebe's followers returned to Ngamiland.[70] Kachikau became a Tawana dominated village.

Following their defeat in the uprising against German rule in 1904, about 6,000 Ovaherero fled Namibia and settled in Ngamiland.[71] Ovaherero were primarily pastoralists, although they diversified their economy with cultivation, hunting and trading. During their flight to Botswana, Ovaherero lost all their cattle.[72] They hired their labour to local Tawana cattle barons and, within 30 years of settlement, they built up new herds and re-established their prowess as pastoralists, contributing significantly

[66] Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'From Phone Call to the High Court', p. 686. In attempting to build a homogenous nation state, the independence government adopted a language policy in which Setswana was declared the national language and English the official language. Eight Bantu groups spoke Setswana as their mother tongue and thus officially regarded as the majority groups. On the other hand, all other languages were regarded as minority languages with their speakers also regarded as minority ethnic groups and subsequently marginalised despite the numerical significance. In Ngamiland, as elsewhere in the country where similar conditions obtained, this subjugation of the majority Wayeyi by a numerically minority Batawana group has remained a contentious issue. In 1995, Wayeyi established the Kamanakao Association with a view to reviving linguistic and cultural rights of the ethnic group. See also, Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Ethnic Identity and Nationhood in Botswana', in Isaac N. Mazonde, (ed.), *Minorities in the Millennium: Perspectives from Botswana* (Gaborone: Lightbooks, 2002), pp. 17-27, Kirsten Alnaes, 'Social Dynamics in a Colonial Situation: A Hereo Case-Study from Ngamiland', in Isaac N. Mazonde, (ed.), *Minorities in the Millennium*, pp. 29-45, Anderson Chebanne, 'Minority Languages and Minority People: Issues on Linguistic, Cultural and Ethnic Death in Botswana', in Isaac N. Mazonde, (ed.), *Minorities in the Millennium*, pp. 47-55.

[67] Interview with Israel Zebe, former District Commissioner, Kasane, 18 May 2008, Tutume village.

[68] Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* p. 139.

[69] BNA S. 349/1 'BaSubiya of Chobe District: Divided Sub-chieftaincy', 1960.

[70] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland* pp. 132-135.

[71] Frank R. Vivelo, *The Herero of Western Botswana: Aspects of Change in a Group of Bantu-Speaking Cattle Herders* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1977), p. x. About 75% of Baherero were massacred by the German colonial regime, expropriating their cattle and land.

[72] Chris McIntyre, *Botswana: Okavango Delta* p. 34.

to the local livestock population.[73] The last to arrive in the wetlands region were the Hambukushu joining small numbers of relatives already inside Botswana. Between December 1967 and September 1969, approximately 4,000 Angolan Hambukushu fled the Portuguese colonial war in Angola, settling in Etsha and Gumare. The Botswana government established the two villages specifically for these immigrants who soon made an impression on the basketry production of the area.[74]

Marginality and economic activity

The remoteness of the wetlands and poor communication systems and transportation infrastructure contributed to the marginalisation of the inhabitants.[75] Marginality was exacerbated by the harshness of the local environment. Disease vectors such as tsetse fly and mosquito limited settlement to specific areas in the wetlands and restricted livelihood options.[76] Tsetse fly posed a great challenge, causing losses in livestock while malaria-bearing mosquitoes ravaged the population, conveying the image of an unhealthy region infested with disease.[77] Many people trekked between forest areas and open lands and back as and when disease struck or subsided.[78] Floods and droughts - hydrological fluctuations – forced inhabitants to oscillate between the fringes of rivers and higher ground. Some years the climatic conditions were harsher than others. For example, in 1958, the Chobe River experienced record flooding in which the village of Kachikau was submerged along with Parakarungu and Satau. Inhabitants were forced out to higher sandy grounds where they attempted to cultivate crops. Poor harvests were recorded across the entire district.[79] Movement further outwards from the Delta was limited by the dry and infertile Kalahari sands in the hinterland.[80] These harsh conditions that compromised economic activity and created rural poverty were not

[73] Frank R. Vivelo, *The Herero of Western Botswana,* p. 4. See also, Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland*, pp. 94-96.
[74] Rhoda Levinsohn, *Basketry: A Renaissance in Southern Africa* (Cleveland Heights: Protea Press, 1979), p. 23.
[75] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan 6, 2003-2006,* (Maun: Ministry of Local Government, 2003).
[76] L.J. van der Heiden, 'The Okavango Delta: Current State of Planning and Conservation', pp. 109-110.
[77] R.K.K. Molefi, *A Medical History of Botswana, 1885-1966* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1996), p. 145, BNA S. 222/1/1 'Tsetse Fly Control in Bechuanaland Protectorate. Central Committee to advise on Future Policy and Minutes of Meetings from 16 July 1956 – 14 April 1959'.
[78] Alistair J. Sutherland, 'Grass Roots Land Tenure among Yeyi of North-Western Botswana', in *Journal of African Law,* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring, 1980), pp. 62-84.
[79] Bechuanaland Protectorate, *Chobe District, Annual Report For the Year Ending 31st December, 1958.*
[80] Edwin N. Wilmsen, 'Ecological Studies in an Ngamiland Community', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8 (1976), pp. 296-297.

unique to Chobe and Ngamiland. In riverine Barotseland in Zambia, at about the same time, a combination of ecological disasters such as floods and livestock epidemics including foot and mouth disease and bovine pleuro-pneumonia caused starvation and economic decline. The Zambian crisis illustrates the close correlation between the environment of the floodplain and economic activity, and marginality.[81]

The history of the wetlands is characterised by competing power relationships between people where weaker groups suffered political and economic disempowerment, leaving them with limited livelihood options.[82] Tswana-speaking Batawana also marginalised less organised communities, pushing them out of tsetse-free pastures and locating their cattle posts in the relatively disease-free open areas of Shorobe, Toteng and Sehitwa (See Map 2).[83] From the 1970s, these sought after areas became settled with civil servants from other parts of the country. These better educated outsiders tended to look down on local communities who were not part of the mainstream Tswana-speaking peoples, using the derogatory prefix 'Ma'[Sarwa, Subiya, Kalaka] instead of the more respectful 'Ba'[Sarwa] or Ba Tswana.[84] Such attitudes made the poor more vulnerable and unable to 'cope with, resist and recover from daily life struggles' in the wetlands.[85] There have been calls for constitutional reforms among others, to grant more rights to minority groups.[86]

An important theme in this study is conflict over access to, and use of, resources. Different interest groups competed over user rights in land and fishing. Groups who were well established (politically, economically and culturally) tended to undermine existing resource tenure systems over land and water sources. They then imposed their own tenure systems to establish access to resources. In Ngamiland, the Tswana-

[81] Laurel van Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840-1964', in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1977), pp. 144-169.
[82] Megan Biesele, 'Basarwa Development North-West District', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8 (1976), pp. 297-298.
[83] Alistair J. Sutherland, 'Grass Roots Land Tenure among Yeyi of North-Western Botswana', pp. 66.
[84] Interview with Irene Mabika, Aged 32, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 17 June 2008. The use of prefix 'Ma' in referring to people constituted inferiority in Setswana usage.
[85] Ghana S. Gurung and Michael Kollmair, *Marginality: Concepts and their Limitations* (Zuric: University of Zurich, 2005), pp. 14-15.
[86] B.T. Mokopakgosi and G.B. Gumbo, 'Economic, Political, and Social Developments since Independence: An Overview', in Part T. Mgadla and Brian T. Mokopakgosi, (eds.), *Forty Years On: Essays in Celebration of Botswana's Forty Years of Independence* (Gaborone: Department of Information Services, 2008), pp. 117-120.

speaking pastoralist Batawana dominated people in the area, imposing their socio-economic systems on them and regulating resource use.[87] For example, at Kachikau in the Chobe District, Batawana claimed the whole district as their hereditary pastures and hunting grounds, sparking conflict with the Basubiya.[88] In the post-colonial period, conflicts over user rights on the Okavango River occurred between local fishermen and tourist anglers.[89] Colonial administrations and African elites did not always recognise that 'ownership rights are embedded in social institutions rather than legalistic contractual relationships.'[90] In the Okavango area conflict over tenure occurred between two broad interest groups, the 'traditional and emerging stakeholders'.[91] The 'traditional' category comprised local communities while 'emerging stakeholders' included institutional sectors such as government departments, the private sector, and non-governmental organisations.[92] These conflicts reflected competing views of development and conservation, among others.

Government intervention in the colonial and post-colonial periods was key in shaping livelihoods and 'development' in the wetlands. Central to intervention was the need to deal with the problems of disease, the challenges of conserving wildlife and developing a viable economy in a remote district with a marginal environment.[93] While economic planning in the colonial era was 'rudimentary and short-term', it was nonetheless driven by necessity. As Murray and Parsons observed, 'The role of the state in recent economic development has been the product of necessity.'[94] From 1905, the colonial administration intervened to eradicate disease and develop the cattle industry in the

[87] *Mmegi*, 'The Royal Highness with Shaman', 13 April 2007.
[88] G.B. Gumbo, 'The Political Economy of Development in the Chobe, Peasants, Fishermen and Tourists, 1960-1995', (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Botswana, 2002), p. 19. The colonial administration recognised Batawana interests around the Kachikau area.
[89] Richard Hasler, 'Political Ecologies of Scale and the Okavango Delta: Hydro-politics, Property Rights and Community Based Wildlife Management', (Unpublished paper, no date), p. 4.
[90] David M. Gordon, *Nachituti's Gift*, pp. 6-7.
[91] Michael B.K. Darkoh and Joseph E. Mbaiwa, 'Land-use and resource Conflict in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *African Journal of Ecology*, Vol. 47, Issue s1 (February, 2009), pp. 161-165.
[92] Government departments included the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, the Department of Animal Health, the Department of Tourism, local Land Boards, whose activities overlapped with livelihood activities of local people.
[93] These challenges included the vagaries of weather, disease, poor agricultural husbandry, the dearth of infrastructure such as roads and markets, human-wildlife conflicts, inadequate financial and trained human resources.
[94] Andrew Murray and Neil Parsons, 'The Modern Economic History of Botswana', in Zbigniew A. Konczacki, Jane L. Parpart and Timothy M. Shaw, (eds.), *Studies in the Economic History of Southern Africa*, Vol. I: *The Front-Line States* (London: Frank Cass, 1990), p. 159. For full article, see pp. 159-199.

wetlands in order to ensure sustainable livelihoods that did not depend on hunting wildlife.[95] European traders in the area also benefited from the shift towards commodification of cattle as Michael Hubbard noted.[96] By the time the abattoir was opened in Lobatse in 1954, well-to-do cattle owners in the tsetse-free areas of the wetlands were in a position to make use of its facilities.[97]

State sponsored development, nationalism and modernisation

A central element of this thesis is the exploration of the interventions of Botswana's developmental state in the northern wetlands. Conceptually, the developmental state is a phenomenon in which macroeconomic planning is led by the state.[98] It is a form of economic nationalism wherein government bureaucracy plays a crucial role in directing the agenda of economic development. According to Amiya Kumar Bagchi, a developmental state regards economic development as the 'top priority of government policy and is able to design effective instruments to promote such goals.'[99] Success in achieving the developmentalist project depends largely on a competent and efficient administrative bureaucracy which is established by the political elites' forging reciprocal relations with other non-state actors who 'give legitimacy to the developmental project of the state.'[100] Together, this alliance makes a professional bureaucracy that is able to intervene in directing the economy.[101] The interventionist role of the state in the development process is thus the single major characteristic of a developmental state. The state's role can be in the form of ownership of assets,

[95] Edwin S. Munger, *Bechuanaland: Pan-African Outpost or Bantu Homeland?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 50-53.
[96] Michael Hubbard, 'Botswana's Beef Cattle Exports: Establishment of a Reserve Industry', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1981), p. 48.
[97] R.K.K. Molefi, *A Medical History of Botswana,* p. 143, Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Development of The Bechuanaland Economy, Report of the Ministry of Overseas Development Economic Survey Mission* (Gaborone: Ministry of Overseas Development, November 1965), pp. 28-30. Livestock diseases in the wetlands included tsetse fly borne *nagana,* rinderpest, anthrax, liverfluke and foot and mouth disease.
[98] Masaki Abe, 'The Developmental State and Educational Advance in East Asia', in *Educate,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (2006), pp. 6-12.
[99] Amiya Kuma Bagchi, 'The Past and the Future of the Developmental State', in *Journal of World Systems Research,* Vol. X1, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2000), pp. 398-442.
[100] Omano Edigheji, Olive Shisana and Themba Masilela, 'Envisioning a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Theoretical and Policy Issues', in *New Agenda, South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy,* Issue 31 (2008), pp. 35-43.
[101] Ian Taylor, 'Ditiro Tsa Ditlhabololo: Botswana As A Developmental State', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 17, No. 1 (2003), pp. 37-50.

involvement in industrial financing, or the political role of 'coordinator of complementary investment decisions.'[102]

The developmental state is usually associated with East Asian states of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore. Due to its post-war rapid industrialisation, Japan is seen as the 'archetype' of the developmental state. Its rapid economic growth is attributed to state planning and direction of the economy. Through the instrumental Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the Ministry of Finance, the Japanese state ran a strongly regulated economy where imports were strictly controlled and often limited to approved technology.[103] Local innovation and design was also facilitated by the state in key areas. The Japanese state-led intervention is thus credited with influencing not only the direction but also the pace of economic development rather than relying purely on market forces.[104]

As in Japan, Botswana's attempts to create a national development bureaucracy were coordinated under the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, a ministry that was led by the vice president for many years. The strategy of the post independence state was to fund developmentalist projects (that is, projects that would lead to increasing economic capacity and growth) through the National Development Bank (NDB).[105] In 1970, the state established the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) which complemented the role of the NDB by identifying investment partners. The BDC is regarded as Botswana's most important industrial policy instrument.[106] As Abdi Samatar observed,

> The public sector in Botswana has been able to play a central role in effectively directing the national economy. The capacity of the state to ably induce economic development and shape the patterns of resource use distinguish developmental states such as Botswana from other Third World states.[107]

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[102] Ha-Joon Chang, 'The Economic Theory of the Developmental State', in Meredith Woo-Cummings, *The Developmental State* (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 182-199.
[103] Peter Dicken, *Global Shift: Reshaping the Global Economic Man in the 21st Century* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 171-173.
[104] Peter Dickens, *Global Shift*, pp. 171-173.
[105] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP 2), 1968-1973* (Gaborone: Ministry of Development Planning, 1968), p. 5. The National Development Bank was established by the colonial administration in 1963.
[106] Abdi Ismail Samatar, *An African Miracle: State and Class leadership and Colonial Legacy in Botswana Development* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1999), p. 131.
[107] Abdi Samatar, *An African Miracle*, p. 8.

Dominated by a cattle-owning political leadership, the Botswana government provided substantial financial subsidies for agricultural improvements and encouraged efforts to modernise farming practices. The Botswana elite comprised an informal coalition of chiefs, wealthy cattle owners and a modernising urban elite of teachers and civil servants.[108] As a parliamentary democracy, the state encouraged the elite to use democratic institutions to boost development eschewing the authoritarian and corporatist strategies of the Newly Industrialising economies of Asia.[109] Government institutions engaged in development as key stakeholders rather than outright dictators. As Robert Price observed, the Botswana government created an autonomous bureaucratic apparatus that was able to provide economic direction through a tight focus on the development of the cattle industry.[110] By co-opting traditional leaders into modernising institutions, forging alliances with the intelligentsia and finance institutions and restricting the labour movement, the Botswana state managed to 'insulate' itself from society's interests. This was the basis of the trajectory that produced a developmental nationalism centred on cattle accumulation.[111]

The ideological message of the Botswana developmental state drew on two key discourses: modernisation and nationalism. In the rhetoric of the Botswana government, development implied embracing modern scientific farming methods, a commitment to commercial farming and a need to foster entrepreneurship. T. M. Tsikata and Robert Hitchcock argue that this 'modernisation' aimed at enhancing productivity with a view to transforming livelihoods, particularly in the rural areas.[112] Because the bulk of the rural population engaged in subsistence agriculture, considerable state effort was aimed at raising the standard of living by transforming peasant production. Scientific and technological programmes were directed at small

[108] Olufemi Vaughan, *Chiefs, Power, and Social Change: Chiefship and Modern Politics in Botswana, 1880-1990s* (Asmara: Africa World Press, 2003), p. 110.
[109] Peter Dicken, *Global Shift: Reshaping the Global Economic Map in the 21st Century*, Fourth Edition (New York: The Guilford Press, 2003), pp. 181-186.
[110] Robert M. Price, 'Neo-Colonialism and Ghana's Economic Decline: A Critical Assessment', in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1984), pp. 163-193.
[111] Zibani Maundeni, 'State Culture and Development in Botswana and Zimbabwe', in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2002), p. 129. For full article, see pp. 105-132.
[112] T.M. Tsikata and Robert Hichcock, 'Research on the Botswana economy', in Robert Hitchcock and Neil Parsons and John Taylor, (eds.), *Research for Development in Botswana: Proceedings of a Symposium held by the Botswana Society at the Gaborone Sun Conference Centre, Gaborone, August 19-21, 1985* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1987), pp. 172-207.

producers and subsistence farmers to increase yields and incomes.[113] Modernisation – and much of what was meant by rural development – essentially aimed at enhancing productivity especially in food cereals and cattle.[114] The Botswana state established institutions that coordinated the transformation of rural agriculture and promoted programmes such as the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP). Introduced in 1975, the TGLP was a land reform and livestock project that sought to manage pasture and water. In 1982, the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP) was established to modernise subsistence crop production.[115] This modernisation trajectory of national development was informed, as Balefi Tsie suggests, by Botswana's entry into the world economy and the need for 'competitiveness'. Certainly, the desire for beef export markets placed pressure on the state's investment in modernising the cattle industry.[116]

In Botswana's development trajectory, modernisation was interwoven with nationalism. The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has been returned to power in every election since independence on the basis of rural votes. Those who did not own cattle – or had only a few beasts – dreamed of owning more. As Kjetil Borhaug put it:

> Any attempt to explain agricultural policies in Botswana should take into account the political importance of the rural, agriculturally dominated areas. It is important for the regime [BDP] to demonstrate that it has the welfare of the rural poor in mind. The welfare services for the poor that have been developed are an important component in this strategy of mobilising political support in the rural areas.[117]

Ian Taylor observed that the state consciously established a 'national perspective' that promised to 'carry the national psyche to a level of providence, with a sense of future', and so helped the people to identify themselves with the state's 'desired level of progress.'[118] An example of this propaganda was *Vision 2016,* published in 1997,

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[113] Isaac N. Mazonde, 'Food Policy and Agriculture in Botswana', in Richard Mkandawire and Khabele Matlosa, (eds.), *Food Policy and Agriculture in Southern Africa* (Harare: SAPES Books, 1993), pp. 84-108.
[114] Patricia M. Makepe, 'Agriculture and Rural Development in Botswana', in Happy K. Siphambe, Nettem Narayana, Oluyele Akinkugbe, Joel Sentsho, (eds.), *Economic Development of Botswana: Facets, Policies, Problems and Prospects* (Gaborone: Bay Publishing, 2005), pp. 119-137.
[115] T.M. Tsikata and Tobert Hitchcock, *Research for Development in Botswana,* pp. 176-181.
[116] Balefi Tsie, 'The State and Development Policy in Botswana', in Kempe Ronald Hope, Snr. and Gloria Somolekae, (eds.), *Public Administration and Policy in Botswana* (Kenwyn: Juta, 1998), pp. 1-20.
[117] http://bora.cmi.no/dsplace/bitstream/10202/375 Kjetil Borhaug, 'Politics, Administration and Agricultural Development: The case of Botswana's Accelerated Rainfed Arable Programme, August 1992', accessed 11/10/2010. See also, Kenneth Good, *Diamonds, Dispossession and Democracy in Botswana* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2008), pp. 44-65.
[118] Ian Taylor, 'Ditiro Tsa Ditlhabololo: Botswana As a Developmental State', p. 40.

illustrating the interconnectedness of national pride and socio-economic development, and buttressing modernisation and nationalism.[119]

Commenting on failed modernising projects in Russia, Brazil and Tanzania, James Scott blamed the failure on socially engineering policies such as what he termed the 'high-modernist ideology.' He argued that the ideology's weakness was in its overemphasis on science and technology over local knowledge and practice.[120]

Scott illustrates how the post-colonial states' efforts at promoting modernity in rural areas while ignoring essential features of local conditions sometimes failed to produce the desired effects and often contested by local people, as was sometimes the case over high-modernist agriculture in the wetlands. Moreover, Scott argues that over the millennia, human beings successfully tamed nature for their subsistence without the aid of high technology. For example, while the natural fertility of the soil produced food crops sufficient for the households high-modernist agriculture has sought to replace that natural soil fertility with chemical fertilisers. According to Scott, the application of fertilisers is not always suitable for different soil types as these vary, with some fertilisers oxidising organic matter in the soil and destroying its fertility. As he put it,

> Their applicability to any particular field is questionable, since a map of soil classes is likely to overlook an enormous degree of microvariation between and within fields. The conditions under which fertilizers are applied, the "dosage", the soil structure, the crops for which they are intended, and the weather can all greatly influence their uptake and effect.[121]

Scott advocates a simple 'open-ended approach' where farmers are not pressurised to modernise by adopting scientific methods. By the same token, farmers in Botswana's northern wetlands accepted modernisation with trepidation, preferring the traditional methods and indigenous knowledge which they had relied on over time.[122]

Robert Hitchcock makes a similar argument for Botswana in general. He describes the interface between the state and peasants in Botswana as one that was characterised by

[119] Government of Botswana, *Vision 2016, Towards Prosperity for All: Long term Vision for Botswana* (Gaborone: Presidential Task Groupp, September 1997).
[120] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 4-6.
[121] James Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, p. 284.
[122] Interview with Sinka Matengu, Resident of Kasane, studying in Cape Town, 6 October 2010

'planning from the centre', diffusing innovations to the peasant farmers without considering the latter's cultural, social and economic circumstances.[123]

The state's efforts to introduce modernisation efforts in the wetlands were directed at subsistence agricultural production, improved methods of cattle rearing and commercial handicraft production. When efforts to commercialise subsistence farming failed in the 1980s, the state invested in large-scale commercial grain production with a view to increasing cereal production. Initially an experiment with indigenous farmers, white professional farmers came to serve as a model for local farmers. Modernisation of cattle production involved training in the methods of scientific animal husbandry. Persistent veterinary measures paid off. By the 1980s, Ngamiland had some of the largest herds in the country, prompting the state to improve the road links to the area and to set up a local branch of the Botswana Meat Commission to market beef.[124] The Botswana Marketing Board provided outlets for the mostly female handicraft industry. The establishment of a Botswanacraft marketing centre at Etsha in Ngamiland provided a much needed outlet for weavers' products, but this project was not sustaned. The conservation and management of wildlife was a fiercely contested area of state intervention. Communities adjacent to the Game Parks of Chobe and Moremi lost game food and farm land due to conservation imperatives. This thesis will show that these modernisation programmes produced mixed results and that state intervention did not always improve livelihoods of local people. The thesis will point to some of the difficulties of the state's top-down approach to 'modernising' the economy of the wetlands.

Sources

In addition to the secondary literature, this thesis is based on a variety of other sources ranging from archival materials, interviews, government publications, newspapers, and unpublished articles and theses, conference proceedings and internet sources. Archival materials from the Botswana National Archives (BNA) including District Commissioner Files, High Commissioner Files, Resident Commissioner Files and Secretarial Files with correspondences between administrators during both the colonial

[123] Robert Hitchcock, 'Tradition, Social Justice and Land Reform in Central Botswana', in *Journal of African Law.* Vol. 24, No. 1 (September, 1980), pp. 1-34.
[124] *Kutlwano/Mutual Understanding,* Vol. 24, No. 10, October 1986.

and post-colonial periods provided significant insights into the official visions on economic development of the region. Occasionally, administrators on the ground outlined histories of ethnic groups inhabiting the study area. Labelled as 'classified' and not open to the public until the mid-2000s, the 'Office of the President Files' (OP) provided information on incidents in the southern African liberation wars. Published and unpublished government sources provided political and policy framework documents that guided state intervention in regional and national development.[125]

The study also engaged extensive interviews with informants from a very broad socio-economic spectrum. The author had no relationship with either the area or the informants. With limited funding from the University of Botswana, the author carried out extensive fieldwork and interviewed civil servants, legislators and non-governmental organisations in the study area.[126] Interviews provided insights into local dynamics, the role of indigenous knowledge and perspectives on linkages between people, environment and the economy. In many instances, the views articulated by interviewees contrasted sharply with official government positions.

Structure

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The chapters follow a broadly chronological order organised around specific themes. Beginning in the 1880s but concentrating on the post-colonial history of the wetlands, the chapters explore the links between people, environment and economic activity.

Chapter One examines the process of commodification of cattle in the wetlands from the 1880s to 1965. The chapter begins by exploring the meaning of cattle in a peasant economy and shows how cattle production was slowly commodified in the wetlands through the settlement of white cattle traders in Ngamiland. The chapter examines the colonial administration's efforts to control disease and establish a livestock market. It

[125] Government documents were sourced from specific government ministries and department libraries in Gaborone, the Central Statistics Office library, the Botswana National Archives, the University of Botswana library and the University of Cape Town libraries (African Studies, Government Publications and open shelves).

[126] Interviews with most local communities were conducted in Setswana, occasionally using interpretors in cases of vernacular other than Setswana. Some civil servants and business people preferred the use of English.

also explores how cattle as markers of security as well as sources of social status were displaced by new indicators of social prestige and security.

In Chapter Two, the study explores state intervention in the cattle industry of the wetlands in the post-colonial period. This chapter examines the development of institutions, policies and programmes for cattle farming and discusses the measures introduced to eradicate cattle disease. In the wetlands, state intervention sought to achieve a balance between eradication of disease and conservation of wildlife. In 1979, the state built the Botswana Vaccine Institute, producing vaccines that reduced new infections in cattle. Increase in cattle numbers in Ngamiland spurred government into establishing a local branch of the Botswana Meat Commission which was established in 1983. The chapter argues that by favouring a few wealthier cattle owners and neglecting the poor, government programmes increased social stratification.

Chapter Three focuses on local responses to the state's efforts to help women in agriculture. The first of these was the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP), established in 1982. By 1987, recipients of the programme's packages showed increases in the amount of land cultivated and in crop yields. However, state strategies that followed a top-down approach had limited success and extension workers were unable to reach many farmers and were not adequately trained for the unique soils in the wetlands.

Chapter Four examines the state's strategies to support commercial production of grains in Chobe. The chapter explores the impact of commercial farming on food production and on the livelihoods of local communities. In 1985, white farmers on land leased from the government began to produce sorghum, the staple crop, and helped to set an example that local farmers might emulate. In the early 1990s, some local subsistence farmers did begin to adopt a more commercial approach with the guidance of the commercial farmers.

In Chapter Five, the study explores how male fishing and female basketry activities contributed to the development of identities centred on the river. The chapter examines

the efforts of the state to assist skills development in these areas. It illustrates how, by the late 1990s, the success of some women challenged gender stereotypes.

Chapter Six examines the interface between wildlife conservation and rural livelihoods between 1930 and 1979. It explores the impact of fortress conservation and the tensions arising from competing land use strategies. The chapter also shows how the state became more aware of local needs and began to educate communities on the value of wildlife.

Chapter Seven is an examination of the politics of the development of the tourist industry in the wetlands after 1980. It details ways in which the southern African liberation wars held back the development of the tourist industry in Chobe and Ngamiland. The chapter illustrates how government initiatives integrated communities into a dual process of conservation and utilisation of wildlife through the Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme.

Chapter Eight is the final chapter. The chapter examines the increasing importance of cross-border trade at Kasane from the 1980s. Against the backdrop of uncertain agricultural yields, many rural households migrated to Kasane (the local administrative and commercial centre). The chapter shows how women (and a few men) took advantage of Kasane's growing population to trade in food, clothing, alcohol and sex. The chapter highlights tensions between the traders and government officials over market and cross-border trade regulations.

Chapter One: The Commodification of cattle in the wetlands of colonial Botswana, 1880-1965

Chapter One examines the process of commodification of cattle and its effects on livelihood strategies, beginning in the 1880s when European cattle traders settled in Ngamiland and Chobe. The chapter explores the interventions of the administration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate to eradicate cattle disease and to impose hut tax. These measures increased the possibility of cattle sales and the need for cash. The availability of food and consumer goods in the trading stores created new wants which could be met by selling cattle. The chapter also examines the impact of cattle ownership on social stratification and gendered relations.

The meaning of cattle in a peasant economy

Cattle rearing was the principal economic activity among most rural communities in Botswana from the early settlement of Tswana people in the thirteenth century.[1] Communities in pre-capitalist Botswana, including the wetlands, were 'cattle producers and subsistence farmers who produce[d] crops and milk mainly for their own consumption.'[2] Their mode of production had all the characteristics of a peasant economy.[3] As Saul and Woods explain, we may understand peasants as people 'whose ultimate security and subsistence lies in their having certain rights in land and in the labour of family members on the land, but who are involved, through rights and obligations, in a wider economic system which includes the

[1] Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* pp. 57-70.

[2] Penelope Hartland-Thunberg, *Botswana: An African Growth Economy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), pp. 39-40

[3] Definitions of 'peasants' are varied depending on the background of scholars concerned and their subject area, namely sociologists, historians, anthropologists, economists. But there is, generally, agreement on central defining attributes that were unique to this category of producers, also depending on the period of writing and geographical region researched on. According to David L. Sills, conventional approaches in defining peasants include 'analysis of peasant behaviour at the levels of whole social systems, nations, sectors, villages, households, and individual cultivators'. See David L. Sills, (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 11 (No town of publication, The Macmillan & Free Press, 1968), pp. 503-510.Some writers use 'peasants' to refer to the individual producer while 'peasantry' is the class to which these producers belong, and sometimes used interchangeably. See J.S. Saul and R Woods, 'African Peasantries', in Teodor Shanin, (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies* (London: Penguin Books, 1988), pp. 80-88, Jan Hesselberg, *The Third World in Transition: The Case of the Peasantry in Botswana* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985), pp. 47-59. Related concepts include 'peasantariat' which, according to Jack Parson, combines 'peasant' and 'proletariat', as he puts it, '[it is] a coinage combining the terms *peasant* and *proletariat* designed to capture the attributes of this distinctive category of working class in capitalist society – [for example] migrant labourers'. Jack Parson, 'Cattle, Class and State in Rural Botswana', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April, 1981), p. 240, see pages 236-255 for full article. See also Frank Ellis, *Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Joel S. Migdal, *Peasants, Politics and Revolution: Pressures toward Political and Social Change in Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, especially p. 9.

participation of non-peasants.'[4] The peasant producers in the wetlands neither deliberately produced surplus for a market nor engaged in exclusive pastoralism. The land allocated to them by the chief was inalienable and understood as security and a means of survival through working on it to produce food.[5] As Jan Hesselberg put it, peasant production was aimed at 'use-value' rather than 'exchange value'.[6] Peasants spent most of their time and effort in securing food for the subsistence of the household and not for the purposes of profit. Given their vulnerability to climate and other environmental factors, they focussed more on 'avoiding reductions in production than on improving the productivity'.[7] Hesselberg also pointed to the importance of interdependence between people as a means of security achieved through cattle loans and mutual assistance. 'Security for the peasants consists in the maintenance of social links with relatives and neighbours able to help in times of need'.[8] In the wetlands, rural households also paid tribute *sehuba* (tithe) to the chief in return for his protection.

The physical landscape and ecology of the wetlands of Chobe and Ngamiland provided a paradox in so far as cattle production was concerned. On the one hand there was an abundance of surface water from the perennial rivers such as the Chobe, the Okavango and the swamps and floodplains in the periphery, lakes Ngami and Liyambezi which other regions in Botswana did not have.[9] Cattle did not have to travel long distances between pastures and water sources.[10] Southern Ngamiland also encompassed the arid Kgalagadi sandveld where

[4] J.S. Saul and R. Woods, 'African Peasants' pp. 80-88.
[5] Interview with J.M. Shamukuni, Aged 70, Headman, Satau Customary Court, 11 June 2008.
[6] Jan Hesselberg, *The Third World in Transition: The Case of the Peasantry in Botswana,* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985), pp. 54-58. Hesselberg's study however dwells much in the post-colonial period, focusing on the villages of Tutume in the Central District and Letlhakeng in the Kweneng District. Also contributing to the 'satisfier type of production' was A.V. Chayanov who emphasized the important phenomenon of family labour. He asserted that unlike business firms which aimed at profit making and thus engaging hired labour, peasants utilized family labour. 'His [peasant] family farms were pure in the sense that they depended solely on work of their own family members.' See Daniel Thorner, 'Chayanov's Concept of Peasant Economy', in Daniel Thorner, Basile Kerblay, R.E.F. Smith, (eds.), *A.V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasnt Economy* (Homewood: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1966), p. xiii, for full article see pp. xi-xxiii.
[7] Jan Hesselberg, *The Third World in Transition,* p. 55.
[8] Jan Hesselberg, *The Third World in Transition,* p. 55.
[9] BNA CDA/1/20, District Commissioner Kasane, 'Chobe District Quarterly Report, October-December 1986'. On the other hand, however, the swamps and the nearby woodlands were sometimes notorious for outbreaks bovine diseases. See also, Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland* pp. 1-7.
[10] Interview with Reverend O. Ditsheko, Former Police Officer in the colonial Bechualand Protectorate Police, Maun, 27 June 2008. Cattle post refers to communal pasture land in Botswana on which cattle grazed far away from residential places and farm land. Batswana had a tripartite land use system, namely land on which the home was built, land for cultivation of crops and pasture (cattleposts). While more time was spent in the permanent structures at home, people also moved during the farming season to stay in temporary shelters tending crops, and to cattle posts to tend cattle. Women tended the crops while men and boys cared for cattle at

rain water was found in shallow depressions in the rainy season. Cattlemen travelled long distances to the rivers during the dry seasons.[11] On the other hand, the wetlands suffered tsetse fly infestation which reduced chances for optimum accumulation, as well as causing *kotselo* or sleeping sickness in human beings, impacting on human productivity in domestic economic activities.[12]

In the wetlands of Botswana, those with large numbers of cattle, principally the Batawana and the Ovaherero, guarded their stock jealously and rarely used them as commodities for exchange.[13] Cattle were the basis for social relations from marriage to patronage. Anthropologist Isaac Schapera documented what he saw as a bovine culture, where cattle ownership conferred status and the possibility of extending patronage. Pastoralists did not often slaughter their cattle for meat. Sour milk and cereals provided the staples in their diet. Cattle were occasionally slaughtered in religious ceremonies such as funerals. Cattle were venerated in what Ferguson has called a 'bovine mystique' by pastoralists who believed that cattle were 'a gift from, and held in trust for, the ancestors' and should not be sold.[14] Even in the face of drought, selling cattle was perceived as a violation of custom and rarely resorted to.[15] Cattle involved power relations at levels of the household as well as the larger community. Status was not so much measured in the number of cattle one had, but rather in how one was able to help others through loan cattle or *mafisa* system. It was possible for a poor man to borrow an ox for ploughing or a cow for milk.[16] Only the chief and wealthy cattle owners were in a position to loan *mafisa* cattle to others to look after and to benefit from the milk, draught power and manure as 'usufruct rights'.[17] Cattle also provided insurance against

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the cattle posts. (See Jonathan Mtetwa, *Man and Cattle in Africa: A Study of Social Change in Pastoral Societies in Botswana* (Saarbrucken: Verlag breitenbach, 1982), pp. 184-185).

[11] Government of Botswana, *Agricultural Development: Ngamiland Phase 2 Report,* 1982/84 (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, May 1985), p. 18.

[12] Patrick P. Molutsi, 'The State, Environment and Peasant Consciousness in Botswana', in *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 42 (1988), p. 41. See pp. 40-47 for full article.

[13] M. Mrema and S. Rannobe, 'Effects of goat and cattle production on the environment: The case of communal areas of Botswana', paper presented at a Conference on Goats held in Beijing, China, 6-11 May 1996, pp. 413-415.

[14] James Ferguson, 'The Bovine Mystique', p. 652.

[15] Frank R. Vivelo, *The Herero of Western Botswana,* p. 77.

[16] Isaac Schapera, *Married Life In An African Tribe* (London: Faber and Faber, 1940), pp. 116-126. See also, Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland* p. 90.

[17] Interview with Kgosi Moffat Sinvula, Aged 69, Village Chief, Kavimba Village, Chobe District, 11 June 2008.

risks in crop production since cattle could be kept for long periods without losing as much value.[18]

According to Jonathan Mtetwa, the human-cattle nexus produced a 'bovine ideology' that ran through generations emphasising cattle as a domestic asset that provided sustenance to households, a key to building social cohesion in rural communities in Botswana.[19] R.M.G. Mtetwa argued that there was nothing mystical about cattle in African traditional societies.[20] Similarly, Thomas Tlou perceives the role of cattle as economically determining, and centres on cattle as exchange for labour (*mafisa* and wives). Cattle helped communities to identify with one another, providing for those in need and aiding people acting together as a community. In his view, *mafisa* mitigated the effects of inequality between the wealthy and the poor in traditional society and helped to maintain social cohesion.[21] Not all would agree with this view, however. Borrowers of cattle often saw things differently as the proverb '*Mogama kgomo ya mafisa o gama a lebile tsela*, (the one who milks a loaned cow does so at the same time checking the road) suggests.[22] Those without cattle said that it was risky to be overly dependent on milk from a loaned cow as the owner might appear anytime and without notice to collect the beast. Nonetheless, the caretaker was sometimes rewarded with a calf.[23] Despite the normative idea that a relationship of mutual reciprocity pertained between Tswana cattle owners and their herders, exploitation of herders especially where Basarwa were involved, was common.[24] Biesele referred to such exploitative work conditions 'repressive paternalism.'[25]

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[18] Michael Hubbard, 'Botswana and the International Beef trade, c. 1900-1981' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1983), p. 45.

[19] Jonathan Mtetwa, *Man and Cattle in Africa* p. 46. 'Ideology' in this sense has connotations of political concept in which cattle were regarded at all levels of state from a common perspective as one to have, cherish and embrace as source of sustenance, and a legacy to hand down to generations.

[20] R.M.G. Mtetwa, 'Myth Or Reality: The "Cattle Complex" in South East Africa, With Special Reference to Rhodesia', in *Zambezia*, VI (i), 1978, pp. 23-35.

[21] Interview with Israel Zebe, Former District Commissioner, Kasane, 18 May 2008.

[22] Interview with Israel Zebe, 18 May 2008.

[23] R. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland (AND): Economic Findings and Results, Dryland and Molapo Farming Systems of Western Ngamiland, Technical Report (Consultancy) No. 5, August 1988, p. 16. See also Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland* p. 55, Isaac Schapera, *Married Life* p. 120. Schapera added that the *mafisa* custom was also a form of insurance against possible losses resulting from contagious diseases or raids if the cattle were all kept together at one place. For detail, see pp. 120-121. See also, Robert L. Curry Jr., 'Poverty and Mass Unemployment in Mineral-rich Botswana', in American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol. 46, No. 1 (January, 1987), pp. 71-87.

[24] Interview with Israel Zebe, Former District Commissioner, Kasane. 18 May 2008, Zebe asserted that among the Tawana in Ngamiland there were incidents of exploitation of Basarwa herders in the employ of some wealthy cattle owners who sometimes paid them in kind, in the form of clothing, tobacco and food rations and sometimes not paying them at all. The lucky ones, he stressed, had *mafisa* extended to them. The exploitation of

In Ngamiland, Batawana and the Ovaherero owned the largest herds of cattle, concentrated in the main livestock rearing areas of Toteng, Sehitwa, Lake Ngami, Tsau Nokaneng, Shorobe, while a few Hambukushu kept theirs around Gumare, Shakawe and Seronga (See Map 2).[26] Rearing and management of cattle was customarily a male-gendered activity, captured in the expression *Tshimo ke ya mosadi, ga monna ke lesaka*, (a crop field is the woman's preserve while the man's is a cattle kraal).[27] Men and older boys saw to the maintenance of cattle by herding and watering them, castrating young bulls, constructing kraals, milking cows and, when the need arose, slaughtering the beasts.[28] Patriarchal control over livestock conferred exclusive ownership rights over cattle, giving men wealth and power providing a basis for income inequalities between men and women.[29] This gendered division of labour and power was endorsed by Tswana customary law which entrenched male dominance through *inter alia*, rights of ownership and inheritance systems by granting the whole estate to the eldest son at the father's death (primogeniture).[30]

Cattle were essential signs of manhood and markers of masculinity.[31] Ownership of cattle enhanced masculinity, to the extent that, because of custom, men reserved some portions of meat of slaughtered beasts for themselves. *Mokoto* was one of the special delicacies prepared from sacral portions that were combined with offal, especially the tripe and intestines, given

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Basarwa cattle herders was also common among some wealthy Ngwato cattle owners in the Central District, as well as the Kwena in the Kgalagadi sandveld. See Megan Biesele, Mathia Guenther, Robert Hitchcock, Robert Lee, Jean MacGregor, 'Hunters, Clients and Squatters: The Contemporary Socioeconomic Status of Botswana Basarwa', in *African Study Monographs*, Vol. 9. No. 3 (January 1989), p. 111, for full paper see pp. 109-151. See also Mabunga Nlashwa Gadibolae, 'Serfdom (Bolata) in the Nata Area, 1926-1960', in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 17(1985), pp. 25-32, BNA HC 145/1, 'Correspondence on Ngamiland Affairs and the Ghanzi District and Lake Ngami Police Detachment 1897-1898, Resident Commissioner Goold Adams to Colonel Francis Panzera of the Bechuanaland Border Police, 21 December 1897'. Kenneth Good noted that some worked 'only for milk'. See Kenneth Good, 'Corruption and Mismanagement in Botswana: a Best-Case Example?', in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1994), p. 518. For full article, see pp. 499-521.

[25] Megan Biesele et al, 'Hunters, Clients and Squatters', p. 111.

[26] Alistair J. Sutherland, 'Grass Roots Land Tenure among Yeyi of North-Western Botswana', in *Journal of African Law*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring, 1980), pp. 62-84.

[27] Interview with L. Thokoeng, Aged 42, Technical Officer, Livestock Production, Ministry of Agriculture, Maun, 07 July 2008. Thokoeng emphasized that his father took every opportunity when the family was together to talk about the importance of cattle in Tswana livelihoods, and encouraging them to engage in livestock husbandry, because of the various social and economic value accruing from cattle.

[28] Frank R. Vivelo, *The Herero of Western Botswana* p. 85.

[29] Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 214.

[30] Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, p. 230.

[31] Diana Wylie, *A Little God: The Twilight of Patriarchy in a Southern African Chiefdom* (Johannesburg: The Witwatersrand University Press, 1991), pp. 5-17, 212-213.

as a dish of respect to older men.[32] It was a custom observed by most Tswana ethnic groups and the older men looked forward to it whenever there was a beast slaughtered for ceremonies such as weddings or funerals in the neighbourhood. It was once regarded as folly for women to partake in the eating of *mokoto* but over time, some communities allowed the older women to eat with the older men.[33] Men ate the testes and *tlhogo,* the head, was also reserved for men.[34] *Tlhogo* was eaten in the *kgotla* by the chief and his advisors and sometimes by the elders. Pina Haidango, an 84 year old subsistence farmer in Samochima village, in the Okavango sub-District explained the meaning of cattle in his area:

> The cow is not just a cultural symbol, but a necessity for every Motswana. I am not a man without it and a Motswana man ought to plough for his wife and children. It provides us with milk, meat, occasionally, for a cow is not just slaughtered, neither is it easily exchanged for cash. We have a saying that '*lebitla la kgomo ke molomo'* (the tomb of a cow is the mouth of a person, and not the market). Livestock was slaughtered only during important social activities like marriage ceremonies or a funeral. When slaughtered, nothing was wasted from a cow, we eat the meat and utilised other by-products. Besides, one is a man if he has large herds of cattle because he can influence decisions where people discuss community affairs. [35]

Haidango fidgeted as he explained other gendered uses of the cow's by-products:

> The cow's marrow is a delicacy reserved for the elderly, to firm their bones as well as increase libido. People use the hide for making clothing as well as the shroud for burial, it is the coffin. The hide was also utilised for making mats, shields and sandals and also strong thongs for tying and enspanning cattle for pulling the plough. Furthermore, when a man [livestock owner] dies he is buried in the kraal, where his heart was and where his spirit would be. The bones made ornaments and were sometimes put together with those of wild animals for divining purposes. The fat was used for tanning and softening thongs, or even for cooking.[36]

Aspects of a 'bovine mystique' were common but were located within a broader social meaning. Peasants in the Nxamasere village in the sub-district of Okavango believed that there were many challenges around them over the years, including witchcraft and wildlife predation on their livestock necessitating the 'doctoring' of their property. Depending on the severity of the 'threat' to the homestead, cattle served as the standard medium of 'thanking' a traditional healer for his 'protective services' over a man's homestead, the cattlepost and the

[32] Interview with Andy Chebanne, Aged 50, medium-sized cattle owner, Mea cattle posts, Mokubilo, 23 May 2009. Sometimes it was the first to be cooked and served to men who were preparing the slaughtered animal. Chebanne added that sometimes a man could offer it raw to an honoured concubine.
[33] Interview with Andy Chebanne, 23 May 2009.
[34] Interview with Andy Chebanne, 23 May 2009. Also, with changes in time, depending on the additions to the *tlhogo,* it could be used as relish by the whole family.
[35] Interview with Pina Haidango, Age 84, Subsistence Farmer, Samochima Village, Okavango, 28 June 2008.
[36] Interview with Pina Haidango, 28 June 2008.

crop fields.[37] Sometimes the traditional healer performed acts of exorcism during which cattle were slaughtered because it was believed that ancestors could only expel evil spirits when appeased with the meat and blood of a slaughtered beast, revealing the near 'godly' role of a cow.[38]

Cherished to a very great extent, cattle among the Basubiya in the wetlands were treated as if they were human beings and given names.[39] Chasimu Sabota, a retired subsistence farmer in his late 80's in Parakarungu, in the Chobe District, leaning on a walking stick, shuffled to the cattle kraal every morning and evening to admire his beasts, calling them by their names. He derived comfort from looking at them. As he explained:

> All of my cattle have names by which we call them and they each know their names. We use these names when harnessing them to the yoke to pull the plough or sledge, or ordering them to retreat when straying towards crop fields. The old ones can even differentiate the voices of the usual caretakers from those who just know their names but do not take them to good pasture or water points. *Kgomo ke Modimo* (livestock is godly).[40]

This reverence towards cattle informed attitudes to labour and labour relations:

> Herd boys would not dare get into the homestead at the end of the day if one beast bolted and strayed from the herd as they well knew the kind of punishment awaiting them, namely corporal punishment and withholding the evening meal. But it was the same discipline that engendered the value of cattle to the young boys who were being apprenticed into livestock based rural economy.[41]

Cattle owners and caretakers knew in great detail the features of each beast such as the colour, ear-markings (even when the ear-markings had been tampered with in the case of stock theft),

[37] Interview with Nanzala Kwerepe, Aged 53, widow and subsistence farmer, Mohembo village, 28 June 2008. In the Mbukushu culture, Kwerepe stressed, a traditional doctor was not 'paid' in the economic sense but rather it was an appreciation of services which he or she acquired from God who 'anointed' him/her with the powers and should not make economic gain from dispensing to the client.
[38] Interview with Nanzala Kwerepe, 28 June 2008.
[39] See also, Z.A. Konczacki, *The Economics of Pastoralism: A Case Study of Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), pp. 76-79.
[40] Interview with Chasimu Sabota, Retired Subsistence Farmer, Parakarungu Village, Chobe, 11 June 2008.
[41] Interview with Andy Chebanne, 27 November 2008.

the shape of the horns, hoof prints, and the cow's specific lowing. Such features were used as evidence in court cases involving stock theft at the chief's *kgotla.*[42]

Social alliances were cemented through cattle and cattle were essential for *bogadi*, the basis of the marriage contract.[43] It was through cattle that both customary and common law marriages were solemnised; livestock served as an agent of continuity even in changing times. Mabochela Heii, subsistence farmer at Nxamasere village in the Okavango sub-District explained:

> Bride price is negotiated in terms of a number of cows and not cash, even if in the cash equivalent was used in the actual payment. This was practised by our forefathers and we still continue to do so whether marriage is conducted by the magistrate [common law] or by elders [customary law]. The cow is life to us.[44]

Marriages continued to be negotiated through cattle despite changes in the colonial legal system under which marriages took place. A marriage without *bogadi* had little meaning and brought no satisfaction. As Isaac Schapera put it, 'They [cattle] constituted the *bogadi* [bride price] paid to a woman's family at marriage, and so were the means of acquiring sexual satisfaction.'[45] Cattle possession endeared one to the new family because it assured them that their daughter would not starve.[46] Similarly, a man who flirted with other men's wives risked emptying his cattlepost through fines as the Setswana expression makes clear: *Nnyo kgopa e goka meraka ya batho* (the scraping vulva scrapes (out) people's cattle posts).[47] Fear of paying fines did not prevent adultery however. Another idiom justifies men's indulgence: *Monna ke poo, ga a agelwe legora* (a man is a bull, and as such no fence should be built around him). The bull image resonates with Jeff Guy's view that cattle bestowed male power over women to the extent that even their sexual behaviour could not be questioned by society.[48]

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[42] J.M. Shamukuni, Court records before the year 2000 were not available at the village customary court due to poor record keeping.
[43] Interview with Mabochela Heii, Villager, Nxamasere Village, Okavango sub-District, 28 June 2008.
[44] Interview with Mabochela Heii, 28 June 2008.
[45] Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 214.
[46] Interview with Mabochela Heii, 28 June 2008.
[47] Isaac Schapera, 'Tswana Legal Maxims', in *Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol. 36, No. 2 (April, 1966), p. 129. For full article, see pp. 121-134.
[48] Jeff Guy, 'Analysing Pre-Capitalist Societies in Southern Africa', in *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 14, No. 1 (October, 1987), pp. 18-37.

The resilience of this social system based on cattle and the multifaceted socio-cultural traditions around livestock practices meant that rural communities identified with livestock so strongly that the commercialisation of the cow was not a priority. Livestock was integrated with the social system around it, providing a form of identity for rural communities.[49] Far from being irrational, this system drew on the historical experience of depending on cattle not only as individuals but as a community. Intermittently confronted by ecological crises such as over grazed pastures, droughts and pestilences that decimated their livestock, peasants were possessive about their cattle and tended them as best they could. As cultural heritage, the significance of cattle was passed from one generation to another. But this does not mean that there was no change in the meaning of cattle. Like other peasants economies, Botswana began to become more market oriented.[50] With the establishment of western development institutions like banks, the cow was described as '*kgomo, banka ya Motswana*' (a cow is a bank for a Motswana).[51] As a household asset, it was both an investment and a form of insurance against risks of all kinds including crop failure. Cattle thus represented complementary aspects of peasant livelihoods creating social cohesion and social hierarchies. At independence in 1965, Botswana included the head of a bull as one of the national symbols on the coat of arms, affirming the enduring importance of cattle to the country's economy and culture.

[49] Allan Osborne, 'Rural Development in Botswana: A Qualitative View, in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (April, 1976), p. 203. For full article, see pp. 198-213.

[50] Frank Ellis, *Peasant Economics*, p. 5, Jonathan Mtetwa, *Man and Cattle in Africa, A Study of Social Change in Pastoral Societies in Botswana* (Saarbrucken: Verlag breitenbach, 1982), pp. 38-39, J. Terrence McCabe, *Cattle bring us to our enemies: Turkana Ecology, Politics, and Raiding in a Disequilibrium System* (USA: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), p. 81, Z.A. Konczaki, *The Economics of Pastoralism: A Case Study of Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), pp. 76-79. Some writers differentiate the concepts of 'pastoralism' and 'pastoralists'. According to one source, http://courses.washington.edu/anth457/pastoral.htm 'Pastoralism, Lecture Notes', accessed on 29/05/ 2009, 'Pastoralism' is defined as a 'subsistence system based primarily on domesticated animal production (meat, milk, hides, blood)' excluding activities such as cultivation, hunting or gathering. 'Pastoralists', on the other hand, are regarded to be 'any population or segment of population subsisting (excluding commercial ranching/dairy farming), primarily via pastoralism (if also practice significant amount of agriculture, termed 'agropastoralists.'' In the Sahel region, therefore, communities that practiced 'pastoralism' included, for West Africa, the Fulani, the Tuareg and the Moors while in East Africa it was the Maasai, the Kamba and the Rurkana (see Mechelle Hibler, 'Home On the Range: Africa's Nomadic Pastoralists Face an Uncertain Future', Paper presented as part of Proceedings of a Conference on The Future of pastoralist Peoples, held in Nairobi, Kenya, 4-8 August, 1980.

[51] Interview with Kabuba Nkunga, Aged 54, Cook, Chobe Community Junior Secondary School kitchen, Kasane. Nkunga emphasized that even in the modern economy, despite having a wage-paying job, cattle were a better form of investment as they could not be disposed of on impulse while cash could not be depended on due to its fluidity.

Commodification of cattle in the wetlands

Commodification of livestock in the wetlands and in Khama's Ngwato Reserve had its genesis in the context of the introduction of a cash economy through the activities of early European traders.[52] Among these traders who are credited with transforming Ngamiland's traditional economy into a quasi-capitalist cash economy were Jews of Russian origin, Greek Cypriots, Englishmen and Afrikaners from South Africa. They sold consumer goods such as tea, sugar and tobacco.[53] They also introduced a system of barter known as 'good-fors'. Payment for cattle, hides or grain brought by peasants was made partly in cash and partly in goods from the store.[54] The Susman Brothers' syndicate established the biggest and most successful trading company in Livingstone in Northern Rhodesia, with branches in Maun and Kasane in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.[55] Greek traders, including Orphanides, the Deaconos brothers and Spiro, opened up stores across Ngamiland including in the villages of Mohembo, Gumare, Nokaneng, Tsau, Sehitwa and Toteng, far away from the administrative headquarters in Maun where trading was more lively.[56] As in the Ngwato chiefdom, trade in consumer goods was a precursor to cattle trade in both Ngamiland and Chobe.[57] Cattle holdings in Ngamiland differed from area to area, roughly associated with ethnicity and local economic activity. Exclusively pastoralists, Baherero cattle owners had the largest herds followed by Batawana who combined pastoral and arable farming.[58]

[52] Barry C. Morton, 'A Social and Economic History of a Southern African Native Reserve: Ngamiland, 1890-1966' (unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Indiana University, 1996), p. 65.

[53] Hugh Macmillan, *An African Trading Empire: The Story of Susman Brothers and Wulfsohn, 1901-2005* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2005), pp. 9-138. The Susman brothers for instance, were Jews from the Russian federation and became famous for establishing the Ngamiland Trading Store in Maun, the administrative centre of Ngamiland in partnership with South African Charles Riley, whose son Harry later founded the Riley's Hotel in Maun in the 1930s. There were trading stores in the villages of Tsau and Gomare to the south and west of Maun, and Kachikau in the Cobe District. Greek Cypriot syndicates in Ngamiland included those of George Orphanides and the Deaconos brothers. The Riley's Hotel was the first hotel in the wetlands.

[54] BNA S. 178/6, 'Gerald Nettelton, Memorandum, 21 October 1931.'

[55] BNA S. 178/6/2, 'District Commissioner, Maun, to Government Secretary, Mafikeng, 5 September 1936.' See also Neil Parsons and Michael Crowder, (eds.), *Sir Charles Rey: Monarch of All I Survey: Bechuanaland Diaries 1929-37* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1988), pp. 131-132.

[56] BNA S. 214/1/1, 'Charles Riley to District Commissioner, Maun, 24 October 1939.' For full discussion on distribution of livestock among ethnic groups of the wetlands, see also Renee Pennington and Henry Harpending, *The Structure of An African Pastoralist Community: Demography, History and Ecology of the Ngamiland Herero* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 6-18. See also, BNA S. 374/11, 'Reports on Administrative Officer Attached to Ngamiland/Sleeping Sickness Survey, 1939-1940.'

[57] See Neil Parsons, 'The Economic History of Khama's Country in Botswana, 1844-1930' in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1977), pp. 113-143.

[58] Khumo Halahala, Aged 79, Subsistence Farmer, Kauxwi Village, East Bank, Okavango Delta, 28 June 2008.

Commodification occurred gradually and piecemeal. Most local cattle owners were reluctant to part with their cattle.[59] Commenting on similar reluctance by Africans in colonial Rhodesia to sell cattle to European markets, R.M.G. Mtetwa made this observation:

> Their prevailing reluctance to sell their cattle in the capitalist market is based on knowledge that they are being exploited: that the prices are far below what their cattle are worth. Thus, capitalist exploitation is responsible for Africans' reluctance to sell their cattle, not irrational attitudes as has been alleged.[60]

But the Ngami traders persisted, using their stores as centres for cattle sales and implementing the 'good-fors' system that tied African men to their stores.[61] In the process, the white businessmen became 'ranchers first and traders second, but they equally realised the close relationship of the two pursuits', swelling the numbers of their herds with cattle that had been exchanged for general merchandise.[62] Traders also engaged other dealers, agents and speculators who needed to profit from the trade. The main trade destinations for the cattle were the mining compounds of Katanga in the Belgian Congo using the railway line from Livingstone, the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia, the Wankie Colliery in Southern Rhodesia and the Witwatersrand in South Africa where they provided food.[63] Cattle from Ngamiland and Chobe were sold and trekked on hoof to the Rhodesias while those from the southern areas which were near the railway line were transported by train to the South African mines.[64] Botswana cattle sales were encouraged by the growth of new wants and tastes in the form of western commodities such as the ox-drawn plough, western clothing and bricks for building modern houses which also required metal windows and doors.[65]

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[59] Susan Motswanageng, "Good-Fors' Trade in Ngamiland, 1924-1960' p. 10.
[60] R.M.G. Mtetwa, 'Myth Or Reality p. 23.
[61] Mogalakwe Monageng, 'How Britain Underdeveloped Bechuanaland Protectorate: A Brief Critique of the Political Economy of Colonial Botswana', in *CODESRIA, Africa Development,* Vol. XXXI, No. 1 2006, pp. 78-80, See pages 66-88 for full discussion.
[62] A. Best, 'General Trading in Botswana, 1890-1968' in *Economic Geography,* 46, 4, (1970), p. 601. pp. 598-611.
[63] Michael Hubbard, 'Botswana's Beef Cattle Exports' pp. 47-48.
[64]BNA S. 547/7, 'Annual Report, Chobe District, Kasane- 1953'. See also Edwin Munger, *Bechuanaland: Pan African Outpost or Bantu Homeland?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 52. Due to recurrent outbreaks of stock disease in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Rand however banned cattle imports from the Territory until 1942.
[65] Isaac Schapera, *Married Life* pp. 122-124. Schapera noted other new developments which included schools for which fees had to be sought, dipping fee for treatment of cattle from tick borne diseases all of which had to be in cash, making it even more tempting for local farmers to exchange their cattle for cash, against their previously held cultural tradition of not selling cattle. Motsamai Keyecwe Mpho, a local veteran opposition politician in his 80s added that other fashionable western goods included bicycles with double mirrors for young

Selling cattle for cash was also encouraged by the administrative policies of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. From 1899, adult males had to find cash to pay hut tax or face possible imprisonment.[66] Selling cattle became the quickest source of obtaining cash.[67] By the mid 1930s this tax raised about 40% of the colonial administration's revenue.[68] Besides serving as a catalyst for the commodification of cattle, taxation gave impetus to migrant labour.[69] While richer families could sell part of their herds to pay tax, poorer able-bodied men who had no other sources of raising cash were forced into migrant labour at the South African mines in the Witwatersrand, accentuating poverty in the rural areas by leaving a vacuum in productive labour in farming activities.[70] It was estimated that about 11, 550 men from Chobe, Ngamiland and Okavango were at the South Africa mines by 1943.[71] Labour recruitment was carried out by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), establishing recruitment stations in wetland centres such as Kazungula in Chobe and Shakawe in the Okavango.[72] In accordance with the British system of indirect rule, local chiefs were made to collect tax from their people, sending defaulters to the nearest labour recruiting stations for South African mines.[73] In 1938, Chief Moremi of the Batawana requested a salary of £500 per

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men to prepare their facial expressions as they cycled to seduce local girls, and music systems such as gramophones for similar effects.

[66] Christian John Makgala, 'Taxation in the Tribal Areas of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1899-1957', in *Journal of African History,* Vol. 45 (2004), pp. 279-303. In Molepolole village for instance, 262 men were prosecuted for failing to pay hut tax, see BNA RC 12/16, 'Molepolole Criminal Record Book 1918-1937'. See also Jeff Guy, 'An Accommodation of Patriarchs: Theophilus Shepstone and the Foundations of the System of Native Administration in Natal', paper presented at a conference on Masculinities in Southern Africa, University of Natal, Durban, 2-4 July 1997.

[67] Michael Hubbard, 'Botswana's Beef Cattle Exports' p. 48.

[68] Mogalakwe Monageng, 'How Britain Underdeveloped Bechuanaland Protectorate', p. 80. Lord Hailey recorded that between 1938 and 1939, tax collected in the entire Protectorate amounted to £40,352, rising rapidly to £207,709 in 1950. See Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the African Territories, Part V, The High Commission Territories: Basutoland, The Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953), p. 166.

[69] In its early stages, migrant labour was the purview of men as it involved physical manual and dangerous work in the mines. Equally, migrant workers earned cash from which they wielded relative economic power over their wives who remained at home nursing the children and tending agricultural fields. Some women, mostly single and largely from the Ngwato chiefdom and the southern part of the Territory however joined the labour force in the domestic service and on citrus farms in South Africa, making inroads into what was originally a man's domain. For details on female migrant labour see Isaac Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A Study of conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate'* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 64-70.

[70] Mogalakwe Monageng, 'How Britain Underdeveloped Bechuanaland Protectorate', p. 80.

[71] Isaac Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life,* p. 36.

[72] Interview with Israel Zebe, Former District Commissioner, Kasane, 18 May 2008.

[73] BNA S. 387/5, 'Minutes of the 17th Session of the Native Advisory Council Meeting, May 1936'. Indirect Rule was a British colonial ideology introduced firstly in Nigeria in the early 1900s by Frederick Lugard (Later Lord Lugard) later becoming the blueprint of British colonial administration. A form of dis-centralisation of colonial administrative power, 'indirect rule' turned local authorities into paid agents of colonial administration responsible to British officers for, among others, collecting tax from their own people. As Evans put it, 'For

year. Acting Resident Magistrate Vivian Ellenberger turned down the request for an increase on the grounds that the Batawana were defaulting in tax payment.[74] Instead, the administration built him a house valued at £600.[75]

Taxation *per se* was not a colonial invention.[76] Prior to colonial rule, households paid 'traditional tax' or tribute, locally known as *sehuba,* to their chiefs.[77] *Sehuba,* literally 'chest' from the chest meat portion of an animal, was prized for its delicacy and was given to the chief to show respect and honour.[78] Broadly, *sehuba* tribute helped to establish the social foundations of traditional governance and reciprocity in pre-colonial Botswana.[79] According to 50 year old Chebanne, a medium-sized cattle owner with a cattle post at Mea near Mokubilo in northern Botswana, *sehuba* was paid to the chief who was regarded with benevolent respect as a provider of their welfare, instilling responsibility and patriotism in the community and keeping the tribe together:

> *sehuba* was offered to the chief as the community's protector, given according to one's means and the extent of one's appreciation of the gracious protection and recognition of his supremacy. It had also a sense of free-will, but it was expected of all men in household, largely in the form of grain such as *mabele* [sorghum], meat or fish for those in riverine areas. Givers were happy as they knew where their gifts were going. It was a personal deal, that of citizen to the ruler who was also regarded as provider of rain and blessings.[80]

'indirect rule' to become a reality, it was clearly essential that the 'dependent states' should be financially responsible and associated with the general administration of internal taxation'. See L. Evans, *The British In Tropical Africa: An Historical Outline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 196; For details on justification of British 'indirect rule' and taxation, see also, Penelope Hetherington, *British Paternalism and Africa, 1920-1940* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), pp. 136-149, F.D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons (4th edition), 1929). Some chiefs, including Chief Mathiba of Batawana, however took advantage of this new role to enrich themselves by withholding some of the tax collected. See BNA RC 12/16, 'Assistant Commissioner to Resident Commissioner 31 March 1905', Christian John Makgala, 'Taxation in the Tribal Areas'p. 283-284

[74] BNA S. 474/1/1, 'Notes of Discussion between Resident Commissioner and Moremi at Maun', 9 September 1938.

[75] BNA S. 474/1/1, Minutes of Batawana Finance Committee', 11 October 1939.

[76] Christian John Makgala, 'Taxation in the Tribal Areas of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1899-1957', pp. 284.

[77] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, 23 May 2009. See also Z.I. Mathumo, *Setswana/English Dictionary* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1993), p 630.

[78] Interview with Andy Chebanne, medium-sized cattle owner, Mea cattle posts, Mokubilo, 23 May 2009. A man who slaughtered a cow had to think first which person in his life, home or village he had to honour. The same applied to game meat, sometimes skins of royal game such as leopard. That system then evolved into the *sehuba,* a tribute system, similar to what the Jews called a tithe unto the Lord.

[79] In general, peasants were obliged to meeting 'demands and sanctions of powerholders outside the peasant class, and paying some percentage of income to them.' See Frank Ellis, *Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 6. In Botswana, for instance, it was the chiefs, who, by virtue of their positions as guardians of society, allocated land on which peasants cultivated crops and grazed their livestock.

[80] Interview with Andy Chebanne, 23 May 2009.

Paid in kind, and not in cash, *sehuba* was also an affirmation of the household's responsibility in producing food on the land given by the chief, *sehuba* provided an opportunity for the household to contribute to the coffers of their custodian, the chief. *Sehuba* thus created a bond of reciprocal relations between the ruling class and the peasantry as observed by Jack Parson:

> Pre-capitalist society was characterized by the existence of a tribute-paying peasantry producing its own subsistence as well as a surplus rendered as tribute (in labour and kind) to a tribute-receiving ruling class. In this, the material bond between these two was located in the ownership of cattle by the ruling class and their practice of parcelling out herds to the peasantry for use in supplying milk, occasionally meat, and, with the introduction of the plough, as draught power.[81]

Another dimension of tribute was *dikgafela*, usually gifts from harvest. Since the chief was the rainmaker, it was fitting that he be given proceeds from the harvest that had been nurtured by rain requested by him from God.[82] These gifts were put to different uses, varying from entertainment of the chief's visitors to provisioning the paupers and augmenting his resources as provider.[83] The pattern follows Martin Klein's observation that peasants' surpluses were generally 'transferred to a dominant group of rulers that uses the surpluses to distribute the remainder to groups in society that do not farm but must be fed for their specific goods and services in return.'[84] Significantly, cattle were not part of *sehuba*. The fruits of hunting and women's agricultural labour constituted the basis of tribute payment.

Juxtaposed to the socially unifying, economically provisioning and symbolic role of *sehuba*, colonial taxation was regarded as unnecessary, coercive and extractive. Selling cattle to pay tax gnawed at the basis of the social system.[85] While *sehuba* protected cattle ownership, colonial taxation deprived the peasantry of this most valued asset. It bore the hallmarks of an imposed transition from a 'tithe' in kind which the majority of the peasants could afford, to cash payment that did not exempt the poor. Taxation also impacted negatively on the traditional concept and practice of *sehuba* as payment was made to the colonial administration, depriving the chief of his reciprocal obligations. Paid to an alien

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[81] Jack Parson, 'Cattle, Class and State in Rural Botswana', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April, 1981), pp. 236-255.
[82] Interview with Samuel Aaron, Cattle Farmer, Maun, 23 May 2009.
[83] The chief's coffers were boosted by *matimela,* (stray cattle) which had not been claimed for a long time and customarily converting to the chief's holdings forming the basis of his *mafisa* or for slaughter during ceremonies. Interview with Kabuba Nkunga, Aged 54, Cook and Subsistence Farmer, Chobe Junior Community Secondary School kitchen, Kasane.
[84] Martin A. Klein, (ed.), *Peasants in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, SAGE Publications, 1980), p. 10.
[85] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, 23 May 2009.

administration which had no legitimacy over the local people, taxation did not translate into welfare. Rather, it separated the chief from his people.[86]

Batswana who traded their cattle chafed against the unfairness of the system of 'good-fors' in the cattle trade. Local residents confronted the colonial administration on 22 July 1931, in a meeting chaired by the acting District Commissioner Vivian Ellenberger at Government Camp in Maun. Tawana headmen of different wards in Ngamiland and local people registered their displeasure at the effects of the good-fors trade system.[87] The headmen accused the traders of forming cartels to fix prices across the district. Excerpts from a meeting on the matter of 'good-fors' conveys the anger of the peasants:

> **Kebalepile:** The tribe asks the government to see how we are overcharged by the traders who give us nothing for our cattle or grain. We get for a big ox £2 cash or £1.10.0 cash and "good for". The traders say they must live but so must we.
> **Government Secretary:** You do not depend on trading for your living. The trader depends on his trading for his living. Have you considered such items as Licence, Stand Rent, Wages of Store Assistants and Store Boys, Depreciation, Interest on Capital outlay, Traders' reasonable profit (which is his livelihood)? If you cease to buy from the stores they retaliate by refusing to buy your cattle, where will you get the cash to buy goods with in Livingstone?
> **Kgwabi:** The stores all have one price. It is as though there was only one store in Maun. We want others to come who will charge less.
> **Resident Magistrate:** Traders deny ringing prices.
> **Gaorakwe Ledimo:** In Livingstone, Serowe and elsewhere, stores in the same town have different prices. The traders oppress the poor man. The more well-to-do Batawana get certain reductions.
> The poor and the Makoba [derogatory reference to Wayeyi] and others are charged exorbitant prices. In 1928 I was at Nokaneng with the Chief and others. Some cattle hides were bought by the store keeper, Wright. He gave the Chief 8/- each for his. Headmen Marobela got 7/-, I got 6/-, the Makoba got 2/- to 3/-.
> **C. Riley (Trader):** I have now heard what you accuse us of. It is not true. There is no monopoly in Maun. Each store has its own prices.
> **Mogalakwe Thabeng:** We would not have come if we had not been called by the Government Secretary. The other day the traders declined to hear us. We have come because we want to obey. We told the resident magistrate our say, we want to hear the traders. We have not come to speak but to listen.
> **Government Secretary:** It is true I wished you to come here to hear what the traders have to say. I regret the spirit shown by Headman Mogalakwe. You must understand this; once you let Europeans into your country government will look after them. You can't invite them in and then send them away at your will. This is not the government's idea of order.
> **Kgosi Mathiba Moremi:** The Batawana have spoken. The traders have spoken. I have listened. The discussion is to try and agree about prices. I complain about "good fors". We have complained for a long time about them. We don't get hut-tax money with this "good fors" system. If you take cattle to the store you get a "good for". In regard to the other matters we can discuss further with the traders.

[86] Interview with Andy Chebanne, 23 May 2009.
[87] BNA S. 235/6, 'Batawana – Complaint against Prices charged by Ngamiland Traders, 1931-1932.'Led by Batawana Kgosi Mathiba Moremi, the headmen included Wethootsile Dithapo, Mogalakwe Thabeng, Ramakoba Monwela, Modisaotsile Mauping, Nakedi Thabeng, Gaorakwe Ledimo, Kebalipile, Kgwabi, Modisakgotla Maruping. Charles Riley and J.A. Frost represented the traders while government officials included the Resident Magistrate and Dutton, the Government Secretary, among others.

> **Government Secretary:** Government will consider this matter of "good fors". I think there is much to be said for the Chief's point of view. I hope the traders will consider the point. I hope this discussion will have good results.[88]

The peasants felt betrayed by the traders and did not entirely trust the government. Michael Hubbard pointed out that the cattle trade came at the same time as the 'consolidation of colonial administration in the territory, which favoured the formation of a predominantly white-owned trading system'[89] The perception of collusion between the colonial administration and traders extended to trading licences which were granted to Europeans and denied to Africans.[90] In November 1931, the colonial government wrote to the traders demanding that they re-cost their goods and display the prices so that customers might chose the store with which they wished to trade.[91] The Resident Commissioner, Charles Rey, initially intervented to protect the interests of peasant communities, but later sympathised with the European traders.

> On my previous visit here I had put a stop to the local traders' practice of paying natives for their produce in 'Good-fors' instead of cash. Now unfortunately as traders can sell nothing, they have no cash, and it is not possible to insist on their paying in cash. These traders now complain, however, of their competitors at Maun and elsewhere following the practice from which they had been debarred. I fear it will be necessary to relax the ruling and allow payment to be made to natives either in goods or in cattle at the option of the natives.[92]

Despite the skewed nature of trade, a few well-placed local people accumulated wealth. Not all those who entered the cash economy managed their affairs well. Older informants remembered stories of how their grandparents gradually lost their cattle to the traders in return for 'petty cash'.[93] As analysed by Susan Motswanageng:

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[88] BNA S. 235/6, 'Batawana – Complaint against Prices charged by Ngamiland Storekeepers/Traders, 1931.' This quote also emphasizes how Livingstone was the regional centre at least until the 1950s and the early 1960s. See also, BNA S. 178/7, 'Complaints regarding 'Good-Fors' Given to Natives by Traders in Ngamiland, 1933-34.' Despite the traders denying formation of 'buyer's rings' in Ngami (and apparently supported by the administration), the practice was common at cattle sales. In colonial Rhodesia, for instance, European buyers would meet on the eve of the cattle auction as R.M.G. Mtetwa put it, 'deciding to form a buyer's ring'. 'This is an iniquitous but perfectly legal practice – indulged everywhere – whereby if seven buyers are competing foe seventy steers, they agree they will buy in turn and thus each gets ten head at fifty cents over the floor price, instead of having to pay through the nose for a few head if one of their number keeps boosting the bids.' See R.M.G. Mtetwa, 'Myth Or Reality', p. 26.

[89] Michael Hubbard, 'Botswana's Beef Cattle Exports' p. 48.

[90] Details on licencing are captured in the paper by A. Best. The practice of forming 'buyer's ring' was commonplace at cattle auctions even in Rhodesia where European buyers would meet on the eve of the cattle sales.

[91] BNA S. 235/6, 'Batawana – Complaint against Prices charged by Ngami Traders, 1931-1932.'

[92] BNA RC 14/3, 'Official Papers- C.F. Rey, Vol.1, Tours in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1929-1935.

[93] Interview with Tshenolo Hiri, Aged 72, Subsistence Farmer, Boyeyi Ward, Maun, 25 June 2008.

> In Ngamiland it was the royal elite that had first begun to consume imported goods. Members of the elite found themselves in default for payment on wagons, cash loans, gun repairs, modern bricks for houses, horses, clothes and such food items as rice, sugar, tea, coffee and tobacco. In 1958 the Veterinary Officer in Ngamiland also stated that Africans were selling many cattle to settle the rather large credit they had at stores. [94]

Morapedi noted that in 1939 a total of 11,826 cattle were exported from Ngamiland and that colonial officials remarked that 'ceremonies and feasts, the consumption of cattle had been replaced by their export, as they were then regarded as capital wealth which could be turned into cash.'[95] In 1950, an estimated 3,000 head of cattle originating from the Chobe District were exported to Northern Rhodesia.[96] The spread of western goods and values was slowly replacing cattle as symbols of social status as people sold cattle to educate their children. However, most of the poorer peasants continued to rely on cattle to provide milk, hides, meat and, for draught power rather than for exchange.[97]

Reflecting on this history, veteran politician Motsamai Keyecwe Mpho of the opposition party Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM) claimed that the trade system was part of a grand scheme that was designed to encourage investment and settlement by Europeans in the wetlands following the pattern in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. In the process, the colonial regime was consciously under-developing Africans who had no alternative market for their livestock, as well as pushing them into migrant labour to provide for the colonial economy.[98] Besides, he argued, the dominant Batawana benefited both from the white traders and from the presence of the British administration in Ngamiland.[99] According to

[94] Susan Motswanageng, "Good-Fors' Trade in Ngamiland, 1924-1960' (Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Botswana, 2005), p. 21.
[95] Wazha Morapedi, 'Cattle Trade and the Peasantries of Botswana: The Case of Gantsi and Ngamiland, 1930-1966' in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2004), p. 99. For full article, see pp. 95-110.
[96] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 107.
[97] Interview with Motsamai Keyecwe Mpho, Aged 87, Veteran politician, (Botswana Alliance Movement) Maun, 25 June 2008.
[98] Interview with Motsamai Keyecwe Mpho, Maun, 25 June 2008.
[99] The subject of marginalisation of minorities has been protracted in Botswana. See Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Ethnic Identity and Nationhood in Botswana', in Isaac N. Mazonde, (ed.), *Minorities in the Millenium: Perspectives from Botswana'* (Gaborone: Lightbooks, 2002), pp. 17-27. She wrote that 'For instance, the Wayeyi were enslaved by the Batawana and were punished for speaking Shiyeyi. There has been a tremendous amount of language shift among the Wayeyi. Most Wayeyi now cannot speak Shiyeyi and it is one of the endangered languages of the world. The Kalanga were ill-treated by the Bangwato and consequently, most Kalanga who live in Serowe cannot speak Ikalanga. For instance, all the ethnic groups in the North West District marry according to Tswana custom and not their own. The Wayeyi, who are matrilineal in inheritance, have shifted to patrilineal patterns of ownership and inheritance.' p. 21, Isaac Schapera, *The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes* (London: The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1952), pp. 93-94. Motsamai Keyecwe Mpho, 'Representation of cultural minorities in policy making' in John Holm and Patrick

him, Batawana elite were given the benefit of the doubt by the government, who accepted their dominance over other groups in the district.

Because of the value attached to cattle, cases of stock theft were commonplace.[100] Prior to independence, these cases were reported and settled at the chiefs' customary courts at the *kgotla*.[101] In accordance with Customary Law, customary courts were presided over by arbitrators who were appointed by the chief on advice of the senior members of the village. However, the arbitrators were often accused of not administering justice fairly and sometimes labelled the family of an accused person as one of thieves.[102] The magistrates' courts were also given jurisdiction over stock theft. However, poor cattle owners could not afford lawyers and lived far from the magistrate's courts and many cases were thrown out of court and not heard.[103]

There is ample evidence that the colonial administration made significant strides in stimulating the development of a livestock industry in the Bechuanaland Protectorate despite assumptions by some scholars that the Territory experienced benign neglect under colonial rule.[104] The first major interventions were concerned with controlling disease, especially through efforts to eradicate the tsetse fly in Chobe and Ngamiland.[105] The tsetse fly transmitted a parasite *trypanosomiasis* which caused the disease *nagana* in livestock. The disease transmitted by the fly to people was called *kotselo*, a 'light intermittent slumber' also known as sleeping sickness.[106] The severity of the effects of the fly on the peasant economy was felt mostly around the Okavango Swamps. In this area, many peasant farmers living

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Molutsi, (eds.), *Democracy in Botswana: The Proceedings of a Symposium held in Gaborone, 1-5 August 1988* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 133-138.

[100]Interview with Kepaletswe Somolekae, Aged 34, Magistrate, Mochudi Magistrate's Court, 2 June 2009.

[101] Stock theft was tried under the Penal Code which had been proclaimed in 1938, see Government of Botswana, *Botswana Law Reports, 1964-1967*.p. 127.

[102]Interview with Kepaletswe Somolekae, 2 June 2009.

[103] Interview with Samuel Aaron, 30 May 2009.

[104] Jack Parson, 'The 'Labour Reserve' in Historical Perspective: Toward a Political Economy of the Bechuanaland Protectorate', in Louis A. Picard, (ed.), *The Evolution of Modern Botswana* (London: Rex Collings, 1985), pp. 41-57.

[105] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan, 1968-73* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1968), p. 21. See also, W.G. Morapedi and G.B. Gumbo, 'The Pim Report of 1933' in Part T. Mgadla and Brian T. Mokopakgosi, (eds.), *Forty Years On*, pp. 81-85.

[106]BNA BNB 1535, 'W.H.O 1955 Report: The Problem of Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis: Survey and Control in Ngamiland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1955', p. 4. The Report corrupts the word *kotselo* with '*kgotsello'*.

near Tsau, who were once very wealthy in cattle became 'paupers' as a result of parasitic infestation from tsetse fly.[107]

The catastrophic effects of the fly on the livestock industry in southern Africa became a major regional concern in the 1930s. Officials of the Bechuanaland Protectorate turned to their neighbours for advice. Maitseo Bolaane observed that 'It was the Rhodesian strategies that informed approaches in Botswana'.[108] On the advice of veterinary officials, most cattle keepers moved their stock from the affected swampy areas around Tsau, Nokaneng and Tubu to areas further south near Maun where there was no fly infestation.[109] In 1941, cattle posts at Nxaraga Valley on the Okavango drainage system approximately 30 kilometres south west of Maun, were abandoned.[110] Tsetse fly threatened the northern trade route between Ngamiland and Chobe:

> The fly has unfortunately crossed the line of communications between Maun and Kasane (which is also the cattle route to Kazungula) and has caused a diversion of the road to the east. The matter is further complicated by the question of water supplies which are likely to become less easily found the farther the route is away from the rivers.[111]

The colonial administration's commitment to fighting tsetse fly was demonstrated in the importation of tsetse fly specialists, among them John Ford from British East Africa (present Tanzania) to study the fly's habits in the Okavango.[112] His arrival was followed by practical interventions aimed at eradicating the fly. The colonial administration embarked on a programme of vaccination of livestock and erected cordon fences within which cattle moved through specially designated quarantine areas. Most of these were in Ngamiland.[113] The Veterinary Department controlled the movement of cattle by issuing permits for animals that

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[107] R.K.K. Molefi, *A Medical History of Botswana,* p. 145.
[108] Maitseo M.M. Bolaane, 'Tsetse and Trypanosomosis Control in the Okavango Delta, c. 1930s-1970s' in *South African Historical Journal* Vol. 58 (2007), pp. 99-100. For full article, see pp. 91-116.
[109] BNA S. 222/1/1, 'Tsetse Fly Control in Bechuanaland Protectorate. Central Committee to advise on Future Policy and Minutes of Meetings from 16 July 1956-14 April 1959.'
[110] Government of Botswana, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Year 1966/67* (Gaborone: Department of Agriculture, 1967), pp. 21-22.
[111] Alan Pim, *Financial and Economic Position of the Bechuanaland Protectorate,* p. 125. The original route was along the Chobe River which was now host to the fly.
[112] Darrell Randall, *Factors of Economic Development and the Okovango Delta: Some World Relationships to and Problems of Planning for Economic Development of an Underdeveloped Area in Africa* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 180-181.
[113] Ministry of Overseas Develoment, *The Development of The Bechuanaland Economy, Report of the Ministry of Overseas Development Economic Survey Mission* (Gaborone: November 1965), pp. 28-30., Lamberto Dini, Brian Quinn and Lennart Wohlgemuth, 'The Economy of Botswana', in *Staff Papers-International Monetary Fund,* Vol. 17, No. 1 (March, 1970), pp. 127-169, see especially pp. 131-132.

had been inoculated against other known diseases such as foot and mouth.[114] Measures for fighting the fly included de-bushing forests near cattle grazing areas and killing of wild animals that came close to local cattle posts.[115] Other activities included aerial sprays over forests that were known to harbour the fly. These efforts were aimed at preventing the further incursions of the fly into unaffected areas.[116] Over £100,000 was spent on efforts to eradicate tsetse fly from the region in the ensuing decade.[117]

Both authorities and local people were impatient at the slow progress in eradicating the tsetse fly. At *a kgotla* meeting in Maun the acting chief Dibolaean expressed his regret over the fact that the tsetse fly was not big enough to shoot at: 'I feel sorry that tsetse is so small that it cannot be shot at with a gun, as we would shoot it.'[118] In 1934, the government proposed that a 'human shield' of cattle-free agricultural settlements should be created in the infested areas.[119] The idea was dropped when it was clear that the communities would resist relocating.[120] For example, though highly infested by the tsetse fly, Parakarungu village produced the best cereal crops in the entire Chobe District. The government later admitted that relocating these successful agrarian people was foolhardy. 'The alternative', they believed, was 'to drive the game and the fly with it and to keep it away.'[121]

[114] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Northern State Lands, Botswana, Land Resource Study No. 5* (Surrey: Directorate of Overseas Surveys, 1968), p. 61.
[115] BNA. S. 221/2, 'Tsetse Fly: Chobe and Ngamiland Districts, 1935', See also Glen J. Merron, 'Tsetse Fly Control and the Environmental implications for fish in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 24 (1992), pp. 49-56.
[116] Alan Pim, *Financial and Economic Position of the Bechuanaland Protectorate* p. 125.
[117] Darrell Randall, *Factors of Economic Development and the Okovango Delta,* p. 181.
[118] Cited in R. K. K. Molefi, *A Medical History of Botswana,* p. 144.
[119] BNA S. 221/1, 'Resident Magistrate to Assistant Resident Commissioner, 6 March 1935.'
[120]Historically, peasants' resistance to forced relocation, have mostly been associated with economic considerations. Often, however, there have been other social and environmental reasons which have not normally been captured in histories of rural communities. Yusufu Qwaray Lawi documented local people's resistance to a relocation exercise which was part of the *Ujamaa* villagization scheme in Eastern Iraqwland, northern Tanzania in the period between 1973 and 1976. Yusufu demonstrated peasants' bonding relationship with the environment around them as major reasons for their resistance, that it was not just fears for economic loss in the form of the land they were made to vacate but other environmental considerations which she called 'local ecological consciousness'. In other words, local communities often relate to cosmology and environmental landscapes in their vicinity that are related to cosmic mystique and thus reluctant to relocate leaving behind the forces that they believe held their lives together. For the full paper, see Yusufu Qwaray Lawi, 'Tanzania's operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness: The Case of Eastern Iraqwland, 1974-76', in *Journal of African History,* Vol. 48, No. 1 (March 2007), pp. 69-93
[121] R. K. Molefi, *A Medical History of Botswana,* p. 145.

Sleeping sickness or *kotselo* in people prompted the colonial administration to set up a survey on the disease in 1940, headed by John William Macaulay. [122] The survey on human *trypanosomiasis* was funded by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.[123] Describing it as having a 'nebulous character' prior the serious outbreak of 1942, the colonial medical officers admitted that little was known about the disease when the first patients reported the ailment in Ngamiland in 1909.[124] Knowledge of its origins and manner of spread in the region were conjectural. John Macaulay was keen to conduct research on the Basarwa in particular:

> The true carrier so sought after, is a Mosarwa [singular, and Basarwa, plural], who, taking part in the normal Mosarwa seasonal dispersal like the game and tsetse, may, suffering rare recrudescene, infect occasional fly in the district in which he may be. The [Basarwa] are most difficult to find for enquiry to test such theory, but local opinion, borne out rather than otherwise, by study of events, suggests that the deaths amongst the [Basarwa] far outweigh those in the rest of the tribes.[125]

According to this theory, a Mosarwa carrier infected the fly and the latter in turn infected other humans. Batswana who hunted game were also blamed for its spread. The Survey explains:

> Another departure, and important in 1941-1942 is in years of famine. Ngami apathy has been referred to previously; there is little necessity for the native to plough extensively and overwork himself if small crops are to be expected, because in times of famine the swamps can provide, certainly a difficult and meagre, but nevertheless definite sustenance. At times like this, the danger of strong fly-man contact arises.[126]

Parallels can be drawn in the initial responses to *trypanosomiasis* by both local communities and colonial authorities in Ngamiland and Zambia. In Northern Zambia, at about the same time, the appearance of sleeping sickness similarly created bewilderment. The inability of sufferers and colonial medical officers to deal with sleeping sickness in Zambia at this time led to what Luise White called 'vampire' notions of the origins of the disease.[127] In Ngamiland, local people attributed *kotselo* to the consumption of wild honey which they

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[122] BNA BNB 312, 'The Bechuanaland Protectorate, *A Tsetse Fly and Trypanosomiasis Survey in Bechuanaland, 1940-1942,* (Bechuanaland Protectorate Government Veterinary Department, 1942).
[123] BNA BNB 1535, 'W.H.O 1955 Report: The Problem of Tsetse and *Trypanosomiasis*', p. 4.
[124] BNA BNB 312, 'The Bechuanaland Protectorate, *A Tsetse Fly and Trypanosomiasis',* p. 6.
[125] BNA BNB 312, 'The Bechuanaland Protectorate, *A Tsetse Fly and Trypanosomiasis Survey in Bechuanaland, 1940-1942,* (Bechuanaland Protectorate Government Veterinary Department)', p.44.
[126] BNA BNB 312, 'The Bechuanaland Protectorate, *A Tsetse Fly and Trypanosomiasis Survey in Bechuanaland',* p. 43.
[127] Luise White, 'Tsetse Visions: Narratives of Blood and Bugs in Colonial Northern Zambia, 1931-1939', paper presented at the Institute for Historical Research and the Department of History seminar on 17 August 1993, University of Western Cape, p. 1.

suspected was poisonous. By 1934, scientists understood that sleeping sickness came from *trypanosomiasis.*[128] Sleeping sickness was widespread in the wetlands. In 1942, over 300 sufferers were admitted to the Maun hospital for treatment.[129]

The colonial government's second major intervention in the improvement of cattle rearing was the drive to secure a regular supply of drinking water for cattle. Resident Commissioner Charles Rey introduced boreholes throughout the Protectorate, including Chobe, between 1930 and 1940.[130] But the manner in which the borehole sites were located soon became a source of grievance and many saw the boreholes as favouring the big cattle owners over the poor. Colclough and McCarthy commented:

> These boreholes were then allocated to the large cattle owners on a long-term repayment basis so that they would relieve the pressure on the overgrazed areas by moving their cattle away. Thus at the end of the drought period the large owners frequently found themselves with *de facto* exclusive rights to large tracts of new grazing; meanwhile, many of the smaller cattle owners had lost all their herd.[131]

Clark Leith also argued that the 'skewed distribution of traditional cattle wealth', was in part due to the development of supplementary water sources and the way they became privatised, effectively leaving out the small cattle owners.[132] The distribution of boreholes reflects patronage, with chiefly families adequately catered for due to their position in society.[133] This patronage was facilitated by the absence of a 'system of appeal of the decisions of the

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[128] BNA BNB 1535, 'W.H.O 1955 Report: The Problem of Tsetse and *Trypanosomiasis*: Survey and Control in Ngamiland, Bechuanaland Protectorate', p. 4.

[129] BNA S. 222/1/2, 'Tsetse Fly Control in Bechuanaland Protectorate, Central Committee to advise on Future Policy and Minutes of Meetings from 12 May 1959 – 13 April 1960'. In 1942, 318 people suffered from sleeping sickness and the largest fatalities involving 87 people. It was in 1942 that the worst outbreak occurred. The following year's figures (92 cases of sickness and 3 deaths) imply that there were relatively fewer cases or the authorities were still grappling with *kotselo*. Patients were given injections every four months. It is also significant that in the latter years between 1946 and 1951 more cases were recorded involving the members of the TFC staff most probably because they were more exposed to the fly as they were involved in clearing the bushes on a fulltime employment. The effects of the fly were significantly reduced from 1953 to 1955. With many people sick, there was low production in economic activities, both tending cattle by men and crop production by women. See also, BNA BNB 2535, 'W.H.O 1955 Report, The Problem of Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis: Survey and Control in Ngamiland, Bechuanaland Protectorate', pp. 24 and 29.

[130] Pauline E. Peters, *Dividing The Commons: Politics, Policy, and Culture in Botswana* (Charlottensville: The University Press of Virginia, 1994), p. 91, Jack Parson, 'Cattle, Class and State in Rural Botswana', *in Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April, 1981), pp. 236-255.

[131] Christopher Colclough and Stephen McCarthy, *The Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Distribution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 113-118.

[132] J. Clark Leith, *Why Botswana Prospered* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), pp. 64-65.

[133] Abdi Ismail Samatar and Sophie Oldfield, 'Class and Effective State Institutions: The Botswana Meat Commission', in *Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 4 (1995), pp.658-659. For full article, see pp. 651-668.

chief.'[134] Because land tenure was communal, large cattle owners were able to spread their herds across a wide area, using the best pasture whereas small owners tended to graze their cattle in small overgrazed areas.[135] As Gaone Thela observed: 'The digging of boreholes in the 1930s began a process of opening up considerable areas of new land for grazing, a process that continued for many decades.'[136] The small cattle owners benefited little from the new borehole system. Philip Steenkamp pointed out that:

> The elites, through their monopoly on political power, were able to appropriate the development process and transform their traditional wealth into capital. With preferential access to water and land, they managed to accumulate and reinvest sizable revenues from their cattle sales at the expense of their poorer brethren.[137]

These efforts at improving cattle farming were offset by a series of environmental crises that tested the resilience of both local communities and the colonial authorities.[138] A severe drought in the 1930s depleted herds and an outbreak of the bovine foot and mouth disease (FMD), halted all cattle exports to South Africa and Northern Rhodesia for several years.[139] In an effort to eradicate the disease, the Veterinary Department vaccinated over 1,000 000 head of cattle across the entire Territory in 1933.[140] Concerned with the deteriorating economy of the Protectorate, the Imperial Government commissioned Sir Alan Pim to investigate the financial and economic status of the Territory. Informed by the Pim Report, as it was later popularly called, the colonial administration shifted its emphasis away from beef cattle to dairy production.[141] The Beuchalanaland Protectorate's Annual Report stated that 1933 was 'one of the darkest [years] on record'.[142] The suspension of cattle exports to

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[134] J. Clark Leith, *Why Botswana Prospered,* p. 65.
[135] Robert L. Curry Jr., 'Poverty and Unemployment in Mineral-rich Botswana', in *American Journal of Economics and Sociology,* Vol. 46, No. 1 (January, 1987), pp. 71-87.
[136] Gaone Thela, 'To the Cattlepost', p. 29.
[137] Philip Steenkamp, "Cinderella of the Empire?": Development Policy in Bechuanaland in the 1930s', in *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 17. No. 2 (June, 1991), p. 302. For full article, see pp. 292-308.
[138] Z.A. Konczacki, *The Economics of Pastoralism: A Case Study of Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), p.129.
[139] *Kutlwano/*Mutual Understanding Magazine, Vol. 21, No. 3 March 1983, p. 9.
[140] BNA S. 388/1/2-4, 'Savingram from Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner, 19 April 1939'. From 1965 onwards, all livestock in the wetlands were vaccinated on an annual basis. See Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan, 1968-73* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1968), p. 20.
[141] Alan Pim, *Financial and Economic Position of the Bechuanaland Protectorate,* p. 28. The Pim Report was critical of the British government's neglect of the Protectorate, prompting the Imperial government to provide £70 000 as grant-in-aid which was however diverted to the war effort at the outbreak of the Second World War of 1939-1945. See also T. Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana,* Revised Edition (Gaborone: Macmillan, 2006), p. 233-234.
[142] BNA S. 420/7, 'Annual Report, 1935'. See also, BNA, S.199/4, 'Tourism: Natural Resources, Committee to advise on Tourism, Game, Safari Companies etc, 1963', emphasizing the importance of clearing of game from cattle areas in order to achieve disease control.

Northern Rhodesia affected traders, peasant farmers, the colonial administration and Northern Rhodesian market, as observed by the Resident Commissioner, Charles Rey:

> Since the prohibition of export of cattle to Northern Rhodesia the work at Kasane had greatly fallen off and I had removed the Veterinary Officer who had been stationed at Kasane and whose duty it was to examine, supervise and check the passage of cattle across the Zambesi. [The situation has] sorely stricken traders and natives of Ngamiland, as there are thousands of cattle held up along the Chobe River from Kasane westwards.'[143]

By the time the embargo on cattle from the Protectorate was lifted in 1935, the global economic depression had forced prices down. The outbreak of the Second World War provided an opportunity for increased exports of cattle on hoof from Ngamiland to Northern Rhodesia. In 1943, 8000 head of cattle were swum across the Zambezi at Kazungula, almost one sixth of the national cattle exports for the year.[144] National cattle exports increased to 47,000 head in 1946, and 70,000 in 1950.[145] In 1959, exports of hides and skins from Ngamiland amounted to over 15,000 hides valued at over £14,000.[146] Cattle sales rose to 160 000 in 1965 boosted by widespread drought and crop failure.[147]

Table 1: Exports of Cattle from Botswana, 1962-65

Destination	**1962**	**1963**	**1964**	**1965**
Beef Carcases				
South Africa	40 925	39 627	34 648	32 940
Other African Markets	18 287	14 486	15 052	17 995
Overseas (United Kingdom)	31 122	46 593	59 172	86 624
Condemned	2 972	2 700	2 886	5 177
Total slaughtered	93 306	103 406	111 758	142 736
Live Cattle				
Zambia and Rhodesia	18 228	27 348	15 045	19 568

Source: Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Northern State Lands, Botswana, Land Resource Study No. 5,* (Surrey: Directorate of Overseas Surveys, 1968), p. 61.

[143] BNA RC 14/3 'Official Papers – C.F. Rey, Vol. 1, Tours in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1929-1935'.
[144] Hugh Macmillan, *An African Trading Empire* p. 282. In fact, the Ngamiland Trading Company belonging to the Susman Brothers, made a gross profit of £24,000 in the period between 1946-7.
[145] Patrick P. Molutsi, 'The State, Environment and Peasant Consciousness in Botswana', in *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 42 (1988), p. 43. For full article, see pages 40-47.
[146] BNA S. 577/15, 'Annual Report, Ngamiland District, 1959'.
[147] Ministry of Overseas Development: *The Development of the Bechuanaland Economy* p. 22-23; Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan, 1968-73,* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1968), p. 20.

Disease controls continued to be a priority of the colonial government. A Tsetse Fly Control Unit (TFC) was established in the 1940s.[148] In the late 1950s, the TFC became the largest employer of local labour in Ngamiland, engaging up to 1,000 men in 1959.[149] But the TFC inadvertently affected local food production leading to food shortages. The rush for TFC jobs meant that cultivation was neglected:

> The 1959 crop was exceedingly bad under both types of conditions [dryland and *molapo*]. The dry-land crop because of a poor rainfall (15.23") and the wet-land crop because few people ploughed. This again was due mainly to a big extension in Tsetse Fly Control work and it was thought easier to work for food than to plough for it. This resulted in a rather undignified scramble by both traders and the Tsetse Fly Control for what bags there were, with the result that the prices of 30/- per bag to 40/- per bag.[150]

TFC employees main task was clearing the bush, receiving a monthly wage of £3.5/- and a daily ration of 1½ pounds of mealie-meal although they were dissatisfied with the rate but they were occasionally provided with meat rations in addition.[151] The cost of tsetse fly eradication in the early 1960s amounted to R200,000 per annum, 'equivalent to the value of half the total cattle marketed from the north west [wetlands] of the country each year'.[152] Taking advantage of this relative transformation of the peasantry in the wetlands, the colonial government opened up new grazing areas in Haineveldt, in the south east of Ngamiland where there was no tsetse infestation, encouraging emerging ranchers to utilise the area for optimal production for the market.[153]

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the process of commodification of cattle in the wetlands between 1930 and 1965. Well into the twentieth century, cattle were understood as a household asset

[148] BNA Med.5/3/4, 'Medical Officer, Maun to Department of Medical Services, 6 May 1955.' The Unit's casual labour was engaged in clearing of bushes which were potential habitats for the fly, and, they also erected cordon and buffalo fences as a measure to stop intermingling between cattle and wild animals.
[149] BNA S. 577/15, 'Annual Report, Ngamiland District, 1959'. This campaign by the TFC is an illustration of the administration's commitment to avoid the fly's spread to other areas as well as eradicate it in order to provide optimal conditions for the development of the cattle industry in Ngamiland. By the same token, wages paid to a previously peasant community stimulated their participation in a growing cash economy in the District. The Report recommended quarterly meetings of the Tsetse Fly Development Committee which were seen as generating greater co-operation between players such as administration departments and between these departments and the communities as well as non-governmental groups.
[150] BNA S. 577/15, 'Annual Report, Ngamiland District, 1959'.
[151] BNA S. 222/1/3, 'Tsetse Fly Control in Bechuanaland Protectorate. Letter from TFC Office to Chairman, Central Policy Committee, Maun 30 May 1960'.
[152] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan, 1968-73* p. 21.
[153] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Development of the Bechuanaland Economy,* p. 29.

whose production and management had more to do with social and cultural beliefs and practices than with the idea of a commercial commodity. Peasants established a relationship with cattle, one that brought emotional as well as economic security. However, following the advent of European traders and tax collecting colonial officials in the wetlands this understanding began to shift. The commodification of cattle intensified social differentiation in the wetlands but also laid the foundation for cooperation between the elites of different regions in defence of new resources such as boreholes. By the eve of independence in 1966, peasant society in the wetlands had entered into a transition and was slowly moving away from relatively dispersed, isolated, and self-sufficient communities towards a market economy.

Chapter Two: Disease, cattle farming and state intervention in Ngamiland after independence

At independence in 1966, Botswana was among the ten poorest nations in the world with a tiny cattle industry as the only source of foreign exchange; small rural savings and socio-cultural activities made up the rest of the domestic economy.[1] On the eve of their departure, the colonial authorities had drawn up a Transitional Development Plan which strongly recommended that the incoming independence administration embark on massive development of the cattle industry. The Development Plan pointed out that the country's savannah grasslands were most suited to cattle rearing.[2] However, critics pointed out that the dominance of the cattle industry created a 'one-commodity economy'.[3] Also, as Pauline Peters observed, cattle were as much politically significant as they were 'economically and socially important to Botswana's population'.[4] Cattle accounted for 90% of the country's total exports on the eve of the departure of the colonial government.[5]

This chapter explores how political institutions created by the post independence government impacted on development planning and influenced the choice of economic strategy for the wetlands.[6] The chapter demonstrates the marginality of the wetland cattle industry due in

[1] Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* p. 344, Andreas Danevad, *Development Planning and the Importance of Democratic Institutions in Botswana* (Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1993), p. 9, Stephen R. Lewis, Jr., 'Policymaking and Economic Performance: Botswana in Comparative Perspective', in Stephen John Stedman, (ed.), *Botswana: The Political Economy of Democratic Development* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), p. 13. For full article, see pp. 11-25.

[2] Bechuanaland Protectorate, *Bechuanaland Protectorate Development Plan, 1963-68* (in microfiche, African Studies Library, University of Cape Town). See also, Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Development of the Bechuanaland Economy, Report of the Ministry of Overseas Development Economic Survey Mission* (Gaborone: November, 1965), pp. 23 and 24. The Report however notes that 90% of livestock in the Protectorate was owned by Africans but its marketing was conducted by European traders and speculators. Commenting on the 'mutual' relationship between the colonial administration and Seretse Khama's ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) in the latter's formative years, Kenneth Good stated that 'The colonial administration and the BDP leadership were "joined in an informal coalition" to shape the country's politics and further development.' A former chief, Seretse Khama, writes Good, received support in their policies for election campaign before the 1966 poll. Kenneth Good, 'Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana', in *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 30, No. 1 (1992), pp. 72-73. For full article, see pp. 69-95.

[3] Edwin S. Munger, *Bechuanaland: Pan-African Outpost or Bantu Homeland?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 37.

[4] Pauline E. Peters, *Dividing The Commons*, p. 138.

[5] Lamberto Dini, Brian Quinn and Lennart Wohlgemuth, 'The Economy of Botswana', in *Staff Papers – International Monetary Fund,* Vol. 17, No. 1 (March, 1970), p. 130. For full article, see pp. 127-169.

[6] Andreas Danevad, *Development Planning and the Importance of Democratic Institutions in Botswana* (Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1993), p.1.

part through the remoteness from the seat of political power in Gaborone.[7] It also shows how disease continued to plague the development of beef production in the wetlands.[8]

Development plans for 'cattle capitalism'

From 1966, the state engaged in central planning, prioritising commercial production of cattle development as the major potential for rural livelihoods and export earnings.[9] Successive Development Plans recognised the growing income from cattle and emphasised increased infrastructural investment and expansion of extension services in the rural areas:

> The cattle industry is of prime importance to Botswana and it is the only part of agricultural sector in which markets are both expanding and secure. In the territory as a whole the standard of animal management is not very high. Improvement in the breeding is important but the greatest improvement could be gained by attention to management – this means a much greater emphasis on extension. [10]

The country's first president, Sir Seretse Khama explained that 'The aim of the planning process should not be solely to achieve high rates of economic growth but for the nation as a whole to share the benefits of development.'[11] Government strengthened the Ministry of Agriculture and a Division of Livestock Production which was sub-divided into various units dealing with specific aspects of animal husbandry. The Animal Health and Disease Control dealt with disease control, the Department of Agricultural Research conducted research on livestock, and Livestock Advisory Centres provided drugs and vaccines for livestock in the rural areas.[12]

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[7] Michael Hubbard, 'Botswana's Beef Export Industry: the Issue of the Proposed Northern Abattoir', in Charles Harvey, (ed.), *Papers on the Economy of Botswana* (London: Heinemann, 1981), p. 47. For full article see pp1-65. Both the Chobe and Ngamiland District are over 1,000 kilometers from Gaborone and an extra 75 kilometers to Lobatse. The northern abattoir was established in Maun only in late 1983. See Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 11.

[8] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1989-1995*(Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 107. As a monopoly company in the marketing of beef in Botswana, the Botswana Meat Commission reserved the right to permit any competitor from engaging in beef marketing anywhere in Botswana. Interview with Bernard Chizuka Mbeha, Principal Veterinary Officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008. The post-colonial government stopped the cattle trade between the wetlands and Zambia in 1968.

[9] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 4, 1976-81* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1977), p. 143. The successive Plans covered the next five years at the end of which there was always a review of progress made as well as constraints encountered, with a view to rectifying any sectoral backlogs ostensibly monitoring the implementation of planned programmes.

[10] Government of Botswana, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1966/67* (Gaborone: Department of Agriculture, 1967), p. 13.

[11] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 4, 1976-81* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1977), p. ix. See also, Kenneth Good, 'Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana', in *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 30, No. 1 (1992), p. 75.

[12] Government of Botswana, *Annual Report, Department of Agriculture for the year 1966/67*(Gaborone: 1967), p. 13. Extra outlets for livestock inputs and medicines were availed in 1975 with the establishment of the

Because the independence government inherited a weak economy, it entered into carefully negotiated agreements on development funding with international finance institutions in order to kick-start development projects.[13] Funded by the United Kingdom, Livestock Advisory Centres doubled up as convenient retail outlets for cattle owners in various districts for supplementary feeds such as bonemeal, and salt.[14] Extension services were expanded countrywide, with many farmers quickly adopting new methods of livestock improvement as shown in Table 1. In 1967, the state introduced the Bull Subsidy and Artificial insemination Schemes with a view to fast-tracking quality breeds. Initially subsidised by government, the Bull Subsidy Scheme availed bulls to stock owners for half their original price.[15] Government later established the Artificial Insemination scheme where small stock holders sent their cows for service by bulls belonging to government.[16]

While Village Development Committees provided extensions services and disseminated information to emerging farmers, in the 1966/7 period, they were restricted to the eastern watershed, namely in the Ngwato, Kweneng and Ngwaketse reserves, excluding the wetlands. Government justified this omission. In its view:

> In the extensive areas to the west, Ghanzi, the Northern Crown Lands (Chobe) and much of Ngamiland it is of very little use to post Demonstrators. There are long distances between cattle posts, travelling is difficult in the heavy sand and nine times out of ten the owner is absent when the Demonstrator calls.[17]

Extension services were only introduced in Ngamiland in the mid-1970s.

Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB). See Government of Botswana, *The Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board, Second Annual Report, 1976* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1976).

[13] Government of Botswana, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1966/67* (Gaborone: Department of Agriculture, 1967), pp. 1-2. For example, in 1967 OXFAM and Christian Aid funded the construction of the Botswana Agricultural College at which agricultural extension officers were trained. The United Kingdom Committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign supplied the government with 1,000 radio receivers for dissemination of information on improved agricultural methods and techniques to farmers countrywide. The ability to mobilise financial resources for the modernisation of the cattle industry was a contributory factor in legitimising the ruling elite, seen as providing the basis for rural capital in the form of cattle. See Ian Taylor 'Botswana's "Developmental State" and the Politics of Legitimacy', (unpublished paper), no date. p. 5.

[14] Government of Botswana, *Botswana '91, Silver Jubilee Celebrations: An Official Handbook* (Gaborone: Department of Information and Broadcasting, 1991), p. 119.

[15] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 2, 1968-73* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1968), p. 24.

[16] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 2, 1968-73*(Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1968), p. 24.

[17] Government of Botswana, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1966/67* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1967), p. 14. See also, John D. Holm, 'Liberal Democracy and Rural Development in Botswana', in *African Studies Review,* Vol. 25, No. 1 (1982), pp. 83-102.

In 1968, the state discontinued cattle sales on the hoof to Zambia and Zimbabwe, re-directing all sales to the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) in Lobatse, putting a strain on cattle farmers in the wetlands whose natural markets were to the north rather than the south.[18] Cattle would now have to be trekked over 100 kilometers to Makalamabedi quarantine camp where they were put onto trucks at the nearest railhead in Francistown.[19] Trekking on the hoof exposed the cattle to disease carrying parasites, predation by wildlife and possible bolting into the bushes.[20] The cattle lost weight and became dehydrated due to poor grazing and inadequate water sources along the trek routes. Transporting cattle by road cost twice as much as the rail rates.[21] Ngamiland local traders travelled long distances to collect reasonable numbers to trek to the Lobatse abattoir.[22] Cattle from the wetlands repeatedly fetched low prices.[23]

In 1973, the Botswana Livestock Development Corporation (BLDC), a parastatal organisation was established to facilitate the marketing of cattle. BLDC purchased young beasts for fattening before selling them to the Botswana Meat Commission in Lobatse.[24] The Botswana Livestock Development Corporation introduced a special dispensation for remote communal areas such as Ngamiland as it paid cash immediately. At the Lobatse abattoir, delayed payments caused by bureaucratic processes disadvantaged cattle producers in remote areas.[25] The Botswana Livestock Development Corporation also gave bonuses to producers during times of profit.[26]

[18] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Northern State Lands, Botswana, Land Study No. 5* (Surrey: Directorate of Overseas Surveys, 1968), pp. 60-61.
[19] Interview with John Philip, church pastor, Assemblies of God, Maun, 30 June 2008.
[20] Interview with Reverend O. Ditsheko, Maun, 27 June 2008.
[21] McGowan and Associates, *A Study of Drought Relief and Contingency Measures relating to the Livestock Sector in Botswana,* Final Report, Consultancy for the Government of Botswana, May 1979, pp. 36-46.
[22] Ministry of Overseas Development, *Northern State Lands, Botswana, Land Resource Study No. 5* (Surrey: Directorate of Overseas Surveys, 1968), p. 62.
[23] Interview with Reverend O. Ditsheko, 27 June 2008.
[24] *Kutlwano/*Mutual Understanding, Vol. 25, No. 11, November 1987, p. 6.
[25] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 4, 1976-81* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1977), p. 155. In Ngamiland the BLDC opened a 80 000 hectare ranch in 1974 at Makalamabedi, about 100 kilometers to the east of Maun at which it stocked cattle purchased from Ngamiland producers, forcing prices to double where 'previously, due to the region's remoteness, producers had only been able to sell to traders and speculators'. See p. 155.
[26] *Kutlwano/*Mutual Understanding, Vol. 25, No. 11, Nov. 1987, p. 7.

Droughts were endemic in Botswana and while regions were differently affected, none escaped.[27] A catastrophic drought from 1961 to 1966 eliminated a third of the national herd but because the wetlands had not yet been drawn into the Lobatse market at this time, they were less affected than other districts.[28] In 1973, the wetlands were more affected by the drought which 'reduced the wellbeing of the owners of small herds, employees and others depending indirectly on livestock production from their livelihood, as well as the owners of large herds.'[29] In the 1980s, Ngamiland farmers lost an estimated 300,000 cattle, about 30-35% of the cattle population in the District.[30] Government provided relief to the Ngamiland and Chobe Districts in the form of food aid and labour based projects.[31] Well-to-do cattle farmers in the area rebuilt their herds from purchases made at Ghanzi, to the south west of Ngamiland and in South Africa.[32] About 32% of the national herd was lost in the drought of the 1990s.[33]

Drought meant that most poor households in Ngamiland were unable to rebuild their stocks.[34] Also, the interdependence between ownership of livestock and arable production in the wetlands meant that crop production too, was affected. Cattle pulled the plough in the cultivation process. Those with more cattle cultivated larger acreages of land, averting hunger by spreading the risks across many cultivated fields, producing bigger harvests. When the poor lost their draught animals, they were unable to cultivate and became more susceptible to poverty.[35] The rich, on the other hand, faced with cattle that were too weak for

[27] McGowan and Associates, *A Study of Drought and Contingency Measures relating to the Livestock Sector in Botswana,* Final Report: Consultancy for the Government of Botswana, May 1979, pp. 1-2
[28] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Handbook 1999* (Gaborone: Department of Information and Broadcasting, 1999), p. 190. As a result of the harsh effects of drought on the rural economy, 1966 recorded the highest ever number of migrant labour to the South African mines. According to the *Botswana Handbook 1999,* drought in Botswana seemed to be cyclic, occurring almost after every decade. Following the 1961-1966 was a more restricted one in 1973, then in 1982 and 1987 and subsequently from 1991 to 1995. See p. 190.
[29] McGowan and Associates, *A Study of Drought Relief and Contingency Measures relating to the Livestock Sector in Botswana,* Final Report: Consultancy for the Government of Botswana, May 1979, pp. vii-1.
[30] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), 92.
[31] Government of Botswana, *Country Profile* (Gaborone: Central Statistic Office, 1980), p. 6.
[32] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 1989-199 5*p. 92.
[33] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Agricultural Survey Report, 1995* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1999), p. 1.
[34] Derek J Hudson, Phaleng Consultancies and Matthew Wright, Bank of Botswana, 'Income Distribution in Botswana: Trends in Inequality Since Independence', in Doreen Nteta, Janet Hermans with Pavla Jeskova, (eds.), *Poverty and Plenty: The Botswana Experience* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1997), p. 113. See pp. 105-130 for full article. See also, McGowan and Associates, *A Study of Drought Relief and Contingency Measures relating to the Livestock Sector of Botswana,* Final Report for the Government of Botswana, May 1979, pp. 14-20 and p. 22.
[35] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 3 July 2008.

draught power, took the step of purchasing tractors.[36] The long term consequences of drought in the wetlands deepened the divide between rich and poor.

The National Development Bank became an important source of rebuilding cattle herds especially after the 1966 drought.[37] Borrowing was dependent upon security, initially in the form of fixed assets, undoubtedly benefiting large cattle owners.[38] Raising security for bank loans was a major constraint for small farmers. As Colclough and MacCathy pointed out, the bank was not inclined to offer any loans to households that did not own cattle. Besides, National Development Bank borrowers had to be recommended by extension workers 'who, for most of the period had effectively no contact with non-cattle-owning households.'[39] This scenario suggests that holders of small herds could not secure loans and were unable to buy cattle or invest in the improved management of their cattle. Between 1970 and 1975, the National Development Bank increased its approved agricultural credit from P237,000 to P1,178,000, most of it going to relatively well-off farmers.[40]

Farmers in the Okavango region of Ngamiland claimed that the National Development Bank was not well-known in their area and most of the farmers had not heard of its services despite the fact that the Maun branch was opened 1973.[41] The few who utilised the Bank did not understand bank operations and were surprised when bank officials informed them that they had defaulted on their payments:

> At one time two officers from the National Development Bank (ND) toured the area trying to persuade farmers to repay their loans. They were heavily attacked, verbally by one farmer who had obtained a loan and never repaid anything. How could they expect him to repay more than what he borrowed. The farmer was very upset that the NDB wanted to profit on him instead of helping him. When he obtained the loan he was told that NDB was there to help farmers. On each payment advice he got, there was interest charges, and that, he would never pay.[42]

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[36] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, Maun, 3 July 2008.
[37] BNA BNB 5444, 'The Establishment of a Development Corporation in Botswana', May 1969, Kenneth Good, 'Resource Dependency and Its Consequences: The Costs of Botswana's Shining Gems', in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (January, 2005), p. 29. For full article, see pp. 27-50, Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 2, 1968-1973* (Gaborone: Ministry of Development Planning, 1968), p. 5. The National Development Bank was funded by the American Development Loan Funds.
[38] Christopher Colclough and Stephen McCarthy, *The Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Redistribution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 135.
[39] Christopher Colclough and Stephen McCarthy, *The Political Economy of Botswana,* p. 135.
[40] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 4, 1976-81* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1977), p. 141.
[41]Interview with Kuke Kasiana, Aged 60, Aged 60, Kauxwi Village, Okavango, 28 June 2008.
[42] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland (AND): Economic Findings and Results, Dryland and Molapo Farming Systems of Western Ngamiland, Technical Report No. 5 (Consultancy Report), August 1988', p. 35.

Recurrent outbreaks of livestock disease added to the region's economic woes. These included foot and mouth disease, tsetse fly borne *nagana*, liverfluke, and the poisonous *mogau* plant (*dichapetalum symosum)*, all common to the wetlands.[43] Disease delayed the provision of essential extension services and impacted negatively on breeding programmes.[44] Effective control of cattle diseases was often made difficult for both Chobe and Okavango Districts by the geographical position of the areas. These were border areas which were very fluid with no fences as they fell on the migratory routes of game animals which transmitted these diseases, especially the foot and mouth disease and *nagana.* The buffalo was a 'conflict animal' in that it was the foot and mouth disease carrier yet a source of tourist attraction. Communities viewed it as blocking livestock market by infecting cattle with the foot and mouth disease. As a herd animal buffalo moved in large numbers, causing extensive damage if the herd descended on a crop field. A buffalo is also considered aggressive to human beings. Disease control was also made difficult by cattle sometimes straying from each side of the borders, increasing the risk of transmission. Government however held *kgotla* meetings in order to educate cattle owners on the importance of looking after their cattle to avoid their grazing across the borders. There were patrols by veterinary officers along the border to ensure compliance. As a result, there was no genetic improvement of breeds. Wetlands cattle producers were limited to the 'Tswana' breed which did not yield good returns at the abattoir.[45] An outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Ngamiland in 1977 was a severe setback for farmers.[46] The Botswana Meat Commission suspended cattle purchases from Ngamiland for two years under pressure from its major market, the European Economic Community.[47] Beef sales from the wetlands were confined to non-European Economic Community markets in Southern Africa which paid much less.[48] In a bid to curb the spread of the disease, 'Buffalo' veterinary cordon fences that were erected by the colonial administration were extended to cover more areas in Ngamiland and Okavango in order to stop contact between wild animals and cattle. The fences created a physical barrier, confining

[43] Interview with Dr Bernard Chizuka Mbeha, Prinicpal Veterinary Officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008. Tsetse was eradicated in 2000 through aerial spraying and the application of Sterile Insect Technique (STI). The country was however declared free from the foot and mouth disease in May 1998. See Government of Botswana, *Botswana Handbook 1999* (Gaborone: Department of Information and Broadcasting, 1999), p. 195.
[44] Government of Botswana, *Department of Field Services, Annual Report, 1979-80* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1980), pp. 69-70.
[45] Interview with Letsima Kandapaira, Aged 61, Subsistence Farmer, Sehitwa Village, 25 June 2008.
[46] Government of Botswana, *Department of Agricultural Field Services, Annual Plan, 1980-81* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1981), p. 56.
[47] John Holm, 'Liberal Democracy and Rural Development in Botswana', in *African Studies Review,* Vol. 25, No. 1 (March, 1982), p. 96. For full article, see pp. 83-102.
[48] Government of Botswana, *Country Profile* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1980), p. 28.

wildlife to the hinterland of the delta.[49] However, the fences cut off important grazing areas for cattle and frustrated farmers. A local Member of Parliament, Joseph Kavindama accused government of impoverishing his people through the fences.

> Fences have taken large parts of the grazing area of the people. When the flood comes it waters the swamps and when the land dries up that part of the swamp used to be ever-green and as such people of that area used to graze their cattle there. The Buffalo fence runs from Gomare to the northern part of Makalamabedi, about 242 kilometers long.[50]

Many cattle in the affected areas died due to the loss of grassland. Radinonyane for example, lost 361 head of cattle, Mabone Manje 8 and Motswagole 30 head.[51]

The Botswana government invested heavily in research for the control of disease. In 1980, the Botswana Vaccine Institute was established providing a laboratory for the production of vaccines for foot and mouth disease.[52] Vaccination campaigns reduced new infections in cattle and the state accelerated production programmes countrywide. These programmes included the Service to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas (SLOCA), the first programme that catered for small cattle owners.[53] The programme provided free vaccines, drugs, free Artificial Insemination schemes, Bull Subsidy and stock feeds at subsidised stock feeds.

Increased funding and improved methods in livestock husbandry led to an increase in the cattle population and gave rise to concerns over the carrying capacity of range lands and the threat of environmental degradation.[54] Cattle numbers increased from under a million head in 1966 after the devastating drought to three million in 1976.[55] Government responded to

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[49] Government of Botswana, 'Tawana Land Board/Department of Wildlife and National Parks', (Unpublished document of the Tawana Land Board and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, no date) p. 7.
[50] Joseph Kavindama, Member of Parliament for Okavango, cited in Government of Botswana, *National Assembly: Official Report Hansard 83, Part I, Sitting From 18/02-11/03/1985* (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1985), p. 251.
[51] Joseph Kavindama, *Hansard 83*, p. 253.
[52] *Kutlwano/*Mutual Understanding, Vol. 21, No. 3 March 1983, pp. 8-9. It became 'the only commercial vaccine-producing institute in the SADC region.'
[53] Patricia M. Makepe, 'Agriculture and Rural Development in Botswana', in Happy, K. Siphambe, Nettem Narayana, Oluyele Akinkugbe, Joel Sentsho, (eds.), *Economic Development of Botswana: Facets, Policies, Problems and Prospects* (Gaborone: Bay Publishing, 2005), p. 129. For full article, see pp. 119-137.
[54] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP), 1979-85* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1980), pp. 156-157.
[55] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP) 4, 1976-81* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1977), p. 143. By 1991, the rural households with no cattle had increased to 47%. See Abdi Ismail Samatar and Sophie Oldfield, 'Class and Effective State Institutions: The Botswana Meat

warnings of an impending ecological crisis by encouraging large cattle owners to drill new boreholes at the same time as providing state owned boreholes. Government also began to privatise some of its boreholes. These measures created a 'stampede' for land and water sources which was only settled down with the implementation of a new policy for grazing land.[56]

Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP)

Introduced in 1975, the Tribal Grazing Land Policy was designed as an instrument of land tenure. Its objectives were to modernise cattle management through alleviating range degradation, increasing production and reducing inequalities in income. In order to reduce overgrazing and overstocking on communal range land, the TGLP re-zoned all communal land into three land use areas, namely, Commercial, Communal and Reserved.[57] The Communal grazing area was to be maintained with traditional user rights by the majority of small herd owners.

Most rural producers in the wetlands objected to government appointed District Land Boards, the principle instrument of the TGLP. They saw them as taking over the powers in land from traditional leaders. These and other critics objected to this state imposed development.[58] By removing local leaders from land allocation responsibilities, the state set itself in opposition to them. The result was that many chiefs refused to co-operate with Land Boards. Government officials needed the chiefs' assistance to identify land that was not occupied but chiefs complained that they were not paid for this irksome assignment.[59] Land Board officials did not give up and soon created an efficient system of records on land

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Commission', in *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 33. No. 4 (December, 1995), p. 659. For full article, see pp. 651-668.

[56] Jack Parson, 'The Political Economy of Botswana: A case in the study of Politics and Social Change in Post-Colonial Societies' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1979), p.283.

[57] T.M. Tsikata and Robert Hitchcock, 'Research on the Botswana Economy', in Robert Hitchcock, Neil Parsons and John Taylor, (eds.), *Research For Development in Botswana: Proceedings of a Symposium held by the Botswana Society at the Gaborone Sun Conference Centre, Gaborone, August 19-21, 1985* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1987), p. 177. For full article, see pp. 172-207.

[58] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 3 July, 2008.

[59] Amy R. Poteete, 'When Professionalism Clashes with Local Particularities: Ecology, Elections and Procedural Arrangements in Botswana', in *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 2 (June, 2003), p. 472. For full article, see pp. 461-485.See also Kgosi Linchwe II 'Chieftainship in the 21st Century', in Sue Brothers, Janet Hermans and Doreen Nteta (eds.), *Botswana in the 21st Century: Proceeding of a Symposium Organised by the Botswana Society October 18-21, 1993* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1994), pp. 395-401.

allocations.[60] In turn, government assuaged the chiefs by making them ex-officio members of the Land Boards and Village Development Committees.[61] Nonetheless, there was evidence to support the view that the TGLP was a top-down bureaucratic arrangement that failed to meet its objectives and accentuated the class structure in the cattle industry.[62] Gloria Somolekae explained:

> Because of self-interest on the part of the bureaucracy, it is both a participant and beneficiary in the policy process. Consultations conducted during the TGLP formulation process was nothing more than a formal exercise aimed at giving legitimacy to a policy that had already been decided.[63]

Land transformed into commercial use was made available on a leasehold system to those who owned large herds. Reserved land was set aside for future allocation. [64] Ranches in commercial area measured 6400 hectares each and leases were allocated for a period of fifty years, renewable for a similar period.[65]

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[60] Amy R. Poteete, 'When Professionalism Clashes with Local Particularities', p. 472.
[61] Zibani Maundeni, 'State Culture and Development in Botswana and Zimbabwe', in *Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 40. No. 1 (March, 2002), p. 125. For full article, see pp. 105-132.
[62] John D. Holm, 'The State, social Class and rural Development in Botswana', in Louis A. Picard, (ed.), *The Evolution of Modern Botswana* (London: Rex Collings, 1985), pp. 157-205. According to Jack Parson, consultation with the communities was through radio programmes availed to selected groups, the 'Radio Learning Group' (RLGs) countrywide. This was on specific aspects of TGLP. See Jack Parson, 'The Political Economy of Botswana', p. 289. According to Derek Hudson and Matthew Wright TGLP was a response to 'demands by aspirant cattle farmers for better access to grazing land'. See Derek Hudson and Matthew Wright, 'Income distribution in Botswana: Trends in Inequality since Independence', in Doreen Nteta, Janet Hermans with Pavla Jeskova, (eds.), *Poverty and Plenty: The Botswana experience* (Gaborone: The Botswana society, 1997), p. 107. For full article, see pp. 105-130.
[63] Gloria Somolekae, 'Bureaucracy and Democracy in Botswana: What type of a Relationship?', in Stephen John Stedman, (ed.), *Botswana: The Political Economy of Democratic Development* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), p. 117. For full article, see pp. 113-122. See also, John D. Holm, 'Liberal Democracy and Rural Development in Botswana', in *African Studies Review,* Vol. 25, No. 1 (1982), p. 87. For full article, see pp. 83-102, Robert Hitchcock, 'Water, Land and Livestock: The evolution of Tenure and Administration Patterns in the Grazing Areas of Botswana', in Louis A. Picard, *The Evolution of Modern Botswana* (London: Rex Collings, 1985), pp. 84-121.
[64] John D. Holm, 'The State, Social Class and Rural Development in Botswana', in Louis Picard (ed.), *The Evolution of Modern Botswana* (London: Rex Collings, 1985), pp. 157-175.
[65] http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Pula/ Kwame Frimpong, 'A Review of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy in Botswana' p. 5-6. Accessed on 26/06/2009. All farmers with more than 400 head of cattle were required to move into commercial areas where they were expected to engage in improved methods of husbandry including rotational grazing, in line with the objectives of the TGLP to protect the environment. See also, Robert L. Curry Jr., 'Adaptation of Botswana's Development Strategy to Meet Its People's Needs for Land, Jobs: The Southern African Capitalist Democracy Can Maintain its Growth by a New Problem-Oriented Policy', in *American Journal of Economics and Sociology,* Vol. 45, No. 3 (July, 1986), p. 301. For full article, see pp. 297-312.

In Ngamiland, 72 Tribal Grazing Land Policy ranches were allocated in Hainaveldt to the south east of the district. Big cattle owners moved into this area during the late 1970s.[66] Situated close to the main Maun-Francistown highway and conveniently placed for transportation to the Botswana Meat Commission, Hainaveldt ranches boasted vast grasslands with a range of grass species that were ideal for cattle production.[67] Most cattle producers in Chobe were unaffected by the Tribal Grazing Land Policy programmes.[68] By the 1990s, there was only one Tribal Grazing Land Policy ranch with 120 cattle at Pandamatenga in the Chobe District.[69]

Not all those who were located in the commercial area co-operated with the TGLP. Some ranchers did not adhere to the terms of the lease. Many were reluctant to cull their stock and their ranches were soon overgrazed.[70] Some did not move their herds from the communal areas as required by the Policy.[71] Others refused to erect fences around their ranches. A few refused to sign leases and claimed that they had always occupied the land they were on.[72] In Hainaveldt, Ngamiland, the ranches were actually run as ordinary cattleposts 'even when they were fenced'; cattle moved in and out of the ranches degrading rangeland outside the demarcated ranches.[73] Absentee cattle owners allowed their stock to roam in communal areas. Some claimed additional cattle through the *mafisa* system to acquire extra grazing land. Others perceived private ownership of boreholes as granting *de facto* rights of control of grazing areas.[74]

[66] Government of Botswana, *Department of Agricultural Field Services, Annual Report, 1979-80* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1979), p. 71.
[67] Interview with L. Thokoeng, Technical Officer, Livestock Production, Maun, 7 July 2008.
[68] Interview with Dr. Bernard Chizuka Mbeha, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[69] Government of Botswana, *Agricultural Survey Report, 1995* (Gaborone, Agricultural Planning and Statistics, 1999), pp. 144-45.
[70] Kwame Frimpong, 'A Review of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy in Botswana', pp. 10-11.
[71] Stephan Dahlgren, Tyrell Duncan, Allan Gustafsson, Patrick Molutsi, *SIDA Development Assistance to Botswana 1966-1993: An Evaluation of 27 years of development co-operation, Final Report, September 1993* (Stockholm: 1994), p. 67.
[72] Stephan Dahlgren, Tyrell Duncan, Allan Gustafsson, Patrick Molutsi, *SIDA Development Assistance to Botswana 1966-1993*, p. 67.
[73] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), pp. 80-81.
[74] Pauline E. Peters, *Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy and Culture in Botswana* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), p. 142. See also Abdi Ismail Samatar, *An African Miracle: State and Class Leadership and Colonial Legacy in Botswana Development*, (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1999), pp. 111-112, J. Clarke Leith, *Why Botswana Prospered* (Montreal: McGill-Quen's University Press, 2005), pp. 64-65.

Much of the land that was assumed to be vacant was already occupied.[75] In the wetlands, the Basarwa in particular were not recognised as having land rights and pushed out of areas where they lived and grazed small livestock.[76] Government did not see it necessary to consult people who did not own cattle:

> we have had enough 'going to the people'. Consultation takes too much time. We should abandon it. We need to go ahead. All this discussion and planning is getting in the way of development. Basarwa, if they are in the way, should be gotten out of the way so that we can put up fences.[77]

With their eviction, Basarwa communities were prevented from accessing veld products including wild fruit, firewood and thatching grass in the areas that had been re-designated as ranches.[78]

In 1978 the Attorney-General's Chambers appeared to justify the removal of the Basarwa by remarking that 'the Basarwa have always been true nomads. The true nomad Basarwa can have no rights of any kind except rights to hunting'.[79] The disregard for the livelihoods of Basarwa and the stereotyping associated with them was epitomised by a legislator in a parliamentary debate on land issues in Ngamiland.

> They [Basarwa] set snares whenever they want to kill things like *masogo* [partridge] and other things and there are spears and knobkerries and they can track animals because these people have such stamina to track an animal for quite a long distance and eventually kill it.[80]

But researcher Edwin Wilmsen disagreed, arguing that far from remaining on the margins, Basarwa in Ngamiland had entered into the national economy of Botswana. As he put it,

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[75] P.M. Makepe, 'Agriculture and Rural Development in Botswana', in Happy K. Siphambe, Nettem Narayana, Oluyele Akinkugbe, Joel Sentsho, (eds.), *Economic Development of Botswana: Facets, Policies and Prospects* (Gaborone: Bay Publishing, 2005), pp. 129-130. For full article, see pp. 119-137. See also, Christopher Colclough and Stephen McCarthy, *The Political Economy of Botswana*, pp. 118-120.

[76] Teedzani Thapelo, 'Public Policy and San Displacement in Liberal Democratic Botswana', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2003), pp. 93-104. See also, Kenneth Good, 'Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana', in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1(1992), pp. 69-95, Robson Silitshena and Jaap W. Arntzen, 'Land Tenure, land use and settlement in Botswana', in Robert Hitchcock, Neil Parsons and John Taylor, (eds.), *Research for Development in Botswana*, pp. 103-124.

[77] Teedzani Thapelo, 'Public Policy and San Displacement in Liberal Democratic Botswana', p. 101. These remarks were made by a senior district officer in a special Land Use Planning Advisory Group meeting in January 1978.

[78] Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis, *Consultancy on the Review of the Rural Development Policy* Vol. 1 (Gaborone: BIDPA, 2001), p. 45.

[79] Cited in Kenneth Good, 'Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana', p. 82.

[80] Government of Botswana, *National Assembly: Official Record Hansard 84, Part II, Sitting From 13/08-30/08/85.*

'Bushmen have been turning to animal husbandry and agriculture in ever increasing numbers'.[81] Their lifestyles could hardly be distinguished from the local Tswana-speaking people around them.[82] In Ngamiland, the TGLP failed to provide social justice to poor farmers.

The role of Marketing Infrastructure in distribution of cattle wealth

Despite quarrels over the TGLP, animal husbandry in the wetlands improved. By 1981, cattle holdings in Ngamiland totalled 355,000.[83] Responding to the improved quality of cattle in the region, the Botswana Meat Commission built an abattoir at Maun in 1983.[84] The Maun abattoir relieved Ngami cattle owners of transport costs and helped boost returns especially for small farmers.[85] The availability of a market in their midst was also an incentive to improve their breeds.[86] Cattle were transported to Maun by truck in order to avoid contact with unhealthy herds on the way.[87] While the Lobatse abattoir marketed its beef to the European Economic Community, the Maun abattoir exported its beef to Mozambique and South Africa.[88] Statistical data on the annual intake of the Maun abattoir between 1983 and 1988 show a generally steady supply of cattle for slaughter. In 1983, the abattoir received 14,677 cattle and the following year the number increased to 17,493. In 1987, there was a further 4% increase, but 1988 saw a 17% decrease.[89] Drops in supply were attributed to drought and the effects of vaccination against the foot and mouth disease in Ngamiland. The Maun abattoir paid out P3,302,017 in 1983 while in 1988 the sum amounted to P5,752,369.[90] Prices for beef at the Maun abattoir were lower than those at Lobatse. The reason for this, said Bengani the manager of the plant in Maun was that the running costs were higher than those in Lobatse. 'Electricity is more expensive in Maun abattoir than in Lobatse. There also

[81] BNA BNB 3411, Edwin N. Wilmsen, 'Subsistence Hunting as a Source of Income for Bushmen in North Western Ngamiland' 1976, (Unpublished paper), p. 4. For full article, see pp. 1-5.
[82] Wim van Binsbergen, 'Becoming a Sangoma: Religious Anthropological Field-Work in Francistown, Botswana', in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 21, Fasc 4 (November, 1991), p. 314. For full article, see pp. 309-344.
[83] Central Statistic Office, *1981 Botswana Agricultural Statistics, Maun Region* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, November 1981), p. 6.
[84] *Agrinews*, Vol. 15, No. 9, September 1984.
[85] Government of Botswana, *The National Assembly Official Report: Hansard 83, Part I, Sitting From 18/02-11/03/1985* (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1985), p. 11.
[86] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 3 July 2008.
[87] *Kutlwano/*Mutual Understanding, Vol. 24, No. 10, October 1986, p. 24.
[88] *Agrinews*, Vol. 15 No. 9, September 1984. The EEC market comprises the United Kingdom, Germany, Holland, Greece, France and Belgium.
[89] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989). p. 11.
[90] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995*, p. 12.

has to be profit after operation and distribution costs. Costs of running Maun abattoir are high as it is operating at 78% capacity of the one at Lobatse'[91]

Not all cattle farmers in the wetlands benefited from the new abattoir. Those in the Okavango were cut off by poor roads and remained little affected by the new opportunities offered by the beef market. The nearest Livestock Advisory Centre was at Gomare, a distance of more than 100 kilometres from the villages on the East Bank of the Okavango River.[92] Pitiro Musongoza, a small cattle producer in Kauxwi village said that:

> Government was helpful in bringing BMC abattoir to Maun in our district. We however struggle to get our cattle to Maun because the roads are bad and there are no trucks on the east bank villages. Most cattle owners swim their beasts across the Okavango River at known passible points but this is dangerous. Some cattle and people have fallen victim to crocodiles and hippos alike.[93]

Members of Parliament for the Okavango constituency constantly brought their constituency to the attention of the authorities. Calling on government to 'distribute developments equally instead of concentrating them on one side of the country', ruling party Member of Parliament for the area, Vistor Moruti, set out a list of urgently needed interventions including the construction of a bridge connecting villages of the East and West banks of the river, more teachers in the schools and a need for potable water. Local people, he said, were compelled to 'drink untreated water from the river which they share with wild animals.'[94] Parliamentary debates on peripheral communities in the remote north western region of Botswana seldom led to state action.

The Chobe District faired the worst. Chobe was completely shut out of subsidy programmes and the commercial meat market as it was considered a permanently disease-plagued area.[95] The district did not benefit from the Bull Subsidy and Artificial Insemination programmes.[96] The state admitted this:

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[91] BNA CDA/1/41 Vol. II.
[92] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 77.
[93] Interview with Pitiro Musongoza, Aged 47, Subsistence Farmer, Kauxwi Village, Okavango Sub-District, 28 June 2008.
[94] *Mmegi*, 'Moruti calls for equitable distribution', 17 July 2009.
[95] Interview with Itumeleng Mabalani, Extension Agent, Parakarungu Village, Chobe District, 23 May 2008.
[96] Interview with Dr Bernard Chizuka Mbeha, Principal Veterinary Officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008.

> Animal Health/Veterinary services are relatively weak in Chobe, because of the District's comparatively minor role in Botswana's cattle industry. Livestock are not marketed through the BMC, and there are strict controls of livestock even within the District. However, there is a Livestock Advisory Centre in Kasane which provides veterinary requisites. Its effectiveness is limited by the distance to population centres and very poor transport and communication within Chobe.[97]

Moreover, the Chobe National Park and Forest Reserves took most of the district's land.[98] Cattle producers used the commonage around the villages for grazing. Satau and Parakarungu on the floodplains often experienced severe flooding.[99] Flooding resulted in pasture being submerged creating conditions for *senkobo* or *dermatophilosis*, a skin disease in cattle. The disease was associated with tick bites and occurred mostly in the wet season.[100] Scarcity of pasture was most severe in the villages of Lesoma and Pandamatenga located in a narrow strip between forest reserves, commercial farms and the Zimbabwean border.[101]

The proximity of the Chobe National Park to the villages brought wild animals into contact with cattle which were often infected with parasites. Small cattle producers sold only to local butchers.

> Since we now live in a cash economy, we needed money for social services such as education of our children, accessing medical health, and utility goods, bus fare to undertake important trips sometimes to far away centres like Maun to get a brand iron for branding cattle. In desperation we ended up accepting the butcher's offer which at times was too little. If you pressed for a better bargain, most of the time the butcher left for the next cattle producer. Besides, we had no means of transport to take us to other butchers who were very few in Kasane.[102]

In 1977 the total number of cattle in the district was only 5,000 head 'offering limited opportunity for increasing income and employment.'[103] In 1988, 63% of the households in the Chobe enclave had 10 or more cattle.[104] In the same period, more than 60% of female headed households had no livestock, while the remaining 40% had less than 3 head of

[97] Government of Botswana, *Kasane-Kazungula Development Plan* (Maun: Kasane-Kazungula Planning Advisory Committee of the North West District Council, 1984), p13.
[98] The park covered nearly 11,000 square kilometers. See BNA CDA/1/13/II, 'Chobe District Annual Reports: Report of the Annual Consultation Exercise, Chobe District, 1988'.
[99] BNA BNB 9877, 'Project Report, June/July 1984'; Interview with Kachale Murunda, Aged 67, female subsistence farmer, Mabele Village, Chobe District, 7 June 2008
[100] Interview with Dr Bernard Chizuka Mbeha, Principal Veterinary Officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[101] BNA CDA/1/13/II, 'Chobe District Annual Reports 1988'. Farmers in these two villages suffered regular predation from carnivores from the nearby Chobe National Park to the west and those from Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe, to the east.
[102] Interview with Kgosi Moffat Sinvula, Chief of Kavimba Village, 11 June 2008.
[103] BNA CDA/1/4/17, 'District Commissioner Kasane, NDP, 1977-1982', p. 4.
[104] The Chobe Enclave, also known as Chobe West comprised five villages (Mabele, Kavimba, Kachikau, Satau and Parakarungu). Chobe East was made up of Kasane, Kazungula, Lesoma and Pandamatenga.

cattle.[105] Cattle holdings in the northern areas closest to the Game Park were less than those in the south and western areas of the Chobe enclave, as shown on Table 2 below.

Table 2. Livestock Distribution per household in the Chobe Enclave, 1988.

	South	**North**
No cattle	41%	27%
1-10 head	23	34
11-20 head	19	18
More than 20 head	17	21

Source: Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 1989), p. 109.

The villages' proximity to the Chobe National Park and the Chobe River exposed their livestock to predators from the park which is not fenced, and the wild animals passed by the villages on their way to drink water at the river. There was thus great need for labour in herding activities to guard against predation, sometimes depriving other economic activities of both labour and time.[106] At night cattle were penned in kraals close to people's houses because predators roamed in the vicinity and dogs alerted the cattle owners to predators lurking nearby.

> Predators are everywhere. Sometimes a hungry lion jumps into the calves' kraal and cause a panic so that one calf forces its way out only to be killed and eaten. If one has dogs this can be averted. We do not sleep here in Mabele village, our livestock is finished. During the day it is leopards that are most troublesome especially on heifers and goats. The leopard is most destructive because it can kill many calves and store one at a time on top of different trees. [107]

Unable to rear their own healthy cattle, some farmers in Chobe borrowed cattle from their relatives in Namibia across the Chobe River.[108] Lubinda explained:

> The people across are our relatives and we have many things in common. When there is an activity across the river we usually cross over, illegal as it may be but the immigration post is far from here and traffic here is very unreliable. During the cultivation season, we sometimes borrow cattle for draught power or lend them, depending on who completes ploughing their fields first, and we know when security officials are in the area. In our culture, marriage is sealed with cattle payment as bridewealth and it is not uncommon to exchange cattle across the river.[109]

[105] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 109.
[106] Interview with Kgosi Moffat Sinvula, 11 June 2008.
[107] Interview with Kachale Murunda, Mabele Village, 7 June 2008.
[108] Interview with Lumba Lubinda, Vendor, Baambazangu Township, Kasane, 30 May 2008.
[109] Interview with Lumba Lubinda, Kasane, 30 May 2008.

These arrangements were not acceptable to the Veterinary Department.

> It is illegal first for people to cross the border at ungazetted points and even worse to import or export livestock across Namibia. This compromises our efforts at monitoring the spread of disease. Besides, how do we know if they are not stolen cattle? When we get to know of such cases we shoot the affected cattle to avoid chances of infection of our livestock.[110]

In 1995, the state faced one of the most difficult challenges it ever experienced in the livestock industry with the outbreak of a cattle lung disease, the Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia (CBPP) in the Okavango and Ngamiland. Government destroyed all cattle in the District, totalling approximately 300 000, as a measure to eradicate the disease.[111] Most farmers were traumatised by the exercise:

> Some people broke down in tears and suffered stress of magnitudes. People here have emotional attachment to their beasts and losing them in this manner left them traumatised. This meant a new difficult beginning for them as they had always depended on livestock for draught power because most of these farmers are subsistence producers who cannot afford to hire mechanised power at the fields. [112]

Local residents stated that their ability to cultivate was affected as only those who could afford to hire tractors planted crops.[113] Great strain was placed on culturally important activities associated with cattle such as funerals and weddings.[114] There were significant losses of jobs as the Maun abattoir was closed.[115] Government intervention provided compensation to the cattle farmers, with an option of 50% cash and 50% re-stocking after the eradication of the disease or 100% cash. Cash was a big temptation and many farmers opted for the 100% monetary compensation:

> The cattle owners found themselves with a lot of cash. While some farmers were given 50% cash, some of them opted for 100% cash. It is however difficult to say how many of the farmers invested their cash in some other long term asset. The increase in demand for consumer durables that resulted from the increased flow of cash from the CBPP project sources may have contributed to the relatively higher prices in the district.[116]

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[110] Interview with Dr Bernard Chizuka Mbeha, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[111] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 5, 1997-2003* (Maun: North West District Council, 1998), p. 1.
[112] Interview with Dr. Bernard Chizuka Mbeha, Prinicpal Veterinary Officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[113] Interview with Ditsao Karihindi, Aged 70, Village elder, Etsha 6, Okavango Sub-District, 29 June 2008.
[114] Interview with Ditsao Karihindi, Etsha 6, 29 June 2008.
[115] Interview with L.Thokoeng, Techincal Officer, Livestock Production, Maun, 7 July 2008.
[116] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 5 1997-2003* (Maun: North West District Council, 1998), p. 35.

A government study of how this money was spent shows gender and regional differences in the way the Chobe farmers spent their money. Male headed-households tended to invest the money in relatively sustainable projects such as buying cattle and mini buses in the transport business. Some saved money in the bank at Maun. Female headed households tended to spend the money on food and clothing.[117] But there were exceptions. One man is reported to have confessed to spending the money lavishly: 'I had too many girlfriends. I never thought the money would finish. I was drinking expensive liquor which was not familiar.'[118] Table 3 shows that it was the poorer communities in the remote Okavango that used compensation money on non-durable items, notably on food and clothing. They were quickly displaced from the livestock industry and moved into hawking. The Ngamiland communities dominated those who invested in sustainable activities such as livestock and house-building (10% against 5% of the Okavango farmers).

Table 3. Percentage of Households and how they used CBPP compensation money, by District

Money Usage	**Okavango %**	**Ngamiland %**
To Buy livestock	4.5	5.7
Saved money	8.3	11.9
Food/Clothing	48.3	40.6
Down payment	2.5	1.1
Built House	5	10
Vending/Hawking	1.5	0.4

Source: Government of Botswana, *Evaluation Study on the Socio-Economic Impact of the CBPP Eradication and Government Relief Programmes on the Communities of Ngamiland District and Okavango Sub-District* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing, 1999), p. 38.

Some of the poor households who opted for restocking claimed that government disappointed them:

> In compensating for the destroyed cows, government did not give us the same breed that they killed. We were not made to choose. Our cows were multi-purpose use and government ignored that. While the same cow reproduced, it provided us with milk and draught power, but the ones we were given cannot replace my milky cows. Not all cows produce similar quantities of milk, my

[117] Government of Botswana, *Evaluation Study on the socio-Economic Impact of the CBPP Eradication and Government Relief Programme on the Communities of Ngamiland District and Okavango Sub-District* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing, 1999), p. 16.
[118] Government of Botswana, *Evaluation Study*, p. 16.

> five cows were my children's source of milk, not the ones I now have. It takes a particular breed to produce a lot of milk.[119]

Jobe Mosepedi lost 11 beasts to the bovine disease. Neighbours used to ask him to train their young oxen, a skill for which he was respected in Chanoga Lands on the edges of the Thamalakane River near Maun. He felt that all his skill was wasted:

> I had spent much time training my oxen for enspanning on the yoke and just when the bullocks were ready to provide me with draught power that was when government killed them and only replaced recently with untrained ones which took my time again to get them used to pulling the plough. Government did not consider these issues when they killed our cattle.[120]

Some former cattle owners found work in the labour intensive public works set up by the government in Ngamiland to provide relief.[121] Others relocated to the villages of Maun, Shakawe and Gomare and took up street vending and hawking.[122] Both women and men sold groceries, vegetables and traditional products including *madila* sour milk, beans, and wild fruit, and craft items.[123] The Baherero bore the biggest brunt of the effects of the disease as they were dominantly pastoral people who cultivated only very little.[124] The Baherero women dominated the informal markets in Maun, Sehitwa, Gomare and Shakawe villages.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the Botswana government after 1966 sought to bring the wetlands into the broader national strategy of cattle-led development. The government introduced measures to control disease and established veterinary cordons to separate cattle from wildlife. The government also extended its policy on the demarcation of grazing and arable land to the wetlands and intervened to provide relief when drought and disease epidemics led to acute economic frustration. Nonetheless, the wetlands of Botswana remained marginal and highly stratified along lines that saw coalescence between ethnic allegiance, cattle ownership and the ability to recover from environmental catastrophe. The

[119] Interview with Portia Monageng, Aged 58, Female Subsistence Farmer, Sehitwa Village, 25 June 2008. Out of 300,000 beasts destroyed, government restocked 75,000 cattle and part cash compensation. Statistics provided by L. Thokoeng.
[120] Interview with Jobe Mosepedi, Subsistence Farmer, Chanoga Lands, Ngamiland, 24 June 2008
[121] Government of Botswana, *Evaluation Study* p. 25.
[122] Government of Botswana, *Evaluation Stud y* p. 16.
[123] Interview with Keitumetse Hampande, Aged 61, Female Vendor, Maun Bus terminus, 7 July 2008.
[124] Interview with Noka Manase, Aged 58, Female Hawker, Maun Bus terminus, 7 July 2008. Noka further stated that even without cattle, they were still nostalgic about the cattle culture. This explains their trading in milk products which they obtained from those Baherero who were not adversely affected.

state’s strategies tended to favour wealthier cattle owners leaving the poor with insufficient institutional support.

Chapter Three: 'Upgrading' female farming: Women and cereal production in Chobe and Ngamiland

Chapter Three explores the problem of food security in Botswana and examines the ways in which both the colonial and postcolonial governments intervened to modernise farming practices. The chapter is concerned particularly with rural producers in Chobe and Ngamiland. Focussing on dryland and *molapo* farming, the chapter tracks the subsidy programmes and agricultural extension services introduced in the wetlands from the 1950s to the 1980s. It discusses the extent to which efforts to modernise crop production brought change for women as producers of cereals.

Cereal production involves millet, sorghum and maize. The precise date and manner in which maize reached southern Africa is a subject of debate. Most writers draw on the accounts of early travellers to identify the first appearance of maize cultivation in a particular area. Some writers suggest that the crop first came to sub-Saharan Africa through Portuguese traders who had established trading stations on the west coast. From the Angolan coast, maize gradually diffused into Central Africa via the Kongo kingdom around 1600.[1] However, it was not until the late eighteenth century that maize became a staple crop in southern Africa and then not in all areas of this region of the African continent.[2] Some writers suggest that maize was introduced into southern Africa from the east through Portuguese and Arab traders on the coast of Mozambique.[3] Maize cultivation was then spread to the southern African diaspora, replacing sorghum and millet as staples.[4] Monica Wilson suggests that while maize was cultivated in Pondoland by 1821, sorghum remained the staple food crop.[5]

It remains unclear when maize was first introduced in Botswana.[6] Thomas Tlou suggests that maize came to the southern parts of Botswana from Mozambique via Zimbabwe.[7] Tlou also

[1] Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p. 21.
[2] David Birmingham, *Central Africa to 1870: Zambezia, Zaire and the South Atlantic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 39, 52, 106.
[3] James C. McCann, *Maize and Grace: Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 35-38.
[4] J.D. Omer-Cooper, *History of Southern Africa* (London: James Currey, 1987), p. 10. See also, Marvin P. Miracle, 'The Introduction and Spread of Maize in Africa', in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1965), pp. 39-55.
[5] Monica Wilson, 'The Nguni People', in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, (eds.) *The Oxford History of South Africa* Vol. I, South Africa to 1870, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 109.
[6] Isaac Schapera lists sorghum, millet, beans as staple crops among Tswana communities in the pre-colonial. He does not mention maize. See Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (London: Frank Cass, 1970), p. 225.

suggests that maize may have reached northern Ngamiland through Bulozi in Zambia and Andara in Namibia. Tlou notes that 'constant communication' between the Balozi and the Hambukushu led to the Hambukushu adopting maize as a crop before any other group in Ngamiland.'[8] The first record of maize production appears to have been made in 1890 when the Basubiya of the Chobe floodplains were noted as cultivating maize as a supplement to the staples of sorghum and millet.[9] While sorghum and millet were better able to withstand drought, maize was less prone to destruction by birds. For this reason, farmers in the wetlands cautiously began to plant maize alongside sorghum and millet.[10] Maize consumption was influenced by returning migrant workers who acquired a taste for this cereal on the mines of South Africa.

In the decade before independence, the colonial authorities were concerned that cereal production could not meet the food requirements of the growing population, necessitating the importation of food.[11] Imports increased as a result of a rise in population numbers and because climatic conditions were adverse in this period. The national population almost doubled between 1946 and 1964 when it increased from 296,310 to 543,105.[12] At the same time, successive droughts affected crop yields. While in 1954, the country had exported 675,130 bags (200 lbs) of sorghum to the value of R1,917,596, in the early 1960s, drought necessitated importing maize and sorghum.[13]

The first state initiatives in agriculture came from the administration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In the run-up to Botswana's independence, the colonial government sought ways of improving agricultural production and invited the Oxford Committee for Famine

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[7] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland,* p. 24.
[8] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland,* p. 24. However, Tlou argues that the Hamukushu did not bring maize with them when they first arrived in the wetlands from Zambia around 1750.
[9] International Court of Justice, *Case Concerning Kasikili/Sedudu Island (Botswana/Namibia): Responses of the Republic of Botswana to the Questions Put to the Parties by Members of the Court on 25 February 1999 and 5 March 1999* (The Hague: International Court of Justice, 6 April 1999), pp. 22-23.
[10] http://www.savannas.net/botswana/ub/forst.htm D.L. Kgathi, M.B.M. Sekhwela, H. Hamandawana, 'Sustainability of Commercial Agriculture and Forestry in Chobe District, Botswana', accessed on 16/08/2009.
[11] Government of Botswana, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report 1965/66* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1966), pp. 16-17.
[12] Government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, *Report on the Census of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1964* (Belmont: Bechuanaland Government, 1964), p. 19.
[13] Government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report 1963/64*, p. 32; Government of Botswana, *Botswana National Atlas* (Gaborone: Department of Surveys and Mapping, 2000), p. 127; In 1964, the colonial administration imported 256,849 bags of maize at a cost of R1,436,888, see Government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report 1963/64* (Mafikeng: Department of Agriculture, 1964), p. 32.

Relief (OXFAM) to establish research stations in Ngamiland (also at Gaborone and Mahalapye) and to train agricultural workers.[14] The project produced nearly a hundred agricultural demonstrators whose efforts led to a few 'progressively-minded farmers' adopting improved farming methods such as early ploughing which softened the soil before the rains came increased their yields.[15] Crop yields improved and in 1966, the year of Botswana's independence, Ngamiland produced 6,278 bags (200 pounds weight each) of sorghum, 648 bags of maize and 237 bags of millet.[16] In 1969, three years after independence, the post colonial administration opened the Gaborone Agricultural College in order to train more agricultural demonstrators.[17] However, unlike its predecessor, the new government focussed largely on rain-fed dryland farming and ignored the *molapo* farming system in the riverine environments of the wetlands.[18]

The Chobe and Okavango wetlands provided for two arable farming regimes: the *molapo* flood recession cultivation on the floodplain lands and the dryland arable agriculture on the gardens upland away from the river in the sandveld.[19] These subsistence cultivation systems were very largely shaped by the socio-economic cultures of the different ethnic groups that inhabited the region.[20] Dependent on rainfall rather than floods, dryland cultivation was practised in the semi-arid Kalahari sandveld soils mainly by the Batawana and the Hambukushu who planted drought resistant crops such as sorghum and millet to which they added melons, groundnuts and beans.[21] In contrast, *molapo* farming was practised along seasonally flooded areas on the Okavango Delta and Chobe river where subsistence peasant

[14] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Development of the Bechuanaland Economy: Report of the Ministry of Overseas Development Economic Survey Mission*, (Gaborone: Ministry of Overseas Development, 1965), pp. 40-41.
[15] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Development of the Bechuanaland Economy*, p. 30.
[16] Government of Botswana, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report 1965/66* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1966), p. 59.
[17] Lamberto Dini, Brian Quinn, Lennart Wohlgemuth, 'The Economy of Botswana', in *Staff Papers – International Monetary Fund*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March 1970), p. 134. For full article, see pp. 127-169.
[18] All efforts in improving crop production, including research, training of extension workers emphasised rain fed agriculture.
[19] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 1989-1995* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 1989), pp.73-75. Characterised by a tree-less vegetation and dominated by grasses, the *molapo* (singular, and *melapo* for plural) are seasonally flooded areas along river banks which are rich with deposits of soil sediments that comprise loam and clay texture that is fertile for crop farming.
[20] Government of Botswana, *Agricultural Development Ngamiland, Phase 1 Report (1981-82)* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1983), p. 4. For example, those ethnic groups with a historical relationship with the river such as Wayeyi and Basubiya dominated the *molapo* cultivation system while the groups that originally came from inland areas such as Batawana, and later Baherero, some Hambukushu and Baxereku and some Basarwa practiced dryland cultivation systems.
[21] Interview with Kele Habano, Aged 45, Subsistence Farmer, Etsha 6 Village, Okavango sub-district, 28 June 2008.

farmers made use of the more fertile soils of the floodplains. These soils were characterised by high organic and clay contents which stored soil moisture for a long time.[22] Depending on environmental conditions, peasant farmers in these riparian environments sometimes cultivated both types of lands concurrently in order to spread the risk of crop failure.[23]

Molapo and dryland arable farming, 1965-1980

The Okavango River enters Botswana at Mohembo village in the Okavango sub-district, bringing with it floods that inundated the river banks which were utilised by peasant farmers for growing crops.[24] After the floods subsided, they left behind very fertile silt on which peasant farmers ploughed, taking advantage of *bokgola*, the moist soil.[25] The *molapo* system had two sub-systems, namely the 'wet' and 'dry' *molapo*. Wet fields were those immediately on the river banks and depended exclusively on the flood water, while the 'dry' *molapo* were fields that lay a few meters away from the river banks and depended largely on rain water.[26] The cultivators in the wet *molapo* planted their seeds between August and September after the floods had receded and the river bank gardens were very moist. The *molapo* fields had the added advantage of germinating crops before the rains and, in the event of rain failure the *molapo* moisture assisted the crop to reach maturity.[27] The flood recession cultivation was practised mostly by residents of the Okavango Delta who lived close to the river and its numerous channels.

Molapo farming was practised in the Okavango Delta around Tubu, Nokaneng flats, Gomare and, in Ngamiland East in areas around Shorobe, 40 kilometres north of Maun, on lands occupied mostly by Wayeyi people. Small scale *molapo* farming on the Chobe River is

[22] Government of Botswana, *Agricultural Development, Ngamiland Phase 2 Report 1982/84* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1985), p. 7.
[23] Government of Botswana, *Kavimba Village Community Action Plan* (Gaborone: Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 1994), p. 15. The Hambukushu's traditional staple was millet which was preferred to both maize and sorghum. In my interview with Habano, she stated that millet produced a good brew of traditional beer, and it also made palatable thick porridge with cooked melon to which they added *madila*, sour milk. Interview with K. Habano. Aged 45, subsistence farmer, Etsha village 28 June 2008.
[24] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 6: 2003-2009* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 2003), p. 1. The Okavango River is regarded as Southern Africa's third largest fresh water course after the Orange and the Zambezi Rivers, see p. 5.
[25] Interview with G. Phathe, Senior Technical Assistant, Mabele Village, 25 June 2008.
[26] Interview with G. Phathe, 25 June 2008.
[27] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 1973-78 Part III, Local Authority Development Plans* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1973), No page numbers (paragraph 7.2.26).

associated with the Basubiya communities in this area.[28] Land tenure in *molapo* fields was based on male primogeniture who then conferred usufruct rights to women.[29] The size of *molapo* fields was dictated by the extent of the flood each year, with bigger floods extending the frontiers of the moistened land which in turn prompted cultivators to enlarge the size of the field.[30] Due to the fertility and moist conditions of the soil, *molapo* farming was utilised mostly for growing maize which needed sustained moisture although other crops such as sorghum, pulses, groundnuts, melons and pumpkins were also planted.[31] As a result of the high moisture content on the rich soils, crop yields per hectare in the *molapo* fields were higher than those in dryland farming.[32] Fallow land provided rangeland for livestock particularly at times when fodder was scarce.[33] This river system was a lifeline for the subsistence producers of the Okavango Delta, Ngamiland and the Chobe district.

Despite the high soil fertility and capacity to store moisture, *molapo* farming entailed great risks and demanded special skills and knowledge.[34] The *molapo* clay soils were hard when dry and if left fallow, rain water ran off taking moisture and nutrients with it.[35] However, when too moist, the soils were heavy, putting a strain on peasant farmers to use more oxen for drawing the plough, and equally demanding during the weeding season with weeds recurring, prompting farmers to be adaptable to the challenges.[36] During heavy flooding period, the gardens on the river banks and the periphery were submerged in floodwater for many months (Figure 1), preventing cultivation from taking place during the normal *molapo* planting season.[37] In some cases, planted crops became submerged and suffocated in the

[28] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 1989), p. 15.
[29] Lapologang Magole and Kebonyemodisa Thapelo, 'The Impact of Extreme Flooding of the Okavango River on the Livelihood of *molapo* Farming Community of Tubu village, Ngamiland Sub-district, Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 37, 2005, p. 131. For full article, see pp. 125-137.
[30] Government of Botswana, *Botswana National Atlas* (Gaborone: Department of Surveys and Mapping, 2000), p. 124.
[31] Interview with Kele Habano, Aged 45, female subsistence farmer, Etsha 6 Okavango sub-district, 28 June 2008.
[32] Government of Botswana, *Okavango Delta Management Plan* (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Affairs, 2008), p. 57.
[33] R.J. Oosterbaan, L.F. Kortenhorst, and L.H. Sprey, 'Development of Flood-Recession Cropping in the Molapo's of the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *International Institute for Land Reclamation and Improvement I(ILR), Annual Report 1986,* pp. 8-19.
[34] According to the Technical Report No. 5 of 1988, cultivators needed more seeds than those in the dryland system in order to compensate for poor germination in the event of the soils being too wet.
[35] Interview with Tlhalo Kebareng, Aged 59, Female Subsistence Farmer, Nxamasere village, Okavango District, 28 June 2008.
[36] Interview with Cathrine K. Limbo, District Agricultural Officer, Kasane, 23 May 2008.

flood waters. Sometimes heavy prolonged rainfall meant that the fields became water logged resulting in poor or no harvests.[38] The Chobe villages of Kavimba, Satau and Parakarungu were lower than most other villages and faced the greatest risks.[39] The floods were unpredictable, occurring at different times in different years and lasted for varying periods.[40] In 1974, prolonged floods in the Shorobe area prevented planting altogether.[41]

In responding to the challenges of the *molapo* system, local farmers adopted strategies that allowed for flexibility. Flood control measures included shifting to the dryland fields and returned when the floods receded.[42] Some peasant farmers built earth bunds that checked floods from inundating cultivated fields, but this required enlisting labour from relatives and neighbours.[43] The cultivation of the *molapo* fields required the peasant farmers to hold back seeds for re-planting in case seeds failed to germinate due to muddy soils. At times, cultivators using hand hoes planted too deep and the seeds rotted.[44]

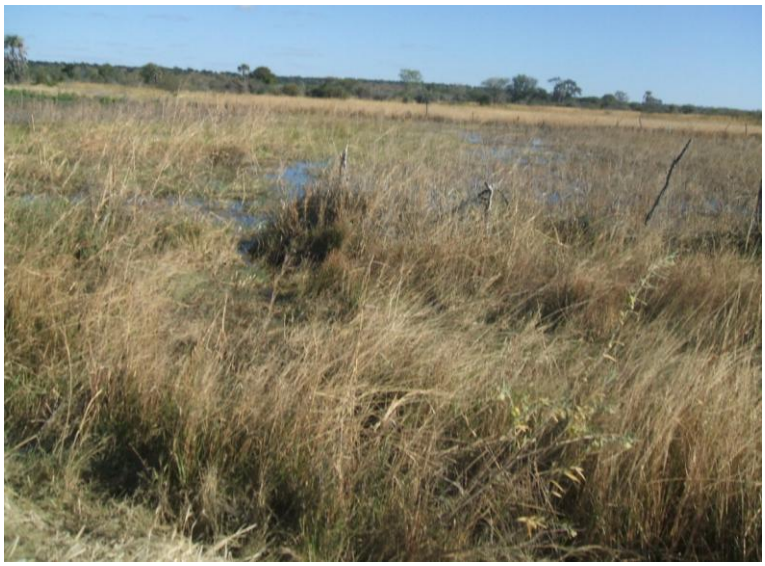

Figure 1. *Molapo* field inundated with flood water in Kavimba Village, Chobe District. Source: Bongani Gumbo, June 2008.

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[37]Floods arrived from Angola in March and April. Farmers would have to wait until August when the flood water would have completely receded but retaining rich moisture and fertile silt for cultivation of crops such as maize and other varieties. The tall grasses around the field show the high fertility of the soil and water in the ground.
[38] Interview with G. Phathe, Senior Technical Assistant, Mabele Village, Chobe District, 25 June 2008.
[39] BNA S. 556/9, 'Annual Reports', Kasane, 10 January 1955.
[40] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 1973-78 Part III, Local Authority Development Plans* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1973), no page numbers (paragraph 7.2.27).
[41] BNA BNB 631.586, 'Assistance to the Molapo Project, 1983', p. 151.
[42] Interview with Joseph Modise, Administrator, Nxaraga Rural Training Institute, Nxaraga, 4 July 2008.
[43] Interview with Neo Kavuma, Aged 63, Female Subsistence Farmer, Etsha 6 Village, Okavango 28 June 2008.
[44] Interview with Itumeleng Mabalani, Agricultural Demonstrator for Parakarungu, Kasane 23 May 2008.

Because the fields were along the river where livestock passed on their way to drink water, it was necessary to watch over the fields for the greater part of the day. Fields were fenced with bush material as wire fences on river banks would interfere with the river ecosystem.[45]

Dryland cultivation was practised on fields that were situated some distance away from the rivers and thus had different soil and watering characteristics. Dryland fields were characterised by Kalahari soils which were lighter and sandier than elsewhere in the country, and successful cultivation depended on the quality of rainfall in a given season.[46] Poor soils mean that dryland farming was susceptible to drought and poor harvests. Unable to afford ploughs, peasant producers relied heavily on family labour in the various stages of farming. The Hambukushu who dominated the populations in the Etsha villages, generally did not keep cattle and cultivated by hand in the sand veld fields.[47]

Subsistence agriculture in the wetlands as elsewhere in Africa cannot be described adequately without placing it in the broader context of the gendered division of labour.[48] The gendered division of labour assigned agricultural production, reproduction and household maintenance to women in many African societies. Post independence development projects very often understood that in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food production it was necessary to empower women farmers.[49] In the wetlands the bulk of the work at the fields was done by women, with about 65% of the total labour supply provided by women, 20% by children and only 15% by men.[50] Most women cultivators did not own cattle and depended on borrowing draught power from others. Some families owned only 2 beasts and struggled to plough even small fields with such limited draught power.[51] When the *molapo* fields became inundated with weeds and grasses extra labour required was needed. At these times, female producers

[45] Interview with Israel Zebe, former District Commissioner, Kasane, 18 May 2008. Zebe added that stray livestock, and sometimes wild animals raided the fields in the night, causing extensive crop destruction.
[46] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 1973-78 Part III, Local Authority Development Plans* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1973), no page number (paragraph 7.2.28).
[47] Rosemary Twapika, subsistence farmer and basket weaver, Etsha 6, 29 June 2008.
[48] Barbara Lewis, 'The Impact of development policies on women', in Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter, (ed.), *African Women South of the Sahara* (London: Longman, 1984), pp. 170-187.
[49] Jean Davison, 'Land and Women's Agricultural Production: The Context', in Jean Davison, (ed.), *Agriculture, Women, and Land: The African Experience* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 1-32.
[50] BNA BNB 631.586, 'Assistance to the Molapo Development Project, 1983' p. 169.
[51] Government of Botswana, *Agricultural Development, Ngamiland Phase 2 Report 1982/84* (Gaborone: 1985), p. 7. Cattle were traditionally men's assets. Female headed households struggled to access draught power, usually attaching themselves to those with more cattle, assisting them in cultivation their farms after which the cattle owners either lent them a span for ploughing or arranged for a turn on the cattle-poor farmers. Interview with Catherine K. Limbo, District Agricultural Officer, Kasane, 23 May 2008.

relied on *letsema* or *njambe*, (work parties where people came together to help a community member in labour intensive activities). The host woman who was benefiting from the labour of her neighbours brewed beer as a 'thank you' to her neighbours.[52] As Mma Sefhako explained,

> This was a way of acknowledging them as the community within which I live and I would also lend my hand when another sought community help with economic tasks such as clearing the land for farming, cultivation, weeding, and harvesting and many other activities demanding collective labour.[53]

Women combined crop production with other household chores. Peo Liswani, a female household head in Satau village explained the multi-production activities associated with women's farming work. She talked about the enormous amount of work involved and how it had necessitated compelling her young daughters to help with the chores. Children helped with the tasks of planting, weeding and scaring way *tlhaga* (quelea bird) before harvest time.

Both maize and sorghum were produced in the wetlands but *mabele* (sorghum) was more popular.[54] Sorghum was preferred for its drought resistant characteristics.[55] Following harvesting, *mabele* required further labour intensive processing before it was ready for consumption. Liswani explained:

> After threshing the crop head, we removed the husks from the grain by winnowing using a flat winnowing tray (*leselo*), woven from reeds and palm (*mokola*) leaves. We pounded the grain into the required texture of the flour with some women preferring it very fine but most households like it in a (coarse form *ntlatlawane*). After sifting, bran was given to chickens as food. Some of the grain was preserved as seed for planting in the next season, mixing wood ash from especially the hard wood tree (*motswiri*). Seed preserved in wood ash could last for over a year with no fungi or insects attacking the seed.[56]

Sorghum, indigenous to the region, was the staple of the Batswana. *'Mabele, mabelega batho'*, a Setswana proverb for 'sorghum, sustainer of the people', captures the importance of this crop. Like Batswana, Basotho also used sorghum flour to make traditional beer which brought together old people and kept work parties going.[57] A village in Chobe known for its

[52] Interview with Rosemary Twapika, female subsistence farmer and basket weaver, Etsha 6, 29 June 2008.
[53] Interview with Mma Sefhako, Female Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga Village.
[54] *Mabele* is a Setswana word for sorghum. The other crops included millet, maize, pulses, pumpkin, melons and squashes.
[55] Isaac N. Mazonde, 'Food Policy and Agriculture in Botswana', in Richard Mkandawire and Khabele Matlosa, (eds.), *Food Policy and Agriculture in Southern Africa* (Harare: SAPES Books, 1993), pp. 85-108.
[56] Interview with Peo Liswani, Aged 63, Female Subsistence Farmer, Satau Village, Chobe, 11 June 2008.
[57] Interview with Mookho Kane, Mosotho post-graduate student, University of Cape Town, 21 October 2008.

bumper harvests was named 'Mabele'.[58] Women used sorghum in preparing popular local dishes.[59] Most often, sorghum grain was pounded into flour, providing the daily meal. Mma Sefhako, a widow and 'commercialising subsistence farmer' in Pandamatenga Village in the Chobe District explained:

> We cook *bopi jwa mabele* [sorghum flour] in boiling water or milk, for those with livestock, to make the morning soft porridge, (*motogo*). *Motogo* is a 'must have' as it was the morning meal of the day. The flour is either fermented to produce sour mash (*ting*) or it could be cooked without fermentation. In the case of the latter, we add sour milk. *Motogo* tasts 'real' if prepared with *ntlatlawane* [flour that was coarse with bran deliberately not pounded to the finest form]. *Motogo* was also served warm to *motsetsi* [the lactating mother] three times a day for six months. This made her produce more milk for the baby. Sorghum flour is prepared in the evening for the family's *bogobe* [thick porridge] eaten with fish, vegetables or milk and, occasionally, meat.[60]

Mostly among the Hambukushu people of Shakawe village in the Okavango Delta, millet rather than sorghum was staple crop. Here women were renowned for the brewing of *mberere* the traditional millet beer. An average of 25% of the total millet harvested was converted into beer.[61] In the 1970s, the brewing and selling of *mberere* was a thriving economic activity in Shakawe village. Local women took advantage of a migrant labour recruiting centre, the Shakawe Mine Labour Organisation, to sell beer to migrants returning from South Africa.[62] These women also sold *bogobe* (thick porridge), beef and goat meat and played loud *gumba-gumba* music to lure the returning migrant workers.[63] A few women sold millet beer at Satau fish market.[64] (See chapter eight.)

The art of brewing came from experience. Lemme Maruza, a 60 year old subsistence farmer in Mabele explained that,

> some novices use strainers that have large holes which cause much of the bran to flow out leaving the beer watery and placid with no 'sting'. Good beer is thick with foam at the top signalling maturity in fermentation of the malt.[65]

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[58] Interview with Gwere Mwezi, Subsistence Farmer, Mabele Village, Chobe 29 April 2008.
[59] *Mmegi/The Reporter*, December 8 2006.
[60] Interview with Mma Sefhako, Age 50, Female Commercializing Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga Village, Chobe, 18 June 2008.
[61] BNA BNB 3876, 'U.B.S. Students Reports on Okavango Villages, Rural sociology Section, 1976', p. 23. Millet was sometimes exchanged for maize with Wayeyi in Etsha 6. According to this study, in 1976, the Hambukushu also sold fried and salted groundnuts to those drinking traditional beer to provide the savoury component to drinking.
[62] BNA BNB 3876, 'U.B.S. Students Reports on the Okavango Villages', pp. 38-42.
[63] BNA BNB 3876, 'U.B.S. Students Reports on the Okavango Villages', pp. 41-42. The parties received the blessing of the local chief who was also a beneficiary of the miners' generosity. The women, some operating on part time and others on full time, used the income generated on their children's education.
[64] Interview with Mma Mokuwe, Aged 50, Receptionist at Sedudu Lodge, Kasane, 10 June, 2008.
[65] Interview with Lemme Maruza, Aged 60, Subsistence Farmer, Mabele Village, 29 April 2008.

Well into the 1970s, grain production in the wetlands remained very largely a subsistence activity. The Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) which was established to buy grain from local producers expressed concern at the continued decline of grain production in the wetlands and in the country as a whole.[66] In 1978, BAMB purchased 9,561 tonnes of maize and 4,153 tonnes of sorghum from peasant farmers and imported a roughly equal amount of each cereal.[67]

The Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP): An attempt to modernise from above

By 1980, agriculture was still unable to meet national consumption requirements and rural poverty levels were increasing.[68] In 1981/82, the agricultural sector contributed only 12.6% to the Gross Domestic Product.[69] The government believed that modernising peasant crop production was urgent if the people were to feed themselves.[70] Various government departments were instructed to develop a strategy for achieving greater food security.

In 1982, the state introduced the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP). The objective of ALDEP was to boost agricultural production by modernising subsistence farming. Investment in technology and extension services were the means by which this objective was to be achieved.[71] ALDEP was funded by international organisations such as the African Development Bank (ADB) and International Fund for African Development (IFAD).[72] Described as 'the centre piece of Government's effort to promote arable agriculture', ALDEP also aimed at creating income and employment for rural communities in

[66] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board, Fourth Annual Report 1978* (Gaborone: Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board, 1978), p. 6.
[67] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board, Fourth Annual Report,* p. 6.
[68] Patricia Makepe, 'Agriculture and Rural Development in Botswana', in Happy Siphambe, Nettem Narayana, Oluyele Akinkugbe, Joel Sentsho, (eds.), *Economic Development in Botswana: Facets, Policies, Problems and Prospects* (Gaborone: Bay Publishing, 2005), pp. 119-137.
[69] Government of Botswana, *Statistical Bulletin,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, March 1998), p. 31.
[70] Isaac N. Mazonde, 'Food Policy and Agriculture in Botswana', in Richard Mkandawire and Khabele Matlosa, (eds.), *Food Policy and Agriculture in Southern Africa* (Harare: SAPES Books, 1993), pp. 84-108.
[71] Gwen Lesetedi, 'The Ferminization of Poverty: Effects of the Arable Lands Development Program on Women in Botswana', in Apollo Rwowire, (ed.), *African Women and Children: Crisis and Response* (Westpoint: Praeger Publishers, 2001), p. 110. For full article, see pp. 105-119.
[72] *Agrinews,* 'ALDEP Chief Resigns', Vol 15, No. 8 (August 1984), p. 13.

order to curb rural-urban migration.[73] Modernisation of subsistence farming was a form of economic nationalism through which increased domestic cereal production would make the country less dependent on food imports. ALDEP was the first policy directed towards this goal through assisting small-scale resource poor rural arable farmers, especially women and remote area dwellers.[74]

The government provided farm packages that included appropriate technology, subsidies on farm equipment and marketing facilities. Various government departments concerned with agriculture and institutions such as extension services were strengthened. Advice to peasant farmers in the rural areas was seen as key.[75] Extension workers distributed farm investment packages that included technology transfer in the form of cultivators, harrows, ploughs, fencing materials and, most importantly, draught power, seeds and fertilizers to low income farmers in communal areas whose production efforts were undermined by inadequate resources.[76] In the Chobe District the packages were in the form of draught power, (mostly donkeys), farm implements, and fencing material.[77] This modernising programme targeted about '60 000 peasants throughout the country who plough less than 10 hectares of land' and those who owned less than 40 head of cattle.[78] Recipients of this aid were required to be owners of cattle because cattle provided draught power for cultivation. The size of land ploughed and the amount of the harvest were also criteria for eligibility.[79] The Department of Field Services in the Ministry of Agriculture was responsible for distributing equipment

[73] B.L. Addy, T. Farrington, D.E. Gollifer, N.D. Hunter, W. Stewart-Jones and R.J. Sweet, 'Agricultural research for development in Botswana', in Robert Hitchcock, Neil Parsons and John Taylor, (eds.), *Research for Development in Botswana*, p. 55.
[74] Robert L. Curry Jr., 'Adaptation of Botswana's Development Strategy To Meet Its Peoples' Needs for Land, Jobs: The Southern Africa Capitalist Democracy Can Maintain Its Growth By a New Problem-Oriented Policy', in *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Jul., 1986), pp. 297-312.
[75] Government of Botswana, *The Report of The Auditor General On the Management of ALDEP II By The Department of Crop Production and Forestry: Performance Audit Report No. 1* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2001), pp. 8-9.
[76] Government of Botswana, *The Report of The Auditor General on the Management of ALDEP II By The Department of Crop Production and Forestry: Performance Audit Report No. 1* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2001), p. 7.
[77] Interview with Mma Sefhako, Female Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga village, 18 June 2008. Mma Sefhako said that donkeys were user friendly. She explained: 'donkeys are easy to harness and drive to pull a plough when cultivating. Unlike cattle, donkeys are neither recalcitrant nor dangerous and they respond to instruction easily. Donkeys can work over a whole day until you feel for them and release them.'
[78] Balefi Tsie, 'The Political Context of Botswana's Development Performance', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 22 No. 4 (December, 1996), p. 605. For full article, see pp. 599-616.
[79] ALDEP ostensibly targeted especially the small farmers including but not exclusively, women who owned less than 40 cattle, providing a maximum of 6 head of cattle or 8 donkeys or 4 mules, See *Report of Auditor General*, p. 8.

through extension workers.[80] Funded by the African Development Bank and the International Fund for African Development, the subsidy programme was introduced in 1980 and was in full operation a year after.[81]

Table 4. Beneficiaries of ALDEP Phase I (By Model Farmer and Gender) (National), 1986

Farmer's Group	Assisted Male Farmers	Assisted Female Farmers	Total Assisted Farmers
Model 1	4259	5539	9798
Model 2	17617	14515	32132
Model 3	4559	1824	6383
Total	26435	21878	48313

Source: Government of Botswana, *Final Report: Crop-Livestock Systems Development in Southern Africa: Priorities for Future Research: Botswana Country Report* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, December, 2005), p. 23.

Table 4 shows the national distribution of subsidy packages. In the Table, 'Models' were categories based on cattle ownership, that is, in Model 1 were those peasants who owned no draught power, while those in Model 2 owned 'inadequate draught power' with 1-20 head of cattle, and Model 3 comprised those who owned 'adequate' draught power with 24-40 head of cattle. Significantly, the number of women beneficiaries in Model 1 was almost double that of men. However, men received more packages than women in other Models. More farmers with fairly large numbers of livestock as represented by Models 2 and 3 were assisted than those with no cattle as represented by Model 1.

Farmers were required to make a contribution towards the packages. Female headed households were expected to pay 10% down payment while the male counterparts were required to contribute 15% and the government paid the balance of 90% and 85% as grants.[82] The extension workers were deployed to disburse the packages.[83] In Ngamiland, between

[80] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland (ADN): Economic Findings and Results, Dryland and Molapo Farming Systems of Western Ngamiland, Technical Report No. 5, Consultancy Report, August 1988, p. 42.
[81] *Agrinews*, Vol. 15, No. 8, August 1984, p. 13.
[82] Government of Botswana, *The Report of The Auditor General on the Management of ALDEP II By The Department of Crop Production and Forestry: Performance Audit Report No. 1* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2001), p. 9.
[83] Interview with Itumeleng Mabalani, Assistant Scientific Officer (Agricultural Demonstrator), Parakarungu, Chobe, 23 May 2008.

1986 and 1989, 2,755 farm investment packages distributed comprised 2,219 implements, 339 fencing packages, 8 water tanks, 189 animals for draught power.[84]

Most peasants cultivated only 4.8 hectares, producing an average yield of 0.132 tonnes.[85] In 1985/86 subsistence farmers in the Chobe District cultivated about 1,000 hectares and realized about 2,000 bags. In the subsequent farming season 1986/87 more than 3,000 hectares were cultivated from which 10,000 bags were harvested. The increase was attributed to the adoption of improved farming methods such as early ploughing, intercropping, row planting and timely weeding.[86] In the 1987/88 season, 350 peasant cultivators in Shorobe harvested 1,050 tons of maize and sold 56.2 tons to the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board in Maun.[87]

Overall, the subsidy scheme did not achieve its intended goals of increasing cereal production and food self-sufficiency.[88] Agriculture's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product plummeted to 3.4% in 1996/97.[89] Critics pointed out that the effectiveness of the subsidy programme was hampered by the absence of a 'research basis and concrete guidelines', which limited it in scope.[90] This meant that extension workers had no specific reference point when they found themselves in unfamiliar territory. A lack of political will to invest in 'ecologically risky' arable farming constrained extension programmes and led to indifference to planned social change on the part of the peasant producers.[91] A further major constraint was the level of bureaucratic bottlenecks in the processing of applications from the farmers.[92] Not all the low-income farmers were able to raise the contribution to the Programme

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[84] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 3, 1981-1985* (Maun: North West District Council, 1981), p. 52.
[85] http://www.savannas.net/botswana/ufhtrdag.htm G.C.G. Fraser and L. Mabusela, 'Sustainability of Traditional Agriculture in Southern Africa in Savannas of Botswana', (no page numbers), accessed 11/06/2010.
[86] BNA CDA/1/20, District Commissioner, Kasane, 'Agricultural Management Association', 17 May 1984 to 16 February 1987.
[87] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 1989-1995,* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 1989), p. 25.
[88] http://aldep.blogspot.com/ 'Integrated Support for Arable Agricultural Development/Arable Land Development Programme', accessed on 17/08/09.
[89] Government of Botswana, *Statistical Bulletin December 1997,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, March 1998), p. 31.
[90] Louis A. Picard, *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success?* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987), p. 261.
[91] The late evaluation of the scheme's progress which was implemented only in 1997 was key to the limited success of the subsidy scheme.
[92] Government of Botswana, *The Report of The Auditor General on the Management of ALDEP II By The Department of Crop Production and Forestry: Performance Audit Report No. 1* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2001), p. 11.

packages. Since the Basarwa had no land rights, they could not access the packages.[93] There were also gender issues. Some female headed households were unable to meet the down payments.[94] Some men abused the packages and got their wives to pose as heads of female households in order to take advantage of the lower down payment for female headed households.[95]

Extension services in the wetlands were clearly weak. Barulaganye Phuluweni, a subsistence farmer in Mabele village complained about 'poor' service delivery by the extension workers:

> *Balemisi baba romelwang kwano gaba itse ka temo ya molapo, bone ba tla ka kitso e ba e badileng sekolong mme ga go tsamaelane le mmu wa noka. Fa gongwe o fotlhela ba bangwe ba botsa rona re bo re kaelana sentle kitso ya rona le ya bone, mme ba bangwe baa la tlhelela* (The agricultural demonstrators sent here do not understand flood recession farming. They struggle to interpret and apply what they learnt and relate it to the realities of river bank soils. Some however seek and integrate our opinion though many show no interest in assisting us).[96]

For their part, extension workers had to share vehicles with other government department employees such as social workers and health officers and so were unable to make regular visits. Individual officers were expected to cover wide geographical areas that were far apart. In 1987, in the *molapo* areas of Western Ngamiland for instance, 3 extension workers were assigned more than 2,000 farmers between them that were spread over wide areas.[97] Agricultural demonstrators were not adequately trained to deal with different ecological environments, especially in the remote sandveld areas.[98] Insufficient supervision demoralised the extension workers.[99] These officers were expected to educate farmers on a wide array of farm activities including crop husbandry, animal husbandry, horticulture, fencing, grain

[93] *Daily News*, 'Include Basarwa views in RADP [Remote Area Dwellers Programme]', 12 March 2008.
[94] Interview with Titus Sikele, Subsistence Farmer/Security Guard, Pandamatenga Primary School, 6 June 2008.
[95] Interview with Chirinda Mwanga, Female Subsistence Farmer and Traditional Healer, Parakarungu, 11 June 2008.
[96] Interview with Barulaganye Phuluweni, Aged 34, Female Subsistence Farmer and off-season Vendor at Kasane, 27 June 2008.
[97] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland: Economic Findings and Results, Dryland and Molapo Farming Systems, Technical Report No. 5, Consultancy Report, August, 1988', pp. 31-33. See especially p. 32 for other responsibilities of the extension officers.
[98] Government of Botswana, *ALDEP: Special Studies Conducted in 1982/83* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1983), p. 50. The extension officers had no agricultural training prior to joining the project and, in order to prepare them, they were sent for a one month orientation course Denman Rural Training Centre in Gaborone in August 1980. While in the field, they were attended an in-service training course in April 1981at Nxaraga Rural Training Centre in Ngamiland with a view to supplementing the orientation course learnt in Gaborone but still, 'this proved to be inadequate for the extension assistants placed in remote area dweller settlements'. See pp. 46.50.
[99] The remoteness of Ngamiland was cited as the major reason for District Agricultural Officers (DAOs) and Remote Area Development Officers (RADOs) not regularly visiting the extension workers to monitor their work.

storage, group information as well as process application on various subsidy programmes.[100] Overburdened with too much extension work per officer, the extension workers' efficiency was compromised, translating into poor service delivery. Faced with the daunting task some extension agents lost patience with their work. As one extension officer put it,

> We are expected to traverse the width and breadth of the Okavango yet we do not have transport that we control. The roads are bad, our accommodation is poor. We are housed in shelters made of corrugated iron sheets which heat up during summer, make noise during the rainy season and extremely cold in winter. Besides, some of the rural farmers are difficult to deal with. Most of the farmers are not literate and not keen to embrace ALDEP in its entirety. Some are stuck with their traditional practices which they insist, sustained them and their ancestors in the past. Others sold the equipment as well as the livestock.[101]

Some local residents accused extension officers of impatience with women farmers who were slow in adapting to the use of mechanised planters.[102] According to Liswani, extension workers preferred working with men. They also expected women to leave their fields at peak cultivation times to attend training. As Patricia Stamp pointed, almost invariably, African governments' policies on agriculture showed a sexist bias in 'development planning and implementation' that was 'structured so as to ignore women's relationship with technology.'[103] Meetings at *kgotla,* the traditional assemble for men in rural areas, were also dominated by men.[104]

ALDEP had administrative flaws. Some administrative officers alleged that their salaries were not commensurate with the demands of their posts. ALDEP Coordinator Stephen Gaadingwe, resigned as a result. He explained:

> I was appointed ALDEP coordinator with high responsibilities not only for local staff but also for international staff attached to the project such as Food Agricultural Organisation (FAO) experts in the country, but I was denied the salary on the post. I was instead appointed on acting basis.'

Gaadingwe who was appointed as an 'acting officer' for two years complained that:

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[100] Government of Botswana, *ALDEP: Special Studies Conducted in 1982/8* (Gaborone: ALDEP Monitoring Unit, Planning and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, 1983), pp. 50-52.
[101] Interview with Kabo Kabo (pseudonym). He did not want to give his name due to what he called 'the sensitive nature of the subject', Maun, 2 July 2008.
[102] Interview with Peo Liswani, Female Subsistence Farmer, Satau, 11 June 2008.
[103] Patricia Stamp, *Technology, Gender, and Power in Africa* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1989), p. 5.
[104] Interview with Peo Liswani, Satau, 11 June 2008.

> Government General Orders states that 'Acting appointment should not exceed six months unless there are good reasons'. Another [reason for resignation] was that I was running the project with no support staff.[105]

In 1983, ALDEP piloted the 'Molapo Development Project', a programme that was specific to the *molapo* cultivation system.[106] The project was piloted in the flood areas of Shorobe. By the end of 1983, 6,000 hectares of *molapo* land in Shorobe had been cultivated under this scheme.[107] In the same year, 3,500 hectares were under *molapo* cultivation in the Okavango sub-district. This scheme was worked by 1,300 active cultivators (from a possible 1,400 households).[108] As a support service, the state introduced in-service training programmes for local extension workers as well as short courses for farmers at the Rural Training Centre (RTC) in Nxaraga, about 60 kilometres from Maun.[109] According to the District Agricultural Officer in Kasane, women cultivators formed the majority of those who attended these courses. Many of them became productive 'progressive farmers' through applying appropriate farm technology and management skills acquired at Nxaraga.[110] However, extension work beyond those who attended the training sessions had limited success.[111] The majority of the peasant farmers were resource poor and practised unscientific methods of farming. Agricultural demonstrators complained that they were not always able to overcome cultural barriers.[112] For example, among the Hambukushu of the Okavango Delta, a woman who produced an outstanding harvest and embarrassed those less successful was accused of

[105] *Agrinews*, 'ALDEP Chief Resigns', Vol. 15, No. 8 (August 1984), p. 13.
[106] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), pp. 25-26. Sources, including this Development Plan unfortunately, show areas cultivated but very little information on actual figures for harvests obtained. For instance, in 1986/87, 339 hectares were ploughed in Shorobe, but no data on harvests.
[107] BNA BNB 631.586 'Assistance to the *Molapo* Development Project, 1983' p. 157.
[108] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland (ADN): Economic Findings and Results, Dryland and Molapo Farming Systems of Western Ngamiland, Technical Report No. 5, Consultancy Report, August 1988, p. 13.
[109] Interview with Joseph Modise, Administrator and Loteng Gabanakitso, Instructor at Nxaraga Rural Training Institute, Nxaraga, 4 July 2008. The Institute offered a variety of programmes such as *molapo* and dryland farming, livestock husbandry, tannery, and, women participants have increasingly outnumbered that of men over time, at the recommendation of the extension workers stationed in their rural areas. The historically marginalized Basarwa were in the majority among the participants. The Institute is on the river bank of Nxaraga River, providing convenience for both *molapo* and dryland farming experiments by trainees. In offering short courses to small scale farmers in both arable and pastoral husbandry, the RTC provided rural farmers with both theory and practice in farming activities as they came into contact with technologies of different types.
[110] Interview with Catherine K. Limbo, District Agricultural Officer, Kasane, 23 May 2008. In order to encourage such farmers, extension officers occasionally visited them at their fields to monitor progress and give appropriate advice with a view to transforming them into commercializing producers in consonance with the goal of achieving national food self-sufficiency.
[111] Interview with Catherine K. Limo, District Agricultural Officer, Kasane, 23 May 2009.
[112] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland (AND): Economic Findings and Results, Dryland and Molapo Farming Systems of Western Ngamiland, Technical Report No. 5, Consultancy Report' (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, August 1988), p. 31.

witchcraft. Her success was perceived as a threat to the social order. According to a report by Rashem,

> If one farmer is remarkably more successful than his neighbours, this is achieved by him using witchcraft in order to draw the growing spirits from his neighbours' fields to his own. The neighbours can only protect their crops by destroying the crop of the offending farmer.[113]

The Chairperson of the Village Development Committee (VDC), (a local institution that coordinates development activities in the villages) at a meeting in Etsha allegedly said, 'We Hambukushu need and want development. But it must be development for everyone. No Hambukushu should try to achieve development by himself for his own benefit'.[114] Another report on Ngamiland cautioned, 'The subsistence systems practised in this region cannot be effectively treated and understood outside their local socio-economic and political systems'.[115]

Others complained that government was not efficient in providing farm implements and seeds to the remote *molapo* cultivators, so they were discouraged from participating in state programmes.[116] 59 years old Tlhalo, a female peasant farmer who looked after four grand children whose mother had died from HIV/AIDS, viewed ALDEP as unhelpful to people in Nxamasere, her village.

> We are always told that we will be helped with ploughs, fences and seeds but these have not come to our area. We need more seeds because sometimes the first seeds do not germinate. Yet they want us to produce for the market at the Cooperative in Etsha 6, which is also far from here. ALDEP helps people in Maun, not us. Why should we listen to them if they do not live to their promises?[117]

She complained that because their villages and fields were in a remote area, government officials were reluctant to traverse the difficult sandy tracts to distribute farm equipment. A

[113] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland', p. 36. According to this Report, the Hambukushu are believed to have held that their ancestors bestowed each farming household with a 'growing spirit' that enables crops to grow each season in order to sustain the household and that each farming household had been given equal growing spirits. It was thus viewed as 'out of order' that one should produce more than others, hence evoking witchcraft.
[114] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland', p. 36.
[115] Government of Botswana, *Agricultural Development Ngamiland Phase I Report (1981/82)* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1983), p. 4.
[116] Interview with Tlhalo Kebareng, Aged 59, Female Subsistence Farmer, Nxamasere village, Okavango, 28 June 2008.
[117] Interview with Tlhalo Kebareng, Nxamasere village, 28 June 2008.

government report acknowledged that in 1984, some villages in the Okavango did not receive the packages that were distributed to most other villages.[118]

Mosetsana Monde of Ikoga village in the Okavango complained that *molapo* farming was not a priority of government. She believed that the state supported dryland farmers and tourists while paying lip service to the *molapo* cultivators. In her words,

> Our government favours dryland farmers because most of them were given farm equipment. It also supports tourists who want to see the river and its channels in its pristine condition since they flock here every year.[119]

Magole and Thapelo added:

> It appears the government does not favour this production system and is now taking advantage of the impact of the flood to 'encourage' people to move out to dryland areas where they may be allocated fields.[120]

These farmers were correct in identifying ambivalence on the part of the government. According to an extension worker in Maun, the *molapo* fields were highly controversial in that environmentalists believed that the cultivation system interfered with the natural flow of the rivers.[121] Moreover, the *molapo* fields were not recognised by the *Tribal Land* Act which established Land Boards that allocated land for different land use activities countrywide.[122]

Critics pointed out that the ALDEP scheme was not particularly innovative: As Duggan said:

> The "package," however is essentially the same as the ADs [agricultural demonstrators] have peddled for nearly half a century. This remains excellent technical advice, which still only a few cultivators can afford.[123]

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[118] K. Rashem, 'Agricultural Development Ngamiland (ADN): Economic Findings and Results, Dryland and Molapo Farming Systems of Western Ngamiland, Technical Report No. 5, Consultancy Report' (Gaborone: August 1988), p. 41.
[119] Interview with Mosetsana Monde, Aged 40, Female Subsistence Farmer, from Ikoga village (interviewed at Shakawe), 27 June 2008.
[120] Lapologang Magole and Kebonyemodisa Thapelo, 'The Impact of Extreme Flooding of the Okavango River on the Livelihood of the *molapo* Farming Community of Tubu village, Ngamiland Sub-district, Botswana' in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 37, 2005, p. 135, for full article, see pp. 125-137.
[121] Interview with Peter, Agricultural Deomstrator, Maun, 16 August 2009. Peter is a pseudonym. He stated that because of the controversial nature of *molapo* cultivation he preferred to remain anonymous.
[122] Lapologang Magole and Kebonyemodisa Thapelo, 'The Impact of Extreme Flooding of the Okavango River on the Livelihood of the *molapo* Farming Community of Tubu village, Ngamiland Sub-district, Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 37 (2005), p. 135. The *Tribal Land* Act was promulgated in 1968.
[123] William R. Duggan, *An Economic Analysis of Southern African Agriculture* (New York: Praeger, 1986), p. 224.

Picard added that,

> The rhetoric behind the ALDEP suggested a bias toward the small subsistence farmer that was attacked broadly by many within Parliament and throughout the country. As a result a gradual shift has occurred to provide more support for middle-level and larger farming units, and the ALDEP Programme is likely to not really reach its target groups: the poor and very poor. Instead, it is more likely that the ALDEP will benefit the middle-level and wealthier farmers. The distribution of subsidies granted thus far reinforces this suggestion.[124]

Nonetheless, the ALDEP scheme had some success.[125] In the period between 1982 and 1995, 39,446 peasant farmers were assisted with on farm investment packages of different types. Significantly, 45% of the recipients were female-headed households.[126] According to Field reports, the crop yields of those farmers assisted by the programme increased more than those that had not taken the packages. In 1986, improved husbandry, early ploughing and planting and the moisture conditions of the *molapo* farming system led to improvements in productivity.[127] Speaking for many women she knew, Gwen Lesetedi said that the programme was very helpful because 'women who earlier had no access to some of these resources are benefiting from the program.'[128]

Did peasant production modernise?

The voices of local criticism were backed by independent researchers and some politicians who grappled with the issue of 'modernising the peasantry'. Robert Hitchcock described the interface between the state and peasants as one that was characterised by 'planning from the centre', diffusing innovations to the peasant farmers without considering the latter's cultural social and economic circumstances. In his own words:

> Aiming to 'modernise' for the sake of increased productivity, and a fairer distribution of wealth, planners presuppose the existence of the 'traditional' as the negative condition that has to be changed. Information is often fundamentally incomplete or ignored when decisions about policy

[124] Louis A. Picard, *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success?*(Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987), p. 263.
[125] Interview with G. Phathe, Agricultural Demonstrator for Mabele and Kavimba, Chobe District, 23 May 2008.
[126] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 8, 1997/98-2002/03* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1999), p. 237.
[127] BNA CDA/1/13 I, District Commissioner, Kasane, 'Reports: Chobe District Annual Plan', 12 April 1984 to 1 September 1987.
[128] Gwen N. Lesetedi, 'The Feminization of Poverty: Effects of the Arable Lands Development Program on Women in Botswana', in Apollo Rwomire, (ed.), *African Women and Children: Crisis and Response* (London: Praeger, 2001), pp. 105-120.

> have to be made by planners. Unintended consequences result, or worse still, radically unacceptable ones. The reform designed by the planners at the centre gets subverted at the periphery, and a gross disjunction arises between the policy as it is officially formulated and the policy as it can effectively be applied.[129]

As Chris Brown observed, without consultation, the message would invariably not be the right one:

> The problem lies not with the farmer, but with the message. Botswana farmers are acting quite rationally, therefore, when they reject the inherently risky crop production advocated by the Ministry of Agriculture. Instead of intensifying production by adopting 'improved' methods, therefore, most farmers opt to extensify crop production, i.e. attempt to increase total output by increasing the area planted.[130]

Vister Moruti, the ruling party Member of Parliament for Okavango complained that:

> We are not even consulted when the budget is being drafted. We are called to a caucus and ordered to accept orders. The constitution is being violated as far as Parliament is operating. We are just called honourable MPs but we do not have any powers.[131]

In contrast, Sigwele placed responsibility on local communities to engage in development processes:

> There is now compelling evidence that the rural poor do not effectively participate freely and consistently in policies and programmes designed to improve their income and food security. This is due partly to limited power the poor have to influence decisions and resource allocation. Their representative civil institutions like farmers associations, cooperatives, are generally weak in finance, skills, management and bargaining.[132]

However Keith Hart suggested that despite these shortcomings, peasant producers were survivors:

> Peasants are acutely aware of their local environment and of nuances in the organisation of production. They do not lack intelligence. They understand these matters better than most

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[129] Robert Hichcock, 'Tradition, Social Justice and Land Reform in Central Botswana', in *Journal of African Law,* Vol. 24, No. 1 (September, 1980), pp. 1-34.

[130] Chris. Brown, 'Rural Local Institutions for Agricultural Development in Botswana: No Objection But No Acceptance', in E. Ann McDougall, (ed.), *Sustainable Agriculture in Africa: Proceedings of the Agricultural Systems and Research Workshop and Selected papers from the Canadian Association of African Studies meeting, University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 1987* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), pp. 113-114. For full article, see pp. 111-120.

[131] *Mmegi*, 'BDP whip supports funding of political parties' 13 August 2009.

[132] Howard K. Sigwele, 'The Role of Information, Communication Technology and Management in Rural Development' paper presented to the European Forum for Rural Development Cooperation, Montpellier, France, September 2-6, 2002, (no page numbers).

> developed economists. What they lack is political power and material resources. They are less knowledgeable about processes whose focus lies elsewhere, like the market and the state.[133]

Some scholars blamed the failure of the modernisation campaign on ecological conditions. Chris Brown cited Clive Lightfoot's observation at a research station in Botswana, noting that,

> there is no large difference in the yields of row [modern farming system] and broadcast [traditional farming system] planted crops. If the climate makes fertilizer use dubious, spraying uneconomical, and good weed control possible with the ploughing operations alone, then the value of row-planting is lost. As a result, it is more sensible for the farmer to broadcast his crop because the resource inputs are less for similar yields and if the crop fails the farmer stands to lose far less.[134]

Not all the problems came from 'the top'. Peasant farmers themselves were also partly responsible for failing to improve their farming methods. Some subsistence farmers were not keen to adopt efficient modernisation practices such as row planting and double-ploughing, due to deep-rooted cultural beliefs. Parakarungu-based agricultural demonstrator Itumeleng Mabalani stated that,

> Many farmers in Ngamiland are reluctant to adopt new technologies. At the basis of their resistance is the fear of taking risks with new practices that they have not tried before and may fail to produce sustainable harvests, resulting in starving. They would rather stick to their traditional methods that have been tried and tested. For example, the farmers did not adopt row planting, preferring to continue with broadcasting seeds in order to spread risks. Female-headed households, especially, argued that the recommended double planting was labour intensive, often worsened by thin cattle struggling to recover from the dry season. Yet, double ploughing softens the soil and allows rain water to infiltrate the soil. Most of the farmers are illiterate and they do not appreciate changing times and the necessity to change accordingly.[135]

The preference for continued practice in traditional methods may appear as irrational behaviour on the part of the subsistence farmers. They may simply have been cautious as

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[133] Keith Hart, *The Political Economy of West African Agriculture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 119.

[134] Chris Brown, 'Rural Local Institutions for Agricultural Development in Botswana: No Objection But No Acceptance'in E. Ann McDougall, (ed.), *Sustainable Agriculture in Africa: Proceedings of the Agricultural Systems and Research Workshop and Selected Papers from the Canadian Association of African Studies meeting, University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 1987* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), p. 113. For full article, see pp. 111-120.

[135] Interview with Itumeleng Mabalani, Agricultural Demonstrator, Parakarungu village, Chobe District, 23 May 2008. According to Mabalani, illiteracy was a defining factor in hindering flexibility on the part of the subsistence farmers. This deficiency also spilled into the application of the new technology for those who tried to adopt it, for example they would not adhere to recommended measurements of row planting, preferring to plant more crowded seeds and sometimes adding more than the required fertilizer resulting in 'burning' the crops.

these untried methods were unknown and constituted a risk to them.[136] Like peasants elsewhere, they were risk-averse. For example, the Hambukushu of Etsha village in the Okavango did not carry out destumping of tree stalks in preparing the fields for the next season. They argued that destumping enhanced soil erosion.[137] The Hambukushu came to Botswana as political refugees from Southern Angola in the 1960s with no cattle and thus cultivated using hoes for a long time so that changes associated with use of cattle as draught power were only slowly integrated with trepidation. But destumping protected the ox-drawn plough from tree stumps and also provided optimal conditions for growth of crops in larger fields which the Hambukushu were not used to. Instead they cleared the ploughing field through slashing and burning the vegetation, akin to the *chitimene* agricultural system practised by the Bemba in Zambia in which cleared bush was collected and burnt in order to add fertility to soils in the hope of increasing productivity.[138] Standing stumps reduced cultivatable land and limited production.[139]

In some instances, instead of using the cattle provided by the subsidy scheme for draught power as required, some small farmers utilised the cattle for milk and breeding. Websen Wareng Bathoma, a *kgosana* (sub-chief) at Lesoma village explained:

> This [cattle] was a godsend. We are starving here in Chobe. Our cattle are predated upon by lions and children have no milk. ALDEP provided us with oxen and because we need milk we exchanged them for cows with neighbours. Cows breed and increase the kraal holdings which also boost a man's image in society. We guard them jealously to the extent of using hoes for cultivation so as to save the cattle. After all we have always used hoes in our gardens.[140]

In resisting some of the innovations, rural producers argued that some of the requirements of the new farming methods conflicted with demands of time and labour in other off farm livelihood activities that were equally important. They were accustomed to diversifying their own livelihood strategies as Kele Habano explained:

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[136] Interview with Chirinda Mwanga, Parakarungu, 11 June 2008.
[137] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), pp. 65- 66.
[138] Abe Goldman, 'Threats to Sustainability in African Agriculture: Searching for Appropriate Paradigms', in *Human Ecology,* Vol. 23, No. 3 (September , 1995), p. 318. For full article, see pp. 291-334. Among the Bemba, however, bush growths included cutting and colleting those outside of the ploughing field in order to cover a wide area of the field with burnt material in order to enhance productivity across the whole field.
[139] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 16 August 2009.
[140] Interview with Websen Wareng Bathoma, Aged 71, *kgosana,* LesomaVillage, Chobe District,18 June 2008.

> To ask us to do winter cultivation of the soil interferes with important activities outside farming takes our time. Many women supplement farm products with income from activities such as basketry. Basketry requires a lot of time and labour as we have to get to procure reeds, palm leaves, grass, leaves of *kgope* (aloe) plant, bark for colour. Basket weaving also demands patience, marketing the finished product requires one to spend time and days at the local shops where tourists pass by. We have no time for a second planting.[141]

In times of bumper harvests, some peasant cultivators bartered grain for cattle. In this way, for example, the Hambukushu acquired cattle for draught power from the Baherero pastoralists.[142] But many peasant farmers were satisfied with a harvest that was sufficient to feed the family with enough over for brewing traditional beer and seeds for the next planting season.[143] Subsistence farmer Emely Kabuba was surprised that extension workers expected them to 'produce for sale to the government' (that is, to the BAMB):

> What I need is enough food to feed my children until the next season and enough seed for the next planting season and what remains I brew traditional beer which brings more immediate income unlike having to transport crops to the market place where I will not fetch good returns.[144]

Food imports continued to increase. In 1990, local production supplied only 30% of the demand for cereals while 70% was imported from South Africa.[145] Maize products such as mealie meal, samp and meal rice dominated imports. Since the maize crop was prone to drought it was not as popular as sorghum among local producers.[146] See also, Table 6 showing crop yields in the period 1990 to 1999. Sorghum quantities were almost always more than those of maize since sorghum withstood Botswana's adverse weather conditions. Harvests were extremely low such that the quantities of imports as shown on Table 6 were higher than those produced locally.[147]

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[141] Interview with Kele Habano, Aged 45, Female Subsistence Farmer, Etsha village, 29 June 2008.
[142] Interview with Moliko, subsistence farmer and part time fisherman at Mohembo village, 28 June 2008.
[143] Interview with Chirinda Mwanga, Parakarungu, 11 June 2008.
[144] Interview with Emely Kabuba, Aged 59, Female Subsistence Farmer, Satau village, 11 June 2008.
[145] Government of Botswana, *Botswana National Atlas*, p. 125.
[146] Interview with Samuel Aaron, Subsistence Farmer, Maun 16 August 2009. According to Isaac Mazonde, maize production never met the country's maize requirements since 1967. See Isaac Mazonde, 'Food Policy and Agriculture in Botswana', p. 93.
[147] The growing population also put pressure on government to increase imports. Between 1971 and 1991 population dynamics in the wetlands were as follows: Chobe – 1971 (5,097), 1981 (7,934) and 1991 (14,126); and Ngamiland 1971 (47,723), 1981 (68,063) and 1991 (92,192). Government of Botswana, *Report on the Population Census 1971* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1972), Government of Botswana, *1981 Population and Housing Census* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1981), Government of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1994).

Table 5. Cereal Imports 1992-1996

Year	Quantity (Metric Tonnes)
1992	150,000
1993	180,000
1994	170,000
1995	220,000
1996	130,000

Source: Government of Botswana, *Botswana National Atlas* (Gaborone: Department of Surveys and Mapping, 2000), p. 126.

Table 6. Crop Production 1990-1999 ('000 Tonnes)

Crop	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Sorghum	38	*	*	11	*	114	59	13	4	7
Maize	12	*	*	3	*	19	25	23	2	4
Millet	2	*	*	2	*	19	3	1	1	1
Beans	2	*	*	1	*	10	4	4	1	1
G/Nuts	1	*	*	0	*	1	1	1	0	0

*Figures not provided.

Source: Government of Botswana, *Statistical Bulletin,* Vol. 26, No. 4 and Vol. 27, No. 1-4 (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 2001), p. 140.

In the towns, consumers preferred imported maize meal. Paulos Nkoni observed:

> They say locally milled cereal flour contains bran and if it is not properly hulled it has a sour taste. Moreover, many families receive remittances from members who work in urban centres with which they buy processed mealie meal which spares them the process of hulling and pounding or milling the cereals from the fields. [148]

Recognising the limitations of its efforts to achieve change, the government shifted away from a policy of food self-sufficiency to that of food security.[149] Modernising subsistence

[148] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 16 August 2009.
[149] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan (NDP 7) 1991-1997* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1991), p. 257. See also Stefan Dahlgren, Tyrell Duncan, Allan Gustafsson, Patrick Molutsi, *SIDA Development Assistance to Botswana 1966-1993: An Evaluation of 27 years of Development Co-operation* (Stockholm: Swedish International Development Authority, 1993), p. 53. 'Food security' was about ensuring that there was sufficient food quantities in the country to meet national consumption and this was

farming was costly, the government acknowledged, and failed to transform the peasant farmers into commercialising producers.[150] As a government report put it:

> Self-sufficiency made possible by high cost, heavily subsidised production is not what Government is seeking. Nor does Government desire food self-sufficiency that does not address the needs of the rural population for employment (self-sufficiency achieved by exclusive reliance on large scale commercial production).[151]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the contentious issue of agricultural modernisation 'from above' in post independence Botswana. It has discussed government attempts to improve subsistence farming in an effort to increase cereal production in Chobe and Ngamiland. By exploring people's responses to state initiatives, the chapter has shown how its modernisation strategy encountered obstacles that inhibited the goal of increased grain production. Agriculture remained an area of subsistence production and female domination. Associated with hard work and meagre financial returns, it continued to be less attractive than livestock farming. Critics attributed government failure to poor planning and an overburdened and inadequately trained extension service network. Agricultural demonstrators found themselves at odds with the divergent socio-cultural systems of the local farmers. The chapter has shown that peasants often preferred their own way of farming and resisted instructions from 'above'. While the state was keen on inducing surplus production, the peasants preferred the flexibility of combining livelihood strategies and held onto the possibility of taking up off-farm activities as the need arose.

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achievable through combining domestic production and imports. See Howard Sigwele, 'Food Self-Sufficiency versus Food Security: Which Way Forward?', in Sue Brothers, Janet Hermans and Doreen Nteta, (eds.), *Botswana in the 21st Century: Proceedings of a Symposium organized by the Botswana Society, October 18-21, 1993 Gaborone* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1994), p. 279. For full article, see pp. 279-309.

[150] Government of Botswana, *Agricultural Development Ngamiland, Phase I Report (1981/82)* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1983), p. 20. In 1981, 3 villages in the Okavango sub-district (Gumare, Nokaneng and Etsha), each imported between 1 and 3 tonnes of maize meal per month and, in the first 6 months in 1982 the villages imported about 8 tonnes, 4 tones and 14 tonnes respectively from Maun.

[151] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 7, 1991-1997*, p. 258.

Chapter Four: Entrepreneurship and arable agriculture: Commercial farming schemes in the Chobe District

The previous chapter discussed how the state attempted to modernise subsistence crop production. Chapter four focuses on the state's efforts to support commercial grain farming. It examines the model of large-scale capitalist production of grain crops at Pandamatenga between 1983 and 2000 and discusses the failure of indigenous farmers to make a success of commercial agricultural forming and also the recruitment of experienced white expatriate farmers.

In the 1980s, several influential international development analysts promoted the need for commercial farming to achieve food security in Africa. Kevin Cleaver, for example, claimed that private coffee processing companies of Kenya performed better than public companies.[1] Cleaver and others argued that only the profit-driven methods of privatised commercial production could achieve maximum production. In their view, large scale commercial farming alone benefited from investments in appropriate technology and resource management.[2] More specifically, Keith Hart argued that the first step towards commercial farming was the reorganisation of customary land tenure so that leasehold and freehold tenure replaced the customary form. Individual title would 'enable skilled and enterprising individual farmers to utilise the land for maximised production in order to boost food supply at national level.'[3] Anxious to achieve food sustainability, and struggling to modernise peasant production, the Botswana government was receptive to these arguments and in 1983 it established an enclave of large-scale commercial farms near Pandamatenga in the Chobe District.[4] This project followed the Colonial (later Commonwealth) Development Corporation's (CDC) experiments in Pandamatenga in 1949.[5]

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[1] Kevin M. Cleaver, *A Strategy to Develop Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa and a Focus for the World Bank* (Washington: The World Bank, 1993), p. 55.
[2] Kevin M. Cleaver, *A Strategy to Develop Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa and a Focus for the World Bank*, pp. 7-8 and 53-56.
[3] Keith Hart, *The Political Economy of West African Agriculture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 91-92. See also, I. Livingstone and H.W. Ord, *Agricultural Economics for Tropical Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1981), pp. 190-191.
[4] The mandate of the farmers was to produce sorghum as the principal staple food for Batswana, although they could also add maize, pulses, cotton and sunflower. Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, former chairperson of the Pandamatenga Farmers Association, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008.
[5] Interview with Kingsley Sebele, retired Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Gaborone, 20 December 2009. See also, Thomas D. Shopo, 'The State and Food Policy in Colonial Zimbabwe 1965-80', in Thandika Mkandawire, Naceur Bourenane, (eds.), *The State and Agriculture in Africa* (London: CODESRIA Book Series, 1987), pp. 190-221.

Pandamatenga was situated about 100 kilometres to the southeast of Kasane on the Nata-Kazungula road.[6] Many local Basarwa lost their land when the Colonial Development Corporation established large scale commercial cattle ranches in the area in 1949.[7] By the mid-1950s, Pandamatenga was inhabited by a range of ethnic groups including Basarwa, Bakalanga from Nata, Basubiya from Kazungula, BaNambya and Matebele from Zimbabwe and other Tswana-speaking groups.[8] The village was located on the edge of the wildlife sanctuaries of the Chobe National Park and, two kilometres to the east, the Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe.[9]

The founding and naming of the place is claimed by different groups. In the late 1800s, European hunters and wagon traders from the Cape established a trading station at Pandamatenga, where they found Basarwa communities. Colonial records refer to the settlement as 'Panda Matingi', 'Panta-ma-tenka' and sometimes 'Pandamatenga' as it is currently called.[10] Tabler wrote that:

> Pandamatenga, a hamlet and trading station on a hillock overlooking the most southerly of the headstreams of the Matetsi River, was established by Westbeech [a colonial trader] himself soon after 1871 as headquarters for his trade into Barotseland. It was a rendezvous for Europeans for many years and the only settlement of whites and half-castes [derogatory reference to the Basarwa] northwest of the Tati.[11]

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[6] Government of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1992), Out of 1197 inhabitants, 562 were male while 635 were women, Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan 1977-1982* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 1977), p. 5. See also, BNA 636 DEN, Corey Denesberg, Heather Kaplan and Matt Carpenter, 'Perspectives of Problem Animal Conflicts, A Case Study of Seronga, Groote Laagte and Pandamatenga', 1996, p. 7. Pandamatenga is one of the nine villages that make up the Chobe District,

[7] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Northern State Lands, Botswana* (Surrey: Directorate of Overseas Surveys, 1968),pp. 31-32. The dispossession of land is corroborated by Robert Mapanda who remembered stories from his ancestors that the colonial government took their fertile land to make farms. Of course, he could not differentiate the colonial administration from a company, the Colonial Development Corporation.

[8]Interview with Robert Mapanda, Aged 55, Mosarwa headman, (cousin to Rebecca Banika, Chief, Pandamatenga village, 6 June 2008. The population of Pandamatenga village grew from 389 in 1971 to 684 in 1981 with the total population of the entire Chobe District growing from 5,097 in 1971 to 7,934 in 1981. See Government of Botswana, *1981 Population and Housing Census* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1982).

[9] BNA 636 DEN, Corey Denenberg, Heather Kaplan and Matt Carpenter, 'Perspectives of Problem Animal Conflicts', p. 7.

[10]See Edward C. Tabler, (ed.), *Trade and Travel in early Barotseland* p.27. See also, W.F. Rea, *George Westbeech and the Barotseland Missionaries 1878-1888* (Salisbury: Central African Historical Association, 1968), pp. 1-19. Catholic and Protestant missionaries also used Pandamatenga as a base for their crusades into Barotseland (today's Western Province in Zambia).

[11] Edward C. Tabler, (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland,* pp. 27-28.

Oral evidence suggests that the village was established by Basarwa, well before the arrival of Europeans in the region. Robert Mapanda, a Mosarwa resident and headman of the *kgosing* ward (the ruling class ward) in the village, stated that the original name of the village was '*Sikhosaa*' (pronounced as See-Core-Saa), a Sesarwa expression for 'Visitors are welcome'.[12] Mapanda explained:

> *Batho, le makgowa, bane batla go kopa tletla ya go tsoma, le metsi fa ba nyorilwe, mme bo rraetshomogolo baba amogela sentle le go ba letla go nwa mo nokeng ya Matetsi*.' (People, including Europeans, used to come to ask for permission to hunt from our ancestors who welcomed them. Thirsty ones were permitted to drink from the nearby Matetsi River, to the east of the village).[13]

Tsogang 'Tom' Thekiso, a Kalanga speaker from Tutume village in the Central District, an employee of the local Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) credited the Kalanga speakers with the origin of the name. 'Pandamatenga' was a corruption of '*Patya ya Matenge*' a Kalanga expression for 'The Road of Matenge'.[14] Tom Thekiso explained:

> the track [now the main Nata-Kazungula road] from Nata to Kazungula was opened up by a certain Matenge who was a police officer in the Bechuanaland Border Police [the colonial police force] at Kazungula. On his way to Kazungula, he would rest at Pandamatenga to drink water from Matetsi River. Other job-seekers travelling to WENELA [Witwatersrand Native Labour Association] at Kazungula also rested overnight at Pandamatenga and associated the village with *patya ya Matenge*.[15]

In the early 1950s, the CDC established a commercial agricultural farming experiment with expatriate farmers alongside the ranches set up at Pandamatenga in 1949. By 1963, neither of these projects had shown much sign of success and were discontinued in the run-up to independence.[16] The land was taken over by the colonial administration as 'Crown Lands'

[12] Interview with Robert Mapanda, Pandamatenga Village, 6 June 2008.
[13] Interview with Robert Mapanda 6 June 2008.
[14] Interview with Tsogang Tom Thekiso, Aged 43, Administrator, BAMB, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[15] Interview with Tsogang Tom Thekiso, 9 June 2008.
[16] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Northern State Lands, Botswana* (Surrey: Directorate of Overseas Surveys, 1968), p. 31. The failed CDC Pandamatenga scheme was devoted to white settler interests or at least to 'partnership' with prominent Africans hence the involvement of Tshekedi Khama the Bangwato regent. The collapse of the scheme was blamed on unsuitable soils and poisonous plants eaten by cattle. See Alton G. Themba, 'Colonial Development Corporation and its socio-economic impact on Pandamatenga and surrounding areas', (Unpublished BA Thesis, History Department, University of Botswana, 1989). In Tanganyika, at about the same time, a CDC groundnuts scheme also failed due to, among others, unsuitable equipment, a shortage of spare parts, high capital costs and poor harvests, and the scheme was ultimately abandoned in 1954 'having cost the British tax payers nearly £25 million.' See Nicola Swainson, *The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya, 1918-77* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 137. For discussion on the implications of Crown Land status, see Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part V, The High*

which became state land after Independence.[17] Between 1966 and 1980, little attention was paid to these state lands. Then, in the early 1980s, the Ministry of Agriculture conducted a survey to assess the viability of commercial farming at Pandamatenga. The survey established that Pandamatenga had highly fertile black cotton soils.[18] The area also enjoyed a relatively high rainfall, averaging 629 mm annually, the highest in the country. Elsewhere the annual rainfall averaged 250 mm with soils that were largely sandy and unable to conserve moisture.[19] At the same time, a survey was conducted in the village to ascertain the views of the local residents on the planned farming project. The survey found that some looked forward to spin-offs such as employment opportunities and modern infrastructure such as regularly serviced roads, shops and other social services. Others feared losing their land as they had seen the state convert large areas into conservation enclaves including the Chobe National Park, the Kazuma and Sibuyu Forest Reserves.[20] But there was no widespread opposition to the idea of commercial farming, and the Botswana government went ahead.

The pioneer indigenous commercial farmers, 1983-1987

In 1983, the Chobe Land Board set aside 25,000 hectares of land in Pandamatenga for the establishment of 50 commercial farms, each measuring 500 hectares on a renewable 15 year leasehold franchise. The land was to be made available on an annual lease of P1.00 per hectare for Batswana citizens.[21] The system of leasehold tenure was designed to provide collateral for farmers needing bank loans.[22] The Land Board demarcated and allocated the first 10 leasehold farms to indigenous farmers as individuals and syndicates. It was hoped that yields would range from 1.79 metric tonnes to 1.9 metric tonnes per hectare per year.[23]

Commission Territories: Basutoland, The Bechuanaland and Swaziland (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953), p. 206.

[17] Ministry of Overseas Development, *The Northern State Lands*, pp. 31-32; Government of Botswana, *An Impact Study of Pandamatenga* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, Applied Research Unit, 1985), p. 9.

[18] Government of Botswana, *An Impact Study of Pandamatenga* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, Applied Research, 1985). p. 27.

[19] B and T Directories, *Botswana: A Review of Commerce and Industry 1966-1986* (Gaborone: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1987), p. 62. See also Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Development Study, Final Report February 1990* Annex D: Arable Agriculture (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture 1990), p. '6-1'.

[20] Government of Botswana, *An Impact of Pandamatenga*,p. 27.

[21] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1986-1989,* (Maun: North West District Council, Chobe District Development Committee, 1986), p. 22.

[22] Interview with Seinyatseng Lekoko, Aged 56, Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2008.

[23] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1986-1989*, p. 22.

The term 'pioneer' signaled the exploratory nature of the Pandamatenga experiment. It also indicates that a great deal of national expectation was placed on the pioneer farmers who were selected to be initiators of this new enterprise. The men, all Botswana nationals, who comprised the original pioneer farmers came from different parts of the country. They included Richard Ndwapi, a former ruling party Member of Parliament for Francistown, and men from Barolong Farms in the southern part of the country - Ben Mathe, Mogalakwe Mogalakwe, Peter Woto, Mosekiemang, K. Agang, Japhet Makhondo, Ben Nkwane, Kgotlele, Tema, Nyathi and Dikgole.[24]

A special fund, the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) was established to assist the farmers.[25] Through FAP, the government provided grants for business operations with a view to creating a class of entrepreneur farmers.[26] FAP helped farmers to acquire equipment, prepare farm land and pay labour costs. Thus, FAP served as a mechanism for kick-starting large scale food production. The total FAP grants extended to the Pandamatenga commercial farmers amounted to P41 million.[27] Additional funding was made available through the National Development Bank (NDB), the main source of agricultural credit.[28] While farmers were advised to form syndicates to increase their collateral value and share equipment costs, most preferred to operate as individuals.[29] Agricultural extension workers provided a 'supportive role, encourag[ing] farmers *themselves* to increase production and productivity' and to adopt scientific farming methods.[30]

[24] Interview with Mrs Ludo Ndwapi, widow of Richard Ndwapi (one of the pioneers farmers at the Pandamatenga commercial farms), Francistwon, 18 May 2008.
[25] Howard Sigwele, 'Food Self-Sufficiency versus Food Security: Which Way Forward?' in Sue Brothers, Janet Hermans and Doreen Nteta, (eds.), *Botswana in the 21st Century: Proceeding of a Symposium Organised by The Botswana Society, October 18-21, 1993* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1994), p. 285. For full article, see pp. 279-300.
[26] Francis Owusu and Abdi Ismail Samatar, 'Industrial Strategy and the African State', p. 275.
[27] Howard Sigwele, 'Food Self-Sufficiency versus Food Security: Which Way Forward?' p. 285.
[28] BNA CDA/1/20, 'Chobe Quarterly Report, 1986.' See Savingram from District Agricultural Officer, C.S. Madwala, to Regional Agricultural Officer, dated 5 February 1987.
[29] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Development Study, Final Report 1990 Annex D: Arable Agriculture* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1990), p. '2-1'.
[30] Isaac Mazonde, 'Food Policy and Agriculture in Botswana' in Richard Mkandawire and Khabele Matlosa, (eds.), *Food Policy and Agriculture in Southern Africa* (Harare: SAPES BOOKS, 1993), pp. 98-99. For full article, see pp. 85-108. See also, C. Brown, 'Rural Local Institutions for Agricultural Development in Botswana: No Objection But No Acceptance', in E. Ann McDougall, (ed.), *Sustainable Agriculture in Africa: Proceedings of the Agricultural Systems and Research Workshop and Selected Papers from the Canadian Association of African Studies meeting, University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 1987* (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1990), pp. 111-120.

Problems emerged from the moment the Batswana farmers began clearing the land. With no experience of mechanised methods, they selected unsuitable machinery for the destumping and clearing activities.[31] The preponderance of the *mophane* bush with large amounts of 'solid root' in the ground, made it difficult for bulldozer blades to clear.

> The farmers felt that it is very expensive to develop just only 1 hectare since there are lots of operations to be undertaken before the seed is actually put underground. [These included] bulldozing trees, destumping, piling of stumps and roots, double ploughing and harrowing. All the above cost about P800/ha. Since the Government wants to increase crop production in the country, they [farmers] felt that a subsidy of 75% of P800/ha could encourage Batswana to undertake the adventure of farming at Pandamatenga.[32]

Much time was lost in the preparatory stages. Picking and clearing the fields using manual labour took between 4 to 8 days per hectare.[33] Delays resulted in a failure to prepare the farming area before the rainy season, making it difficult for the farmers to cultivate the sticky clay soils. Expensive equipment stuck in the mud.[34] When it dried, the soil cracked (Figure 2) and became difficult to plough, resulting in further breakdown of some of the machinery. In the absence of a local repair centre, farmers abandoned the equipment and resorted to manual labour.[35] Exonerating the farmers, a government report blamed the Ministry of Agriculture for poor planning, inadequate research on the local environment and failure to guide the pioneer farmers appropriately.[36] Johann Le Grange, a naturalised white South African commercial farmer at Pandamatenga agreed with this view and commented, somewhat patronisingly:

> The tragedy of those poor chaps [the first black commercial farmers] was that there was nothing much done to help them except in providing them with loans, which were also inadequate. Commercial arable farming is not just about money. Money is important but other supporting infrastructure is very significant. Up to today, we have long called for a service centre where we can repair the equipment, which is also subject to wear and tear and other unforseen damages. Spare parts are only available in Francistown, 300 kilometres away from Panda[matenga]. Production time is lost while waiting for parts to arrive. Worse still, the initial farmers were not mechanics and they had to ask for help from engineering firms at Kazungula, 100 kilometres from here. The agricultural demonstrators had no knowledge of the local environment either. Besides, they are at the mercy of senior officials at the Ministry [of Agriculture in Gaborone].[37]

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[31] http://www.savannas.net/botswana/ubforst.htm D.L. Kgathi, M.B.M. Sekhwela, H. Hamandawana, 'Sustainability of Commercial Agriculture and Forestry in Chobe District, Botswana', accessed on 16/08/2009 .
[32] BNA CDA/1/20, 'Chobe District Quarterly Report, 1986.'
[33] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Development Study, Final Report 1990* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture), p. '3-2'.
[34] Interview with Ludo Ndwapi, widow of pioneer farmer Richard Ndwapi, 18 May 2008.
[35] Interview with Ludo Ndwapi, 18 May 2008.
[36] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study, Final Report 1998* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1998), pp. 13-14.
[37] Johann Le Grange, aged 49, commercial arable farmer, Pandamatenga farms, 9 June 2008.

Following the arduous land clearing exercise, the farmers cultivated the land for the first time during the 1985/86 crop season and the first harvest was in early 1986.[38] The productivity levels of the Batswana farmers at Pandamatenga became a subject of controversy. Despite the high rainfall in the cropping season and the soil fertility, the first harvest measuring between 0.5 to 1.4 metric tonnes per hectare of sorghum, fell below the set targets of 2 metric tonnes per hectare.[39] The total harvest for the 1985/86 harvest season amounted to 1,200 metric tonnes, while that of 1986/87, increased, only marginally, to 4,300 metric tonnes.[40] Several factors led to the poor productivity. Inexperience in the management of *vertisols*, the local sticky black cotton soil, made ploughing difficult.

Figure 2. Pandamatenga rich black cotton soil sample. Note the cracks when dry. The cracks however quickly closed as soon as rain water flowed on the ground, trapping the moisture which was required by crops, but as soon as the cracks filled there was water logging which sometimes flooded the fields and submerged the crops.[41] Source: Photograph by Bongani Gumbo, Pandamatenga farms, June 2008

[38] BNA CDA/1/20, 'District Commissioner Kasane, 'Chobe District Quarterly Report for October-December 1986.'
[39] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study, Final Report 1998* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1998), p. 10.
[40] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study,* p. 4.
[41] Interview with Nonoka Mgadla, Principal Agricultural Officer I, Pandamatenga Research Station, 9 June 2008.

The flat physical landscape of Pandamatenga caused waterlogging and without proper drainage, crops became submerged in flood waters, resulting in low crop yields.[42] Farmers alleged that government had promised them technical assistance including help in the construction of drainage systems prior to planting. Mma Makhondo, wife of Japhet Makhondo (one of the pioneer farmers) recounted:

> Internal roads and drainage was their [government] responsibility but they did not play their part. We were left on our own. When the project collapsed, they blamed us. Even extension workers assigned to us knew very little about the Pandamatenga environmental landscape.[43]

The overemphasis on the production of a single crop, sorghum, exacerbated the farmers' woes.

> Part of our agreement with government was to produce *mabele* but the crop did not sell for any good returns. Many farmers had hoped to recover the costs through profit from sorghum sales but this was not the case as Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board offered low prices. In line with production of a single crop, sorghum, the farmers felt that government had not protected them against [quelea] birds that ate the sorghum crop. They argued that government had reneged on a promise to provide an aeroplane to spray pests and birds away from their crops and this did not happen.[44]

Compounding their problems were crop diseases, damage by elephants, buffaloes and antelope from the nearby Chobe National Park and Hwange National Park.[45] The Pandamatenga lands were also home to rodents which destroyed the seeds. Farmers planted 'three times before they could see crops above ground level.'[46] In the absence of expert local officers, the outbreaks of diseases and pests were reported to Gaborone, 700 kilometres away, causing huge losses through damage while awaiting the arrival of the officers.[47]

There were deeper problems, however. It seems that the pioneer farmers were not entirely committed to the project. Kene Chiliwa, a female farmer who witnessed the evolution of the commercial farms said that most of the pioneer farmers divided their time between arable farming and their cattle posts far away from Pandamatenga. Some, she alleged, even diverted part of their bank loans to livestock development:

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[42] BNA CDA/1/20, 'Chobe District Quarterly Report, 1986, (Minutes of Meeting, 21-01-1987).'
[43] Interview with Mma Makhondo, Female Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Kasane, 2 November 2009.
[44] BNA CDA/1/20, 'Chobe District Quarterly Report, 1986 (Minutes of Farmers Association Meeting, 21-01-1987).'
[45] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Development Study, Final Report 1990, Annex D: Arable Agriculture* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1990), p. '4-1'.
[46] BNA CDA/1/20 'Chobe District Quarterly Report, 1986.'
[47] Interview with Mrs Ludo Ndwapi, Francistown, 18 May 2008.

> Some farmers never bought the tractors for which they had secured the loans. They used the money to boost livestock holdings elsewhere and even buying personal vehicles. When bank officials came to make asset inventory on the farms they found no tractors and had to repossess the farms and whatever asset was found on the property. Some of these men were Members of Parliament who split time between farming and attending to their constituencies, and yet we hear that their loans were written off while smaller people's farms were foreclosed.[48]

From Chilwa's perspective, this lack of commitment to crop production was not surprising. Men, after all, had little understanding of or experience in cultivating crops. It was women who knew about working the land:

> Men have little patience. Farming is a full-time job, which requires a lot more hours on the farm. Some of the farmers did not spend much time on the farm. For instance, they despised scaring of birds and chasing wild animals from the farm.[49]

Most of these farmers encountered cash flow problems, failing to service their loans. The National Development Bank (NDB) repossessed 16 of the original 18 pioneer farmers' land.[50] Isaac Mazonde pointed out that poor crop yields 'made it difficult for commercial farmers to service their loans.'[51] But not all those who defaulted lost their land.[52] According to Kenneth Good, some prominent farmers had their loans rescheduled or written off as bad debt. In his words,

> The government had injected a total of P36 million pula to cover the write-offs of bad debts by the National Development Bank on a number of occasions after 1982, with P31 million being outlaid for this purpose in 1988 alone. It had also sanctioned rescheduling of loans simply on an across- the-board basis, without regard for an individual's possible capacity to repay what was still owed. The effect was to send the wrong signals to farmers and other borrowers – that loans need not repaid because their eventual cancellation could be safely anticipated. [53]

Within a few years of its commencement, the pioneer commercial farming experiment at Pandamatenga collapsed.[54] The collapse of the project in the 1980s suggests that the

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[48] Interview with Kene Chiliwa, Aged 51, Female Commercializing Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga 19 June 2008. This information was corroborated by Mrs Ludo Ndwapi.
[49] Interview with Kene Chiliwa, Female Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008.
[50] D.L. Kgathi, M.B.M. Sekhwela and H. Hamandawana, 'Sustainability of Commercial Agriculture and Forestry in Chobe District, Botswana'.
[51] Isaac Mazonde, 'Food Policy and Agriculture in Botswana', in Richard Mkandawire and Khabele Matlosa, (eds.), *Food Policy and Agriculture in Southern Africa* (Harare: SAPES Books, 1993), p. 99. For full article, see pp. 85-108.
[52] Interview with Ben Nkwane, Pioneer Farmer, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008.
[53] Kenneth Good, 'Corruption and Mismanagement in Botswana: A Best-Case Example?', in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 1994, pp. 509-512, For whole article see pp. 499-521.
[54] Interview with Ben Nkwane, Pioneer farmer, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008.

Botswana government failed to heed the lesson of the 1950s when the CDC schemes at Pandamatenga and in the Tanganyika groundnut project failed under similar circumstances.

Expatriate farmers and a model for irrigation at Chobe Farms

While the experiment with pioneer farmers was in difficulty, the Botswana government turned its attention to irrigated farming on the Okavango and Chobe rivers. Once again, the idea of establishing a model commercial farm using expatriate farmers with the appropriate expertise had its origins in the colonial era but the original plans did not materialise.[55] In 1985, the government's corporate subsidiary, the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC), established the commercial 'Chobe Farms' on the banks of the Chobe River in Kasane.[56] Expatriate farmers were invited to run the farm.[57]

Chobe Farms Pty Limited was a single market garden, measuring approximately 300 hectares.[58] Chobe Farms engaged an all year round commercial production. As a market garden on the fringes of Kasane, Chobe Farms grew a variety of crops that were in regular demand by the growing local population. Planted on 30 hectares, fresh vegetables constituted the largest demand.[59] Horticulture included cabbage, chomolia, rape, spinach, tomatoes, onions, butternuts, garlic, green pepper, eggplant and squash.[60] Chobe Farms planted bananas on 19.7 hectares, while mangoes were grown on 19 hectares, and oranges were produced on 16 hectares and maize was grown on 30 hectares of land.[61] The bulk of the maize was sold as fresh mealies and the remaining dried cereal sold to the government market, the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) at Pandamatenga.[62] The dairy division produced fresh milk, *madila* (sour milk), yoghurt, feta cheese and juices made from fruits and fresh

[55] Darrell Randall, *Factors of Economic Development and the Okavango Delta: Some World relationships to and Problems of Planning for Economic Development of an Underdeveloped Area in Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), pp. 185-190.
[56] BNA CDA/1/20, District Commissioner Kasane, 'Chobe District Quarterly Report for October – December 1986'. The Botswana Development Corporation funded irrigated farming while the National Development Bank provided loans to rain-fed arable farming and commercial cattle production. See also, *Daily News*, 'Chobe Farm unease with free trade', 8 June 2007.
[57] 'Chobe Farms' is the name of the farm, a single commercial market garden that produces a variety of crops largely for local consumption.
[58] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Aged 33, Senior Supervisor, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008. The 300 hectares comprises both developed and undeveloped land on the farm.
[59] Interview with Selina, Aged 28 years, Accounts Officer, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.
[60] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Senior Supervisor, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.
[61] *Daily News* 'Chobe Farms unease with free trade', 8 June 2007.
[62] Interview with Selina, Accounts Officer, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.

milk and, the piggery supplied pork and bacon.[63] Though grown on a smaller scale, strawberries were in high demand in hotels. Fruits were also supplied to Francistown, Maun and Gaborone.[64] The Chobe Farms were concerned with stiff competition from neighbouring countries in the free market trading regime in Kasane.[65]

> While it is an agreement by regional political leaders, Kasane is a small centre and the flooding of foreign traders threatens the survival of the small traders in Kasane. For example, we are not protected from farmers from Zambia and Zimbabwe who sell their products in Kasane. South Africa also supplies some types of perishables that we do not produce in abundance and we are thus forced to sell at reduced prices in order to retain the local market.[66]

By 2000, the farm had 61 employees.[67] Most of the farm hands were women, many of them Basarwa from Lesoma village.[68] A number of expatriate workers from Zambia were also employed and housed in staff quarters on the farm premises. The Senior supervisor, Eugene Kashokela, was a Zambian national. The management at Chobe Farms alleged that many local people looked down on farm work and when they were not promoted complained that they had been overlooked in favour of foreigners. Their xenophobic arguments accused expatriate farmers of both favouring and exploiting foreign labour, depending on the situation. They also complained that the Labour Department turned a blind eye to illegal employees.[69] Officials from the Department of Labour in Kasane denied the accusation. They argued that in many cases workers exaggerated their claims.[70]

The employers certainly believed that women worked harder, were co-operative and more trustworthy than male employees.[71] They claimed that men sometimes disappeared after pay day, re-appearing when they had spent their wages.[72] Management alleged that men were

[63] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2004.
[64] Distant markets however created costs such as fuel, depreciation of vehicles and vulnerability to spoiling. For example, Gaborone is approximately 1,000 kilometres away from Kasane, on a road with wild animals between Kasane and Nata, a distance of about 300 kilometres.
[65] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Senior Supervisor, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.
[66] Interview with Selina, aged 28, Accounts Officer, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.
[67] Interview with Selina, Accounts Officer, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.
[68] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.
[69] Interview with Selina, Kasane, 24 May 2008. Workers alleged that they were made to work for more than the 8 hours stipulated by the Labour Department, and that women were not paid while on maternity leave.
[70] Interview with Lebo Mokgotle, Labour Officer, Department of Labour and Social Services, Kasane, 13 June 2008.
[71] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.
[72] Interview with Phemoyamodimo Kole, Aged 20, farm employee, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.

occasionally drawn away from work by game meat that was freely distributed by hunting safaris at the local *kgotla*.[73]

Chobe Farms faced a number of constraints to development. Due to the difficulties of bringing equipment to this remote region, Chobe Farms cultivated only about 100 hectares.[74] Maintenace of equipment often slowed down production as spare parts took weeks to come from South Africa and meant that farming activities fell behind schedule.[75] Chobe Farms utilised free flowing water from the Chobe River for irrigation, enhancing quick growth of the crops.[76] Maintenance of water pipes and the electrically powered water pumping equipment was also a tricky business in the absence of local services.[77] Crop production was also undermined by persistent damage by wild animals.[78] In an effort to deal with this problem, Chobe Farms electrified the farm fences. Electricity bills and regular repairs to damaged fences undermined the profitability of the farm.[79] Markets were also limited. Because Chobe Farms specialised in fresh vegetables and fruits, its market was largely localised, confined to Kasane.

Initially owned by the state and leased to white farmers, the farm changed hands over time. In 1990, the government sold Chobe Farms to Chobe Holdings Limited, a Botswana Stock Exchange listed company described as 'citizen owned'.[80] Chobe Holdings leased the farm to the farmer who had previously leased the land from the government, Kobus Mostert, a naturalised former South African.[81] Mostert was a professional farmer with wide experience in commercial arable production and vast knowledge in market relations.[82] Jonathan Gibson,

[73] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008. As part of the Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes, safari hunters collected trophies after a successful hunt, leaving the meat to the communities who sold the hunting quota to the hunters. Communities organised men for skinning the animal and removing the meat to be distributed to the community members at the *kgotla*.
[74]Interview with Jonathan Gibson, managing director, Chobe Farms, Kasane, 24 May 2008.
[75] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Senior supervisor, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008. Tractor clutch plates wore out frequently, causing major delays in cultivation.
[76] Botswana Development Corporation, *Annual Report, 1985* (Gaborone: BDC, 1986), p. 15. Also, interview with Eugene Kashokela, aged 33 year, Senior supervisor, Chobe Farms, Kasane, 24 May 2008.
[77]Interview with Eugene Kashokela, senior supervisor, Chobe Farms, Kasane, 10 June 2008.
[78] Interview with Jonathan Gibson, Managing Director, Chobe Holdings, 24 May 2008.
[79] Interview with Eugene Kashokela, Kasane, 24 May 2008. Warthogs and porcupines also dug under the fence opening large holes that enabled baboons. By 2000, there was no insurance dispensation for farmers.
[80] *Mmegi*, 'Chobe Holdings move to mitigate downturn', 9 June 2009. Chobe Holdings owned a variety of business enterprises, including the farm and tourist enterprises such as the Chobe Game Lodge in Kasane, Savanna Air Charter in Namibia and several camps and tour operators in the Okavango Delta.
[81] Interview with Jonathan Gibson, Managing Director, Chobe Farms, Kasane, 24 May 2008.
[82] Interview with Jonathan Gibson, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.

one of the directors of the company, had a residence on the farm and another at the Chobe Game Lodge in the Chobe National Park. The Lodge was also owned by Chobe Holdings.

Despite this expatriate domination, Chobe Farms provided a model for irrigated farming in the wetlands. In an effort to disseminate knowledge of this type of farming, the farm apprenticed student interns from the Botswana College of Agriculture in Gaborone.[83] The farm management also invited students from local schools to visit the farm and to learn about irrigated agriculture.[84]

Expatriate farmers at Pandamatenga

In 1987, in order to rescue the collapsed Pandamatenga large-scale farming project, government engaged expatriate farmers who had the requisite skill, experience and capital.[85] White farmers came from the citrus farms in the Tuli Block in the eastern part of Botswana, and others were from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Britain and Australia.[86] The farmers were allocated 33 farms, on a 15 year renewable leasehold at P2.00 per hectare per year for non-citizens.[87] They were funded by government through the National Development Bank and the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP).[88] In 1987, the Bank approved loans to some European farmers. A Mr R.F. Fourie obtained P45,000 for 'farm development', a Mr Otto secured P79,925 to 'purchase seed and pay wages', and a syndicate, Bamalete Development Company borrowed P221,000 'for purchasing farm equipment.'[89] After protracted bargaining, the expatriate farmers were supplied with insecticides and pesticides. They also negotiated with the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board.[90] Other incentives included electrifying the fence around the farms using solar panels to protect the crops from destruction by wild animals.

[83] *Daily News,* 'Chobe Farm unease with free trade', 8 June 2007.
[84] *Daily News,* 'Chobe Farm unease with free trade', 8 June 2007.
[85] Interview with Nonoka Mgadla, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[86] Interview with Kingsley Sebele, former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Gaborone, 20 December 2009.
[87] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1986-1989* (Maun: North West District Council, 1986), p. 5. Also, Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study, Final Report, 1998* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1995), p. 17.
[88] Bank of Botswana, *Annual Report*, 1999.
[89] BNA CDA/1/20 'Chobe District Quarterly Report, 1986.'
[90] Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, Commercial farmer and former chairperson of the Pandamatenga Framers Association, 9 June 2008.

Appraising the white commercial farmers, commercialising subsistence farmer Mma Sefhako showed her impression with especially the South African farmers' dedication to farming:

> They are not part-time producers. In Botswana however, when you put on overalls and go to the field people ridicule you, suggesting that you are very backward, doing a dirty job, [farming]. Our people emphasised white-collar jobs, looking down on agriculture, while South Africa's abundant food production resulted from commitment by the white farmers who put on khakhi shorts and shirts with no concern about public opinion on their dress code.[91]

A local Motswana farmer Ben Nkwane argued that the praises showered on the new farmers at Pandamatenga were misplaced. 'These white farmers have been heavily subsidised, they employ mechanised technology'.[92] He said that some expatriate farmers entered into joint ventures with local farmers, taking up loans with the National Development Bank and disappearing with the money never to be seen again. He recalled his personal experience with two South African farmers:

> Government officers advised us to enter into joint ventures with South African farmers who were considered to be experts in arable farming. In 1987 I entered into a joint venture with two white South African farmers, Mr Swaart and Mr Muller. Since they had more expertise than me, I was made a junior director. We were allocated a farm by the Chobe Land Board and we secured a loan with the the National Development Bank and the farm served as security against the loan. The two gentlemen collected the money and one fled back to South Africa and the other disappeared into neighbouring Zambia. They were never traced. The farm was repossessed by the bank and I remained with nothing.[93]

In general, the white farmers at Pandamatenga were both law-abiding and successful. The scale of investment, production levels and the calibre of producers changed the landscape of production of the sorghum crop at both local and national levels.[94] Although it was not possible to establish the exact production statistics due to poor record keeping in the Department of Agriculture in the mid 1980s, thereafter the Department's Statistic section maintained up to date records.[95] Compared to the production levels of the initial harvest

[91] Interview with Mma Sefhako, Aged 50, Commercialising female subsistence farmer, Pandamatenga, 18 June 2008.
[92] Interview with Ben Nkwane, Pioneer farmer, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008.
[93] Interview with Ben Nkwane, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008.
[94] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study, Final Report 1998* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1995), p. 2.
[95] A government study pointed out that, 'Yields up to 1987/88 are not documented properly but probably ranged from 0 to 1.5 tonnes per hectare with an average yield well below one ton ne per hectare. See Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Development Study, Final Report February 1990* Annex D: Arable Agriculture (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1990), p. '4-1'.

seasons of 1985/86 and 1986/87 there was a significant increase in production of crops by the new farmers at Pandamatenga from the 1990s onwards (See Table 8).[96]

Table 7. Grain Production in Pandamatenga Commercial Farming 1985/86-1996/97 (in metric tonnes)

Year	Area Planted	Production (metric tonnes)	Average Yield per Hectare (metric tonnes)
1985/86	- *	1,200	-*
1986/87	- *	4,300	- *
1987/88	14,956	14,000	0.9
1988/89	12,062	9,600	0.8
1989/90	13,817	14,700	1.1
1990/91	12,390	16,800	1.4
1991/92	10,783	13,000	1.2
1992/93	10,455	5,308	0.5
1993-94	11,638	6,728	0.6
1994/95	15,463	9,215	0.6
1995/96	14,071	13,899	1.0
1996/97	10,484	5,395	0.5

*No records available.

Source: Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study, Final Report, 1998* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1998), p. 4.

According to Table 8, there is a significant difference in production output between the first two cropping seasons (1985/86 and 1986/87) and the rest of the cropping seasons. The first two harvest seasons reflect low productivity during the tenure of the first black farmers.[97] Poor performance in some seasons was a result of difficult conditions:

> We do not have schools for our children yet we are far from the village centre where there is a public primary school. Our wives play the teachers when we are out working on the farm. Communication is very poor as there are no telephone installations to our area. Mobile phones function only in the vicinity of village and not at the farms. We depend on radio messages. We do

[96]Interview with Mpho Goodwill Kgwathe, Manager, BAMB, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[97] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Development Study, Final Report, February, 1990* Annex D: Arable Agriculture (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1990), p. '4-1'.

> not have electricity. Each farmer owns a diesel generator to provide power. We don't even have water supplied to the farms as a result we drill boreholes in order to obtain water.[98]

Increased production by expatriate farmers was attributed to new incentives provided by government such as improved market prices.[99] For example, in 1999 the selling price of sorghum was artificially increased by about 70% as the government wanted to encourage farmers to increase production. Sorghum was recommended as it was the most cost-effective crop and more drought resistant than maize.[100] Figure 3 shows a large commercial farm with the sorghum crop ready for harvest.

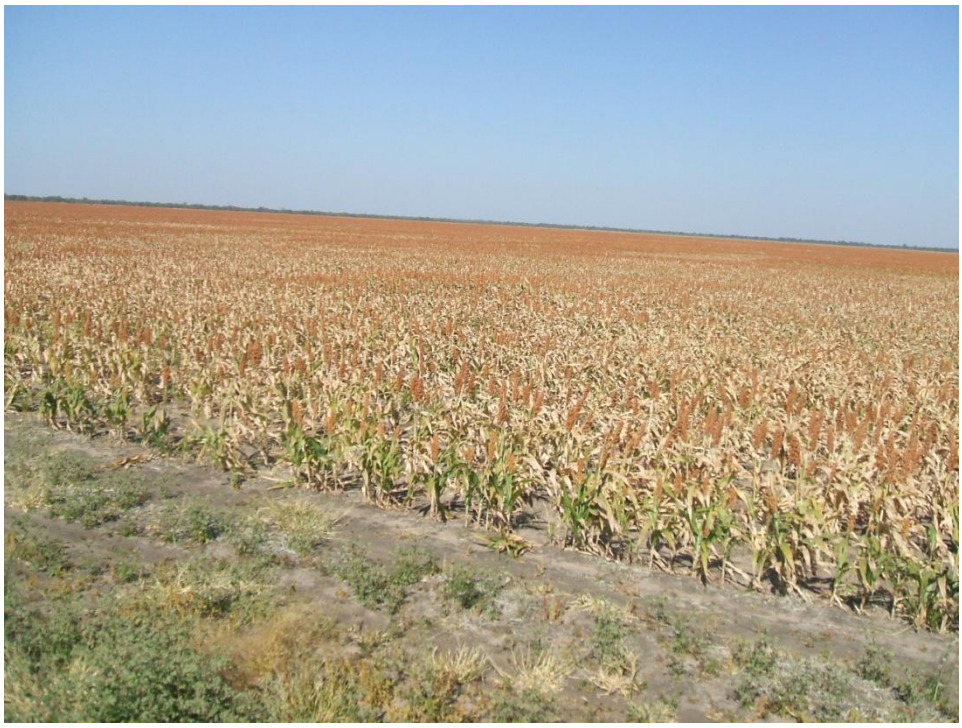

Figure 3. Sorghum in a commercial farm, Pandamatenga. Source: Photograpby by Bongani Gumbo, June 2008.

According to farmer Johan Le Grange, in order to ensure an increased supply of sorghum, government entered into contracts with commercial farmers in the pre-planting season to supply the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) in Pandamatenga with specific quantities of sorghum grain after the harvest.[101] In the words of Le Grange:

[98] Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, Commercial farmer and former chairperson, Pandamatenga Farmers Association, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[99] Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, chairperson, Pandamatenga Commercial Farmers Association, 9 June 2008.
[100] Interview with Mpho Goodwill Kgwathe, Manager, BAMB, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[101] Interview with Johan Le Grange, Commercial farmer, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.

> We made an arrangement with government before planting, to deliver at harvest time, a particular target on specific crops which the Marketing Board will buy at an agreed price. We can then create space for planting sunflower, which has a larger market in South Africa because there is no processing plant in Botswana, and we make better money that way. Locally, the Marketing Board uses sunflower to make chicken food known as 'mixed fowl'.[102]

In response to increased production, BAMB improved its storage facilities, building 6 grain silos, each holding 5,000 metric tonnes.[103] The farmers were also allowed to diversify production by cultivating (alongside sorghum), other crops such as sunflower, maize and cotton. However, ploughed acreages fluctuated annually, depending on climatic conditions and sometimes poor returns from BAMB.[104] Some farmers invested in grinding mills, processing sorghum flour.[105]

By 1991, the average yield of commercial farmers at Pandamatenga farms was 500 kilogrammes per hectare.[106] In the same year, the farms contributed 38.6% of the total cereal production in the country.[107] In the 1997/98 cropping year, the average national production of all cereals was 40,000 metric tonnes.[108] This was below the national demand for cereal production which was estimated at 188,165.377 metric tonnes annually.[109] The shortfall was met by imports.[110]

Table 8. Area planted (in hectares), total crop production (metric tonnes) and yields in Pandamatenga Commercial Farms for 1999/2000 Cropping season

Crop	Area Planted (Hectares)	Crop Production (Metric Tonnes)	Crop Yields (Tonnes per hectare)
Sorghum	7,530	8,203	1.10
Maize	2,250	3,000	1.34
Sunflower	4,100	2,575	0.63
Cotton	945	640	0.68
Groundnuts	1,230	34	0.03
Soya Beans	410	20	0.05
Total	**16,465**	**14,472**	

Source: Government of Botswana, *Crop Production Division Annual Report 1999/2000* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2000), p. 3.

[102] Interview with Johan Le Grange, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[103] Interview with Mpho Goodwill Kgwathe, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[104] Interview with Johan Le Grange, Commercial farmer, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[105] Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, Commercial and and former chairperson, Pandamatenga Commercial Farmers Association, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[106] Government of Botswana, *Botswana: Towards National Prosperity, Common Country Asset Assessment* (Gaborone: United Nations System in Botswana, 2001), p. 10.
[107] Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study, Final Report, 1995* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1995), p. 38.
[108] Government of Botswana, *Botswana National Atlas* (Gaborone: Department of Surveys and Mapping, 2000), p. 122. This figure includes commercial and subsistence farmers, combined.
[109] Government of Botswana, *Botswana National Atlas,* p. 125.
[110] Government imported 70% of national cereal demands. See chapter three.

Table 9 shows how commercial farmers devoted more land to staple cereal crops at the same time displaying expertise in mixed or intercropping which spread the risk of losing crops from unreliable rains, pests, wild animals and flooding.

The Pandamatenga commercial farms created employment opportunities for the small village that was on the brink of economic stagnation.[111] In 1991, the farms provided jobs to 463 workers of whom 245 were male and 218 were female.[112] Although slightly dominated by men, the farms employed a large number of women, offering them participation in the cash economy. About 60% of employees were Batswana, mainly Basarwa from Pandamatenga. A few workers came from different parts of the country and from neighbouring Zimbabwe and Zambia.[113] According to the farmers, most Batswana were not interested in farm jobs.[114] This view was supported by Keaikitse Yuyi, popularly known as 'KK'.[115] KK explained,

> Much as we need cash in order to meet the exigencies of today's modern life, what is the use of cash if you do not have cattle to plough with, if your crops in the field are eaten by birds and other animals while looking after another person's field for liquid cash? The off-farm season is the time for reparing broken yokes for inspanning oxen in the next planting season, as well as making handles for hoes and axes.[116]

As in other remote areas in Botswana, welfare schemes such as Drought Relief Programmes created safety nets for subsistence farmers during times of drought in Pandamatenga. However, the village chief, Kgosi Rebecca Banika observed that there was an over reliance on 'handouts'. Relief programmes had created a dependency syndrome among her people, she said.[117] Employment on the commercial farms was preferable in her view.

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[111] Interview with B.K. Masole, District Commissioner, Kasane, 12 June 2008.
[112] Government of Botswana, *Population and Housing Census, 1991* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1991), p. 185.The farmers included among others, Feurie, L.D. Moulder, Pistorius, Semon, J.J. van der Westhuizen, Young and Ian. There were also syndicates such as Chobe Food Crops, Agricorp, Mabina Farming, Panda Agriculture, Crops Botswana and Panda Prairies. Some farmers however exchanged land ownership either permanently or through sub-letting with some farmers ultimately acquiring the farms illegally, without paying lease rentals and this worried the authorities at the Chobe Land Board in Kasane. See Government of Botswana, *Pandamatenga Commercial Farms Rehabilitation Study, Final Report, 1995*(Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1995), p.8. This explains why a few farmers refused to grant the researcher an interview.
[113] Interview with J.J. van der Westhizen, Commercial farmer and former chairperson of the Pandamatenga Farmers Association, 9 June 2008.
[114] Interview with Seinyatseng Lekoko, Commercialising subsistence farmer, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2008.
[115] Interview with Keaikitse KK Yuyi, Farm employee, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[116] Interview with Keaikitse KK Yuyi, Farm employee, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[117] Interview with Rebecca Banika, Chief (woman) of Pandamatenga village, 6 June 2008. Whenever there was a severe drought, government provided poorer households with food rations, and also recruited local residents to projects in which they worked in exchange of food.

White farmers did not particularly want to rely on expatriate labour. Engaging expatriate labour was cumbersome. Employers were required to comply with cumbersome immigration formalities. Farmers complained of bureaucratic delays. Ben Nkwane, a commercial producer in horticulture said:

> Government *always* delays the process of formalising expatriate labour, causing us losses in the fields. Contrary to the accusations levelled against us that we prefer the expatriates in order to exploit them, my workers are part of my family and I have a filial relationship with them. Our Batswana children shun farm work yet they roam the villages unemployed. We have to wait long periods before the immigration officials can clear the Zimbabwean workers who are hard workers because Zimbabwe has a farming tradition, unlike our children who want jobs in air conditioned offices yet they are not sufficiently qualified for professional jobs.[118]

Farm work was seasonal. There was less demand for labour during the planting season as most of the labour was mechanised. Farmers needed more labour in the harvesting season, augmenting the resident labour force with causal labour.[119] The harvesting season usually coincided with the grass cutting activities around Pandamatenga.[120] Grass harvesting was gazetted by government to begin on the 15th of July and end on the 20th of October, annually.[121] Kalanga women in particular camped in the village in order to be available for casual labour that entitled them to the grass they cut as well as wages. Their daily wages covered the cost of food during the grass cutting as well as the cost of transporting the grass to their homes.[122] Local women complained that the Kalanga grass harvesters were threatening grass supplies and taking their opportunities for casual work.[123] Officials were called in to deal with the conflict and assured the local community aware that these so-called 'immigrants' were Batswana who were entitled to work and to a share of the country's resources.[124]

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[118] Interview with Ben Nkwane, Pioneer farmer, 19 June 2008.
[119]Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, Commercial Farmer and former chairperson of Pandamatenga Farmers Association, 9 June 2008.
[120] Thatch grass has continued to be in demand throughout the country because many households still use grass for thatching their homes. Pandamatenga's rich soils and high rainfall produced the best quality thatch grass such that it became an annual event for women from different parts of the country and indeed those from Zambia and Zimbabwe camp at Pandamatenga to harvest the grass in July.
[121] *Botswana Daily News*, 'Thatching Grass Harvest At Peak' 10 October 2007.
[122]Interview with Mma Gwafila, Grass Cutter, Pandamatenga, 6 June 2008.
[123] Interview with Senwelo Esnart, Aged 58, resident woman of Subiya ethnic group, Pandamatenga, 6 June 2008. Esnart claimed that commercial farmers no longer wanted to employ the local women because of the 'immigrants' offered cheap labour, adding that some of these women 'stole their men with whom they worked on the farms and took their men's wages too.'
[124]Interview with Rebecca Banika, Chief, Pandamatenga Village, 6 June 2008.

Commercial arable production in Pandamatenga served as a model for local farmers. Interaction between commercial and subsistence farmers provided for the transfer of knowledge in farming skills, support and consultation.[125] Most white farmers felt proud to help local subsistence farmers.[126] They generously loaned their farm implements and helped their neighbours to increase their harvests. While scientific production requires knowledge, capital and skills, some local farmers did manage to transform from being purely subsistence to commercialising subsistence farmers. Farmers like P. Moyo, Ben Nkwane (a retired police officer), Mrs Nkwane and Seonyatseng Lekoko (retired officials of the Chobe land Board), Mma Sefhako, Kene Chiliwa, and Mma Makhondo all produced a surplus for sale.

The story of progressive farmer Lekoko demonstrates the value of farming alongside the model farms. Lekoko, moved from Tonota in the Central District when he married a woman from Kachikau in the Chobe District but only took up farming in Pandamatenga when he retired from public office in the late 1990s.[127] Like other farmers, Lekoko was lured to Pandamatenga by the fertility of the soil.

> The soil in Panda[matenga] is very rich and produces good harvests in both maize sorghum but I have always specialized in maize production, our field brings us stable income such that people with full time employment come to us simple farmers to borrow money yet they get paid on a monthly basis.[128]

Lekoko established a rapport with Moulder, an ex-South African naturalised Motswana (Botswana citizen) farmer, who taught him the value of hybrid seeds, high yielding crop varieties, and shared his knowledge of *vertisol* soils. Lekoko also hired Moulder's tractor for ploughing (See Figure 4 for the quality maize from Lekoko's farm). Lekoko, explained:

> I have depended on them [white farmers] to hire farm equipment. They also teach us modern farming methods from preparing the land up to harvesting and they have great experience including repairs to damaged equipment and servicing of farm machinery.[129]

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[125] Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, Commercial farmer and chairperson, Pandamatenga Farmers Association, 9 June 2008.
[126] Interview with J.J. van der Westhuizen, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[127] A very passionate farmer, Lekoko said he was also motivated into commercial farming by his name 'Seinyatseng', which means 'do not despite yourselves', owing it to his father who kept on reminding him of the meaning of his name, and advising him to believe in himself and working hard in whatever goal he set out to achieve.
[128]Interview with Seinyatseng Lekoko, Aged 56, subsistence cum-commercial farmer, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2008.
[129] Interview with Seonyatseng. Lekoko, commercializing subsistence farmer, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2008. Mma Makhondo also relied on white farmers for land clearing machinery for fallow fields. Interview with Mma Makhondo, Kasane, 2 November 2009

Lekoko employed six people on his farm, most of them Basarwa.

Mma Sefhako benefited from government support:

> My field measures seven hectares and I utilised expert advice from the white commercial farmers and ALDEP packages to fence it all round in order to protect the crops from animals. I used to produce for subsistence before government subsidised us through ALDEP but I now produce both for my household and for sale. In a good year one hectare gives me between forty seven (47) and fifty (50) bags of maize.[130]

Despite the relative success of the progressive farmers, they complained that government was reluctant to promote arable farming, arguing that the state was concerned more with the cattle industry than food crops. Some farmers threatened to quit crop production at Pandamatenga because of the destructive effects of wild animals. They complained that despite repeated calls for government assistance, it was only in 2000 that the government subsidised the erection of a 91.3 kilometres game proof fence, enclosing the entire commercial farms area.[131]

Lekoko also complained about the absence of a crop insurance policy for which they had advocated. He explained:

> We encounter a lot of risks in arable farming, such as drought, floods and the quelea bird, but up to today, we are not insured against such risks. Government officials promised each time that a crop insurance policy was being drafted but nothing has come of the promises. Besides, there are no incentives for arable farmers such as those paid to cattle farmers by the Botswana Meat Commission. On the contrary, BAMB [the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board] offers very low prices for our crops. [132]

These fledgling commercial farmers complained that the prices paid for their crops did not cover their costs. They believed that if they were able to export their crops, they would do better.[133] Some farmers in Chobe West actually crossed illegally into the Caprivi Strip to sell their crops, prompting senior government officials to warn residents against such practices.[134]

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[130]Interview with Mma Sefhako, Pandamatenga village, 18 June 2008.
[131] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan 6: 2003-2009* (Kasane: Chobe District Council, 2003), p. 8. In contrast, the progressive farmers felt discriminated against as their fields were excluded from the electric fence dispensation.
[132] Interview with Seinyatseng Lekoko, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2008.
[133] Interview with Seinyatseng Lekoko, subsistence cum-commercial farmer, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2008.
[134] BNA CDA/1/20 District Commissioner Kasane, 'Chobe District Quarterly Report for October – December 1986.'

Figure 4. One of the many heaps of hybrid grade maize harvest from Seonyatseng Lekoko's field in Pandamatenga. Next to the maize is his truck, the sole source of transport for all his farming needs. Source: Bongani Gumbo, Pandamatenga, June 2008.

The price of staple foods bought by the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board was determined by South African Futures Exchange (SAFEX), a South African institution that controlled prices of agricultural products in Southern Africa.[135] The arrangement irked local farmers who complained that the pricing system did not take into account the local conditions.[136] The Marketing Board's mandate was to buy and distribute agricultural produce from local farmers and assist farmers in acquiring farm implements.[137] The Marketing Board depot in Pandamatenga provided storage facilities comprising 6 large grain silos each with a

[135]Interview with Mpho Goodwill Kgwathe, Manager, BAMB, Pandamatenga, 6 June 2008. SAFEX is a division of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and it deals with price risk management for grains in South and Southern Africa. See http://www.safex.co.za/ap 'Safex APD' accessed on 28/10/2008.
[136] Interview with Seinyatseng Lekoko, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2010.
[137] Interview with Mpho Goodwill Kgwathe, Manager, BAMB Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008. BAMB's other services to the farming community included sale of farming inputs such as seeds of various crops, fertilizers and insecticides. It also contracted farmers to produce specified crops, quantities and agreed prices in advance. For details on the services of BAMB see *Mmegi*, 3 November 2008, on an interview with the Board's Chief Executive Officer.

holding capacity of 5,000 metric tonnes.[138] The proximity of this BAMB facility to the farms reduced costs in transportation.

Commercial farming in Pandamatenga produced a stratified community. White farmers owned modern technology and generally made a profit. Next were the subsistence-cum commercialising local farmers who owned larger tracts of land, accessed government funding and often interacted with white farmers. They produced a surplus for sale at the local Marketing Board. A third tier comprised purely subsistence farmers with limited resources. They generally used family labour and produced enough for the household. These peasant farmers sometimes took work as casual labourers on the commercial farms. At the the bottom of the hierarchy were households with neither draught power nor land for ploughing. Many Basarwa were in this category. It was the Basarwa who comprised most of the full time workers on the commercial farms.

Commercialisation at Pandamatenga only marginally increased grain crop production. Agriculture's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product declined to 2.6% by 2000.[139] However, commercial farming readily availed cereals for purchase as well as providing employment opportunities for the local residents.[140]

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how commercial arable farming in the Chobe District was established in an effort to increase national food production and to encourage modern scientific farming methods. The postcolonial government hoped to diversify the farming sector from a predominantly livestock regime to food production, and to create an indigenous black capitalist farming sector. When the experiment with pioneer farmers collapsed in the mid 1980s, due both to their own inexperience and to inadequate state support, the government brought in expatriate farmers to run the Chobe Farms and the Pandamatenga farms as models of irrigation and dryland farming respectively

[138] Interview withTsogang Tom Thekiso, Aged 49, Administrator, BAMB, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.
[139] Government of Botswana, *Management of Quelea Birds* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, July 2005), p. 2.
[140] D.L. Kgathi, M.B.M Sekhwela, H. Hamandawana, 'Sustainability of Commercial Agriculture and Forestry in Chobe District, Botswana'.

Commercial farming had a positive effect on progressive subsistence farmers. Through a demonstration effect, the commercial farmers assisted local subsistence farmers, sharing farming knowledge that transformed some local farmers into agricultural entrepreneurs. In providing employment, the commercial farms contributed to the reduction of the rural-urban drift in the Chobe District. However, the expatriate experiment generated a certain amount of resentment among the elite who resented the subsidisation of expatriate farming.

Chapter Five: Gendered livelihoods and state intervention in fishing and handicraft production 1971-1991

Chapter five focuses on the livelihood strategies of riverine communities in Chobe and Ngamiland between 1971 and 1991. The chapter shows how livelihood strategies changed during this period and explores the links between craftsmanship, physical landscape and identities in this process. In particular, the chapter shows how the gendered division of labour that assigned men to tasks that were considered dangerous especially hunting and fishing and women to gathering wild plant food and weaving was sustained by state interventions.[1] It also shows how basketry provided opportunities for some women to earn cash and occasionally to challenge male domination in their families.[2]

The riverine ecosystems formed the natural resource base for the diversity of livelihood strategies for the 'river people' of Chobe and Ngamiland.[3] River-based livelihood strategies provided different forms of food security from those of the agro-pastoralism of other parts of the country.[4] Livelihood activities included a 'mosaic' of subsistence activities that were based on a combination of farming, fishing and gathering of wild fruit and game hunting.[5] Riparian communities also harvested riverine products such as grasses for basket making, reeds and papyrus for mats and courtyard fences, thatch grass for roofing and wood for canoe-building.[6] These activities were gendered, producing craftsmen and women who specialised in products which defined the identities of the producers.[7] Subsistence fishing especially, became an important source of food for the 'socio-economically challenged' rural communities on the fringes of the Delta and the Chobe systems.[8] The riparian communities of this area encompassed people who identified themselves as Banoka/Bakwengo the 'river San', Wayeyi, Hambukushu, and Basubiya who had settled in

[1] Interview with Pasco Seboko, Aged 38, Fisherman Kasika Island, Caprivi Strip, 7 November 2009.
[2] Interview with Thitaku Kushonya, Proprietor of Matlapana Basketry and Curios, Maun, 21 June 2008.
[3] D.L. Kgathi, D. Kniveton, S. Ringrose, A.R. Turton, C.H.M. van der Post, J. Lundvist, M. Seely, 'The Okavango; a river supporting its people, environment and economic development', in *Journal of Hydrology* Vol. 331 (2006), p. 3. For full article, see pp. 3-17. The Basubiya people of the Chobe District and Wayeyi called themselves *Bekuhane*, the river people. According to Michael Tremmel, the Tonga of the Upper Zambezi, also refered to themselves as *BaDonga*, a *donga* being a 'very large river', thus 'people of the great river'. 'Tonga' is thus a corruption of the original 'Donga'. Sometimes they were known as *Bamulwizi*, also 'those of the river'.
[4] B.N. Ngwenya, Guest Editorial, *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 37 (2005), pp. 9-10.
[5] BNA S. 416/6, 'History of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Tribes, 1951'.
[6] Rhoda Levinsohn, *Basketry: A Renaissance in Southern Africa* (Ohio: Protea Press, 1979), p. 23.
[7] Thomas J. Larson, *The Bayeyi of Ngamiland* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1992), pp. 7-15.
[8]Government of Botswana, *Fishery Country Profile* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, April 2007), p. 3.

the area long before the arrival of the Setswana-speaking Batawana.[9] The population of these peoples increased dramatically between 1971 and 1991.[10]

Written by environmentalists and economists, most of the literature on riverine environments prioritises ecological management over the social dimensions of livelihood strategies.[11] For example, Edward Barbier attributes the 'mismanagement' of riverine resources to the 'informal' economic activity that supports human livelihoods.'[12] Others have warned of impending ecological crisis and the depletion of certain grasses used for making baskets or grazing livestock.[13] In contrast, D.L. Kgathi *et al* adopt a different perspective and argue that poverty reduction among riverine communities will alleviate environmental degradation.[14] A characteristic of the Botswana wetland communities is that they diversify their economic activity to 'spread risk.'[15] Magole and Magole refer to wetlands as ''biological supermarkets' because of the extensive food chain and rich biodiversity that they supported.'[16] Local communities were aware of this diversity of

[9] D.H. Potten, 'Aspects of the Recent History of Ngamiland', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8 (1976), p. 63. For full article, see pp. 63-86. As elsewhere in the settlement history of Botswana, the San (Banoka) are believed to have been the first people to settle in the area, followed by the 'Zambezians' the Wayeyi, Basubiya and Hambukushu in the 18th century and the Batawana and Baherero in the 19th and 20th centuries respectively. For more on the origins of the people of the region see also, Thomas 'Okavango' Larson, *Bayeyi and Hamubukushu: Tales from the Okavango* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1994), pp. xi-xiii, David Potten, 'Etsha: A Successful Resettlement Scheme', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8, (1976), pp. 105-119.

[10] The population statistics for these districts during the period under study were as follows: Chobe District, 1971 (5,097), 1981 (7,934), 1991 (14,126); and for the Ngamiland District, 1971 (47,723), 1981 (68,063), 1991 (94,534). See Botswana Population and Housing Censuses for 1971, 1981 and 1991. See pp. 141-142 of this chapter for discussion on population dynamics.

[11] H.M. Masundire, S. Ringrose, F.T.K. Sefe, C. Van der Post, *Botswana Wetlands Policy and Strategy: Inventory of Wetlands of Botswana* (Gaborone: National Conservation Strategy Agency, 1998), p. 8.

[12] Edward B. Barbier, 'Sustainable use of wetlands: Valuing tropical wetlands benefits: Economic methodologies and applications', in *The Geographical Journal,* Vol. 159, No. 1 (March 1993), p. 22. For full article, see pp. 22-32. See also, P.J. Dugan, 'Wetlands management: a critical issue for conservation in Africa', in T. Matiza and H.N. Chabwela, (eds.), *Wetlands Conservation Conference for Southern Africa: Proceedings of the SADCC wetlands conference* (Gland: International International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1992), pp. 1-8, L.J. van der Heiden, 'The Okavango Delta: current state of planning and conservation' in T. Matiza and H.N. Chabwela, (eds.), *Wetlands Conservation Conference for Southern Africa*, pp. 109-124, J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, 'Sustainable Development and Natural Resource Competition and Conflicts in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 37 (2005), pp. 40-60.

[13] T.L. Konstant, S. Sullivan, A.B. Cunningham, 'The Effects of Utilization by People and Livestock on Hyphaene petersiana (Arecaceane) Basketry Resources in the Palm Savanna of North Central Namibia', in *Economic Botany,* Vol. 49, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1995), pp. 345-356.

[14] D.L. Kgathi, D. Kniveton, S. Ringrose, A.R. Turton, C.H.M Van der Post, J. Lundqvist, M. Seely, 'The Okavango; a river supporting its people, environment and economic development', in *Journal of Hydrology,* Vol. 331, (2006) p. 3. For full article, see pp. 3-17.

[15] Julie Wilk, Donald Kgathi, 'Risk in the Okavango Delta in the face of Social and Environmental Change', in *GeoJournal,* Vol. 70, (2007), p. 121. For full article, see pp. 121-132.

[16] Lapologang Magole and Lefatshe Innocent Magole, 'The Okavango: Whose Delta is it?' in *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth, Parts A/B/C,* Vol. 34 (2009), p. 874. For full article, see pp. 874-880.

natural resources and drew on it developing varied livelihood strategies.[17] This diversification helped to prevent over-exploitation of resources. Also, according to Alec Campbell, the intra-ethnic interaction of the riparian communities in the Okavango led to improved methods of utilisation of river resources as the different peoples learnt new and efficient techniques from their neighbours.[18] Change was a constant element in these communities. Thomas Tlou pointed out that the Okavango Delta was critically significant for the production of dynamic indigenous knowledge; innovation was evident in the use of fishing equipment and methods that suited local conditions.[19] Rhoda Levinsohn too argued that despite the spread of commercial products in Botswana, basketry and traditional utility objects remained in place because their production was part of a culture that defined Hambukushu and Wayeyi.[20]

The gendered division of labour in riverine communities

Through assigning diverse production activities to specific genders, Botswana's riverine communities developed a strong gender division of labour. Along the Okavango and Chobe rivers, women were responsible for food preparation and the production of utility goods such as weaving baskets and mats, collecting raw materials for making these products, collecting thatch grass, and foraging for plant food.[21] On the other hand, fishing, an important source of protein and oil, was generally the preserve of men.[22] A few women used reed baskets to fish in the shallow marshes after the floods receded. Generally, the fisherwomen used baskets designed for small quantities of small sized fish usually of low value species.[23] Their main role in the fishing industry was processing the fish. Women scrubbed off the scales and removed the offal before cooking the fish with *tswii,* the bulb of

[17] Daniel M. Shamukuni, 'The Basubiya', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 172-173. For full article, see pp. 161-184.
[18] Alec Campbell, 'Traditional Utilization of the Okavango Delta, Paper for the Symposium on the Okavango Delta and its future Utilization, August 30th – September 2nd 1976, National Museum Gaborone.' pp. 1-15. Campbell stated that the Wayeyi, for instance, were the most skilled fishermen and their mingling with Hambukushu, and Banoka improved the latter groups' fishing methods.
[19] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland, 1750 to 1906: The Formation of an African State* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1985), p. 25. See also, Thomas Tlou, 'The Taming of the Okavango Swamps – the utilization of the riverine environment, 1750-1800', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 147-159.
[20] Rhoda Levinsohn, *Basketry: A Renaissance in Southern Africa* (Ohio: Protea Press, 1979), pp. 23-24.
[21] Government of Botswana, *Land Use Planning: Ngamiland Community First Development Area* (Maun: North West District Council, 1983), pp. 27-28.
[22] Interview with Portia Tshweu, Matron, Kasane Primary Hospital, 21 July 2008. Portia stated that the hospital staff found that the culture of eating fish among Basubiya provided the much needed protein and that they encouraged the communities through local structures such as the *kgotla* to utilise fish. In some cases, however, women used baskets to catch fish in shallow marshes.
[23] Government of Botswana, *Fishery Country Profile* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, April 2007), p. 5.

the water lily (*Nymphaea caerulea*), a favourite delicacy.[24] The *Tilapia* or bream fish *Oreochromis*, was preferred to the cat fish *Clarias gariepinus*, and the tiger fish *Hydrocynus vittatus*. The flavour of the tiger fish was sought after but its numerous tiny bones made it dangerous for children to eat. It was also the women's job to preserve the fish by salting and drying it for future use. Sometimes dried fish were bartered for grains, milk or meat.[25] Subsistence fishing was a major source of food security for poor households living on the fringes of the Okavango Delta.[26] As Mmopelwa et al. noted, 'most of the households consume more than half of their catch.'[27]

Men manufactured the larger fishing equipment including carving *mokoro* the dug-out canoe (Figure 5) from large tree trunks and weaving fishing nets out of *lelodi* fibre of indigenous trees, the fibrous *mowana* the baobab tree, and *mokukubuyu* (*Sterculia tomentose*).[28] Men also repaired damaged nets, an activity undertaken with other men in the shade of big trees. These fishermen also apprenticed older boys into the trade, beginning with the mending of nets.[29] Fishing techniques varied according to the ethnic group.[30]

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[24] Interview with Soya Sefo, Samochima Fisheries, Okavango, 28 June 2008. The diet of the river people comprised fish with either *tswii* or *bogobe* porridge from sorghum, maize or millet. *Bogobe* was also eaten with milk, or meat from small stock or hunted game. They also gathered edible wild plant food as a supplement to the diet especially for the poor households during times of poor harvests. The rivers were thus crucial in providing these sources of food.

[25] Interview with Reverend Ditsheko, Maun, 27 June 2008.

[26] B.N. Ngwenya and K. Mosepele, 'HIV/AIDS, artisanal fishing and food security in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth, Parts A/B/C*, Vol. 32. Issue 15-18 (2007), p. 1339. For full article, see pp. 1339-1349.

[27] G.Mmopelwa, K. Mosepele, B. Moleele, N. Moleele and B. Ngwenya, 'Environmental variability and the fishery dynamics of the Okavango Delta, Botswana: The Case of Subsistence Fishing', in *African Journal of Ecology*, Vol. 47, Issue S1 (2009), p. 121. For full article, see pp. 119-127.

[28] Interview with Israel Zebe, former District Commissioner at Kasane, interviewed at his home in Tutume, 18 May 2008.

[29] Interview with Pasco Seboko, Aged 38, Fisherman, Kasika Island, Caprivi Strip, 7 November 2009.

[30] Alec Campbell, 'Traditional Utilisation of the Okavango Delta', in *Symposium on the Okavango Delta and its Future Utilization, National Museum, Gaborone, August 30th – September 2nd 1976* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1976), pp. 5-6. Campbell discusses the various techniques applied by the different ethnic groups in the Okavango region. Also, interview with Paulos Nkoni, Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 3 July 2008. Generally, the fishing technology for the Banoka (the River Basarwa), was very basic in a spearhead that was attached to a reed shaft to spear fish usually in semi-shallow waters. They sometimes poisoned shallow pools after floods had receded. However, on interacting with Bantu-speaking groups, Banoka adopted more efficient fishing techniques. The Wayeyi dominated the fishing industry, owing to their historical relationship with riverine ecology. They wove nets, cast them in the river, sometimes twice a day or leaving them overnight to collect the next morning. Sometimes they paddled the *mokoro* to the *dikhuthe*, the lagoons far away in the floodplains, where fish was believed to be abundant. So did the Hambukushu. As for the Batawana, they were not a fishing group, initially since they originated from the dry savannah grasslands of the Ngwato country. Also, culturally, their totem was the crocodile and they accordingly revered any water animal including fish, thus eating fish was taboo for them. With time, however most adopted fish as part of their diet, illustrating continuity and change. See also, Government of Botswana, *Land Use Planning: Ngamiland Community First Development Area* (Maun: North West District Council, 1983), p. 27, G. Mmopelwa, S. Raletsatsi and K.

Because fishing sometimes exposed fishermen to dangers from crocodiles, and to hippopotami which capsized wooden dug-out canoes, it was regarded as an activity for brave men, creating a 'mystique' around male fishers.[31] This 'male mystique' was premised on the man's ability to transcend danger in the pursuit of providing for the family.[32] As Inambao Sinvula a Subiya fisherman put it:

> This is a man's job. Men carve the canoes and the paddles, they weave the nets and it is men who get into the dangerous rivers to hunt for the fish. The river is a very dangerous environment and that is why it is men who dominate this activity because men can swim in the event of a wayward hippo overturning the *mokoro*. The hippo is the master in the river and it gets annoyed when a 'big intruder' [mokoro] floats on its waters. It thus wants to assert its authority by challenging the *mokoro*. Women are weaker than us men and do not have the courage to face these challenges. [33]

Dependence on, and recognition of, the provisioning role of the river systems led to people identifying themselves as 'river people'. Communities around the Chobe River referred to themselves as *Bekuhane,* a Chisubiya word for the 'river people', as did Banoka, the 'River San'.[34] Similarly, the people of the upper Zambezi were known as *Bamulwizi* a Tonga word for 'river people'.[35] Pasco Seboko, a fisherman from the Caprivi Strip was very passionate about the Basubiya's identity as river people and also as a man. He said,

> We Basubiya call ourselves *Bekuhane*, the river people as we settled on both sides of the Chobe River to utilise the resources of the river for our livelihood. Fishing defines who we are as the Basubiya and this distinguishes us from other people. One is not a man in Chisubiya culture if he cannot swim, if he cannot fish to feed his family. The river is life to us. My late father used to take me to the river each time he went fishing, teaching me how to catch fish, how to clean it and how to swim on the Chobe River. I would proudly carry the day's catch home to show that I had also contributed to the family's meal, and that I would soon be a man following my accomplishments.[36]

Reverend Ditsheko, a former officer in the Bechuanaland Protectorate Police force grew up in a typical Yeyi culture which emphasized knowledge of the river ecology and the ability to fish, hunt and swim on different water levels of the river. He recounted the following story:

Mosepele, 'Cost Benefit Analysis of Commercial Fishing in Shakawe, Ngamiland', in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 37 (2005), pp. 11-21.

[31] Interview with Inambao Sinvula, Aged 59, Fisherman, Sebuba, near Mowana Lodge, Kasane, 31 May 2008.

[32] The term 'male mystique' has been borrowed from Linda L. Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 1990), p. 237.

[33] Interview with Inambao Sinvula, Kasane, 31 May 2008.

[34] Interview with *kgosi* Moffat Sinvula, Chief at Kavimba *kgotla*, 23 May 2008.

[35] JoAnn McGegor, 'Living with the River: Landscape and Memory in the Zambezi Valley, Northwest Zimbabwe', in William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor, (eds.), *Social History and African Environments* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), pp. 87-105.

[36] Interview with Inambao Sinvula, Kasane, 59 years, 31 May 2008.

> In Yeyi culture and economy, fishing was central to manhood. We travelled with our fathers *ko dikhuting* [to the lagoons] for many days in dug-out canoes *go tsoma ditlhapi* [literally translated to mean 'hunting fish' and not the common usage of 'catching fish' because, he argues, fish were not just collected, it was hunted in the waters]. Young boys were apprenticed into fishing and swimming and paddling canoes. These were survival skills necessary for us river people as we engaged canoes in fishing and transporting people and goods, and hippopotami often overturned the canoes, requiring one to swim ashore. One day I and a fellow policeman once fell victim to a violent territorial hippo bull while on an assignment to cross the river from Shakawe on a canoe to arrest an alleged thief in Kauxwi village on the eastern side of the Okavango River. The hippo knocked our canoe and it capsized. I was initially plunged deep into the water but because I could swim, I managed to come above the water and came to the river bank and survived. My colleague a Motawana, [historically pastoralists who were not river people] could not swim and he drowned and died.[37]

In this and other stories, the danger of fishing made it a man's occupation, propagating masculinity, at the same time entrenching identities with the river in a traditional riverine economy.

Knowledge of the water systems, and the ability to negotiate flooding, added to male power and prestige.[38] Knowledge Mokuwe (his name evocative of the pairing of masculinity and knowledge), a retired fisherman remembered:

> We got to know that powerful waves of strong floods could push the fish out of water bringing a godsend for us fishermen to pick. Likewise, floods could also inundate nearby pools making it difficult and dangerous for fishermen to determine the depth of the water and much more importantly, crocodiles could lurk around the flooded river banks.[39]

Sinka Matengu learned paddling and safety rules from his uncle. 'It is important to avoid knocking the paddle against the *mokoro* because the hippo is annoyed by the sound, taking it for an attack. You simply wade the paddle on the water without touching the *mokoro*', his uncle told him.[40]

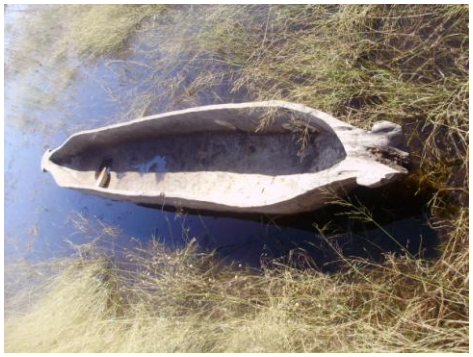

Figure 5. *Mokoro*, the wooden dug-out canoe. Photograph supplied by Ndana Ndana, Lake Liyambezi, Chobe District, February 2010.

[37] Interview with Reverend Ditsheko, 27 June 2008.
[38] Interview with Israel Zebe, Tutume, 18 May 2008.
[39] Interview with Knowledge Mokuwe, Aged 56, Retired Fisherman, Kasane, 10 June 2008.
[40] Interview with Sinka Matengu, Resident of Kasane, 18 April 2010.

This gendered division of labour was not unlike that in other African social systems. Writing on the role of the man as provider among the Swahili, Mwenda Ntarangwi said:

> Femininity and masculinity are social categories that hinge on identity in the sense that one can claim to do a man's jobs because he is male. Any man who deviates from that hetero-sexual expectation of maleness/masculinity is seen as feminine. Part of being identified as male includes an expectation to provide economically for one's family, and failure to meet that expectation reconstructs that definition of masculinity.[41]

State interventions in the fishing industry

In 1964, in the run up to independence, the colonial administration established a Fisheries Extension Service in Ngamiland, on the recommendation of a fisheries consultant sent by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM).[42] The Botswana government later drew on the colonial reports produced by the Fisheries Extension Service.[43] The reports provided strategic information on fish types, their habitat and breeding habits in the Okavango Delta. In 1970, and again in 1983, the state established small-scale commercial fishing operations at Lake Ngami through its subsidiary for development, the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC).[44] The enterprise at Lake Ngami produced dried fish which the Corporation planned to export to Zimbabwe.[45] Unfortunately, a year later the lake dried up, and the project folded.[46] The editor of the BDC newsletter recounted the drying out of Lake Ngami:

> BDC suspended its Lake Ngami Fishing operations in November 1971, when the lake receded to such a low level that fishing became impossible. The *coup de grace* to the project was administered by a sizeable flock of pelicans which descended upon the area and, taking advantage of the low level of water, consumed all the fish. (BDC could be tenacious at times. It challenged the pelicans again in 1983-though this time BDC was allied with Barclays Bank of Botswana – but with the same conclusive result).[47]

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[41] Mwenda Ntarangwi, *Gender, Identity, and Performance,* (Asmara: Africa World Press, Inc., 2003), p. 206.
[42] D.H. Potten, 'Aspects of the Recent History of Ngamiland' in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8 (1976), p. 67. For full article, see pp. 63-86.
[43] BNA BNB 5353, 'Report on Fisheries Survey in Bechuanaland in the Years 1963/64'. Funded by OXFAM, this report also pointed to earlier studies on fishing in the wetlands, including Castelnau, *Mem Pois De l'Afric',* (Australe, 1861), and R.H. Barnard, Rep. on Coll. '*Of Fishes from the Okavango River, with notes on Zambesi fishes',* (Ann.S.Afr.Museum, 1948). See also other surveys on fishing that were commissioned by the postcolonial government, namely, Government of Botswana, 'The Marketing of Fresh/Frozen Fish in the Okavango: A Feasibility Study Conducted by the Botswana Ministry of Agriculture, April, 1992', and 'Village Development Proposal: Freezer Storage Facilities for Fresh Fish in Samochima Village, May 1993'.
[44] BNA BNB 11801, 'The Botswana Development Corporation Ltd, The First Fifteen Years 1970-1985', p. 10.
[45] BNA BNB 11801, 'The Botswana Development Corporation Ltd, p. 10.
[46] D.H. Potten, 'Aspects of the Recent History of Ngamiland', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8 (1976), p. 67.
[47] BNA BNB 11801, 'The Botswana Development Corporation Ltd, The First Fifteen Years 1970-1985', p. 10.

Subsistence fishermen faced major constraints. They had no means of acquiring efficient fishing equipment, lacked information on commercial production and had little prospect of marketing their fish. In the 1980s, the government sought to assist the local fishermen to make better use of the existing fishing potential in the panhandle of the Delta.[48] The main objective was to stimulate an artisanal fishery industry through improved catch methods and processing at village level.[49] A devastating drought in the early 1980s resulted in poor harvests and loss of many head of cattle countrywide, hastening state intervention with relief measures that shared linkages with fishing.[50] In Ngamiland, government relief efforts involved distributing dried fish to clinics and schools.[51] In sourcing the fish in 1983, the Food Resources Department (FRD) stimulated a dried salted fish industry in the Okavango panhandle by providing a market for the fishermen's product.[52] However, conflict developed between the fishermen and officers from the Fisheries Division. Government officials required the fishermen to form syndicates before assisting them with funding under the Agricultural Extension Small Projects Programme.[53] But the fishermen were opposed to being clustered in groups, saying they preferred to be assisted as individuals. The officials continued to provide education and training in the use of technology, fish processing, marketing, post-harvest preservation and conservation. Between 1986 and 1989, the Fisheries Division conducted 11 training courses for 275 participants and progress was monitored through regular extension visits.[54] The fishermen finally agreed to form themselves into groups. They were awarded grants to purchase fishing equipment through the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP), the programme designed to assist small and medium

[48] Government of Botswana, *Land Use Planning: Ngamiland Community First Development Area (CFDA)* (Maun: North West District Council, 1983), p. 148.
[49] K.S. Gilmore, 'Development Potential and Constraints of a Fishing Industry in the Okavango Delta, Paper for the Symposium on the Okavango Delta and its Future Utilization, National Museum, Gaborone, August 20th-September 2nd 1976, Gaborone.'
[50] Government of Botswana, *General Economic Data: Fisheries Data* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2000), no page numbers. The drought was prolonged, lasting from 1982 to 1988. See Joseph E. Mbaiwa, 'Prospects of Basket Production in Promoting Sustainable Rural Livelihoods in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *International Journal of Tourism Research,* Vol. 6 (2004), p. 225. For full article, see pp. 221-235.

[51] Government of Botswana, *The Marketing of Fresh/Frozen Fish in the Okavango: A Feasibility Study* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1992), p. 1.
[52] Interview with Judge Manyemana, Head of Fisheries Unit, Maun, 27 June 2008.
[53] Government of Botswana, *Land Use Planning: Ngamiland Community First Development Area (CFDA)* (Maun: North West District Council, 1983), p. 148. The Fisheries Division was under the Ministry of Agriculture.
[54]Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995, DDP 4* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 27.

enterprises in the country.[55] Equipment comprised gill nets, hooks and lines.[56] Marketing was key. By purchasing the dried fish directly from the fishermen, government not only provided a market for the subsistence fishermen, but also encouraged more catches:

> Fishermen would go on extended trips into the Delta in *mekoro* (plural for *mokoro*, the dug-out canoe) and clean, salt and dry their fish as it was caught. The fish was thus preserved on the boat, with little spoilage to worry about. Virtually all the fish they could produce in this way was purchased by FRD.[57]

The project slowly transformed subsistence fishing into a viable commercial activity. Government 'helped increase fish production from pure subsistence to more commercial activities.'[58] Between 1986 and 1989 the Food Resources Department spent P279 597.70 in purchasing a total of 780 tons of mixed dry fish that included bream, barbel and sardines.[59] The average income in 1989 was estimated at about P300 per fisherman per year.[60] However, fishermen complained that their counterparts in Namibia obtained higher prices and they requested to be permitted to sell their catches in Namibia. But government would not budge from its nationalist imperatives and explained that it was more important to feed the malnourished children of drought-ravaged Botswana than to chase higher prices.[61]

When the drought ended in 1990, government phased out the Drought Relief Programme 'causing the abrupt disappearance of the commercial fish market for the Okavango fishermen.'[62] As Lemberg and Nunga observed, 'The ending of the government's long standing dried fish buying programme in 1990 left Ngamiland fishermen without a ready market for large quantities.'[63] The local market was small and limited. Dried fish was not popular. 'Most people who ate dried fish were usually poor households who could not afford fishing gear to catch fresh fish for themselves or could not afford buying fresh fish.'[64] Also,

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[55]Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995,* p. 28.
[56]Interview with Saosiku Ndjwaki, Chairperson, Okavango Fishers Association, Samochima, 27 June 2008.
[57] Government of Botswana, *Marketing of Fresh/Frozen Fish in the Okavango: A Feasibility Study* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, April, 1992), pp. 1-2.
[58] Government of Botswana, *General Economic Data: Fisheries Data* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2000), (no page numbers).
[59] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995, DDP 4* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 27.
[60] Government of Botswana, *Ngamiland District Development Plan. 1989*-1995, p. 71.
[61] Government of Botswana,*Ngamiland District Development Plan, 1989-1995*, p. 70.
[62] Government of Botswana, *Marketing of Fresh/Frozen Fish in the Okavango: A Feasibility Study* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, April 1992), p. 1.
[63] B. Lemberg and S.M. Nengu, 'Village Development Project Proposal: Freezer Storage for Fresh Fish in Samochima Village, May 11 1993.'
[64] Interview with Fumbani Mainga, aged 27, Fisherman, Samochima, 28 June 2008.

the Okavango region was sparsely populated, with very poor internal transport systems and poor communications, making it difficult for the fishermen to transport their catches to potential markets. [65]

In 1995, fishermen lobbied local authorities, politicians and officials in the Fisheries Division for the revival of the collapsed fishery programme.[66] It soon became clear to the authorities that fishing households in the Okavango Delta had become dependent on government marketing.[67] Consequently, government resuscitated the artisanal fresh fish project through the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP).[68] The need for refrigeration was paramount and government agreed that:

> provision of cold storage would allow the fishermen to take advantage of the demand there. Frozen fish gives the fishermen more flexibility in their marketing options. It can be held up for some time and transported long distances in its frozen state, and remained of high quality.[69]

The cooling plant became the market place and clients branched off the main road to buy fish.

FAP also provided grants for cooler boxes, factory made gillnets and motorised aluminium boats (Figure 6).[70] Motorised boats enabled the fishermen to travel about 50 kilometres into the rich Delta fishing grounds.[71] Fishermen contributed 10% of the total cost and the 90% was borne by the state.[72] Assisted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the government paid the capital costs that covered the construction of the cold room and acquisition of freezers and a generator.[73]

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[65] Interview with Loago Mkungi, Chief Technical Assistant Officer, Fisheries Division, Shakawe, 27 June 2008.
[66] Interview with Otsile Haidango village elder, Samochima, 28 June 2008.
[67] Interview with Loago Mkungi, Shakawe, 27 June 2008.
[68] G. Mmopelwa, S. Raletsatsi and K. Mosepele, 'Cost Benefit Analysis of Commercial Fishing in Shakawe, Ngamiland', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 37 (2005), p. 12.
[69] B. Lemberg and S.M. Nengu, 'Village Development Project Proposal: Freezer Storage for Fresh Fish in Samochima Village, May 11 1993.'
[70] Interview with Saosiku Ndjwaki, Chairperson, Okavango Fishers Association, Samochima, 27 June 2008.
[71] Interview with Saosiku Ndjwaki, 27 June 2008.
[72] B. Lemberg and S.M. Nengu, 'Village Development Project Proposal: Freezer Storage for Fresh Fish in Samochima Village, May 11 1993'.
[73] Interview with Loago Mkungi, Chief Technical Assistant Officer, Fisheries Division, Okavango, 27 June 2008. Each freezer had a holding capacity of 450 kilogrammes of fish. The fishermen paid for the fuel used by the generator. While government paid the builder's wages, the fishermen moulded the bricks for the cold room. Most fishermen raised funds from the compensation against the wholesale slaughter of their livestock during the 1995 outbreak of the CBPP lung disease.

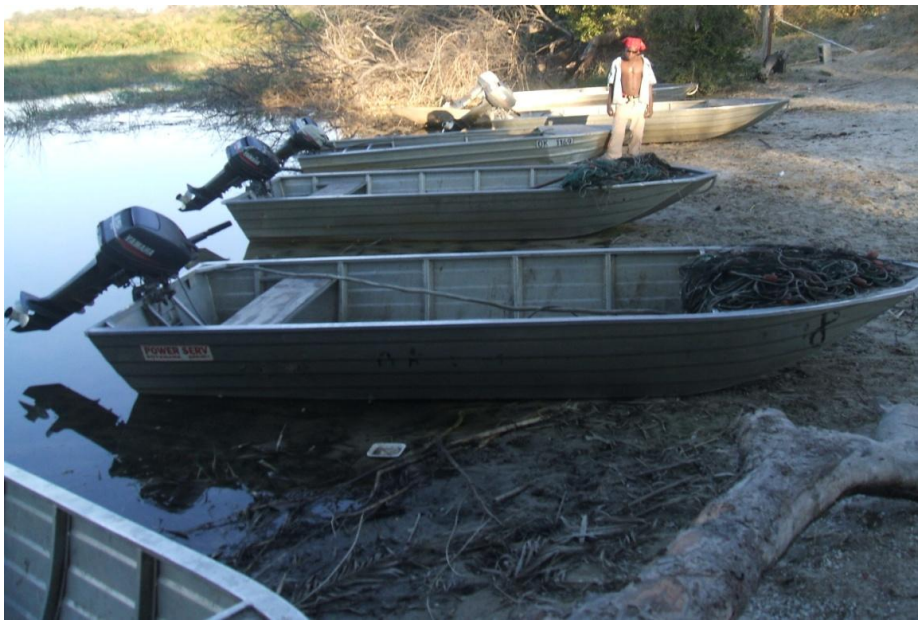

Figure 6. Motorised boats with gill nets inside them. Samochima village, Okavango Panhandle. Source: Bongani Gumbo, June 2008.

The fishermen began to organise themselves so that they could promote their interests as a group. In 1995, they formed the Okavango Fishers Association (OFA).[74] The Okavango Fishers Association lobbied for a similar FAP funded programme to their counterparts on the 'Eastbank', that is, the villages on the eastern side of the Okavango River.[75] But only small scale state funding was provided.[76] The number of opportunities created was small. A state-run commercial fishery in Shakawe village in the Okavango employed only 16 fishermen.[77]

The formation of the Association was also motivated by conflicts over user rights between the traditional fishermen and sport fishermen on the Okavango river.[78] In some instances,

[74] Government of Botswana, *Fishery Country Profile* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2007), p. 14.
[75] Interview with Saosiku Ndjwaki, Chairperson, Okavango Fishers Association (OFA), Samochima, 27 June 2008.
[76] As others have shown, state intervention is not always useful. See JoAnn McGregor, *Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of Landscape on a Central African Frontier* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2009), See chapter 8, especially. Also, see Elizabeth Colson, *Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), Allen Isaacman, 'Displaced People, Displaced Energy and Displaced Memories: The case of Cahora Bassa', in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* Vol. 38, No. 2 (May, 2005), pp. 201-238.
[77] G. Mmopelwa, S. Raletsatsi and K. Mosepele, 'Cost Benefit Analysis of Commercial Fishing in Shakawe, Ngamiland', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 37 (2005), pp. 11-21.
[78] Interview with Saosiku Ndjwaki, Chairperson, Okavango Fishers Association (OFA), Samochima, 27 June 2008. See also, Phemo Karen Kgomotso, 'The Challenge of Implementing Integrated Water Resource

according to Ndjwaki, the tourists prevented local fishermen from using the river. Arguing that they had paid a lot of money to the Ministry of Tourism, they allegedly claimed that:

> the river belonged to them as long as they were in the country. Taking advantage of structural weakness in monitoring, some of the safari lodge owners deliberately emptied excreta from their lodges into the delta, in front of our eyes. Occasionally, they race at high speed on the river, mindless of the local fishers on fishing expeditions in the *mekoro*, almost causing accidents.[79]

The government's chief technical assistant, Loago Mkungi confirmed that the problem was more pronounced from the late 1990s with the expansion of the tourist industry and the increase in lodges, safari camps and hotels in the Okavango delta, adding that some white anglers destroyed fishing nets belonging to locals and shouted abuse at them.[80] Tourists using motorised boats were blamed for interfering with fish breeding places, scaring fish to areas inaccessible by *mokoro* and colliding with the wooden boats in areas infested with crocodiles. In turn, tour operators accused local fishermen of overfishing. Key to the conflict was the absence of a policy to regulate recreational fishing: 'Because of the dearth of guidance, the full economic value of recreational fishery has never been realized where recreational fishers can enter the country, participate in fishing competitions anywhere in the country as they please.'[81] According to Richard Hasler, fishing tenure in the area gave 'open access'; resource rights were 'neither exclusive nor transferable but open to everyone.'[82]

Another constraint for the fishermen was the huge expense of repairing nets that were damaged by crocodiles. The only repair centre was the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) in Maun a long way off for most fishermen.[83] Despite their appeals for compensation, the authorities argued that the fishermen had to take responsibility since it was they who invaded the crocodiles' habitat and not the crocodiles who were attacking them in their homes.[84]

Management (IWRM) in the Lower Okavango River basin, Ngamiland District, Botswana', (Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, Faculty of Science, University of Western Cape, November 2005), pp. 79-80.

[79] Interview with Saosiku Ndjwaki, Samochima, 27 June 2008.

[80] Interview with Loago Mkungi, Chief Technical Assistant Officer, Shakawe, 27 June 2008.

[81] Government of Botswana, *Fishery Country Profile* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2007), p. 8.

[82] Richard Hasler, 'Political Ecologies of Scale and the Okavango Delta: Hydro-politics, Property Rights and Community Based Wildlife Management' (Unpublished paper), no date, p. 4. See also, *Mmegi*, 'Okavango Delta gets code of conduct for responsible fishing', 23 April 2010.

[83] Interview with Mothaba Sesinyi, fisherman, Samochima, 28 June 2008.

[84] Interview with Mothaba Sesinyi, Samochima, 28 June 2008.

Despite state intervention, fishing in the Okavango Delta has remained predominantly subsistence.[85] The majority of the fishermen continued to use traditional hook and line technology with low catch returns.[86] In 1999, of the 330 gill net fishermen, only 41 were 'pure commercial fishermen who fish exclusively for the market.'[87] In 2000, the total fish harvest in the region was estimated at 1850 tonnes, of which 900 tonnes were attributed to subsistence fishermen, 600 tonnes to recreational anglers and 350 tonnes to commercial fishermen. Commercial production was very low despite state support.[88]

Women, handicraft production and state intervention

The production of handicrafts in Ngamiland and Chobe was dominated by women identifying themselves as Hambukushu, Wayeyi and Basubiya. These peoples claimed a long history in basketry and mat weaving in the upper Zambezi before they migrated into the region towards the close of the eighteenth century.[89] The women of these 'river people' became highly skilled in the making of baskets, mats and beer strainers.[90] The rich heritage of weaving in Ngamiland was strengthened between 1967 and 1969 when approximately 4 000 immigrants comprising about 80% Hambukushu and 20% of BaKwengo (the San) and BaGxereku fled Portuguese persecution in Angola during the liberation wars. They crossed into Botswana where the government settled them in thirteen new villages at Etsha (Etsha 1-13) and later granted them citizenship.[91] Together with nearby Gomare, the Etsha villages became the centres of basket production in the Okavango panhandle.[92] The new Hambukushu immigrant women were expert weavers, designing artisitic motifs with extraordinary decorative ingenuity. Their beautiful wares boosted the creativity of the local

[85] Government of Botswana, *The Okavango Delta Management Plan Project* (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Affairs, 2008), p. 54.
[86] Interview with Disho Kakuru, fisherman, Samochima, 29 June 2008.
[87] Government of Botswana, *General Economic Data: Fisheries Data* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2000), no page numbers.
[88] Jaap Arntzen, 'Livelihoods and Biodiversity in the Okavango Delta, Botswana, Final Report, April 2005', p.19.
[89] Government of Botswana *Ngamiland District Development Plan 1989-1995, DDP 4* (Maun: North West District Council, 1990), p. 12. See also Daniel M. Shamukuni, 'The Basubiya', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 4 (1972), p. 172.
[90] Government of Botswana, *Land Use Planning: Ngamiland Community First Development Area (CFDA)* (Maun: North West District Council, 1983), p. 95.
[91] For a detailed settlement history of the Angolan refugees in the Okavango, see David Potten, 'Etsha: A Successful Resettlement Scheme', in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 8 (1976), pp. 105-107, for full article see pp. 105-117. The Portuguese army had tortured the local population cutting throats, legs and arms of victims, castrating men and displacing whole communities, hence the flight of the refugees to the Okavango Delta in Botswana. Gomare and Etsha
[92] Rhoda Levinsohn, *Basketry: A Renaissance in Southern Africa* (Ohio: Protea Press, 1979), p. 23.

Hambukushu and Wayeyi.[93] As Cunningham and Terry noted, 'the traditional basket was never static, but continually adapting to changing social and environmental conditions.'[94] These women also saw that their skills were handed down. Younger people were encouraged to learn by observing and helping adult weavers. It usually took two years before an 'apprentice' could produce a quality basket.[95]

Significantly, it was after the settlement of the immigrant Hambukushu at Etsha that basketry assumed commercial value in 1970.[96] Rosemary Twapika, one of the Mbukushu women who settled in Etsha 6 explained, 'When men went about their daily activities of fishing, hunting and other chores the women and girls walked nearby into the woodlands to collect plant material for making baskets.'[97] Displaying quality basketry, sixty one year old Karundu pointed out that,

> At my age I am the one who teaches all these women the most appealing designs and shapes that can be put to various uses and can be attractive to Europeans [tourists] and everyone knows Karundu here in Gomare even beyond Maun, and Kauxwi across the Okavango River. It is heritage from our ancestors. The major challenge is that of getting to the veld to look for raw material for weaving because my sight is almost failing me in identifying the appropriate plants and the need to watch out for predatory animals *yidyanyama* in the forests.[98]

Baskets were made from various plant materials such as the young leaves of the *mokola* the fan-like palm tree (*Hyphaene petersiana*). The bark of the *motlhakola* or *mukerete* tree (*Euclea divinorum*) was used for dyeing the *mokola* leaves.[99] The ways in which these women gathered raw material for their baskets revealed a sense of conservation awareness. The women gathered only the quantities needed at the time and never destroyed the whole plant (Figure 7). Michael Lee Yoffe also noted that conservation was practised by the weavers:

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[93] BNA BNB 6857, 'Investigation of Socio-Economic Activities in Etsha, 1976'.
[94] A.B. Cunningham and M. Elizabeth Terry, *African Basketry: Grassroots art from Southern Africa* (Simonstown: Fernwood Press, 2006), p. 5.
[95]Interview with Mma Katutu, Etsha, 29 June 2008.
[96] Interview with Mma Katutu, Aged 53, Basket Weaver who came from Angola in 1970, Etsha Basketry, Etsha 6 Village, Okavango, 29 June 2008.
[97] Interview with Rosemary Twapika, Aged 56, Basket Weaver, Etsha 6, 29 June 2008. Basketry was a women's preserve, from the extraction of raw materials to the manufacture of the final product. Occasionally, some men made large baskets for harvesting and fishing purposes. Significantly, most weavers were aged 40 and above and because of their long experience they produced quality baskets with quality designs. Twapika lamented that Westernisation had slowly got the better of their youth who found basket weaving to be time consuming, but also explained that some of the young could be at the lands tending crops.
[98]Interview with Neo Karundu, Aged 60, Basket weaver, Gomare, Okavango, 29 June 2008.
[99] Government of Botswana, *Land Use Planning: Ngamiland Community First Development Area* (Maun: North West District Council, 1983), p. 95.

Only part of the younger fronds [of the *mokola* palm] are cut, permitting the palm to survive. A root bark is used for dyeing the palm leaf various shades of brown; again only part of the root is cut, and the earth is marked to warn others. The following year the unused roots are cut.[100]

Figure 7. Young palm plants for basket weaving. Parakarungu village, Chobe. Note the fan-like leaves. Photograph: Bongani Gumbo, June 2008.

[100] Michael Lee Yoffe. 'Botswana Basketry', in *African Arts*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Nov. 1978), p. 43. For full article, see pp. 42-47.

Figure 8. Different types of bark and ground roots used as dye for baskets. Note the reed mat under the baskets, Matlapana Basketry and Curios, Maun. Photograph: Bongani Gumbo, June 2008.

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The value of basketry lay in its utility. Marita Haidango, a basket weaver at Gomare explained:

> Basically. the function of the vessel determined the shape and size. Large baskets were usually used in harvesting at the fields and storing grain or ground grain flour at home, while other large ones with lids and tightly woven held the opaque sorghum beer. Smaller ones covered cooked food before it was presented for eating. We also use the large ones for collecting veld products such as *motsentsila* (*Berchemia discolor*), *mokochumo* (*Diospyros mespiliformis*), the palm fruit, and *tswii* the water lily. [101]

Flat baskets were used for winnowing chaff from grain in post harvest processing and drying harvested vegetables.

Complex designs gave the artisans status and identity. The specific designs spoke to the weavers' world – the environment around which they lived, the historical experiences and the beliefs they cherished. Most of the designs bore animal imagery, illustrating their interaction with the animals. Thitaku Kushonya explained that her designs especially reflected an appreciation of the beauty and utility value of the animals. 'The bream fish is important in our diet and fish designs illustrate the point. The zebra is a very beautiful and harmless animal and its stripes appeal to the viewer of the basket. *Peolwane* the swallow

[101] Interview with Marita Haidango, Aged 43, Basket Weaver, Gomare, 29 June 2008.

bird, is another common design among our weavers because it is a good omen for rain which we all need, as in our national [‘mantra’] ‘*Pula!’*.[102] These designs were deliberately planned. As Michael Lee Yoffe observed, designs were ‘conceived’ before the actual weaving began.[103]

Figure 9. Reed fence around the homestead. Kauxwi village, Okavango. Photograph: Bongani Gumbo, June 2008.

While the isolation of Ngamiland from other centres in Botswana in many ways constituted a constraint for economic activity, it helped preserve the traditional craft skills. As Cunningham and Terry argue,

> remoteness of areas occupied by minority groups has been a major factor in maintaining habitats and societies intact. It has also been a factor in the retention of basketry skills. It is no coincidence that the most beautiful baskets are products of dusty landscapes.[104]

In the same vein, Levinsohn argues that as a result of the remoteness of the region commercial products ‘have not replaced the local traditional hand-made utilization

[102] Interview with Thitaku Kushonya, Aged 39. She is an entrepreneur, owning a basket production enterprise, the Matlapana Basketry and Curios in Matlapana Ward, Maun, 21 June 2008.
[103] Michael Lee Yoffe, ‘Botswana Basketry’, in *African Arts*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Nov. 1978), p. 43. For full article, see pp. 42-47.
[104] A.B. Cunningham and M. Elizabeth Terry, *African Basketry: Grassroots art from Southern Africa* (Simonstown: Fernwood Press, 2006), p. 18.

objects.'[105] She also attributed the endurance of traditional crafts to the fact that the weavers produced the baskets with passion and saw their skill as integral to their culture. In the case of the Ngamiland weavers, this meant a strong identification with women's skills and artistry.

In the early 1970s, NGOs and government officials began to argue that investment in basket making would help to alleviate poverty in this remote area.[106] In 1972, the Botswana Christian Council (BCC) together with Malcolm Thomas, the former Refugee Resettlement Officer at Etsha, established a Co-operative store funded by the Nordic countries. Located at Etsha 6, the store provided weavers with a space to display their wares.[107] Thomas became the manager of the Etsha Co-operative Store. The BCC encouraged the production of baskets on a commercial basis.[108] In 1973, the efforts of Malcom Thomas and the BCC led to the establishment of the Botswanacraft Marketing Company which provided a market for local handicrafts.[109] Botswanacraft bought baskets from rural women and exported them to overseas markets.[110] In 1975 Botswanacraft bought craft products worth R50,000.00, from the villagers.[111] At the same time, Botswanacraft was struggling to cope financially, administratively and logistically with the increasing supply of baskets from the Okavango Delta.[112] In the same year, through the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC), the state took over the Botswanacraft, closed down the local outlet in Chobe and concentrated on exports.[113] Throughout the 1980s, basket weaving provided self-employment in rural

[105] Rhoda Levinsohn, *Basketry: A Renaissance in Southern Africa* (Ohio: Cleveland Heights, 1979), pp. 23-24.
[106] M. Elizabeth Terry, 'The Botswana Handicraft Industry: Moving from the 20th to the 21st Century', in Sue Brothers, Janet Hermans and Doreen Nteta, (eds.), *Botswana in the 21st Century: Proceedings of a Symposium organized by The Botswana Society, October 18-21, 1993'* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1994), p. 571. For full article, see pp. 571-583.
[107] David Potten, 'Etsha: A Successful Resettlement Scheme', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 8 (1976), p. 112. See also, BNA BNB 6875, Investigation of Socio-Economic Activities in Etsha, 1976', *Mmegi*, 29 June 2007.
[108] BNA BNB, 'UBS Students Reports on Okavango Villages, 1976', p. 18. A.B. Cunningham and S.J. Milton, 'Effects of Basket-Weaving Industry on Mokola Palm and Dye Plants in Northwestern Botswana', in *Economic Botany*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Jul-Sept., 1987), p. 387. For full article, see pp. 386-402. With the help of two Peace Corps volunteers, markets were secured overseas in the United States of America and Western Europe.
[109] Interview with Reverend Mpho Moruakgomo, Kasane, 23 July 2008.
[110] Interview with Nicola Hart, Marketing Manager, Botswanacraft, Gaborone Warehouse, 2 February 2009.
[111] BNA BNB 6857, 'Investigation of Socio-Economic Activities in Etsha, 1976.'
[112] Interview with Reverend Mpho Moruakgomo, Kasane, 23 July 2008.
[113] Interview with Modisa Baatshwana, Senior Administrative Officer, Botswana Development Corporation, Gaborone, 20 August 2008.

Okavango to 1500 women in Etsha villages, and 400 in Gomare.[114] By 1984, more than half of the women in these communities were making baskets.[115] The prolonged drought of 1982-1988 also contributed to more women resorting to basketry as a safety net.[116]

In 1989, the government placed a volunteer handicraft adviser in the area.[117] The number of weavers increased from 60 in 1988 to 170 in 1991. About 1,000 baskets were produced in 1991, bringing P7,780 shared among the 170 weavers in the Chobe District.[118] In this period, the value of basketry was changing. Increasingly, emphasis was on production for decorative purposes, increasing the economic value of baskets.[119] In an effort to retain overseas markets, Botswanacraft encouraged diversity of designs and weaving techniques among the basket weavers.[120] Botswanacraft introduced system for grading the baskets. 'Purchasing officers were trained to select only high quality and good design, and the price structure was also re-organized so that the baskets were graded at the time of purchase into standard, premium and super premium.'[121] Grading and annual exhibitions at the National Museum in Gaborone became the basis of selecting quality products for overseas markets.[122]

The quality of life of the local people slowly began to improve. The population in the Ngamiland District grew almost twofold in the two decades between 1971 and 1991, rising from 47,723 to 94, 534, respectively.[123] According to the 1991 census statistics, the population of women in the district exceeded that of men. In Northern Ngamiland, which includes the Okavango Delta, out of a population of 36,723, there were 20,373 women and

[114] Joseph E. Mbaiwa, 'Prospects of Basket Production in Promoting Sustainable Rural Livelihoods in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *International Journal of Tourism Research,* Vol. 6 (2004), p. 229. For full article, see pp. 221-235.
[115] A.B. Cunningham and S.J. Milton, 'Effects of Basket Weaving Industry on Mokola and Dye Plants in Northwestern Botswana', in *Economic Botany,* Vol. 41, No. 3 (Jul – Sept., 1987), p. 388.
[116] Interview with Paulos Nkoni, Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 3 July 2008.
[117] M. Elizabeth Terry, 'The Botswana Handicraft Industry: Moving from the 20th to the 21st Century', in Sue Brothers, Janet Hermans and Doreen Nteta, (eds.), *Botswana in the 21st Century, Proceeding of a Symposium organized by The Botswana Society, October 18-21, 1993* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1994), p.p. 578-579. For full article, see, pp. 571-583.
[118] M. Elizabeth Terry, 'The Botswana Handicraft Industry', pp. 578-579.
[119] A.B. Cunningham and M. Elizabeth Terry, *African Basketry: Grassroots art from Southern Africa* (Simonstown: Fernwood Press, 2006), p. 5.
[120] Interview with Thitaku Kushonya, Aged 39, Owner of Matlapana Basketry and Curios, Maun, 21 June 2008.
[121] Michael Lee Yoffee, 'Botswana Basketry', in *African Arts*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Nov. 1978), p. 46.
[122] Interview with Tlhabologo Ndzinge, former Director of the Department of Tourism, Gaborone, 20 December 2009.
[123] Government of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census: Summary Statistics on Small Areas* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1994), (no page numbers).

16,350 men.[124] The increase in population was partly due to improved health care.[125] Government interventions during droughts avoided malnutrition-related deaths. For example, school feeding in 1988 meant that 'when the drought ended in 1988, the prevalence of underweight children had dropped to 15%, from 28% in 1984.'[126]

On its own, basket-making did not necessarily 'empower' women. Illiteracy was a major constraint for basket makers. In the late 1980s, a survey found that 59.8% of basket makers had never received any formal education and 16.1% had not completed basic primary education.[127] Due to its remoteness, and to the large rural component of the district, Ngamiland had one of the highest illiteracy levels in the country, ranging from 30% to 50% in some areas.[128] Illiteracy increased dependence on government initiatives. Moreover, in 1993, when Botswanacraft again became a private company, independent of government, it chose to 'contract' a handful of weavers rather than buying from independent producers.[129] Botswanacraft 'contracted' 10 weavers to produce specifically for the company; those not contracted were free to sell to tourists or hotels.[130] The move was intended to make Botswnacraft more competitive and was apparently precipitated by competition from organisations that bought baskets on behalf of hotels and safari companies.[131] Nicola Hart, the Marketing Manager at the Gaborone Warehouse said that 'contracting' the weavers was to the advantage of the women:

> They are guaranteed a regular income and our advisors train them on sustainable harvesting of plant material. We advise them on how to improve on their skills and designs in order to keep pace with international market requirements. Moreover, they have an opportunity to showcase their products at the annual Basket and Craft exhibitions in Gaborone so that they can become entrepreneurs with the necessary information on market demands.[132]

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[124] Government of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census: Summary Statistics on Small Areas* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1994), (no page numbers).
[125] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP6 1985-1991* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1985), p. 308.
[126] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP7 1991-1997*(Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1991), p. 367.
[127] Joseph E. Mbaiwa, 'Prospects of Basket Production in Promoting Sustainable Rural Livelihoods in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', p. 230.
[128] Government of Botswana, *The Okavango Delta Management Plan Project* (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Affairs, 2008), p. 21.
[129] Interview with Nicola Hart, Marketing Manager, Botswanacraft, Warehouse, Gaborone, 2 February 2009. It was government policy that as soon as a 'government assisted' company achieved levels of self-sustenance, government withdrew its support to assist elsewhere where need arose.
[130] Interview with Bena Ngwenya (pseudonym), Aged 32, Employee of Botswanacraft, Gaborone Warehouse, 2 February 2009.
[131] Interview with Bena Ngwenya, Gaborone Warehouse, 2 February 2009.
[132] Interview with Nicola Hart, Gaborone Ware House, 2 February 2009.

In contrast, Ekome Disho, an independent weaver stated that the 'Botswanacraft women' did not always benefit from their hard work:

> Some tourists buy our baskets at good prices, especially group tourists from overseas whereas those at Botswancraft are not allowed to sell to them while their company pays them less wages for high quality products. Besides, they work within strict deadlines, making it difficult for them to engage other household activities.[133]

A few basket weavers made good money. Mihizi Mukumbi, a retired basket weaver built a bakery in Etsha 6 out of the savings from basket weaving and a loan from the Financial Assistance Policy, in 1997. The bakery grew steadily and by 2000 had provided employment for 5 people in the village. [134] At the age of 39, Thitaku Kushonya was another successful entrepreneur to emerge from the basketry industry. With no formal schooling, Kushonya was taught reading and writing skills by her twin sister. In 1997, Kushonya established a basketry enterprise, the Matlapana Basketry and Curios in Matlapana ward in Maun (See Figue 10). Speaking English fluently, she recounted how she entered the industry.

> I entered the basketry industry as an apprentice to my mother and acquired tremendous amount of the relevant skills over time. In 1986 I partnered with a lady friend who worked at Botswanacraft where we marketed our products. But Botswanacraft was in the habit of setting low prices for our quality products so I quit. In 1990 I registered with Botswana Christian Council at Etsha 6 and later with Ngwao Boswa at Gumare. When things couldn't work I joined Shorobe Craft Studio in 1995 but fellow weavers were lazy and lacked motivation so I left them to open own firm Matlapana Basketry and Curios in 1997 with government assistance, the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP). [135]

The loan financed a car and the building of storerooms and a house in the same compound. Kushonya's customers ranged from tourists to safari companies and lodges. After she won the basket exhibition at the National Museum in Gaborone in 1994, the Kellog Foundation sponsored a trip to the USA. In a contest involving 52 countries, Kushonya's baskets obtained 4th position. Her prize of US$2500 went into her Post Office Savings Bank.[136]

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[133] Interview with Ekome Disho, Aged 41, Basket Weaver Etsha 6 village, 29 June 2008.
[134] Interview with Mihizi Mukumbi, Aged 61, Retired Basket Weaver, Etsha 6 village, 29 June 2008.
[135] Interview with Thitaku Kushonya, Aged 39, Owner of Matlapana Basketry and Curios, Maun, 21 June 2008. She says her name is symbolic. 'Thitaku' in TiMbukushu means 'burial' or 'funeral' because she lost five siblings before her. 'Kushonya' in ChiMbukushu means putting one's hands to hard work and she believes this was an omen because she has worked hard and she continues to do so.
[136] Interview with Thitaku Kushonya, Maun, 21 June 2008.

Figure 10. Kushonya's basketry business enterprise, Maun. Photograph: Bongani Gumbo, June 2008.

The economic success of women in the Okavango panhandle challenged some aspects of male authority. Households handled change in different ways. While Thitaku Kushonya and Mihizi Mukumbi enjoyed the support of their husbands, others did not. Tuelo Lituele's husband demanded to know her income. Laughing, Lituele said that many women in her position never declared the exact amount they made from their sales. 'Sometimes I would tell lies, deliberately, saying that I didn't sell anything because he did not know the number of baskets I made and how I priced them.'[137] Other basket weavers such as Osha Mohube of Gomare argued that since her husband spent time tending family cattle, 'I should let him know the worth of my contribution to the household in the form of income from selling baskets.'[138] While Frances Cleaver pointed out that socio-economic changes in which men lose their breadwinning role in the family generate vulnerabilities and insecurity among men, the women entrepreneurs of Ngamiland seem to have found ways of helping their men not to feel threatened by their success.[139]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the gendered division of labour in the utilisation of riverine resources in the Chobe and Ngamiland districts. Both fishermen and basket weavers drew on

[137] Interview with Tuelo Lituele, Aged 46, Basket Weaver, Gomare village, 29 June 2008.
[138] Interview with Osha Moronga, Aged 56, Basket Weaver, Gomare, 29 June 2008.
[139] Frances Cleaver, 'Men and Masculinities: New Directions in Gender and Development', in Frances Cleaver, (ed.), *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development* (London: Zed Books, 2002), pp. 3-4. For full article, see pp. 1-27.

indigenous, local knowledge and demonstrated versatility, embracing adaptive strategies and responding creatively to changing social and environmental conditions. State intervention in the area sought to expand commercial opportunities for both fishermen and women basket weavers. These efforts assisted local people to improve their livelihoods by providing financial and technical assistance and markets. However, only a handful benefited significantly. A few women basket weavers became entrepreneurs and provided employment for other people in the region. Women who provided for their families occasionally challenged patriarchal ideas of who should provide what for the household. This chapter has also shown that local economic activity is often sensitive to the vulnerability of wetland environments and that riverine communities are receptive to new ideas for environmental conservation.

Chapter Six: Wildlife Conservation and Human Communities: Colonial Beginnings and Post-colonial Adaptations

This chapter examines the complex interface between wildlife conservation and rural livelihoods in the Chobe and Ngamiland districts. The chapter explores the establishment of the Chobe National Park in the Chobe district and the Moremi Game Reserve in Ngamiland and their impact on the local communities. The chapter will show that from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s, wildlife management strategies conflicted with local people's livelihood strategies. In the early 1970s, the state became more sensitive to the difficulties created by an approach to wildlife management that denied the views of local inhabitants and excluded them from involvement in conservation. Efforts to educate local communities in the value of wildlife conservation for their own long term and short term livelihoods became more prevalent in the late 1970s and conservation strategies began to be more inclusive of local communities.

The idea and practice of conservation did not arrive with colonialism. While hunting was part of daily life for the people of precolonial Chobe and Ngamiland, so too, was conservation.[1] Game animals were communal property under the custodianship of the chief who established age-regiments and authorised hunting expeditions that took place during specific seasons.[2] The hunting season was usually declared when most of the female animals had weaned their young.[3] Hunting was governed by rules and animals such as leopard were prized, hunted sparingly and the skins given to the chief for use in royal ceremonies.[4] Among the Hambukushu of Shakawe village in the Okavango sub-district, it was also customary for hunters to present certain portions of hunted meat to the chief. Punitive measures were taken against those who did not comply.[5] Conservation was integrated in cultural institutions such as totems. Almost all Batswana clans identified with a specific totem or *direto*. By identifying

[1] Gwere Mwezi, subsistence farmer, Mabele Village, Chobe District, 29 April 2008. See also, Manfred O. Hinz, *Without Chiefs there would be no Game: Customary Law and Nature Conservation* (Windhoek: Out of Africa Publishers, 2003), p. 16-21. Hinz provides insight into indigenous conservation practices in pre-colonial Namibia.
[2] A. Campbell, 'A History of Wildlife in Botswana to 1966', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997',* pp.14-15. For full article, see pp. 7-31.
[3] Interview with Jakoba Kasaira, Mabele 29 April 2008.
[4] Interview with Jakoba Kasaira,Village elder, Mabele, 29 April 2008.
[5] BNA S. 416/6, 'History of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Tribes: Hambukushu by Thomas Larson, 1951-1951.'

with a specific animal, the clan showed respect and refrained from hunting or eating the animal.[6] As Spinage observed, 'One of the commonest obligations concerning a totem animal was that it could not be killed, or even touched. This protection was conferred on a range of animals.'[7] The Batawana in Ngamiland would not eat duiker (*Phuti*) or crocodile (*Kwena*) and fish while the Kalanga and Ndebele of Pandamatenga were associated with buffalo (*Nyathi*), zebra (*Dube*), elephant (*Ndlovu*), baboon/monkey (*Ncube*), eland (*Mpofu*).[8] Thus, while hunting formed a critical part of the local economy, conservation of wild animals and vegetation were included in customary rules that regulated access, control and utilisation.[9]

Manga Molongwane, a retired subsistence farmer at Satau village, in the Chobe district explained the importance of hunting in the local economy:

> *Go tswa go Lowe, re ntse re tsoma diphologolo tse eleng mpho ya badimo gore re je mme ka tshomarelo, le go dira kapari le dikubo go tswa matlalong atsone. Re ne re sa bolaye fela go sena mabaka, kana re ne re tsaya gore ke di phologolo tsarona, mme gompieno ke leruo la ga goromente. Gape, re ne re ropa ka go tsengwa mephathong e e neng e rongwa ke kgsoi go ya letsomong.* (From time immemorial, we have been hunting game animals which we regarded as a gift from our ancestors to sustain us with meat for food and we tanned animal skin into clothes and blankets. We did not just kill for the sake of it. We regarded the animals as ours, unlike today when game has become government property. As part of traditional initiation ceremonies, the chief distributed us into age regiments that would graduate following a successful hunt).[10]

Chirinda Mwanga, a traditional healer in Parakarungu village explained how certain animal parts were used for medicinal purposes. Python fat was used for protection - against attack by wild animals, the effects of witchcraft, legal litigation - and for general good luck.

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[6] Alec Campbell, 'Utilization of Wildlife in Botswana From Earliest Times to AD 1900', in K. Leggett, (ed.), *The Present Status of Wildlife and its Future in Botswana, The Proceedings of a Symposium/Workshop organized by the Kalahari Conservation Society and the Chobe Wildlife Trust, 1995* (Gaborone: Kalahari Conservation Society, 1995), pp. 53-60.

[7] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), p. 8.

[8] Interview with Vincent Mfanamajaha, Court clerk, Pandamatenga Customary Court, Pandamatenga Village, 18 June, 2008. Different animal species were thus spared by the different people for whom it was taboo to eat the totem animal.

[9] M. Samson and C. Monyadzwe, 'Community Based Conservation and Development: The Chobe Enclave Experience', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997* (Gaborone: The Kalahari Conservation Society , 1997), p. 292. For full article, see pp. 292-296. Formed in 1982, the Kalahari Conservation Society (KCS) was the first environmental non-governmental organisation to participate in supporting biodiversity conservation policies in Botswana and across the region. It also funded conservation- oriented projects. See http://www.kcs.org.bw/About-Background 'Kalahari Conservation Society', accessed on 18/04/2010.

[10] Interview with Manga Molongwane, Aged 78, retired subsistence farmer, Satau Village, Chobe District, 11 June 2008.

> *Re baa melemo ya rona ka go farologana gayone, e mengwe mo dinakeng tsoo-tholo le legapa la khudu.* (Horns of antelope and tortoise shells served as containers for medicines of various types). *Bo mme ba ba nang le mathata a setswalo ba aramela boloko ba tlou* (women with menstrual problems inhaled smoke form elephant dung that was burnt on charcoal).[11]

The medicinal value of wild animal by-products, especially the pangolin, a scaly ant-eater, whose scales were considered important in fertility was property of the chief. The chief rewarded the finder with a calf or sheep.[12] The soil on the spot at which a baboon urinated was collected and broadcast in the cattle kraal so that the cattle might multiply. The nocturnal hyena's 'twitching' tail healed erectile dysfunction. The tail was dried and ground to powder, which was consumed with unfermented soft porridge. Healers who used wild animal potions were extremely popular:

> Predators roam all over the Basubiya land but my cattle have never been touched by lions or hyenas because I am protected by Mwanga's medicine. The cows produce calves regularly and the calves grow into adults with neither infection no predation. Most of the people with relatively large heads of cattle consult Mwanga. Even politicians from across the political spectrum as well as church pastors, and lawyers, visit him when the chips are down, in the cover of the darkness for fear of being associated with traditional medicine since, in public, they despise traditional medicine.[13]

Knowledge of medicinal plants also informed part of indigenous ideas about conservation.

> *Ka kaelo ya Badimo, dingaka tsa setso dine di bontshiwa ko di tlhare tse di maleba di leng teng. Gape. Di ngaka tse, dine di se dintse jaaka malatsing ano mo ba bangwe ba itirelwang go senka madi. Ka jalo, go ne go sena tshenyo tikologong. Ditlhare dine di epiwa midi e e tlhokegang,ka bo tswerere, eseng yotlhe go somarela setlhare, ka jalo le di kala le makwati.* (Through 'ancestral visions', traditional healers were shown where the medicinal plants were. Traditional healers in those times were not as many as we see today. Some of these are faking; they are greedy for money. In those days, there was no environmental destruction. Roots, bark and twigs, alike, were cut expertly and sparingly). [14]

Pina Maruza, a traditional healer and mother, explained the importance of *sengaparile* (Devil's Claw).[15] Her 'consulting room' was a round hut made from poles and reeds daubed

[11]Interview with Chirinda Mwanga, Aged 58, Traditional Healer, Parakarungu Village, Chobe District, 11 June 2008.
[12] P. Gransberg and J.R. Parkinson, *Botswana Country Study and Norwegian Aid Review* (Bergen: CHR Michelsen Institute, 1988), p. 134.
[13] Interview with Nanzala Kachana, Aged 53, Subsistence Farmer, Parakarungu Village, Chobe District, 11 June 2008.
[14] Interview with Gwere Mwezi, Mabele Village, 29 April 2008.
[15] Interview with Pina Maruza, Aged 46, female traditional healer, Nxamasere Village, Okavango sub-District, 27 June 2008. The interview was conducted in her 'consulting room', a round mud hut made from wooden poles and reeds that were daubed with mud. In the room, a kind of warehouse, there were the practitioner's

with mud. Wild animal skins, horns and dried herbs hung from the rafters and lay in piles on the polished dung floor. Maruza explained that *sengaparile* was a tuber that withstood drought conditions in the sandveld and it was used to treat *madi ama tona* (high blood pressure) and menstrual complications. It was often administered along with smoke inhalation from dried elephant dung.[16]

Conservation debates

The idea of conservation in pre-colonial societies in Africa has been a subject of debate. T.N. Headland, an American ecological anthropologist, claimed that traditional conservation was just a myth, a 'noble savage-argument'. Headland claimed that 'primitive cultures have sometimes seriously disturbed their local environment.'[17] On the other hand, J. Bodley argued that 'primitive cultures achieved a far stabler environmental adaptation than presently assumed by industrial civilisation.'[18]

Trophy hunting by white men was a major factor in influencing game protection in colonial southern Africa. European settlement at the Cape in the seventeenth century and the subsequent dispersal into the hinterland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in unchecked hunting and killing of substantial populations of large mammals for trade in their skins, hides and ivory.[19] European sportsmen almost decimated wildlife populations in Transvaal and blamed it on Africans.[20] Accounts of early European travellers, explorers, missionaries, hunters and traders noted that professional hunters established hunting camps in the wetland areas of Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe where they killed for game

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paraphernalia that included dried herbs and plant bulbs, skins of wild animals hanging from the rafters, and few small bags made from skin of civet cat in which, she revealed were casting bones. Clients would sit on reed mats that were laid on a floor made from local clay soils mixed with cow dung.

[16] Elephant dung was so valued because the elephant ate varieties of plant species which it did not always digest fully so that the excreta was associated with plant parts that still had natural properties intact, some of which were medicinal.

[17] Manfred O. Hinz, *Without Chiefs There would be no Game: Customary law and nature conservation* (Windhoek: Out of Africa, 2003), pp. 19-21.

[18] Manfred O. Hinz, *Without Chiefs There would be no Game*, p. 20.

[19] John McCormick, *The Global Environmental Movement: Reclaiming Paradise* (London: Belhaven, 1989), pp. 8-10.Wildlife also provided food to the first settlers around the Cape. See William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 23.

[20] Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), pp. 90-91.

meat, ivory, rhino teeth and horns, hides and ostrich feathers. Some writers viewed this activity as despicable wanton slaughter of game animals.[21]

The introduction of guns in the wetlands in the early 1850s by hunters and traders enabled white hunters and their African assistants to kill large numbers of wild animals.[22] Animal products were also exported for exhibition in European museums. One of the renowned British professional hunters in the region at the time, Frederick Courteney Selous, shot and killed almost two hundred buffalo.[23] While it is difficult to establish the precise number of animals killed by these hunters, it was estimated that between 1872 and 1874, European hunters killed approximately 2,500 elephant in the Zambezi basin, obtaining about 50 tons of ivory.[24]

Maria Fisch noted that in the Caprivi Strip, Namibia, European hunters took advantage of the neglect of the territory by German colonial administrators who seldom patrolled the area. They slaughtered hundreds of wild animals for trophies. Hides from hippos and giraffe were prized for making leather belts, bags and *sjamboks* (long stiff whips for flogging).[25] These goods were destined for the lucrative market in nearby South Africa. South African Boers were the most frequent hunters especially those who had been impoverished by the South African War of 1899-1902. They came to the Caprivi Strip 'to improve their financial position by selling hunting products.'[26]

In Botswana, colonial administrators' annual reports for 1904-1905 indicated that animal trophies constituted the main export and that most of the trophies (horns, tails, skins) came

[21] Edward C. Tabler, (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland: The Diaries of George Westbeech, 1885-1888 and Captain Norman McLeod, 1875-1876* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 22-27, William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: The Taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 17-33.
[22] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland, 1750 to 1906: The Formation of an African State* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 64-65. See also J. Ramsay, B. Morton, T. Mgadla, *Building a Nation: A History of Botswana from 1800 to 1910* (Gaborone: Longman, 1996), p. 59.
[23] Geoffrey Haresnape, *The Great Hunters*, Elisa Series Vol. III (Cape Town: Purnell, 1974), p. 66.
[24] John McCormick, *The Global Environmental Movement*, p. 9.
[25] Maria Fisch, *The Caprivi Strip during the German Colonial period, 1890 to 1914* (Windhoek: Out of Africa, 1999), p. 44.
[26] Maria Fisch, *The Caprivi Strip during the German Colonial period*, p. 44. Some Boers had been pushed out of the labour market by industrialization towards the close of the 19th century and made recourse to hunting because 'times have changed. The day of game as an economic factor in the food supply of the country has gone by. We can now supply food with the plow and reaper and the cattle ranges cheaper than it can be furnished with a rifle.' Cited in William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History*, p. 27.

from Ngamiland.[27] Thomas Tlou noted that Moody and Todd were so successful in hunting Buffalo on the Chobe river that they established a trade centre in Livingstone, at some point holding 1,140 *sjamboks* for export.[28] Colonial police officers in the Chobe district sometimes confronted European poachers. According to Fisch, on the 17th October 1906, poachers eluded the police with approximately 100 giraffe hides near Kasane. Some European hunters employed local assistants. In so doing, European hunters made Africans accomplices in this slaughter of game animals, often providing them with a *kgobela*, a German muzzleloader.[29] Fisch noted that hunters around Kasane employed local men to assist in hunting, skinning and carrying the animal products. In 1905, Birkenbach, a German hunter, failed to compensate his assistants who subsequently stole three guns from his dilapidated hut in Kazungula.[30] European adventurers exploited local people in other ways. A South African hunter who pretended to be a German officer was in the habit of fraudulently collecting tax from local people in the Caprivi Strip, but the inhabitants soon discovered that he was a swindler, 'assaulted him and took him out of the territory by boat to Kazungula.'[31] It was against this background of greed and the extermination of wildlife that the colonial government introduced conservation measures in the wetlands of the then Bechuanaland Protectorate.[32]

The conservation agenda in Africa was shaped by European environmentalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Richard H. Grove, early forms of conservation drew both on utopian ideas of a pristine Eden and on evidence of 'the drastic ecological consequences of colonial rule and capitalist penetration.'[33] The search for a rural 'Eden' resulted in the coming together of conservation and sentimentalism in the creation of game parks. These parks were designed to preserve animal species for human viewing and enjoyment. The idea of game parks was also informed by the extermination and scarcity of

[27] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland, 1750-1906: The Formation of an African State (*Gaborone: Macmillan,1985), p. 90.
[28] Thomas Tlou, *A History of Ngamiland*, p. 90.
[29] G.B. Gumbo, 'The Political Economy of Development in the Chobe: Peasants, Fishermen and Tourists, 1960-1995', (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Botswana, 2002), p. 29.
[30] Maria Fisch, *The Caprivi Strip during the German Colonial period,* pp. 47-49.
[31] Maria Fisch, *The Caprivi Strip during the German colonial period*, pp. 48-49.
[32] Bechuanaland Protectorate Government, *High Commissioners Proclamations and the more important Government Notices*, Vol. XXIII (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1938), p. 192. See also, Isaac Sidinga, *Tourism and African Development: Change and Challenge of Tourism in Kenya* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1990), p. 68.
[33] Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism*, p. 474.

wild animals in Europe in the late nineteenth century.[34] Europeans were enthused with the myth that the African continent remained pristine and abundant with wildlife, which was 'no longer available in domesticated landscapes of Europe.'[35] The African continent enjoyed an unspoilt landscape; it was a place that Europeans could visit. It provided an opportunity to 'regain one's sanity' and an escape to solitude away from the bustle of the 'increasingly traumatic' industrialised society of Europe.[36] Game parks also served scientific and zoological research interests.[37] Moreover, as Mark Cioc observed, game management was 'both a practical guide for preserving game animals and an early history of wildlife administration.'[38]

From the 1930s, colonial administrations in southern and East Africa established 'a world-class system of national parks', including household names such as the Kruger National Park in South Africa, the Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe, the Luangwa National Park in Zambia, Serengeti in Tanzania and Tsavo in Kenya.[39] In Botswana, the Chobe and Moremi game parks were established.[40]

[34] James Murombedzi, 'Pre-colonial and colonial conservation practices in Southern Africa and their legacy today', in Webster Whande, Thembela Kepe, and Marshall Murphree, (eds.), *Local Communities, Equity and Conservation in Southern Africa: A Synthesis of Lessons learnt and Recommendations from a Southern African Technical Workshop* (Cape Town: Programme for Land And Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), 2003), pp. 23-24. See also, Maria Fisch, *The Caprivi Strip during the German Colonial period, 1890 to 1914* (Windhoek: Out of Africa, 1999), pp. 44-49. Fisch made a detailed startling description of wanton slaughter of game animals in the Caprivi Strip by European 'sportsmen' mostly of German and South African origin during both German and South African occupation of Namibia.

[35] David Anderson and Richard Grove, (eds.), *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1-12. Starfield and Bleloch however counter argue that African game parks cannot sustain the state of being pristine because of increasing human interference from both outside the park and within. See A.M. Starfield and A.L. Bleloch, *Building Models for Conservation and Wildlife Management* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1986), p. 12.

[36] Vasant Saberwal, Mahesh Rangarajan and Ashish Kothari, *People, Parks and Wildlife: Towards Coexistence,* (London: Sangam Books, 2001), pp. 2-3.

[37] Anup Shah, *The Economics of Third World National Parks: Issues of Tourism and Environmental Management* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995), p. 1.

[38] Mark Cioc, *The Game of Conservation: International Treaties to Protect the World's Migratory Animals* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009), p. 2.

[39] Brian Child, 'Conservation in Transition', in Helen Suich and Brian Child with Anne Spenceley, (eds.), *Evolution and Innovation in Wildlife Conservation: Parks and Game Ranches to Transfrontier Conservation Areas* (Sterling: Earchscan, 2009), p. 6.

[40] G. Taolo, 'The Current Status of Wildlife in Botswana', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with The Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997* (Gaborone: The Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), pp. 32-43.

The establishment of the Chobe and Moremi Game Reserves

The establishment of game parks in Africa towards the close of the 19th century was an exercise in colonial landscaping.[41] As elsewhere in Africa, the process excluded local opinion.[42] James Murombedzi explained that the imposition of game parks led to resentment and the perception that game parks were creations of European colonisation which extended over nature as well as people.[43]

In the 1890s, over-exploitation of large game by South African hunting parties in Bechuanaland and the gradual participation of local people in trading in game trophies, prompted the colonial administration to step in.[44] In 1891, the colonial government promulgated the *Game Law*, the first statutory instrument applied to the Bechuanaland Protectorate.[45] In 1904, the authorities enacted the *Large Game Preservation Proclamation* (No. 22).[46] Through this proclamation, non-citizens were required to obtain hunting licences to kill elephants, eland and giraffe.[47] Local people were permitted to continue subsistence hunting of mammals except for elephant, eland and giraffe for which they were required to obtain a licence. These species were regarded as Crown game.[48] In 1904, the entire Chobe

[41]BNA S 568/13/2, 'Game Reserve – Northern: Establishment of' Letter No. 64 from Philip K. Crowe, 'The Chobe Game Reserve', 10 September 1960.

[42] BNA S. 163/4, 'Game Reserves and Protection of Wildlife', File No. M.H/2/60, 1959-1961. For the creation of the East African game parks see also, Agness Kiss, (ed.), *Living with Wildlife: Wildlife Resource management with Local Participation in Africa*, (Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, 1990), pp. 5, 67-74.

[43] James Murombedzi, 'Pre-colonial and colonial conservation practices in Southern Africa and their legacy today', in Webster Whande, Thembela Kepe and Marshall Murphee, (eds.), *Local Communities, Equity and Conservation in Southern Africa: A Synthesis of Lessons learnt and Recommendations from a Southern African Technical Workshop* (Cape Town: Programme for Land And Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), 2003), pp. 23-24.

[44] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), p. 11. Spinage noted colonial administration's concern over a thriving trading station at Macloutsie (corruption of 'Motloutse'), in the Protectorate resulting from large-scale killing of game animals by both locals and South African Boers. The administration concluded that it was time to make legislation that would protect game animals from the mass slaughter.

[45] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana,* p. 13. The 1891 Proclamation was an amendment of the *Game Law, (1886),* that applied to the Cape Colony. Among others, the 1891Act's cogent provisions included restriction of hunting of certain species of game, such as *quagga* which had been extinct for 28 years. In order to allow breeding and weaning, the law established closed seasons, during which hunting was prohibited. Professional hunters were required to obtain hunting licences. See page 13 for details.

[46] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana.* See pp. 14-20 on other laws promulgated by the colonial government before 1966.

[47] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 1973-78, Part I* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1973), p. 229.

[48] Alec Campbell, 'A History of Wildlife in Botswana to 1966', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana - Strategies for the Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997* (Gaborone: The Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), pp. 7-31.

district was designated 'Crown Lands', which allowed the administration to put the land to any use they deemed necessary.[49] Crown Land status effectively put all land in the Chobe District under the jurisdiction of the Imperial government.[50] On Crown Land, residents' rights were mediated by the colonial administration. In practice, this meant that game rather than people were given priority.

> Africans on Crown Lands are squatters with no right and no security of tenure over the land they occupy, and a beginning of some measure of game control with Africans, which we are all agreed is desirable, must very conveniently be made in the Crown Lands.[51]

In 1932, drawing on the successes of the Kruger National Park in South Africa and the Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe, British Resident Commissioner in Botswana, Charles Rey proposed the establishment of a game park in the Chobe district.[52]

> He [Rey], emphasised the importance to tourism of the proximity of the Victoria Falls, and proposed a hotel at Kazungula. He pointed out the economic advantages of tourism as shown by the rapidly growing popularity of the Kruger National Park in South Africa created in 1926), and Zimbabwe's Hwange National Park (established as a Game Reserve in 1928 and declared a National Park in 1930).[53]

[49] Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part V. The High Commission Territories: Basutoland, The Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953), p. 206.

[50] This meant that local people could be moved out of their land anytime if the colonial government so wished and that the state could appropriate the land to anybody who it so desired without recourse to the indigenous people. The Basubiya contested this loss in series of letters to the British administrators in the 1920s but their pleas were ignored. The issue was also taken up with the post-colonial government which inherited the status quo, changing the name to 'State Lands'. See D.M. Shamukuni, 'The Basubiya' in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Volume 4 (1972), pp. 161-184.

[51] BNA S. 243/22, 'Game: Large and Small, Chobe Distrtict, Shooting of by Natives, 1953-1954. Letter from Secretariat, Mafikeng to Officers in Charge, Lobatsi and Francistown, 2nd September, 1953.'

[52] BNA RC 14/3, 'Official Papers 1929-1935, C.F. Rey, Vol. 1, Tours in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.' Rey had just completed a nation-wide tour during which he was impressed with the riverine landscape of the Chobe District and the surrounding woodlands that had sustained wildlife populations over time and he proposed a formal game reserve on the district. Rey blamed earlier bureaucrats in the Protectorate for having failed to be decisive in identifying and acting on projects that could potentially bring income for the poor economy of the area, accusing them of over reliance on collecting taxes from indigenous people. For details see above file as well as Neil Parsons and Michael Crowder, (eds.), *Sir Charles Rey: Monarch of All I Survey: Bechuanaland Diaries 1929-37* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1988), p. vii. Rey was Resident Commissioner for Bechuanaland from 1930-1937, and the caliber and performance of the administrative staff improved under his administration. See Richard Dale, 'The Challenges and Restraints of White Power for a Small African State: Botswana and Its Neighbors', in *Africa Today*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July-September 1978), pp. 7-23. For much of Rey's arguments, see also, Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), pp. 55-57.

[53] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana*, pp. 55-57.

Charles Rey also believed that tourists would be attracted by the hot springs on the banks of the Chobe River between Kasane and Kazungula.[54] Prized for medicinal properties associated with healing neuralgia, Rey believed that the saline waters of the hot springs should be walled off from the river 'to avoid flooding during the rainy season.'[55] However, years of protracted surveys, procrastinations and planning processes involving public authorities, experts and institutions meant that little progress was made for another twenty years.[56]

In the mid-1950s, the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) agitated for institutional measures to protect both wild animals and farming in the area. The CDC ran large cattle ranches and a few arable farms in the Pandamatenga area. Game repeatedly destroyed farm fences, livestock and crops and exposed cattle to infection by wildlife borne diseases. The CDC threatened to abandon ranching operations if the government did not 'restrain the wild animals.'[57] The CDC pressurised the government into establishing a game reserve in order to confine the menacing wild animals. The government responded by creating the Elephant Control Unit in 1956 to protect croplands from elephant destruction.[58] In 1961, the Elephant Unit was transformed into the Game Department. In 1964, this unit was re-named the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

Following the establishment of the Game Department, the administration introduced the *Fauna Conservation Act* of 1961.[59] Regarded as 'the principal legislation for wildlife protection', the *Fauna Conservation Act* was the beginning of tighter control of wildlife by

[54] Neil Parsons and Michael Crowder, (eds.), *Sir Charles Rey: Monarch of All I Survey: Bechuanaland Diaries 1929-37* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1988), p. 121.
[55] G.B. Gumbo, 'The Political Economy of Development in the Chobe p. 40.
[56] BNA S. 568/13/1, 'Game Reserve – Northern, Establishment of, 1958.' Also, Provisional boundaries of the proposed game reserve had already been mapped through the High Commissioner's Notice No. 33 of 1938. See BNA 342.0243 HIG, 'High Commissioner's Proclamations and The More Important Government Notices, 1938 Volume XXIII'. The Chobe Game Reserve was established by the High Commissioner's Notice No. 65 of 1960. See Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), p. 17.
[57] BNA S. 538/13/1, 'Letter from CDC to Government Secretary, Mafikeng, 4 December 1957.'
[58] S. Modise, 'Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana: Strategies for the 21st Century', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by The Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 1977',* p. 75. For full article, see pp. 75-78. Drawing its mandate from the Fauna Conservation Act of 1961, the Department's initial major responsibility was to coordinate management of national parks and game reserves and the wildlife, nationally.
[59] BNA BNB 3449, W. von Richter, 'The National Parks and Game Reserve System of Botswana', (no date), p.1.

state authorities.[60] The act provided for the establishment of national parks and game reserves and prohibited hunting or the capturing of any animal in the park – unless this was done in self-defence or authorised for scientific research.[61] In 1960, the Chobe Game Reserve was established.

The establishment of the Chobe Game Reserve was informed by several considerations. Environmentally, the dense woodland forests, shrub savannah and floodplains of the Chobe District which teemed with different species of wild animals, made it ideal for converting the area into a game reserve.[62] It was also believed that the game park would, through tourist development, help to rescue the Protectorate from its economic woes.[63] The park's proximity to renowned Victoria Falls in neighbouring Zimbabwe was considered a vantage point in that international tourists visiting the Victoria Falls were likely to extend their itinerary to include the Chobe Game Reserve, potentially generating income for the Protectorate.[64]

The practical functioning of the park was associated with Major Bromfield, its first Game Warden.[65] Bromfield was inspired by James Stevenson-Hamilton, a man 'brim-full of pluck and resource', who had set up the Kruger National Park (created in 1926).[66] Stevenson-Hamilton and Bromfield were driven by the desire to create wildlife sanctuaries. Both men were former military officers whose training instilled in them efficient administration.[67] Both

[60] Cyrille de Klem, Barbara J. Lausche, IUCN Environmental Law Centre, *African Wildlife Laws* (Gland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), 1986), pp. 151-153.
[61] Cyrille de Klem et al, *African Wildlife Laws*, pp. 151-153
[62] Government of Botswana, *Report of Workshop on the National Conservation Strategy, 23-25 October, 1985* Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1985), p. 93.
[63] Government of The Bechuanaland Protectorate, *The Development of the Bechuanaland Economy: Report of the Ministry of Overseas Development Economic Survey Mission* (Gaberones: November 1965), pp. 34-38.
[64] BNA OP 41/11, 'Final Report of the Game Adviser to the Game Department of Bechuanaland, 8 July 1965.'
[65] *The Rhodesia Herald*, 23 October 1964.
[66] Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), pp. 35-45. See also, David Bunn, 'An Unnatural State: Tourism, Water and Wildlife Photography in the Early Kruger National Park', in William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor, (eds.), *Social History and African Environments* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003). pp.199.220. The Kruger National Park became a national identity for whites and a rallying point for race solidarity among English and Afrikaners, providing a 'tremendous appetite among whites for images of the lowveld [an area of pristine wilderness] in the 1920s, popularizing the notion of the renewing 'short break'' by 'dip[ping] into primitive locales and refresh oneself.' See David Bunn, 'Comparative Barbarism: Game reserves, sugar plantations, and the modernization of South African landscape', in Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner and Sarah Nuttall, (eds.), *Text, Theory, Space: Land, literature and history in South Africa and Australia* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 37-52.
[67]See BNA OP 41/11, 'Final Report of the Game Adviser to the Game Department of Bechuanaland, 1965' for Bromfield, and Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park*, for Hamilton, p. 38. See also, Jane Carruthers, *Wildlife and Warfare: The Life of James Stevenson-Hamilton* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001), pp. 81-117, William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 30.

struggled to get support from government and both were accused of being 'sentimentalists' whose interest in wildlife protection blinded them to other areas of colonial development. Bromfield complained that:

> The sensitive nature of the wildlife resource is not understood, and urgent pleas for its careful conservation on the grounds of sheer, hard economics are too frequently interpreted as the irrational ravings of cranks and sentimentalists.[68]

However, despite his critics, Bromfield wanted a practical approach rather than the bureaucratic administrative structure preferred by the British government. He believed that African staff would add value to the development of the park and help to control game poaching. But the colonial authorities rejected his plans:

> Mr Bromfield, who obviously does not share the current views of Government on the need for better administration of the Game Department, emphasised that in his view thoroughly practical field men were needed rather than administrators. He suggested that there was no need for a Chief Game Warden; that an officer of his own present rank could well run the department and that both his successor and his deputy successor should be men who can command the respect of African staff.[69]

Far from sentimental, Bromfield was pragmatic.[70] For example, in 1962, when the local colonial administration was unable to sustain meat purchases for the local hospital and prisoners in Kasane, Bromfield supplied game meat to patients and inmates. This, the authorities explained, helped to 'make savings on two departments' votes [Health and Prisons] and at the same time making use of thousands of pounds weight of game meat that are wasted each year in the Protectorate.'[71] Bromfield claimed that 'many who tried it not knowing what it was asked for more to take home, and were not perturbed when they were told it was elephant meat.'[72] (See Table 9).

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[68] BNA OP 41/11, 'Final Report', p. 9.
[69] BNA OP/41/11, 'Letter from Deputy Commissioner, to K.O. Osborne, Colonial Office, London, 8 June 1966.'
[70] Bromfield initiated the establishment of a 'proper' Wildlife Department, initiated safari concession areas and safari hunting, and the holding of regular conferences on the state of wildlife conservation as well as the review of wildlife laws. See Alec Campbell, 'A History of Wildlife in Botswana to 1966', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997* (Gaborone: The Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), p. 22. For full article, see pp. 7-31.
[71] BNA S. 163/4, 'Crown Lands: Correspondence with CDC regarding takeover of CDC 6 Ranches and Pandamatenga, 1960-63. Savingram from Game Officer, Francistown (Bromfield) to District Commissioners in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 2 October 1962.'
[72] BNA S. 163/4, 'Crown Lands: Correspondence with CDC, 1960-63.'

Table 9. Types of Game Meat and Percentage of Inmates and Patients partaking game meat, Kasane, 1962

Type of Game Meat	Percentage of Inmate and Patients
Buffalo meat	100%
Wildbeest meat	100%
Elephant meat	30%
Hartebeest	100%

Source: BNA. S. 16314 'Crown Lands: Correspondence with CDC, 1960-63.'

In 1963, a second game reserve, the Moremi Game Reserve was established in Ngamiland.[73] Maitseo Bolaane and Maano Ramutsindela have discussed the establishment the Moremi Game Reserve and the extent of local Batawana leaders' involvement with European hunters who had turned conservationists.[74] The District Commissioner of Chobe District Council in 1963 recorded that: 'Batawana have decided to establish a G.R [Game Reserve] at Kwaai River. This G.R is by people not Govt [Government].'[75] Further, 'the BaTawana asked to be involved in the administration of the Game Reserve. The Moremi Game Reserve was 'unique in being the only reserve in Africa run by the tribe on tribal land.'[76] But the relationship between those who ran the game reserves and the colonial administration was fractious. On the eve of Botswana's independence, Major Bromfield resigned as warden of the Chobe Game Reserve.[77] Two years later, in 1967, the Chobe Game Reserve was declared a national park.[78]

At independence, the Chobe National Park stretched over 11,030 square kilometres, constituting the predominant land use activity in a district measuring 22,039 square

[73] Alec Campbell, 'A History of wildlife in Botswana to 1966', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 1977* (Gaborone: The Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), p. 18. For full article, see pp. 7-31.
[74] Maitseo Bolaane, 'Chiefs, hunters and adventurers: the foundation of the Okavango/Moremi National Park, Botswana', in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 31, No. 2, (April 2005), pp. 241-259, Maano Ramutsindela, *Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies: Experiences in Southern Africa* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004). See 'Introduction' of this thesis.
[75] BNA Q. 12 II, 'District Administration: District Councils, Kasane, 'Chobe District Council Meeting held at Kasane on 2.6.63.'
[76] BNA OP 26/19, 'Cinematography', Letter from B. Kelly (British Broadcasting Corporation), to P. Steenkamp [Permanent Secretary to independent Botswana's first President], 1st August 1974. Kelly's letter was an application to film the Okavango Delta. See also, *The Chronicle*, Thursday August 22 1963, states that the Moremi Game Reserve was 'the first African-run reserve in Southern Africa.'
[77] BNA OP 41/11, Letter from Deputy Commissioner, 8 June 1966.
[78] http://www.botswanatours.co.za/info_chobe.html 'Chobe', accessed 18/04/2010.

kilometres, taking up 50% of the Chobe District.[79] The park's proximity to the town of Kasane prevented the southward expansion of Kasane township, the preferred direction for the expansion of housing in the town.[80] In 1968, 162.2 square kilometres of land was declared a nature conservation area, with the establishment of the Kasane Forest Reserve.[81]

The impact of game reserves on local inhabitants

The establishment of game reserves and the implementation of wildlife protection regulations had a profound effect on local inhabitants. From the early 1960s, local communities began to lose control over their land. In Ngamiland's northern sandveld, the Bugakhwe Khoisan/Basarwa of Mababe and Khwaai villages were evicted from their land to give way for the creation of the Moremi Game Reserve.[82] These communities had resided and hunted in the area for over '10,000 years.'[83] As Maitseo Bolaane put it:

> The sequence and details of steps taken towards the establishment of the Moremi Game Reserve were clear. To the Basarwa of Khwaai, conservation policies brought severe restrictions on access to land and their traditional mode of life. The Basarwa feel they have been discriminated against, especially in access to land, which has since been leased to white operators, generating a large amount of money for the government.[84]

[79] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan 1986-1989* (Maun: North West District Council, 1986), p. 1.
[80] Government of Botswana, *Kasane-Kazungula Development Plan: Report of a Survey* (Maun: Kasane-Kazungula Planning Advisory Committee of the North West District Council, 1984), p. 37.
[81] J. Lepetu, J. Alavalapati and P.K. Nair, 'Forest Dependency and its Implication for Protected Areas management: A case study from Kasane Forest Reserve, Botswana', in *International Journal of Environmental Research,* Vol. 3, No. 4 (2009), p. 527. For full article, see pp. 525-536.
[82] Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Minority Tribes in Botswana: The Politics of Recognition', in *Minority Rights Group International* (December, 2008), pp. 1-13. Nyati-Ramahobo noted that evictions were carried out by the ruling Batawana tribe, targeting minority groups such as Basarwa and Wayeyi. See also, J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, 'Sustainable Development and Natural Resource Competition and Conflicts in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records,* Vol. 37 (2005), p. 47. For full article, see pp. 40-60.
[83] http://www.botswana-tourism.gov.bw/attractions/moremi.html 'Moremi Game Reserve - Attractions – Tourism of Botswana', accessed on 02/11/2007. 'Mababe' means land of many animals, explaining their stay here for so long. Hunting took place in organised groups of about ten men, sometimes taking long trips of about a month in the forest, killing and then making biltong. Short trips took about two days. Apart from being merely economic in nature, hunting was also conducted in a social context. On arrival from hunting trips, hunters were received with big dance celebrations to congratulate their success and that they had all returned home to provide for the families. See *Kutlwano*/Mutual Understanding, Vol. 25, No. 4, April 1987, pp. 20-21.
[84] Maitseo Bolaane, 'The Impact of Game Reserve Policy on the River Basarwa/Bushmen of Botswana', in *Social Policy and Administration,* Vol. 38, No. 4 (August 2004), p. 406. For full article, see pp. 399-417. Bolaane stated that the Bugakhwe continued to refer to the Moremi Game Reserve (named after the Tawana aristocracy), as 'Khwaai', the original Sarwa name of the lands where the park was established, implying a sense of nostalgia on the loss of an identity with the land.

The Basarwa were moved 'for the second time' when the Chobe Game Reserve's southern boundary was extended to join the Moremi Game Reserve.[85]

In Kasane on May 1, 1961, Sinvula (sub chief of Basubiya) informed the District Council of his objections to the Chobe Game Reserve:

> I have grave suspicions about the Game Reserve. No one can pick anything in that area. First this District was termed Crown Land, now it is called Game Reserve, an area where no one is allowed to travel with a gun or assegai without being asked why he carries it. Government police themselves do not know the boundaries of the Game Reserve and yet arrest people within feet of their own houses.[86]

Mutuka, the sub-chief of Kazungula demanded that, 'The Game Reserve must be further away from the people. Boundaries should be moved further in.' Dube, the sub-chief of Bakalanga at Pandamatenga complained that 'the Game Reserve is bringing troubles and people are unable to live peacefully, people are arrested for being found on the wrong side of the boundaries. You are not allowed to kill even a snake inside your house.' To this, Mbeha, the sub-chief at Satau added, 'The Game Reserve is a disadvantage to people of Chobe. The boundaries are too close to the houses. Many people are now being arrested.'[87] Local people objected to having to

> buy trees for canoes because of the Game Reserve. We have to buy licence in order to hunt. How shall we live? Hunting last year [1962] was free – now we are required to pay. We thought we were protected but it now appears we are not, only game is protected.[88]

Others objected to being prohibited from carrying weapons and to being deprived of game meat. Many wanted to know the rationale for paying tax to a government that was taking control over the source of their livelihoods.

On 28 August 1962, popular resentment came to a head. Sinvula expressed their helplessness. 'Nothing has been done about crop protection in the past, absolutely nothing. Complaints to

[85] Michael Taylor, 'Life, Land and Power: Contesting Development in Northern Botswana', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2000), p. xi.
[86] BNA Q.12 II, District Administration: District Councils, 'Notes on Meeting of Chobe District Council on Thursday, May 31st 1961.' Sinvula was the sub-chief of Basubiya in the Enclave villages (Mabele, Kavimba, Kachikau, Satau and Parakarungu).
[87] BNA Q. 12 II, 'Notes on Meeting of Chobe District Council.' First names of the local authorities participating in the meetings are not provided in these records.
[88] BNA Q. 12 II, District Administration: District Councils, Kasane, 'Chobe District Council Meeting held at Kasane on 2.6.63.'This was a contribution from a delegate Mr Mbeha.

the D.C. [District Commissioner] have produced no action. People were never informed or consulted about declaration of the Game Reserve.' Dube called for 'a vote by Council on whether there should be a Game Reserve in the Chobe District.' Banika, sub-chief of Basarwa at Pandamatenga said that the people had been betrayed by the Bangwato chief and nationalist leader Seretse Khama: 'Has Seretse Khama sold us to the whites? I say this because I see whites are worrying us.'[89] The District Commissioner E.B. Egner declared that members were 'out of order' and 'noted' their concerns. He hinted that people might disestablish the game reserve when independence came.

> Independence is well within a few years. People will decide these matters. When people do not like the G.R. [Game Reserve] there will be no G.R. The G.R. is sometimes blamed for things it is not connected with, e.g. cutting of trees is not connected with the G.R. Tsetse fly does not go together with G.R. Government. [The] reasons for G.R (a) G.R attracts tourists and money, (b) G.R animals would breed for ever undisturbed. Game will not become extinct. Game is now diminishing, e.g in Tanganyika and Kenya. Safari companies bring revenue into [this] country.[90]

In the meantime, he was to administer the district and the game reserve. On the 2nd June 1963, Banika again challenged the District Commissioner:

> Government regards game as more important than people. Government should [therefore] collect taxes from animals and not from people. People die of tsetse and government is not taking any action. Government protects sport [safari hunting] and people [are] neglected.[91]

At the centre of these contestations lay the different interpretations of the concept of 'development'. For the government, abandoning the protection of wildlife was not an option. The objective for changing the game reserve into a game park was to develop the park in such a way that it would attract tourists who would contribute to 'economic development'. The state would realise income from leasing concessions outside of the park to safari hunters. Success in the commercialisation of game parks in East Africa spurred the administration to continue with the preservation of wildlife.[92] In the wetlands of Botswana, the wildlife habitat needed to be protected from the expansion of livestock rangeland.

[89] BNA Q. 12 II, 'Notes on Meeting of Chobe District Council.'
[90] BNA Q. 12 II, 'Chobe District Council Meeting held at Kasane on 2.6.63.'
[91] BNA Q. 12 II, 'Chobe District Council Meeting held at Kasane on 2.6.63.'
[92] BNA OP 41/11, 'Final Report of the Game Adviser to the Game Department of Bechuanaland' July 1965.

This thinking did not sit well with local people as it did not address their increasing poverty.[93] Local chiefs began to demand a more people-centred development strategy. Chasimu Sabota, an influential elder, pointed out that the game park had not brought any form of development to the Basubiya. He asked:

> What is the use of protecting these animals for future generations while we starve because of the restrictions? Where is the future generation and when will it come? What will it do for old people like us? We have sacrificed so much over the years from the colonial period to today, with our crops and livestock being destroyed by game animals and the deprivation from food in the form of meat. By future generation is it referred to Basubiya or other people, because Basubiya have all been suffering for the so-called future generation? It is no wonder the extent of poaching despite arrests by wildlife officials.[94]

Poaching was almost inevitable in this situation of resentment. A number of arrests in the Chobe District for offences relating to violations of rules of the game park indicate the unwillingness of the colonial officials to take the people's resentment seriously. In February 1961 alone, 13 people were arrested for illegal possession of firearms, 10 for hunting large game without a licence, 7 for hunting small game without a licence and 2 for hunting both large and small game without a licence.[95] Government reports claimed that local poachers connived with white South Africans camped on the Caprivi Strip in occupied Namibia.[96] According to *The Chronicle* (a Bulawayo daily newspaper),

> poaching was highly organised. Fleets of trucks were used to transport the poached game back into South Africa for biltong making. Spotter aircraft were used to locate the animals and buck horns were stuck in the few driving tracks along the border to puncture the tyres of pursuing police vehicles.[97]

The Botswana government continued to put a high premium on the inherited structures of wildlife conservation, adopting tighter controls over the management of wildlife.[98] In the late 1960s, the government conserved approximately 18% of national surface area for National

[93] Interview with Chasimu Sabota, Aged 80, retired subsistence farmer, Parakarungu Village, 11 June 2008.
[94] Interview with Chasimu Sabota, 11 June 2008.
[95] BNA S. 163/4, 'Crown Lands: Correspondence with CDC regarding take over of CDC Ranches at Pandamatenga, 1960-1963'.
[96] BNA OP 41/11, 'Final Report of the Game Adviser, 1965.' Poaching later developed into a serious challenge that even the postcolonial government had difficult to deal curb.
[97] *The Chronicle*, Thursday August 22, 1963. In the apartheid South Africa, similar contestations were echoed within the context of the evolution of the Kruger National Park. The Kruger National Park was regarded as a symbol of colonial white pride, with white game wardens seconded from the South African Defence Force, completely excluding Africans from its use while having taken away large acreages of African farmland for the establishment of the park. See Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), pp. 89-90.
[98] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana* (Gaborone: Botswana Society, 1991), p. 7.

Parks and Games Reserves.[99] Richard Mordi pointed out that, 'No other country in Africa and beyond has set aside so large a proportion of its wilderness for the express purpose of conserving its flora and fauna.'[100] However, Maano Ramutsindela warned against overly optimistic expectations. He anticipated that, as elsewhere in Africa, legislation on wildlife conservation reflected its colonial foundations and continued to work on a preservationist model that excluded local participation:

> Colonial practices around national parks did not necessarily end with the end of formal colonisation. Instead they continued into the postcolonial period. Western concepts of nature and the practices emanating therefrom were codified in the national park idea, and were carried over into, and sustained in, countries that had been previously colonised. Against this backdrop, it is important to understand the nature of the impact of the colonial park idea on societies that had previously been subjected to colonial rule.[101]

The Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) begins a people-centred process

The Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) established in the late 1960s, was the institutional body responsible for the management of wildlife habitat and biodiversity in the national parks. It was also responsible for enforcing laws relating to wildlife protection.[102] Recognising the importance of involving local communities in sustained conservation of wildlife, the DWNP embarked on strategies to integrate local people in the management of wildlife in the early 1970s.[103] The DWNP had neither the trained staff nor funds to

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[99] Jan Broekhuis, 'Land Use Planning for Wildlife Conservation and Economic Development', in F. Monggae, *Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana: Strategies for the Twenty First Century, 13th-17th October 1997* (Gaborone: Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), pp. 140-141. In the case of Zimbabwe, National Parks constituted about 12.7% of the total land area, confirming Botswana's higher percentage of land set aside for faunal protection. See Chris McIvor, 'Management of Wildlife, Tourism and Local Communities in Zimbabwe', in Krishna B. Ghimire and Michel P. Pimbert, (eds.), *Social Change and Conservation: Environmental Politics and Impacts of National Parks and Protected Areas* (London: Earthscan Publications, 1997), p. 239. For full article, see pp. 239-269.

[100] A. Richard Mordi, *Attitudes Toward Wildlife in Botswana* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), p. 20. Other countries with high percentages of land reserved for conservation include Rwanda (10.5%), Malawi (11.3%), Senegal (11.3%), Tanzania (13.4%), Botswana leading with 18%. See Karen M. O'Neill, 'The International Politics of National Parks', in *Human Ecology*, Vol. 24, No. 4, (1996), pp. 521-539, Brian T.B. Jones, 'Chobe Enclave, Botswana: Lessons learnt from a CBNEM Project, 1993-2002 (CBNRM Programme, Occasional Paper No. 7)', (Unpublished paper, no date), p. 11.

[101] Maano Ramutsindela, *Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies* p. 4. See also, Gly Davies and David Brown, (eds.), *Bushmmeat and Livelihoods: Wildlife Management and Poverty Reduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 2-3.

[102] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 8* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, August 1997), p. 305.

[103] Chasca Twyman, 'Natural Resource use and Livelihoods in Botswana's Wildlife Management Areas' in *Applied Geography*, Vol. 1, No. 21 (2001), p. 49. For full article, see pp. 45-68.

adequately manage conservation across the country.[104] As the 'custodian of wildlife that caused damage to farmers' property', the DWNP mediated the integration of local communities in wildlife conservation as a development initiative.[105] The new department was thus an attempt to grapple with the relationship between game parks and local communities.

In 1967, in an effort to win local people's confidence, DWNP attempted to 'restore' hunting rights through the establishment of Controlled Hunting Areas (CHA).[106] CHAs were wildlife utilisation zones in which the authorities allocated hunting quotas to licenced subsistence hunters and trophy hunters.[107] However, farmers complained that these areas took most of their grazing areas.[108] They objected to blanket licences granted to all Batswana, arguing that wildlife was a staple part of their diet while big game hunters (including Batswana hunters) merely hunted for pleasure.[109] DWNP was adamant that wildlife was a national asset for all Batswana and not a particular ethnic group.[110]

In the early 1970s, subsistence hunting by local communities, nationally accounted for about 10 000 tones of game meat consumed annually.[111] Instances of illegal hunting among local communities who usually poached small antelope like impala for the pot, did increase in the protected areas in Chobe and Ngamiland.[112] As in neighbouring Zambia, 'lack of alternative livelihoods in rural areas' led to increased poaching of wildlife for game meat.[113] This

[104] Spud Ludbrook, 'Problem Animal Control: A Closer Look at the Issues', Proceedings of the Regional Natural Resources Management Programme Annual Conference, Kasane, Botswana, April, 3 – 6, 1995, p. 145. For full article, see pp. 144-145.
[105] Moremi Tjibae, 'Overview of Problem Animal Control', in F. Monggage, (ed.), *National Technical Predator Management and Conservation Workshop in Botswana: A Workshop hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, Maun, October 9 – 12 2001* (Gaborone: Kalahari Conservation Society, 2001), p. 29. For full article, see pp. 25-34.
[106] Chasca Twyman, 'Natural Resource use and Livelihoods in Botswana's Wildlife Management Areas', p. 49.
[107] John Barnes, 'Development of Botswana's Wildlife Resources as a tourist attraction', in Linda Pfotenhauer, (ed.), *Tourism in Botswana: Proceedings of a Symposium held in Gaborone, Botswana, 15 – 19 October, 1990* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), p. 349. For full article, see pp. 346-369. Other economic activities such as crop farming and livestock were not permitted in CHAs.
[108] Interview with Seonyatseng Lekoko, aged 56, subsistence-cum-commercialising farmer, Pandamatenga, 12 June 2008.
[109] Interview with *Kgosi* Moffat Sinvula, chief at Kavimba *kgotla*, 23 May 2008.
[110] Interview with Dr Lucas Rutina, DWNP, Gaborone, 29 May 2009.
[111] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 1973-78, Part I* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1973), p. 229.
[112] Government of Botswana, *Towards National Prosperity: Community Country Assessment* (Gaborone: Government Printer, 2001), pp. 76-79. This was corroborated in an interview with Gwere Mwezi, subsistence farmer Mabele Village, Chobe District, 29 April 2008.
[113] Gly Davies and David Brown, (eds.), *Bushmeat and Livelihoods: Wildlife Management and Poverty Reduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) p. 1.

prompted game wardens from DWNP to patrol protected areas in order to curb illegal hunting as well as providing water during dry seasons.[114]

In 1973, in an effort to create awareness of the aesthetic and economic value of wildlife among local communities, the DWNP introduced departmental radio programmes such as *Diphologolo Makgabisa Naga* (wildlife, nature's beauty).[115] Aired in the evenings, the programme was broadcast nationwide with the aim of informing households in rural areas in particular about wildlife issues.[116] Also, through the division of Community Extension and Outreach, meetings with villagers assembled at the *kgotla* were used to educate farmers on strategies to reduce conflict with wildlife.[117] Extension workers visited schools encouraging the formation of school-based wildlife clubs and conducted workshops and seminars on conservation matters.[118]

Despite these attempts to devolve the management of wildlife to communities, the DWNP did not succeed in winning strong community support for game parks. They were offset by continued removal of people from conservation areas. For example, in Chobe, residents of Serondella, a collapsed saw-mill settlement in the Chobe National Park, were evicted and the park 'was finally empty of human occupation in 1975.'[119] The human-wildlife conflict continued and communities circumvented government restrictions by killing problem animals.[120] Samson and Monyadzwe blamed government for distorting local management systems. Government, they said,

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[114] Interview with Dr. Lucas Rutina, Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Gaborone, 19 May 2009
[115] Government of Botswana, *Department of Wildlife and National Parks: Annual Report 1996/7* (Gaborone: Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 1997), p. 13.
[116] Interview with Lucas Rutina, DWNP, Gaborone, 19 May 2009.
[117] Interview with Lucas Rutina, DWNP, Gaborone, 29 May 2009. Such measures included herding and kraaling livestock and fencing crop fields. However, in Neme's view, the institution of *kgotla* merely 'validated the decisions taken by bureaucrats – giving the necessary political legitimacy for implementation [of government policies]'. See Laurel Abrams Neme, 'The Powers of the Few: Bureaucratic Decision-Making in the Okavango Delta', in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (March, 1997), p. 47. For full article, see pp. 37-51.
[118] Government of Botswana, *Department of Wildlife and National Parks: Annual Report 1996/7*, pp. 9-14. The department started producing annual reports from 1973, outlining activities of each year. See p. 13. Other activities included research which informed the department on habitat concentration, behaviour of wildlife, and how to mediate human-wildlife conflicts.
[119] http://www.outtoafrica.nl/engnpbotswana.html Paul Janssen, 'Info about National Parks we did visit in Botswana', accessed on 31/05/2010.
[120] Russell Bonduriansky, 'Effects of the tourism/wildlife industry on a sendentary Khoisan community, Khwai village, Ngamiland, Botswana', (Unpublished paper, no date), p. 15

> nationalised common properties and usurped resource management and custodianship of natural resources from communities. The new state introduced its own management regime of game parks and legislation that deprived communities' control over wildlife albeit tightening access to wildlife. Traditional institutions of management were eroded and replaced with ministries and government departments such as the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.[121]

They argued that conservation without development for local communities constituted the major reason for people holding back from conservation projects, and choosing

> not to co-operate with wildlife managers or with any other programs linked to conservation. The problems of conservation and development require collaboration and negotiation between and among resource users and resource protectors such as DWNP.[122]

Corroborating this view, Newmark and Hough stated that integration of local communities required a

> shared decision-making authority, employment, revenue sharing, limited harvesting of plant and animal species, or provision of community facilities, such as dispensaries, schools, boreholes, roads in exchange for the community's support for conservation.[123]

In Ngamiland, where protected areas took away more land from the Bugakhwe, Two-Boy, a Mosarwa elder of Khwaai, told Michael Taylor:

> Today all our land and food has been kidnapped by the government, without thought of how we will live and stand up. Today we can only live by honey, a bit of work, and kills from predators. But as a Mosarwa, I am the owner of wildlife. This land is my inheritance. But today the government has kidnapped the wildlife and if we try to hunt we go to jail.[124]

These criticisms notwithstanding, the initiatives adopted by the DWNP in the 1970s represented a policy shift, from exclusive control of wildlife to sharing its management with local people. Through various forms of public education and by allowing subsistence hunting in Controlled Hunting Areas, communities were included in conservation. DWNP also created platforms for local people to articulate their concerns about wildlife conservation.

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[121] M. Samson and C. Monyadzwe, 'Community Based Conservation and Development', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997* (Gaborone: The Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), pp. 292-296. The two writers were themselves employees of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

[122] M. Samson and C. Monyadzwe, 'Community Based Conservation and Development', pp. 292-293.

[123] William D. Newmark and John L. Hough, 'Conserving Wildlife in Africa: Integrated Conservation and Development Projects and Beyond', in *BioScience*, Vol. 50, No. 7, (July 2000), pp. 585-592. See also, Marie-Christine, Cormier-Salim and Thomas J. Bassett, 'Nature as Local Heritage in Africa: Longstanding Concerns, New Challenges', in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 77, No. 1, p. 1.

[124] See Michael Taylor, 'Mapping the land in Gudigwa: A History of Bugakhwe Territoriality', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2002), p. 106. For full article, see pp. 98-109.

These efforts reduced tensions between local people and officials of the DWNP.[125] But DWNP had a long way to go before its public education efforts succeeded in creating awareness that the long-term survival of local people depended on their cooperation in state initiatives.[126] In the meantime, the DWNP introduced legal reforms that went some way to meeting the demands of local communities. In 1979, the government amended the *Fauna Conservation Act,* tightening control on the conservation of wildlife species. The amendment forbade hunting without a licence even outside protected areas.[127] The act also provided for the 'compensation' of victims of predation by allowing such people to kill and utilise the trophies of the rogue animals. The Act prohibited the killing of an immature elephant for purposes of trophy collection. If the tusk weighed 11 kilograms or less, the elephant was forfeited to the state without compensation.[128]

The DWNP's management of the Remote Area Dwellers (RAD) projects that involved the hunting based livelihoods of Basarwa attracted international attention.[129] Established in 1974, the RAD programme's main objective was to integrate marginalised communities into mainstream Botswana society.[130] After considerable pressure from lobbyists, Basarwa were given free Special Game Licences (SGLs) entitling them to hunt selected animals. These were: a specified number of antelope, warthog and non-edible species like monkeys, hyena, wild dog and some lizards.[131] Such hunting was restricted to the use of traditional equipment

[125] Isaac K. Theophilus, 'Keynote Address', in *National Technical Predator Management and Conservation Workshop in Botswana: A Workshop hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, October 9 – 12, 2001* (Gaborone: Kalahari Conservation Society, 2001), p. 5.
[126] The extent to which initiatives by the DWNP were embraced was determined largely by the lifestyles of the communities in the wetlands. While it was relatively easier to integrate the non-Sarwa peoples into conservation (whose safety nets lay in farming), it was less easy with Basarwa whose traditional livelihoods depended on wildlife utilisation, although some later integrated farming practices. See Russell Bonduriansky, 'Effects of the tourism/wildlife industry on a sedentary Khoisan community, Khwai village, Ngamiland, Botswana, (Unpublished paper, no date), p. 15.
[127] Government of Botswana, *Fauna Conservation Act (1979).*
[128] Government of Botswana, *Fauna Conservation Act (1979).*
[129] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana,* pp. 21-22. This was done through the *Fauna Conservation (Amendment) Act* of 1967, the first to be promulgated by the new independence government. In the wetlands, RADS were in Ngamiland which has areas that are very remote with more Basarwa settlements. In contrast, the Chobe District is smaller and populations more integrated.
[130] http://www.austlii.edu.au Duma Gideon Boko, 'Integrating the Basarwa under Botswana's Remote Area Development Programme: Empowerment or Marginalisation?' Accessed on 18/04/2010. In 1975, the RAD programme became the Basarwa Development Programme; in 1976 it was called Extra-Rural Development Programme and in 1977 it changed to Remote Area Development Programme (RADP).
[131] Russell Bonduriansky, 'Effects of the Tourism/Wildlife industry on a Sedentary Khoisan Community (Khwai Village, Ngamiland, Botswana.' (Unpublished paper), n/d. p. 11-12.

such as poisoned weapons, traps, snares while prohibiting the use of firearms.[132] This, it was argued, guarded against possible over-harvesting of game products for commercialisation since the prescribed methods were primitive and not likely to kill many animals.[133] Primitive hunting tools made hunting difficult for the subsistence hunters.

Basarwa complained that the Special Game Licences limited their livelihood options. They were not interested in being given rights to kill monkeys and baboons which they did not eat, and asked for their replacement with ostrich, wildebeest and eland, which as 'treasured game' were excluded from the SGL.[134] The DWNP forbade the sale of meat obtained through the use of SGLs.[135] Basarwa further alleged that the SGLs were difficult to obtain and, valid for only one year, they 'expired too quickly'. Critics accused the DWNP of 'extreme inflexibility, bordering on brutality, in enforcing the regulations.'[136] Thus, as James Suzman put it, 'the San stand out clearly as a political and economic underclass marked not so much by their spatial remoteness from others but rather by their conceptual marginalization by others.'[137]

Elsewhere in the country, the notion of separating people from parks became a human rights issue with the controversial relocation of Basarwa populations from the Central Kgalagadi Game reserve (CKGR) to Kaudwane, New Xade and Xere, areas outside the reserve. Established in 1961 in Kgalagadi District in the southern part of Botswana the CKGR was part of the Crown Lands. Its creation at the time was 'for use and occupation by the Basarwa people who had been living in the area for generations.'[138] The Basarwa were allowed to live in the Reserve on condition that they hunted with traditional hunting tools. But after a few years, the Botswana government changed its mind on the Basarwa's use of the park. Towards the close of the 1970s, government argued for the relocation of Basarwa out of the CKGR,

[132] Interview with Lucas Rutina, Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Gaborone, 29 May 2009.
[133] Clive Spinage, *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana,* p. 21. The 1967 Act elevated the Chobe Game Reserve to Chobe National Park. Other pieces of legislation were enacted including the *Fauna Conservation (Amendment) Act* of 1979.
[134] Sidsel Saugestad, *The Inconvenient Indigenous* 131-132.
[135] Cyrille de Klemm, Barbara J. Lausche, *African Wildlife Laws* (Siegburg: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1986), p. 154.
[136] Sidsel Saugestad, *The Inconvenient Indigenous,* p. 132.
[137] James Suzman, 'The San In Botswana', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (December, 2002), p. 851. For full article, see pp. 850-851.
[138] Alice Mogwe and Daniel Tevera, 'Land Rights of The Basarwa People in Botswana', in *Environmental Security in Southern Africa* (SAPES Books, 2000), pp. 75-88. The authors argue that the presence of Basarwa then was seen as attracting tourists to view the 'pristine race' and the pristine nature and wildlife in the park.

claiming that their continued presence in the park disturbed the ecosystem and threatened the survival of wildlife species.[139] Authorities argued that the park was state land, that wildlife was a national asset that had to be protected from the hunting economy of Basarwa, and that it was government's responsibility to 'develop' Basarwa by removing them from the 'primitive' life of hunting and gathering in the CKGR.[140] But the government was criticized strongly. Alice Mogwe and Daniel Tevera argued that the Botswana state had reneged on its commitment to human rights by taking away the land rights of Basarwa and evicting them from the CKGR.[141] This criticism, and repeated litigation, did not deter the government however, and most of the Basarwa were removed from the CKGR.

Another bone of contention for local people that attracted international attention was the veterinary cordon or 'buffalo fences'.[142] The fences were meant to control the movement of cattle and the spread of Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD), a wildlife borne disease whose host was the buffalo.[143] Conservationists claimed that the Kuke fence in Ngamiland 'shut off wildlife from its watering places in the Okavango Delta' and caused the death of 'hundreds of thousands of animals.'[144] The fences interfered with the migratory routes of wild animals especially during times of drought. Stanley Johnson accused the EEC of complicity with the Botswana Government in trivialising wildlife. He called for the EEC and the World Bank to open up more national parks and also find a way of mitigating the impact of the fences on the country's 'most extraordinary asset – wildlife.'[145]

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[139] Alice Mogwe and Daniel Tevera, 'Land Rights of The Basarwa People in Botswana'pp. 89-80.
[140] The *Mail and Guardian* said 'The government of Botswana said that the "relocation" of the Bushmen from the reserve was intended to end their obsolete hunter-gatherer lifestyle and integrate them into modern society', describing their lifestyle as an ''archaic fantasy' and called for them to move with times.'*Mail and Guardian,* 'Thirsting Bushmen go back to court' 11 to 17 June 2010.
[141] Alice Mogwe and Daniel Tevera, 'Land Rights of The Basarwa People in Botswana', pp. 75-88. See also Neil Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', in *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 32, No. 4. (December 2006), pp. 667-682, R. Hitchcock and J.D. Holm, 'Bureaucratic Domination of Hunter Gatherer Societies: A Case Study of the San in Botswana', in *Development and Change,* Vol. 24, (1993), pp. 305-338.
[142] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 5, 1979-1985* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, November 1980), p. 221.
[143] M.G. Mosienyane, 'The Relationship between Livestock and Wildlife in Botswana', paper presented at a Workshop on the National Conservation Strategy, 23-25 October 1986, pp. 39-40.
[144] Stanley Johnson, 'Botswana: Cattle versus Wildlife', in *Ambio,* Vol. 12, No. 5 (1983), pp. 271-271.
[145] Stanley Johnson, 'Botswana: Cattle versus Wildlife', p. 271.The Beef Protocol between the government of Botswana and the EEC required that the exported meat should be disease free and the EEC would not buy any beef should be there an outbreak of livestock disease. Because of huge foreign exchange earnings from beef exports the government of Botswana obliged with the conditions of the EEC, hence the cordon fences, among other strategies adopted to prevent livestock diseases. Officials in the Ministry of Agriculture argued that the view that many wild animals died on their migratory routes was unnecessarily 'inflammatory'. They argued that wild animals became aware of their barrier within two months of the construction of the fences and avoided

Ratification of international treaties also added to Botswana's conservation and development challenges. In 1978, Botswana ratified the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), undertaking to prevent extinction of endangered species by adhering to conditions of trade on wildlife products.[146] Critics pointed out that the CITES treaty was a step backwards as it was more concerned with the preservation of wildlife than the livelihoods of the people who lived with the animals.[147]

In Chobe and Ngamiland, protection unequivocally led to an increase in most animal species so much so that numbers overwhelmed the carrying capacity. The result was that animals wandered out of the game parks in search of food and created further wildlife-human conflict.[148]

Wildlife and National Revenue

Wildlife utilisation contributed significantly to national revenue. The state generated revenue through, among others, gate fees at the parks, hunting licences, export taxes (Table 10).

Table 10. Revenue earned from wildlife utilisation in the 1972/1973 financial years.

	1971/72	**1972/73**
Export Duty on Game Trophies	R 37 627.81	R 57 000.00
Hunting Licence & Concession Fees	266 247.80	294 000.00
Chobe National Park Entrance Fees	7 570.00	11 500.00
Sale of Ivory and Trophies	1 646.75	28 000.00
Total Central Government Revenue	313 092.36	390 500.00

Source: Government of Botswana, *Report of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 1971-1972,* (Gaborone: DWNP, 1972), p. 6.

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moving in that direction. See M.V. Raborokgwe, 'Cordon Fences and Wildlife Issues', in F. Monggae, *Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana- Strategies for the Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 13th - 17th October 1997* (Gaborone: Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), pp. 114-120.

[146] Government of Botswana, *The Okavango Delta Management Plan Project* (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Affairs, 2008), p. 5. CITES was formed in 1973.

[147] Interview with Luckson Sankwasa, Councillor, Kasane District Council, 23 May 2008.

[148] Interview with Shamukuni, Headman, Satau Customary Court, 11 June 2008. Interview (in Tutume sub-district) with Mr Zebe, retired former District Commissioner Kasane, (1977-1979), Kasane, 18 May 2008. District administrations were inundated with reports of destruction of crops and predations on livestock. Women carrying water were particularly at risk.

Table 10 shows a substantial increase in income from wildlife between 1971 and 1973. The government attributed this increase in revenue to better management. Hunting licences earned the most income and this could be attributed to the integration of both utilisation and conservation. After 1974, hunting licence and concession fees continued to contribute substantial revenues while park entrance fees accounted for R14 500.00 and sale of ivory and trophies rose to R42 600.00.[149] This revenue accrued to the state with little benefit to the local people. There were some positive consequences in those areas where the wildlife industry provided employment opportunities for people around and beyond the parks. In 1973 a total of 1 115 people were employed in the industry nationwide, earning approximately R646 000.00.[150] The local processing of wildlife trophies was encouraged by the high duties on exports.[151]

The wildlife processing industry was located in Francistown, the nearest town to the northern game parks when the Botswana Game Industries (BGI), a private company, was established in 1968.[152] Its first owner, Peter Becker, started BGI as an ivory manufacturing company, hiring an English jeweller to train Africans to make beads, bangles and lighters from ivory. Later BGI carved tusks.[153] By 1979 BGI had 130 employees from rural villages around Francistown. Products shifted from ivory carving to tanning skins to produce karosses, mats, leather bags, belts and hats, stools from elephant feet and small jewellery boxes from buffalo scrotum (See Figures 11and 12).[154] Between 1975 and 1979, BGI used two or three tonnes of ivory annually, sourcing it from licenced hunters and traders who followed official culling programmes and also the Botswana government.[155]

Gladys Pelaelo, a former employee, remembers the early beginnings of BGI:

> Francistown was a small town then, with no major investments, other than the civil service. BGI helped many families with income. As a labourers, my first wage was R2.50 a week in 1968 but I

[149] Thomas M. Butynski and Wolfgang Von Richter, 'Wildlife Management in Botswana', in *Wildlife Society Bulletin*, No. 3 (Spring, 1975), pp. 19-24.
[150] Thomas M. Butynski and Wolfgang Von Richter, 'Wildlife Management in Botswana', p. 23.
[151] Thomas M. Butynski and Wolfgang Von Richter, 'Wildlife Management in Botswana', p. 22.
[152] Interview with Gladys Mma Mukani Pelaeo, aged 70, retired employee of BGI, Somerset Township, Francistown, 9 November 2009. Pelaelo worked for the company for 18 year, as the only woman for some considerable time, rising from the position of labourer for 10 years, then wages clerk, later becoming an Accounts clerk and finally Assistant manager when the company closed down in 1988.
[153] David Western, 'The Ivory Industry in Botswana', in *African Elephant and Rhino Group Newsletter*, No. 3 (1984), pp. 5-6.
[154] Interview with Gladys Mma Mukani Pelaelo, Francistown, 9 November 2009. These photographs were taken at Pelaelo's house where they not only decorated by also reminded her, fondly, of the time at BGI.
[155] David Western, 'The Ivory Industry in Botswana', pp. 5-6.

> managed to support my family and sent them to school. [However], many retired employees later died from the effects of poisonous chemicals that were used in the preparation of these products. BGI was supposed to have supplied fresh milk to mitigate the effects of the chemicals but they neither provided milk nor alerted the workers to the effects the chemicals. Many died after falling sick in their retirement.[156]

Increased demand led to BGI expanding and opening branches across the country including Kasane, Maun, Palapye, processing game products for export to South Africa, Germany and the United States of America.[157] Other Francistown based companies in the game industry included Ivory Products, and Bushman Products, also marketing game trophies and employing local people.[158]

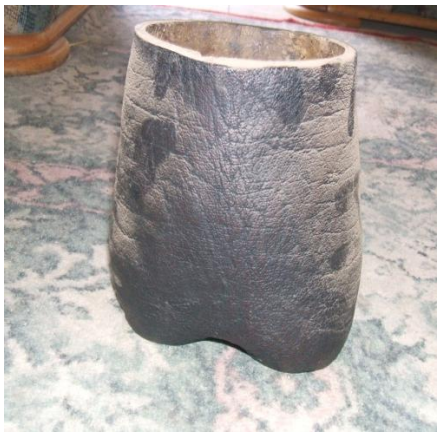

Figure 11. Jewellery container made from Buffalo Scrotum. Source: Photograph by Bongani Gumbo, Francistown, November 2009.

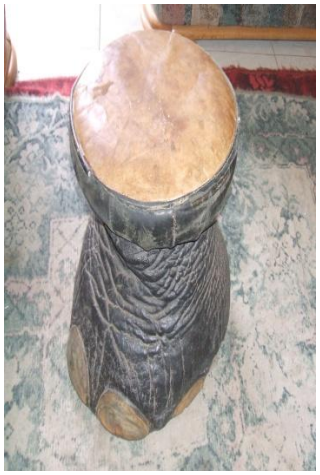

Figure 12. Stool made from Elephant foot. Source: Photograph by Bongani Gumbo, Francistown, November 2009.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the evolution of wildlife management in Chobe and Ngamiland between 1930 and 1980. While contributing significantly to protecting wildlife species and their habitat, the parks competed with human land use needs. Some communities, particularly the Basarwa, lost their land and livelihoods as a consequence of the Botswana government's

[156] Interview with Gladys Mma Mukani Pelaelo, 9 November 2009. BGI changed hands over time. According to Pelaelo, ownership transferred from Germans to South Africans and finally to an Indian who, after three years became bankrupt in 1998, when the company closed down.
[157] David Western, 'The Ivory Industry in Botswana', pp. 5-6. Trade in game trophies was only checked after 1989 when, as a result of increased poaching on the elephants for ivory trade, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) banned commercial ivory sales.
[158] David Western, 'The Ivory Industry in Botswana', pp. 5-6.

approach to game parks and wildlife conservation strategies. Damage by game animals to human property, accentuated poverty and aggravated the 'people-park conflicts'.[159] Wildlife authorities slowly learned to find ways to manage wildlife in order 'to optimise benefits to a society that is living with wildlife' rather than to exacerbate human-wildlife conflict.[160] From the late 1970s, the Botswana government slowly began to integrate local communities into conservation by conducting awareness campaigns on the interdependence between conservation and rural livelihoods and by creating platforms for local communities to speak out. These efforts marked a move towards a more people-centred conservation and more sensitive wildlife management strategies. However, the forced relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR suggested that the government's approach was selective and expedient rather than driven by a deep commitment to human rights a concern for the well-being of marginal people. Developments in the management of wildlife and people after 1980 are discussed in the next chapter.

[159] M. Tjibae and I.K. Theophilus, 'Analysis of Problem Animal Control and the Compensation Scheme', in F. Monggae, (ed.), *Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana – Strategies for Twenty First Century: A Conference hosted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in collaboration with the Kalahari Conservation Society, 13th – 17th October 1997* (Gaborone: The Kalahari Conservation Society, 1997), p. 285. For full article, see pp. 285-291., also, A.A. Ferrar, (ed.), *Guidelines for the Management of Large Mammals in Conservation Areas: The Product of an International Workshop held at Olifants Camp, Kruger National Park* (Pretoria: Cooperative Scientific Programmes, 1983), p. iv.

[160] Daniel J. Decker and Lisa Chase, 'Human Dimensions of Living with Wildlife – A Management Challenge for the 21st Century', in *Wildlife Society Bulletin,* Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter, 1977), p. 788. For full article, see pp. 788-795.

Chapter Seven: Conservation, game parks and nationalism: the halting development of tourism in Botswana

The Chobe National Park, the Moremi Game Reserve and the Okavango Delta constitute Botswana's prime tourist destinations. Tourism in Botswana is based on both consumptive wildlife utilisation such as safari hunting, and non-consumptive utilisation including viewing the wilderness and wildlife. Rated as the second largest foreign exchange earner in the 1990s, the industry is located in the northern wetland region of the country.[1] The mainly fauna and wilderness landscapes that constitute the main tourist resource stretch along a geographical 'tourist belt' that includes riverine forests in southern Zambia, the world heritage site of Victoria Falls and Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe, extending to the Chobe and Moremi Game Parks in Botswana and Etosha National Park in Namibia making tourism a transnational activity.[2] Due largely to national liberation wars that were fought by South Africans and Zimbabweans in the proximity of the country's tourist destinations of Chobe and Ngamiland, Botswana did not develop the tourist sector until late in the 1980s.[3] These issues have been largely neglected by scholars.[4]

In recent years, tourism has attracted the attention of many scholars in development literature.[5] Some believe that the tourist industry is an ideal strategy for the 'reorientation of

[1] Lefatshe I. Mangole and Ofentse Gojamang, 'The Dynamics of Tourist Visitation to National Parks and Game Reserves in Botswana', in *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 37 (2005), p. 80. For full article, see pp. 80-96. See also, B & T Directories, *Botswana Review*, 26th Edition (Gaborone: B & T Directories (Pty) Ltd., 2006), p. 61. Diamonds have been rated Botswana's highest export commodity. See also, Government of Botswana, *Tourism Policy* (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1990).

[2] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Tourism Master Plan* (Gaborone: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Tourism, May 2000), p. 39. The Victoria Falls were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1989. See http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/zw 'Zimbabwe-UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Mosi-oa-Tunya', accessed on 04/05/2009.

[3] Government of Botswana, *Tourism Policy* (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1990).

[4] Christian John Makgala and Mtshwenyego Louis Fisher discussed Rhodesian attacks on Botswana, detailing the Lesoma Incident of 1978 but did not link the impact of the incidents on the tourist industry. See Christian John Makgala, 'The Impact of Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle on Botswana: The Case of Lesoma Ambush, 1978', (Unpublished paper), pp. 1-23. Richard Dale mentioned the circumstances influencing the formation of the Botswana Defence Force in 1977, saying nothing about the war or the tourist industry. See Richard Dale, 'The Challenges and Restraints of White Power for a Small African State: Botswana and Its Neighbors', in *Africa Today*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul. – Sep., 1978), pp. 7-23. Also commenting on liberation wars and Botswana, Neil Parsons, Thomas Tlou and Willie Henderson provided insights into the volatility of the Chobe area against the background of Rhodesian incursions, including the Lesoma Incident. They too did not relate the skirmishes to tourism in the area. See Neil Parsons, Thomas Tlou and Willie Henderson, *Seretse Khama, 1921-1980* (Braamfontein: Macmillan Boleswa, 1995).

[5] Emmanuel de Kadt, *Tourism, Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. ix-xvi.

local economies which are marginal in the wider global economy.[6] From this perspective, the tourist industry is one of the few development sectors that enable developing countries to participate in the global economy due to the abundance of environmental biodiversity and heritage.[7] Others argue that 'shifting resources to tourism' without making structural changes to the livelihoods of communities in spatial proximity to tourist destinations fails to achieve development.[8] Joseph Mbaiwa noted that in addition to employment creation, tourism in Botswana stimulated the development of infrastructure such as transport networks and hospitality institutions and also created linkages with other sectors in the economy of the Ngamiland District.[9] Tourism helped to diversify Botswana's economy from an over-reliance on diamonds and beef, and, further diversification to heritage tourism provided employment to rural individuals who formed cultural groups to perform 'traditional' dancing at weddings and open air picnics.[10] However, Modisagape Mothoagae showed that in Botswana, employment opportunities were tiered. Expatriates occupied top posts in the industry, at technical, professional and senior management levels while the bulk of the local workers provided unskilled labour.[11] As Linda Pfotenhauer put it, 'the fact that the industry was primarily run by expatriates who catered to foreign tourists led to growing suspicion, mistrust and lack of understanding between Batswana, particularly those living near tourist areas, and tour operators and their clients.'[12] These foreign capitalists had little regard for the development of the local people.[13]

This chapter has three sections. The first section examines the ways in which the southern African liberation wars delayed the development of the tourist industry in the Chobe and

[6] Tony Binns and Etienne Nel, 'Tourism as a Local Development Strategy in South Africa', in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 168, No. 3 (September 2002), p. 235. For full article, see pp. 235-247.
[7] World Tourism Organization, *Tourism and Poverty Alleviation* (Madrid: WTO, 2002).
[8] Emmanuel de Kadt, *Tourism, Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects to Tourism in Developing Countries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 44-45.
[9] Joseph.E. Mbaiwa, 'The Socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development on the Okavango Delta, north-western Botswana', in *Journal of Arid Environments*, Vol. 54 (2003), p. 447. For full article, see pp. 447-467.
[10] Neil Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (December 2006), p. 676. For full article, see pp. 667-682.
[11] Modisagape Mothoagae, 'Training and Allocation of Manpower Resources for Tourism', in Linda Pfotenhauer, (ed.), *Tourism in Botswana, Proceedings of a Symposium held in Gaborone, 15-19 October 1990* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), pp. 381-384. See also, M. Maine, 'Botswana Development Corporation Ltd (BDC): Its role in Developing Botswana's Tourism' in Linda Pfotenhauer, *Tourism in Botswana*, pp. 297-322.
[12] See Introduction, Linda Pfotenhauer, *Tourism in Botswana*, p. 1.
[13] Kassim Kulindwa, Hussein Solovele and Oswald Mashindano, *Tourism Growth for Sustainable Development in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2001).

Ngamiland Districts in the 1960s and 1970s. The second section explores the growth of the tourist industry in the 1980s through a partnership between the public and private sectors. In the third section, the chapter examines government efforts to establish co-operative relations with farming communities around wildlife management and tourism in the 1990s.

1966-1980: Liberation wars hold back tourism

In 1960, the Chobe Game Reserve was officially opened for tourist visits and the Chobe River Hotel was opened to the public.[14] A few advertisements in regional newspapers enticed a trickle of white tourists from Rhodesia and South Africa to the Chobe Game Reserve between 1960 and 1967.[15] Then, in 1967, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa's first military effort, the 'Wankie Campaign', occurring in Rhodesia's Wankie Game Reserve to the east of Kasane, spilled over into the Chobe Game Reserve.[16] Following this incident, Rhodesian and South African forces frequently entered Botswana territory ostensibly in pursuit of cadres of the liberation movements of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and ANC's MK. The widely publicised event led to a decline in visitors to the sub-region.[17] In 1973, the Rhodesian government closed the Victoria Falls Bridge border as a punitive measure against Zambia's support for the liberation cause, cutting the flow of economic activity including packaged tourist travels between Zambia, Rhodesia and Botswana.[18] As Eshmael Mlambo put it,

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[14] Government of Botswana, *Discover Africa: Botswana Tourism Magazine* (Gaborone: Department of Tourism, 2001), p. 28. See also, The *Rhodesia Bottle Store and Hotel Review,* August 1961. Originally established and owned by a Rhodesian couple Colonel F. Trevor and wife Ethnee, the hotel has since changed hands and names. It is currently known as the Chobe Safari Lodge. The hotel catered exclusively for whites, in line with the racial norm across the region especially with racial segregation so pronounced in neighbouring states of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, apparently angering local Africans who soon pushed for reform in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

[15] BNA S. 568/13/4, 'Letter from Chief Information Officer to British Overseas Airways Corporation, 9 October 1964.'

[16] Eliakim S. Sibanda, *The Zimbabwe People's African Union, 1961-1987, A Political History of Insurgency in Southern Rhodesia* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005), pp. 105-106. The Wankie Campaign involved joint forces of liberation movements from Rhodesia and South Africa, that is, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) of Joshua Nkomo and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC) clashing with Rhodesian forces in the Wankie Game Reserve. MK cadres belonged to the Luthuli Detachment under the command of the erstwhile Chris Hani who was assassinated in South Africa in 1993. The cooperation between ZAPU and MK prompted Rhodesia to enlist South Africa's military which lasted up to 1980 when Zimbabwe gained independence. For more details see also, http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mk/wankie.html 'The Wankie Campaign' by Chris Hani, accessed 20/11/2007. The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) 'invaded' the Caprivi Strip at the same time as the ZAPU/MK Wankie Battle.

[17] Interview with Israel Zebe, former District Commissioner, Kasane (1977-79), 18 May 2008, Tutume Village.

[18] Klaas Woldring, 'Aspects of Zambia's Foreign Policy in the Context of Southern Africa', in Klaas Woldring, (ed.), *Beyond Political Independence: Zambia's Development Predicament in the 1980s* (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1984), p. 235.

> Tourists who used to bring foreign funds from Zambia and other parts of the world, do not come because of the state of siege at Victoria Falls, with guards at the border creating a war atmosphere.[19]

While the Rhodesian forces concentrated on destabilising the Chobe District from the east, South African Defence Force (SADF) structures were stationed on the Caprivi Strip to the west of Chobe River, the common boundary between Botswana and occupied Namibia. As the *Star* newspaper put it, Botswana was 'no longer the idyllic Switzerland of Southern Africa.'[20]

On the 8th of January 1973 a landmine that had been planted by cadres of Zimbabwean nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) exploded and killed two South African soldiers about twenty miles to the east of Kasane.[21] Several other police officers were severely injured, and flown by helicopter to Wankie Hospital in Rhodesia. The incident occurred on the road to the main Victoria Falls-Kasane route to the Victoria Falls, the Chobe National Park and the Moremi in Ngamiland. It was also used for transporting supplies and mail which came through Rhodesia destined for Kasane. The incident worried authorities in Botswana. As the Botswana Police observed, 'If another landmine is planted, Kasane will be dead as a tourist area as more tourists come from Rhodesia.'[22] It was ironic that Chobe was being shut off by warfare at the very point it was gaining international publicity and prestige as the 'peaceful paradise' in which celebrities Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton re-married at the Chobe Game Lodge on 10 October 1975.[23]

Armed SADF units frequently poached wild animals in the Chobe National Park. They left an identifiable 'trade mark' in their use of electric saws to cut off the heads of poached elephants.[24] Game rangers on anti-poaching patrols were subjected to intimidation by units of

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[19] Eshmael Mlambo, 'Tensions in the White Redoubt: Southern Rhodesia', in *Africa Today,* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Spring, 1974), p. 37. For full article, see pp. 29-37. Mlambo argued that the decision to close the border had a 'traumatic boomerang effect [on the Rhodesian government]' as 'Zambia received worldwide support while Smith [Rhodesian Prime Minister] received ridicule.' See pp. 36-37.
[20] The *Star,* 22 March, 1965,
[21] BNA OP 9/19, 'Freedom Fighter Activity: Rhodesia', W.B. Anderson, Officer Commanding, No. 7 District, Kasane, to Commissioner of Police, 9 January 1973.
[22] BNA OP 9/19, 'Freedom Fighter Activity: Rhodesia', 9 January 1973.
[23] http://chobe.botswana.co.za/celebrities-in-chobe.html 'Celebrities in Chobe -Chobe Travel Guide', accessed on 21/07/2010.
[24] BNA OP 28/13, 'Commissioner of Police to Secretary External Affairs', 25 October 1982.

the SADF.[25] On the 30th of July 1974, three white armed members of the South African Police from Namibia approached the barrier gate of the Chobe National Park near Muchenje Village and deliberately taunted the game wardens with provocative questions. They asked what was required for one to be permitted into the national park and when they were told that they would need a permit and should not carry guns, one asked what would happen if they ignored these regulations. When they were told that it was unlawful they pointed guns at the game wardens but left abruptly when a South African registered vehicle pulled up.[26] On another occasion, the Botswana Police apprehended a Daniel Mubita of the South West African Territorial Force (one of the numerous units of the SADF) in the park, in possession of an R1 rifle and 8 rounds. He was charged and sentenced to five years imprisonment. Officials of the South African Foreign Affairs department were at pains to explain Mubita's mission and asked that he be released and that the gun and the vehicle should be returned but the Botswana government upheld its ruling.[27]

From 1976, Rhodesian and South African forces engaged in 'hot pursuit' attacks on Botswana and Zambia on the common river frontages.[28] On the 4th of July 1976, armed soldiers of the SADF deliberately steered their motorised boat into the Botswana side of the Chobe River on the pretext of being on daily patrol along the river which formed the international boundary. On landing at an ungazetted entry point, they proceeded to the Chobe Safari Lodge's cocktail bar where guests were seated and took photographs without their permission. Annoyed at the SADF's action, some Batswana citizens shouted at them asking them to leave and, as the soldiers left, they threw empty beer bottles at the Batswana.[29] Four days later, SADF members drove their boat along the Chobe River to another local hotel, the Chobe Game Lodge where they ordered beer. When the hotel staff refused to serve the uniformed and armed South Africans, they drove their boat to the Chobe Safari Lodge and again took photographs of hotel guests who were relaxing at the bar.

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[25] Interview with *Kgosi* Moffat Sinvula, Chief of Kavimba Village, Chobe District, 7 June 2008.
[26] BNA OP 28/13, 'Border Incidents', Statement by Mateo Lungu, Game Warden, Chobe National Park, Kasane.
[27] BNA OP 28/13, 'Commissioner of Police to Secretary External Affairs', 25 October 1982.
[28] Richard Dale, 'The Challenges and Restraints of White Power for a Small African State: Botswana and Its Neighbors', in *Africa Today,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (July.-Sept., 1978), p. 16. For full article, see pp. 7-23.
[29] BNA OP 9/19, 'Potential Threat to Security', A.B. Masalila, District Commissioner Kasane, to Permanent Secretary to the President, 9 July 1976. Masalila is the District Commissioner who conducted the wedding ceremony of celebrity film stars Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor at the Chobe National Park in Kasane in 1976. He is currently a cabinet minister in the present Botswana government. See Masalila's recollection of the wedding ceremony in *Midweek Sun,* 'The day I married Liz Taylor' 17 October 2007.

Despite these dangers, the proximity of the Chobe National Park to Victoria Falls in Rhodesia and the Okavango Delta's closeness to Namibia drew a few visitors from Rhodesia and South Africa.[30] Richard Dale captured the vulnerability of the industry in Chobe:

> The Chobe area is valuable not only as a wilderness area but also because of its proximity to Victoria Falls, which both Zambian and Rhodesian tourist bureaus publicize. This proximity to Victoria Falls enables Botswana to receive the benefits of group tours aimed primarily at one or the other side of the Falls, and thus tap some of the foreign exchange brought in by overseas visitors. However, tourism and big game hunting are extremely sensitive to political instability and turmoil.[31]

Incidents involving the Chobe Safari Lodge and the Chobe Game Lodge, the only two hotels in the tourist hub of Kasane in the 1970s provide evidence of how political violence destabilised the tourist nascent industry as well as the security of the region.[32] Owned and managed by South African nationals, the Chobe Safari Lodge's management colluded with South African security operatives based in the Caprivi Strip. From the hotel, members of the South African Police (SAP) and South African Defence Force (SADF) (who entered the country illegally) engaged in quasi-military activities.[33] Such activities discouraged visitors to the area.[34]

Employees at the Chobe SafariLodge colluded with the SADF. Lars Enar Nilson, a white mechanic employed by the Lodge was observed to have become 'extremely friendly with members of the SAP at Impalila Island' on the Caprivi Strip, about five kilometres away from Kasane. Acting together with hotel manager Johann Roos, Nilson colluded with the SAP to blow up Mr Anderson's (Officer Commanding at Kasane Police Station) car. The two subsequently had their residence permits withdrawn and were declared prohibited immigrants

[30] Interview with Jonathan Gibson, Managing Director, Chobe Game Lodge, Kasane, 23 May 2008.
[31] Richard Dale, 'The Challenges and Restraints of White Power for a Small African State: Botswana and Its Neighbours', in *Africa Today*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul-Sept., 1978), p.16. For full article, see pp. 7-23.
[32] Chobe Game Lodge belonged to the Southern Sun chain of hotels which were owned by casino and hotel magnate Sol Kerzner in association with the South African Breweries. Kezner's 'empire', the Southern Sun, was established in 1969, building many hotels in southern Africa including the Chobe Game Lodge the only hotel inside the Chobe National Park, the controversial Sun City in 1979 in the then Bophuthatswana, one of South Africa's apartheid homelands, allegedly bribing the erstwhile homeland leaders Lucas Mangope and Transkei's George Mathanzima, squeezing out of them exclusive gambling rights, establishment of the US$300 million Palance of the Lost City at Sun City in 1992, See *Sunday Times* 29 March 2009.
[33] BNA OP 9/19, 'A.J. Roos & Lars Enar Nilson: Chobe Safari Lodge', Commissioner of Police to Permanent Secretary to the President, 16 January 1973. This file contains series of correspondences between security personnel in Kasane the highest office of state administration, the State President, an indication of the threats posed to the country's security as well as undermining the tourist sector due to widespread publicity of some of the incidents in the *Star* newspaper and the *Rhodesia Herald* in neighbouring Southern Rhodesia.
[34] Interview with Israel Zebe, former District Commissioner, Kasane, 18 May, 2008, (Interview conducted in Tutume village).

by the Botswana government. Before his deportation, Johann Roos insulted and physically assaulted African employees of the hotel on several occasions. Other charges against him included contravening game park regulations by driving across the Chobe National Park after hours and not co-operating with game wardens when they demanded to search his vehicle.[35] He also defied government by employing an African assistant who had been declared a prohibited immigrant. Roos also refused African guests the use of the hotel swimming pool. When Roos left the country he was succeeded as hotel manager by Tertia Bezuidenhout, who repeatedly assaulted African employees, and called them 'dogs'. Successive managers at the hotel including a Mr W. Bennecker referred to black employees as 'coon', 'munt' or '*kaffir-boet*'.[36] Bennecker was deported. In 1977, the Chobe Game Lodge was closed.[37]

SADF men were allegedly in cahoots with a South African trader, Mr T.K.L. du Plessis, who had stores on the island and one in Kasane. Botswana security agents wrote of du Plessis, 'He is continually misinforming and misreporting facts over various issues with the result that most officers have no idea of what is the correct story. His latest allegation is that he has been granted, by government, complete grazing rights to all state land in Chobe as he is in possession of a Butcher's licence.'[38] du Plessis was a threat to the tourist industry in other ways. He was suspected of buying skins of wild animals that had been poached in Botswana, smuggled into the Caprivi and then exported 'legally' to Rhodesia.[39] By engaging in this 'import-export' game, du Plessis deprived the industry of potential income from import duties.[40]

Botswana's geographical position meant walking a tightrope between Pan-Africanist ideology adopted by newly independent African states to the north and pragmatic economic challenges.[41] Seretse Khama wrote that,

[35] BNA OP 9/19, 'A.J Roos and Lars Nilson: Chobe Safari Lodge.'
[36] BNA OP 9/19, ' A.J. Roos and Lars Nilson: Chobe Safari Lodge.'
[37] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 5, 1979-1985* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1978).
[38] BNA OP 9/19, 'Mr T.L.K. du Plessis', W.B. Anderson, Officer Commanding, No. 7 District, Kasane, to Administrative Secretary, Office of the President, 23 October 1972.
[39] BNA OP 9/19, 'Designated Ports of Entry And Exit', W.B. Anderson, Officer Commanding, No. 7 District, Kasane to Commissioner of Police, 31 January 1972.
[40] BNA OP 9/19 'Activities of South African Police: Chobe District', W.B. Anderson, Officer Commanding, No. 7 District, Kasane, to Commissioner of Police, 15 March 1972.
[41] Botswana is a landlocked country that has endured the effects of being surrounded by hostile white colonial regimes with Rhodesia in the northeast, South Africa to her south and west, while to her northwest lay South African controlled Namibia's Caprivi Strip. On account of these misfortunes of both geography and history

> I recognize only too clearly that my country's prospects of fully independent development are inextricably bound up with the emancipation of all the minority-ruled populations of Southern Africa. Botswana's policy is to work for peaceful solutions to the problems of our area and to minimise violence.[42]

Botswana supported decolonization and national sovereignty, committing herself to giving support to the cause of liberation of the occupied countries in southern Africa.[43] Many activists from South Africa and Namibia fled their homes and entered Botswana. While Botswana's humane refugee policy enhanced its international profile, it made the country vulnerable to the settler regimes' aggressive action.[44] Most of the political exiles wishing to go further north for military training crossed the Zambezi River from Botswana into Zambia using a pontoon, the Kazungula Ferry also known as the 'Kasane Freedom Ferry', at Kasane.[45]

In 1977, faced with persistent threats to security, Botswana was forced to form a national defence force.[46] The Botswana Defence Force (BDF)'s first 132 recruits came from the British trained Botswana Police Mobile Unit (PMU) and increased to 600 men in 1978.[47] They were under the command of Major General Mompati Sebogodi Merafhe, then Deputy

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Botswana depended for her economic survival on both Rhodesia for rail transport especially, and South Africa for food products and industrial goods as well as harbours for international trade. As a result, while supporting economic sanctions on South Africa, she could not herself apply the sanctions against the very lifeline of her economy. See among others, Penelope Hartland-Thunberg, *Botswana: An African Growth Economy*, pp. 1-10, Christopher Colclough and Stephen McCarthy, *The Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Distribution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 5. Also, see Map 5 for Botswana's geographical position in relation to the white ruled colonial states.

[42] Seretse Khama, 'African-American Relations in the 1970s: Prospects and Problems', in Wolf Roder, (ed.), *Voices of Liberation in Southern Africa: The Perimeter of the White Bastion* (Waltham: African Studies Association, 1972), pp. 90-92. Khama was very critical of Republican American president Richard Nixon's opposition to the liberation struggle and his argument that the struggle would hurt the oppressed and not the oppressor. For full article, see pp. 88-95.

[43] Louis Selepeng, 'What Impact will regional and international political changes and developments have on Botswana?', in Sue Brothers, Janet Hermans and Doreen Nteta, *Botswana in the 21st century: Proceedings of a Symposium organized by the Botswana Society, October 18-21 1993, Gaborone* (Gaborone: Botswana Society, 1994), p. 138.

[44] Richard Dale, 'Not Always So Placid a Place: Botswana Under attack', in *African Affairs,* Vol. 86, No. 342 (January 1987), p. 90.

[45] *The Rhodesia Herald,* Friday 16 October, 1964. It was named 'Kasane Freedom Ferry' because it carried victims of colonialism who committed themselves to bringing freedom to their countries through military training and waging the liberation wars against colonial domination. By crossing into Zambia they were also free from control by racist rule in their own countries.

[46] Penelope Hartland-Thunberg, *Botswana: An African Growth Economy* (Boulder:Westview Press, 1978), pp. 29-38. The BDF was formed by Act of Parliament, the 'BDF Act No. 13 of 1977'. See also, Richard Dale, 'The Challenges and Restraints of White Power for a Small African State: Botswana and Its Neighbors', in *Africa Today,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul. – Sep., 1978), pp. 13-18. For full article, see pp. 7-23.

[47] Dan Henk, *The Botswana Defense Force in the Struggle for an African Environment,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 35.

Police Commissioner, with twenty-four year old Brigadier Ian Khama as the second in command.[48]

The fledging BDF was unable to prevent Rhodesian forces from unilaterally 'taking over' the Nata-Kazungula road which connected Botswana's southern towns with Kasane and Zambia, passing through the ferry on the Zambezi River. On the 13th of June 1977, five Rhodesian soldiers armed with automatic rifles manned a roadblock and robbed American tourists of their personal belongings.[49] Botswana officials believed that the incident was aimed at driving away tourists: 'It is common knowledge that rebel soldiers engage in this type of thuggery in neighbouring countries in order to cause panic among local populations and to scare away tourists.'[50] Botswana officials believed that some members of the Rhodesian intelligence entered the country disguised as tourists and game hunters.[51] On 27 February 1978, Rhodesian security forces crossed into Botswana and ambushed 35 soldiers and 2 civilians, killing 15 soldiers and a civilian at Lesoma, a small Basarwa-dominated village, 13 kilometres east of Kasane.[52] Neil Parsons described the incident as the 'most traumatic moments so far in the history of Botswana', adding that 'policemen wept when the bodies were loaded onto an aircraft at Kasane, and people fainted at the mass funeral in Gaborone.'[53] Makgala and Fisher explained:

> the ambush party charged on the killing ground and stabbed some with bayonets to confirm if dead or alive. Those still alive were thrown into the flames of the burning [BDF] vehicles, thereafter the ambush party withdrew back to Rhodesia.[54]

On 2 March 1978, Botswana closed the border with Rhodesia at Kazungula Road Border Post, for 10 days, with ramifications for tourism.[55]

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[48]Neil Parsons, Thomas Tlou and Willie Henderson, *Seretse Khama, 1921-1980* (Braamfontein: Macmillan Boleswa, 1995), p. 345. See also, Dan Henk, *The Botswana Defense Force in the Struggle for an African Environment*, p. 35. Ian Khama was the son of the founding president of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama. Ian subsequently took over the command of the BDF in 1989 when Merafhe was appointed to cabinet as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[49] BNA OP 18/5, 'Smith Attacks Botswana Again', Press Release from Office of the President, 16 June 1977.

[50] BNA OP 18/5, 'Smith Attacks Botswana Again.' Press Release from Office of the President, 16 June 1977.

[51] *Daily News* 'Foreign Soldiers Pose as Tourists and Hunters', 9 March 1978.

[52] Dan Henk, *The Botswana Defense Force in the Struggle for an African Environment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 35.

[53] Neil Parsons, Thomas Tlou and Willie Henderson, *Seretse Khama, 1921-1980* (Braamfontein: Macmillan Boleswa, 1995), pp. 353-355

[54] Christian John Makgala and Matshwenyego Louis Fisher, 'The Impact of Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle on Botswana: The Case of Lesoma Ambush, 1978', (Unpublished paper), p. 17.

[55] *Daily News* 'Grief-stricken Batswana Meet Ambush Victims', 2 March 1978. See also, *Daily News* 'Kazungula Border is re-opened' 23 March 1978. See also, Klaas Woldring, 'Aspects of Zambia's Foreign

Meanwhile, the local and international media made headlines on the war incidents in the tourist district of Chobe. The *Daily News* painted a gloomy picture of the impact of the war on the economic life of Kasane resulting from the Rhodesian war. The closure of tourist lodges, shops and other business ventures meant

> cutting down numbers of their employees substantially as a result of a seriously declining tourism in the area. At the beginning of January this year [1977], the Chobe Game Lodge owned by Southern Sun layed off 40 out of 52 employees whilst Chobe Safari Lodge closed down completely because the two were running at a big loss. The Chobe Safari Lodge however re-opened later under a new management but was able to retrieve only 12 out of 27 of its original employees.[56]

The South African *Star* newspaper was more sensational. 'While bullets, bombs and rockets fly back and forth across all the borders, Kazungula also serves as a vital point of trade and traffic between all four states [Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia]'[57], the *Star* reported. Development scholars observed that media coverage created a lasting negative impression on activities in the region deterring tourists.[58] While 65 000 tourists visited the country in 1976, statistics for 1978 showed a decline. The number of tourists from Europe fell from 6 500 to 3 800.[59] Tourist statistics in Zimbabwe showed similar trends .[60]

In 1978, a Government Development Plan noted that:

> The prospects for significantly expanding tourism will be poor, as long as the regional situation remains unstable. Worsening political events in the neighbouring countries discouraged both tourists from these countries and those from more distant parts of the world. In particular, the proximity of our most developed National Parks to one of the most active theatres of war in Zimbabwe severely damaged the prospects for tourism.[61]

Policy in the context of Southern Africa', in Klaas Woldring, (ed.), *Beyond Political Independence: Zambia's Development Predicament in the 1980s*, (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1984), pp. 233-247, See also, *Daily News* '17 Die at Lesoma in Rebel Ambush' 1 March 1978, *Daily News* 'Kazungula Border is Reopened' 23 March 1978, *Daily News* 'Lesoma Ambush: Serious Setback', 7 June 1978.

[56] *Daily News,* 'Rhodesian war evokes Kasane employment cut', Monday 28 March 1977.

[57] The *Star*, Friday 11 November 1977.

[58] Dallen J. Timothy, *Tourism and Political Boundaries* (Oxon: Routledge, 2001), pp. 20-21.

[59] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 5, 1979-1985* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1978), p. 220.

[60] Robin Heath, 'Tourism in Zimbabwe: Some Important Experiences during the Last Decade', in Linda Pfotenhauer, *Tourism in Botswana*, p. 116. Tourist visits in 1978 amounted to 110 000 while a record low of 60 000 was experienced in 1979 when the war in that country was at its peak.

[61] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 5, 1979-1985* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1978), p. 220.

Government was forced to pay more attention to the security threat, giving less attention to tourism development:

> In this context [war], tourism promotion inevitably remained a low priority for Government; activity in this sphere was confined to answering enquiries, participating in local trade fairs, and producing a fairly small amount of promotional literature.[62]

Important infrastructure such as campsites, access roads in the parks, other communication systems including main roads connecting the tourist destinations and airports in the wetland centres remained undeveloped for the duration of the war.[63] Private sector investment remained limited to a few safari tours. According to Sankwasa, most of the private investors were South Africans who were known to be racist, underpaying and often ill-treating unskilled local employees.[64] The absence of a clear policy on tourism in the 1970s and 1980s gave the private sector *carte blanche* control. In some instances, unscrupulous investors took advantage of the situation.[65]

1981 to 1989: The tourist industry in Chobe and Ngamiland begins to grow

In 1980, following the independence of Zimbabwe and a reduced military presence in the area economic activity began to increase.[66] In Zimbabwe, tourist visits rose to 350 000 in 1981, a year after the country's independence only to falter again to 260 000 in 1983 at the height of the civil war in Matebeleland.[67] The Chobe Game Lodge was re-opened in 1983 as tourist traffic gradually increased.[68] Botswana embarked on productive tourist planning

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[62] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 5, 1979-1985*, p. 220.
[63]Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 6, 1985-1991* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1985), p. 256.
[64] Interview with Luckson Sankwasa, Councillor Chobe District Council, Kasane, 22 May 2008. Afrikaans was the lingua franca in the bars of most hotels and safari companies in Kasane due to the dominance of South African investors and tourists to the area. Apart from white South Africans, Botswana received a significant influx of experienced safari investors and managers in the form of East African whites driven out by new hunting restrictions and declining wildlife in Tanzania and Kenya in the early 1960s. It is also notable that there is a generation of white children born in Botswana of ex-colonial British administration Botswana citizen parents who went into safari management, for example sons of Brian Egner, an ex-District Commissioner at Kasane. See Harry Selby, 'Hunting as a Component of Tourism in Botswana', in Linda Pfotenhauer, (ed.), *Tourism in Botswana*, pp. 370-374.
[65] Interview with Tlhabologo Ndzinge, former Director, Department of Tourism, Gaborone, 14 May 2008.
[66] Interview with Jonathan Gibson, Managing Director, Chobe Game Lodge 23 May 2008. Gibson, a former South African national himself has lived in Kasane for a very long time and even witnessed some of the war incidents in the wetlands. Although the bulk of tourists comprised South Africans and Namibians, there was a significant increase (59%) in European visitors, in 1988. Government of Botswana, *Tourism Statistics 1989* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1989), see Introduction.
[67] Robin Heath, 'Tourism in Zimbabwe', in Linda Pfotenhauer, *Tourism in Botswana,* p. 116.
[68] The re-opening of the hotel resulted from efforts of Gibson, an intrepid entrepreneur who is the hotel's current managing director. When information leaked to the press in South Africa that he was negotiating the purchase of

beginning with the construction of the Nata-Kazungula road and the expansion of the Maun airport which was completed in 1983.

Aware of the potential of the tourist industry for the country's economic development, each National Development Plan emphasized the need to accelerate its development.[69] The Tourism Division was separated from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) and opened regional offices in Maun and Kasane.[70]

Government saw tourist development as a joint venture with the private sector.[71] Firstly, government facilitated human resource development as well as providing capital to the private sector through the Botswana Development Corporation, the state investment wing.[72] Secondly, government took responsibility for policy, planning and research and providing basic infrastructure, and for establishing and administering environmental protection regulations. Government policy is set out in the *Tourism Policy* of 1990. The private sector was generally responsible for developing accommodation, tour and travel operations and other commercial enterprises.[73] The two consulted on issues pertaining to appropriate tourism development strategies.[74]

Private investment in the tourist industry was organised under the aegis of the Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB), an association of tourist enterprises. Formed in 1982, HATAB became the private sector voice 'that lobbied government and other key stakeholders, to create an enabling environment for hospitality and tourism enterprises to

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the closed hotel in the Chobe District, Gibson says he was branded a 'mad man' because he was taking risks in a war zone. His detractors reminded him of the war against SWAPO in the Caprivi, the civil war over 'dissidents' in Matebeleland in Zimbabwe in 1983. Gibson however maintained that he believed war would be over and tourism would be the future engine of growth for wetlands and Botswana as a whole.

[69] See Introduction, Linda Pfotenhauer, *Tourism in Botswana,* pp. 1-2.

[70] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 6, 1985-1991* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, December 1985), p. 259. The Department of Tourism was responsible for formulation of policies and laws regulating the tourist industry while the DWNP was responsible for the conservation of the natural habitat and biodiversity in the protected areas and enforcement of laws relating to wildlife resources. See NDP 8, p. 305.

[71] Government of Botswana, *Vision 2016, Towards Prosperity for All: Long Term Vision for Botswana* (Gaborone: Presidential Task Group, September 1997), p. 47.

[72] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 6, 1985-1991* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, December 1985), p. 256.

[73] Interview with Gloria Maselesele, Director, Department of Tourism, Gaborone, 22 August 2008.

[74] HATAB, *This is Botswana* (Essex: Land and Marine, 2008), See Introduction, 'Showcasing All that is Good about Botswana' by Morongwe Ntloedibe-Disele, Chief Executive Officer, HATAB, p. 3.

thrive and prosper.'[75] HATAB members complained that government regulation was excessive. The 'star system' of grading of tourist facilities was 'inappropriate and impractical to the lodges and camps in Botswana's wilderness areas.'[76] HATAB argued that the star system ought to be applied to hotels and motels in towns and not to lodges and camps in the remote areas such as the Okavango Delta. Government believed that the private sector wanted to continue being autonomous, having *carte blanche* control of the industry, and evading government control and standard practices in the industry.[77] Ben Keaikitse complained that some safari companies took advantage of the remoteness of the Delta from 'the eyes' of the authorities to erect building in the parks, in contravention of park rules.

The continued dominance of foreigners in both ownership and management excludes Botswana nationals.[78] For example, in the early 1990s, about 97% of those in management posts in the Okavango Delta were white.[79] These managers were allegedly not keen on training and empowering local employees.[80] However, they argued, they promoted workers to senior positions on merit and not simply on the basis of localisation projections (a government priority), but on meeting high quality service standards in the hospitality industry.[81] Because of their economic desperation, illegal immigrants provided cheap labour

[75] http://www.hatab.bw/Documents 'HATAB', accessed on 15/04/2010. HATAB also encouraged members in the hospitality sector to provide quality accommodation in order to attract quality clients. See Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 7, 1991-1997* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1991), p. 298.
[76] Adams Chilisa, 'How the Private Sector Views the Tourism Industry in Botswana', in Linda Pfotenhauer, (ed.), *Tourism in Botswana: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Gaborone, Botswana, 15-19 October 1990* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), pp. 47-58. Policy objectives included *inter* alia, raising government revenue, raising income in rural areas, generating employment opportunities in rural areas in order to reduce urban migration.
[77] Interview with Ben Keaikitse (pseudonym), tourism officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[78] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Tourism Master Plan* (Gaborone: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Tourism, May 2000), pp. 61-62. The white foreign entrepreneurs were largely from South Africa with a few British, American and Zimbabwean investors. 'Local' investors were mostly whites who had acquired local citizenship. Only a few black Batswana made it into the industry. (Interview with former Tlhabologo Ndzinge, former Director of Tourism, 14 May 2008).
[79] Interview with Joseph Mangate, Tourism Officer, Maun regional office, 24 June 2008. See also Government of Botswana, '*Tourism Pitso 2008 – Embracing Smart Partnership in Tourism*, Issues Document, 18th-19th August 2008' (Gaborone: Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, 2008), pp. 10, 16, 17 and 19. These were concerns on non-localisation, submission of statistics and issues on training of local employees and had a backlog of more than ten years.
[80] The same was said of the hospitality industry in Kasane.
[81] Interview with D. Britton, Manager, Chobe Safari Lodge, Kasane, 2 June 2008.

preferred by some safari companies and lodges that operated deep in the parks where access was difficult for regular inspection.[82] Joseph Mangate, a tourism officer in Maun explained:

> Employers were aware that it was against the law to hire illegal immigrants in their institutions but some deliberately defied government on this. Sometimes senior government officials gave a blind eye to these issues even when they are aware of them happening.[83]

Mobile operators were often charged with operating without licences.[84] Government complained about low levels of company tax paid by tour operators.[85] Some tourist enterprises breached tax regulations by registering a single activity such as hospitality while simultaneously operating other activities such as boat cruises and/or tour travels.[86] They complained that tax was burdensome for investors who were struggling to make profit.[87] Also, hotel profits were curtailed by packaged tours. Packaged holidays were marketed through foreign-based agents in which the deals were all-inclusive with very little revenue accruing to the destination country.[88] In consequence, hoteliers passed the cost to the consumer in the form of expensive accommodation and food.[89]

Table 11. Revenue collected by DWNP and Tourism Development Unit, 1984/85 to 1988/89 (Pula)

1984/1985	1985/1986	1986/1987	1987/1988	1988/1989
784 000	830 000	899 000	975 000	1 487 000

Source: Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 6, 1985-1991* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1985).

Table 11 shows an increase in tourist revenue between 1984 and 1989 generated from tourist related activities such as game camp fees (public and private campsites), game licences, park entrance fees, export taxes (game trophies), sales tax, corporate income tax and lands rents.[90]

[82] Interview with Joseph Mangate. Mangate stated that almost the entire Delta's hospitality industry was foreign-owned and that the few local entrepreneurs were in fact white former South Africans who had acquired local citizenship. Black Batswana entrepreneurs, who owned only a few lodges on the fringes of peri-urban .
[83] Interview with Joseph Mangate, 24 June 2008.
[84] Interview with Joseph Mangate, 24 June 2008.
[85] Government of Botswana, *Tourism Policy*, 1990, p. 9.
[86] Interview with Mma Kashweka, owner, Liya Guest House, Plateau, Kasane 22 May 2008.
[87] Interview with Wayne Visser (pseudonym), Managing Director of a lodge in Kasane, 3 June 2008.
[88] Interview with Gloria Maselesele, Director, Department of Tourism, Gaborone, 22 August 2008.
[89] Interview with Gloria Maselesele, Gaborone, 22 August 2008.
[90] Government of Botswana, *Tourism Policy*, 1990. In 2000, park fees generated P7,7 million. See *Daily News*, 'Enterprising Ditshwane ventures into tourism industry' 21 June 2001.

In order to maximise efficiency, the tourism ministry spread responsibilities through linkages with other ministries and government departments. The Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs inspected the tourist institutions, especially the state of labour relations between hotel and lodge owners, tour operators and their employees.[91] Authorities from the Ministry of Labour and Home affairs occasionally inspected tourist establishments countrywide. By notifying the tourist institutions of their visits, inspectors compromised their work. Also, inspectors found themselves compromised by asking lodge owners and tour operators to provide them with accommodation, food and air transport to the Okavango Delta. The delta is accessible only by light aircraft or boat. Requesting the Labour Department to provide aircraft for inspectors' use in Okavango Delta, Goitseone Kokorwe, an official at the Department of Labour explained:

> At the moment, they [inspectors] depend on transportation provided by business operators and this creates an opportunity for corruption to fester. When you go there, they [tour operators] fly you in their aeroplane, accommodate you and even feed you. How do you conduct a proper inspection and write an objective report in that situation? It is difficult as officers are embedded. I know it is expensive, but for quality service, it is important that we have our own aircraft. I am urging the leadership of the ministry to consider buying it so that we do our job properly without being compromised. We are tired of always being told in public 'these labour officers are corrupt'.[92]

Dimpoetse Keolefile, a regional officer in the Department of Labour said, 'I once heard one client saying in my presence that '*ibaaba ba no tengwa'* a Kalanga expression for, 'these officers are for sale', meaning they took bribes.[93]

1990-2000: Government policy and community co-operation in wildlife management and tourism – the CBNRM

The *Tourism Policy* (1990) was the first administrative instrument in the Tourism Division, 23 years after the country's independence.[94] Prefaced with the recognition that the tourist industry had 'not been given due prominence in the past, and that its potential was growing at a rapid rate', the *Tourism Policy* recommended fast-tracking the industry's development.[95] Government adopted the 'high-value, low-volume' tourism strategy 'which has staved off hordes of wildlife tourists that flood countries such as Kenya, but ensures that those tourists

[91] Interview with Gloria Maselesele, Gaborone, 22 August 2008.
[92] *Mmegi*, 'Labour Office Requests Aircraft' 19 April 2010.
[93] *Mmegi* 'Labour Office Requests Aircraft' 19 April 2010.
[94]Interview with Tlhabologo Ndzinge, former Director, Department of Tourism, Gaborone, 14 May 2008. Other subsequent pieces of legislation included the *Tourism Act* of 1992, *Tourism Regulations* of 1996, and the *Tourism Master Plan* of 2000.
[95] Government of Botswana, *Tourism Policy* (1990) (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1990).

who do come to Botswana are the ones who can afford to pay high prices to see wildlife in its natural habitat.'[96] Some criticised this strategy as 'foster[ring] an image of exclusivity, even raising the spectre of apartheid-style segregation of facilities at its most extreme.'[97]

The *Tourism Policy* provided for local participation in the industry, emphasising localisation of tourist enterprises in the country as well as outlining marketing strategies.[98] However, 'local participation' was limited to employment as citizens were not able to raise capital.[99] Besides, the entire prime land on the Chobe River frontage was occupied by hotels and lodges owned by expatriates, forcing the few local investors to Lesoma village, about 10 kilometres away from Kasane, barely attracting tourists.[100]

In 1992, the government introduced the *Tourism Act*. The 1992 Act's regulatory parameters included the licencing of the enterprises, categorised the different of tourist enterprises into, for instance hospitality, safari operators, hunting camps. It also provided for inspection of these institutions for assessment of conformity to the industry's regulations.[101] The *Tourism Act* also made provisions for appeals to the minister. Introduced in 1996, the *Tourism Regulations* established a National Advisory Council that advised the minister on 'all matters' relating to the industry. The *Tourism Regulations* required hospitality institutions to keep registers in which all tourists accommodated entered their personal details. The Act emphasised safety and sanitation in the hospitality enterprises.

As discussed in chapter Six, tourism in Botswana developed around natural resources such as wildlife, this created conflict between local communities and government authorities who administered wildlife management. Because wild animals were protected by conservation laws which were enforced by game wardens, the animal populations increased and threatened the carrying capacity of the environment around them. Consequently, the animals moved out

[96] *Mail and Guardian*, Vol. 25, No. 46, 'The Jewel loses its luster' November 20-26, 2009. The strategy aimed at achieving high revenue from few rich clients while avoiding environmental degradation by limiting the number of visitors into the game parks. See Government of Botswana, *Botswana Tourism Master Plan* (Gaborone: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Tourism, 2000), pp. 63-64.
[97] World Travel and Tourism Council, *Botswana: The Impact of Travel and Tourism on Jobs and The Economy* (London: World Travel and Tourism Council, 2007), p. 48.
[98] Government of Botswana, *Tourism Policy* .
[99] Interview with Monica Kgaile, owner, Water Lily Lodge, 4 November 2009, Kasane
[100] Interview with Mma Kasheka, owner, Liya Guest House, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[101] Government of Botswana, *Tourism Act* (1992) (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1992).

of the protected areas and interfered with human settlements.[102] The authorities argued that livestock encroached into wildlife habitat, making it vulnerable to predation.[103] Losses included livestock preyed on by carnivores such as the big cats, including lion, leopard and in most instances hyena; destruction of crops in the field normally by elephant, buffalo, kudu, warthog and birds.[104] There were also losses of human life as when three people died in the Chobe Enclave in 1994.[105] Farming communities were distressed by the destruction of their property by game animals. According to two officers in the DWNP at Kasane, angry farmers sometimes stormed their offices shouting 'take your children away from us', referring to wild animals under government protection.[106] In order to develop a more co-operative relationship with farmers, the DWNP established of the Problem Animal Control unit (PAC) in 1994.[107] Compensation for stock losses was introduced for the first time in February 1994.[108] But the process of securing compensation was very bureaucratic requiring the claimant to ensure that officers from three different departments satisfied themselves with the merit of the case. Ludbrock explained that

> verification by the DWNP and assessment by Agriculture and Veterinary Departments officials and compensation was as follows : a Bull, ox or tolly –P520; Cow or heifer –P400; Calf or foal – P200; Horse –P800; Donkey – P70, Goat or sheep – P70; Crops – P100 maximum per hectare.[109]

In 1994, a total of 4,034 cases was reported nationwide, involving problem animals, with 3020 (75%) being incidents of predation while 1,014 (25%) involved crop damage.[110] Communities complained that the compensation did not measure up to the loss incurred.[111] Some animals were not included as they were not regarded as dangerous and farmers were

[102] Interview with Kgosi Moffat Sinvula, Chief of Kavimba Village, 7 June 2008.
[103] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 9* (Gaborone: March 2003), p. 245.
[104] M. Gusset, M.J. Swarner, L. Mponwane, K. Keletile and J.W. McNutt, 'Human-wildlife conflict in northern Botswana: livestock predation by Endangered African wild dog *Lycaon pictus* and other carnivores', in *Fauna and Flora International,* Vol. 43, No. 1 (2009), pp. 67-72. See, also, Anna Songhurst, 'Conflict or Co-existence: People and elephants in the Okavango Panhandle', in *Conservation News, Botswana* Vol. 11, No. 11 (Jan-March 2009), pp. 12-13.
[105] Spud Ludbrock, 'Problem Animal Control: A Closer Look at the Issues', paper presented at conference on Natural Resources Management Programme, Kasane, April 3-6 1995, pp. 144-145.
[106] Fenny and Sylviah, Officers of the DWNP, Kasane, 2 June 2008. See also, *Daily News,* 'Kachikau, a breakaway village' 14 December 2005.
[107] Interview with Fenny and Sylviah, Kasane, 2 June 2008.
[108] Spud Ludbrock, 'Problem Animal Control: A Closer Look at the Issues', p. 144.
[109] Spud Ludbrock, 'Problem Animal Control', p. 144.
[110] Spud Ludbrock, 'Problem Animal Control', p. 144.
[111] Interview with Dr Bernard Mbeha, Veterinary Officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008.

expected to chase them from their property.[112] These included hyena which residents in Kavimba village regarded the most destructive predator and jackals which preyed on small livestock regularly. Antelope such as the kudu, jumped fences into crop fields and warthogs and small antelope crept under the fence destroying crops.[113] DWNP blamed the communities for not looking after their livestock and not adequately fencing their crop fields.[114]

Destruction of property by protected animals changed community attitudes towards wildlife conservation.[115] Viewing wildlife as a nuisance, communities became hostile towards wild animals and officials of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.[116] DWNP attempted to persuade communities to partner government in the conservation of wildlife by introducing the Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme (CBNRM) in 1992 in order to cultivate a modicum of shared ownership of wildlife.[117] It was hoped that through appropriate incentives, the programme would promote collective management and conservation of wildlife. As Michael Taylor noted:

> CBNRM was initially designed as a programme to promote more effective local level conservation, under the assumption that allowing local people to more directly benefit from the natural resources in their vicinity would encourage more active conservation by them.[118]

In 1993, the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT) was established as the first CBNRM programme.[119] Communities were encouraged to form boards of trustees, which would manage the conservation trust.[120] Modelled on the lines of Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), CBNRM programmes

[112] Interview with Fenny and Sylviah, Officers of the DWNP, Kasane, 2 June 2008.
[113] Interview with Kgosi Moffat Sinvula, Chief of Kavimba Village, 7 June 2008.
[114] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan 9 2003/04-2008/09* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003), See Review on NDP 8 (1997/8-2002/03), p. 245.
[115] M. Morongwe, 'Economic Impact of Tourism in Botswana: Case Study of Maun and Surrounding Villages (Phuduhudu, Toteng and Shorobe) 1960-2000', (Unpublished B.A Thesis, Department of History, University of Botswana, 2005), p. 23.
[116] Interview with Fenny, Officer in the DWNP, Kasane, 2 June 2008.
[117] For evolution of CBNRM, See J.B Johnson, 'CBNRM in Botswana: Socio-Economic Impacts', (Unpublished MSc Thesis, Institute of Geography, University of Copenhagen, September 1999). Initial funding of the CBNRM (US$25 million) was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the African Development Bank. See Nico Rozemeijer, 'CBNRM in Botswana: Revisiting the assumptions after 10 years of Implementation', (Unpublished paper, IUCN – CBNRM Support Programme in Botswana, 18 February 2003), p. 2.
[118] Michael Taylor, 'CBNRM and pastoral development in Botswana: Implications for San land rights', (Unpublished paper, International Land Coalition, no date), p. 9.
[119] Jaap Arntzen, 'Case Study of the CBNRM programme in Botswana', (Unpublished paper prepared for the Centre for Applied Research' January 2006), p. 2.
[120] Mrs Nchunga, 'The Chobe Enclave', (Unpublished brief notes on CECT).

were responsible for the management of wildlife quotas granted by the DWNP in their area. The community trusts benefited in the form of cash acquired through the sale of the quota to commercial hunting companies and the revenue was shared between the community (35%) and the government (65%).[121] Some communities felt that the state was being paternalistic and using them in the conservation crusade and that they were not benefiting as much as government.[122]

Government was criticized for being unresponsive to people's concerns. According to Mmualefhe Mmualefhe the local chief at Kachikau village, 'government officials and consultants have been here on several occasions to talk to us what should be done but we never receive any feedback.'[123] Other communities welcomed the government initiated 'developments' made possible by these revenues.[124] In the Chobe District, CECT's inaugural income in 1993 was P24,000.00 and in 1998 they earned P2,000,000.00 from hunting companies.[125] Community incomes were spent almost entirely on the administration of the Trust, including purchasing and maintenance of vehicles, office expenses, costs towards meetings and allowances paid to board members.[126] Part of the income was invested in communally owned projects such as a grinding mill and general dealer's shop in Parakarungu, a co-operative shop in Mabele, a hardware shop and a brick moulding project in Satau.[127] Local people preferred benefits that trickled to individual household levels than projects at community level.[128] This was partly due to the fact that while benefits accrued to the community, the costs of conserving, for example not being able to hunt anymore, were borne by the individual and these costs exceeded the benefits at the level of the individual.[129] In Kachikau, village projects such as a petrol filling station and a hardware shop had collapsed, while a camp site at Kavimba was never completed due to lack of funds, all blamed on the

[121] Susan O. Keitumetse, 'The Eco-tourism Cultural Heritage Management (ECT-CHM): Linking Heritage and 'Environment' in the Okavango Delta Regions of Botswana', in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2009), p. 229. For full article, see pp. 223-244. Interview with Reuben, Professional Guide, KALEPA, Lesoma village, 21 July 2008.
[122] Interview with Reuben, Professional Guide, Kazungula, Lesoma and Pandamatenga Trust (KALEPA), Lesoma village, 21 July 2008.
[123] *Daily News*, 'Kachikau lags behind in development', 14 December 2005.
[124] Interview with Nanzala Kachana, subsistence farmer, Parakarungu Village, 11 June 2008.
[125] Mrs Nchunga, 'The Chobe Enclave'.
[126] Nicto Rozemeijer, 'CBNRM in Botswana', p. 6.
[127] Interview with Mrs Nchunga, Programme officer, Chobe Enclave Community Trust (CECT), 17 June 2008.
[128] Interview with *Kgosi* Moffat Sinvula, Kavimba village, 7 June 2008.
[129] Nico Rozemeijer, 'CBNRM in Botswana' p. 7.

leadership of CECT.[130] In the Chobe Enclave Community Trust, for example, it was alleged that there were ethnic differences that were historical, between the two major ethnic groups in the area, Batawana of Kachikau and Basubiya in the rest of the villages in Chobe west. Batawana allegedly looked down upon Basubiya and such differences often distracted development agendas in CECT.[131]

Local people did not always believe that the money was well used. Village trusts lacked trained personnel to administer the finances of the Trust in a professional manner.[132] It was alleged that the low educational levels of members of the community was often exploited by 'village elites', comprising 'mainly literate men from dominant village factions monopolising the decision-making processes' at the expense of the broader community members.[133] Thus, conferring legal access to communities was often flawed.[134] On the positive side, Arntzen noted that CBNRM programmes helped widen the choice of livelihoods in the wetlands as remote areas generally lacked a sound resource base. In his words,

> Developing rural areas in Botswana is very difficult as the rural base is severely limited particularly in the west and north. In the past, relatively little attention was given to what people wanted and there was little genuine participation and institution building at local level. Community-based rural development rural strategy addresse[d] this old shortcoming. Communities became primarily responsible for rural development activities while government assume[d] the role of facilitator.[135]

By 2000, of all the community trusts in the country, the Chobe Enclave Community Trust had the highest revenue, but it was slow in implementing community development projects, 'limiting the perceived benefits and participation.'[136] Thus, at best, CBNRM programmes supplemented, barely transforming the livelihoods of the poor communities living on the fringes of a lucrative tourist industry.

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[130] *Daily News*, 'Kachikau lags behind in development', 14 December 2005.
[131] Interview with Phenyo Itengu, Aged 59, Mabele village, 7 June 2008. In Zimbabwe, the local CAMPFIRE was allegedly dominated by a white elite, showing lack of indigenous involvement in the industry. See Taparendava Maveneke 'The CAMPFIRE Association: Enabling Producer Communities to take the lead in Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE Programme', Proceedings of the Regional Natural Resources Management Programme Annual Conference, Kasane,Botswana, April 3-6 1995, p. 108. For full article, see pp.102-111.
[132]Interview with Mrs Nchunga, 17 June 2008. Mrs Nchunga state that this led to many cases of financial mismanagement and the inability of the Trust to grow and reward the communities of the Chobe Enclave.
[133] Nico Rozemeijer, 'CBNRM in Botswana', p. 8. Interview with Phenyo Itengu, aged 59, Mabele village, 7 June 2008.
[134] Nico Rozemeijer, 'CBNRM in Botswana', p. 6.
[135] Jaap Arntzen, 'Case Study of the CBNRM programme in Botswana', (Unpublished paper prepared for the Centre for Applied Research, January 2006), p. 8.
[136] Jaap Arntzen, 'Case Study of the CBNRM programme in Botswana', p. 14.

One of the most important aspects of tourist development in the wetlands after 1990 was the diversification of the industry to eco-tourism, involving the development of cultural, historical and archaeological sites such as the Tsodilo Hills and geographical features including the Okavango Delta in the Okavango sub-district.[137] A World Heritage site, the Tsodilo Hills in the Okavango were renowned for unique rock art made by local Basarwa who depicted their interaction with the surrounding environment and utilisation of natural resources in the vicinity.[138] Eco-tourism was viewed as relieving the pressure of mass visits on wildlife habitats. Members of Parliament for the area complained that while the physical landscape of Okavango was endowed with features that government had not developed.[139] Vister Moruti also complained that tourist development by locals was hindered by bureaucratic delays which made it extremely difficult for locals to acquire land for tourism projects.[140] In the Chobe District, government noted that

> The transition to local production is hampered by a cumbersome land allocating procedure, and applicants for State Land on which to set up a business, are often discouraged by delays in the processing of their applications.[141]

By 1990, there were approximately 50 tour operators based in Botswana mostly in the wetlands and a few more outside the country.[142] In the same period, Maun and the Okavango Delta boasted of 27 hospitality facilities (hotels, motels, lodges and guest houses) while Kasane hosted 8.[143]

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[137] Government of Botswana, *Vision 2016, Towards Prosperity For All: Long Term Vision for Botswana* (Gaborone: Presidential Task Group, September, 1997), pp. 47-48. Other activities within eco-tourism in Botswana include commodifying local cultures such as those of Basarwa, ostensibly for tourists to 'gain life-changing insights into the lives of the unique culture of Bushmen'. See *Mail and Guardian,* 'Thirsting Bushmen go back to court' 11 to 17 June 2010.

[138] The Tsodilo Hills were declared a World Heritage site in 2000. See 'Botswana Tourism Board, *Botswana Tour Packages,* Issue Two, Easter 2009', p. 5. See also, Phillip Segadika, 'Managing Intangible Heritage at Tsodilo', in *Museum International,* Vol. 58, No. 1-2 (2006), pp. 31-40.

[139] *Mmegi,* 'Moruti on the guard in Okavango' Friday 13 March 2009. Moruti, (Vister), was the local Member of Parliament for the ruling party, the Botswana Democratic Party.

[140] *Mmegi,* 13 March 2009. The Land Board was the state institution responsible for allocation of land for whatever purposes including commercial, residential or farm fields.

[141] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1977-1982* (Maun: Chobe District Development Committee, North West District Council, 1977), p. 2.

[142] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 7, 1991-1997* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1991), p. 196

[143] Tutu Tsiang, 'An Overview of Tourism in Botswana', in Linda Pfotenhauer, (ed.), *Tourism in Botswana: Proceedings of a Symposium held in Gaborone, Botswana, 15-19 October, 1990* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), pp. 21-32.

In the mid-1990s, a better organised tourist industry attracted more tourists, making significant foreign exchange earnings. Botswana experienced an 80% increase in international tourists between 1993 and 1997.[144] In the Okavango Delta, tourist visits increased from 106,800 in 1993 to 184,475 in 1997, representing an average rate of 14.5%.[145] Independence in Namibia and the subsequent democratisation of South Africa made the region the 'fastest growing tourist destination in Africa with a 17.1% for arrivals and receipts between 1994 and 1995.'[146] In 1997, tourist expenditure in Botswana amounted to P1.1 billion, although out of this amount, P605 million was retained outside Botswana in the form of leakages through commission paid to agents and importing tourists' food.[147] Revenue from the tourist industry provided 4.5% of Botswana's Gross Domestic Product.[148]

From the late 1990s, hotels in Kasane marketed themselves as destinations for 'conference tourism'.[149] High profile government workshops, seminars and international conferences were held in Kasane.[150] Through the 'Annual Open Season Conference', the Hotel And Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) invited its members to Kasane, to evaluate the performance of the sector, creating opportunities for increased incomes for the local hotels.[151] Marketing activities targeted foreign clients. Batswana were believed to be more attracted to the 'glamour of the city than by the familiar rural setting where wildlife is found.'[152] In 1998,

[144] 'Africa Regional Course in Environmental Assessment and Environmentally Sound Design, Kasane, 16-20 May 2005', (Unpublished paper), p. 7.
[145] Masego Madzwamuse, 'Adaptive Livelihood Strategies of the Basarwa' p. 32.
[146] Government of Botswana, *National Development Plan NDP 8, 1997/98-2002/03* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, August 1997), p. 306.
[147] Kenneth Bentinck, 'Developing a National Eco-Tourism Strategy for Botswana', in World Tourism Organization, *Tourism: a catalyst for Sustainable Development in Africa, Seminar Proceedings, 26-27 April 2002, Abuja, Nigeria* (Madrid: WTO, 2002), p. 15. For full article, see pp. 15-25.
[148] J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, *Tourism and Environment in the Okavango, Botswana* (Gaborone: Pula Press, 2006), p. 2.
[149] Interview with Tlhabologo Ndzinge, former Director, Department of Tourism, Gaborone, 14 May 2008.
[150] Interview with Tlhabologo Ndzinge, Gaborone, 14 May 2008.
[151] *Mmegi* "No time for complacency', Marole tells elite HATAB Summit' 24 April 2007. Held towards the end of April each year, in anticipation of the 'high season', during the dry months when tourists visited Chobe, the 'Open Season' became an important event for the tourist sector. Members, about 160 in 1999, reflected on progress made and challenges faced in the previous year with a view to improving on shortcomings. Lasting over a weekend, the 'Open Season' conference delegates paid for conference facilities, accommodation, food, refreshments, game drives, boat cruises and transport costs to and from Kasane. Interview with D. Britton, Manager, Chobe Safari Lodge, Kasane, 2 June 2008.
[152] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Tourism Master Plan* (2000) (Gaborone: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Tourism, 2000), p. 83.

only 9,748 citizens (6.1% of all visits) visited national parks and game reserves.[153] Thus, tourism remained an activity for foreigners and a few of the local elite.[154]

The tourist industry increased job opportunities. In 1998, it was estimated that approximately 9,000 people were employed in tourism related occupations, accounting for about 4.5% of the total number of people who were on paid employment in Botswana.[155] By 2000, about 1658 people were employed in 50 safari camps and lodges in the Okavango Delta, making about 16.6% of tourism employment in Botswana.[156] In the same period, approximately 60% of employed people in Ngamiland worked in the tourist industry.[157]

Despite its positive contribution to employment creation in rural areas, the tourist industry was seen as 'too private' and management in the hotels was said to be reluctant to provide internships to graduates of local tertiary institutions.[158] The Principal of Maun Technical College said,

> Being conveniently situated in the tourist hub in Maun, our institution offers courses in, among others, hospitality and tourism. Our students excel in both theory and practice but the industry does not accept them as interns, nor does it recognise their diplomas. We also provided diplomas in automotive training, electrical engineering as well as mechanical engineering and construction, but only a few are considered in some sectors of the industry, arguing that they have no experience.[159]

The industry was blamed for poor working conditions for its junior employees.[160] In the hospitality section, for example, some employees were allegedly dismissed for failing to smile to a customer, or asking for clarity if the client spoke a non-English European language.[161] In some instances, employees were dismissed because of their HIV positive status.[162] Gladys Kasale, a waitress in a hotel in Kasane explained:

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[153] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Tourism Master Plan* (2000), p. 83.
[154] Peter S. Mmusi, Vice President, Botswana, 'Opening Address', in Linda Pfotenhauer, (ed.), *Tourism in Botswana: Proceedings of a Symposium held in Gaborone, Botswana, 15 – 19 October, 1990',* (Gaborone: The Botswana Society, 1991), pp. 7-10.
[155] Kenneth Bentinck, 'Developing a National Eco-Tourism Strategy for Botswana', p. 15.
[156] J.E. Mbaiwa and M.B.K. Darkoh, *Tourism and Environment in the Okavango, Botswana* (Gaborone: Pula Press, 2006), p. 56.
[157] Masego S. Madzwamuse, 'Adaptive Livelihood Strategies of the Basarwa' p. 34.
[158] Interview with Leabile C.M. Phepheng, Principal, Maun Technical College, 7 July 2008.
[159] Interview with Leabile C.M. Phepheng, Maun, 7 July, 2008.
[160] Interview with B.K. Masole, District Commissioner, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[161] Interview with Tabitha Mngadi (pseudonym), aged 25, waitress in a hotel in Kasane, 1 June 2008.
[162] Interview with Gladys Kasale (pseudonym), aged 31, waitress in a hotel in Kasane, 1 June 2008. See also, Government of Botswana, *Tourism Pitso 2008: Embracing Smart Partnership in Tourism, Issues Document, 18-19 August 2008* (Gaborone: Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, 2008), p. 9.

> *Fa mookamedi a fitlhela o kopa tlhaloso mo khasetomareng, gatwe o phoso, o kgopisa khasetomara. O biletswa ko thoko go omangwa fa gongwe o kojwe gone foo. Gape,ba re kganela go ya sepateleng mme ba ntse ba bona gore motho oa lwala. Fa gongwe o kentiwa ka limau le gotweng le tla a go fodisa, mme motho o sa tlhatlhojwa ke ngaka. Ba tla a re tshela ma lwetse batho ba.* (When a supervisor finds you seeking clarity from a customer, you are called aside and reprimanded, sometimes dismissed on the spot. Also, our employers prohibit us from going to hospital when we are unwell. Sometimes they inject us with what they call a multi-purpose injection, without a doctor's advice. We fear they will infect us with worse diseases).[163]

Unskilled employees were most vulnerable as they were easily replaced and not aware of their rights as workers.[164] The situation of the employees was exacerbated by the fact that workers were not unionised because there was no union for the industry.[165] At a locally owned lodge in Kasane, the manageress mockingly advised her employees to choose between working for her and for the Department of Labour just after officials from Labour left the premises following an investigation on alleged ill-treatment of staff. Employees in most lodges ended their night shifts around midnight and had to find their way home.[166] Workers complained that the local Member of Parliament in Chobe was too busy with his business enterprises to come to their aid.[167] As retired District Commissioner for Ngamiland Michael Maforaga put it: 'Councillors are unhappy, civil servants are unhappy, communities are unhappy. Only HATAB is happy and government listens to them.'[168]

The growth of the tourist industry prompted government to devise a strategy that would harmonise the objectives of the different interest groups in the industry. Thus, in 2000, government introduced the *Botswana Tourism Master Plan*, which, among others sought to strengthen the public-private sector collaboration while strongly emphasising community empowerment. Due to increased numbers of visitors to game parks, the Master Plan encouraged a balance between economic sustainability and protection of the fragile ecology. Also, the Master Plan adopted a tourism diversification in which a shift was made from

[163] Interview with Gladys Kasale, 1 June 2008.
[164] Interview with B.K. Masole, District Commissioner, Kasane, 22 May 2008.
[165] Interview with D. Britton, Personnel Manager, Chobe Safari Lodge, 2 June 2008.
[166] Interview with Sarah (pseudonym), Liya Guest House, Plateau, Kasane, 31 May 2008. The practice was common in both foreign and locally owned tourist enterprises. In lodges in the deeper areas of the Delta, some workers alleged that they were denied time off to see a doctor when ill but that the employer administered an injection even when he/she was not a medical practitioner, putting to risk lives of employees through administration of medication not approved by profession health practitioners.
[167] Interview with waitresses at Mowana Lodge, Kasane , 2 June 2008.
[168] *Daily News*, 'Train Personnel for Tourism to grow', 28 June 2002.

purely wildlife-based activities towards eco-tourism.[169] These policy instruments provided administrative and regulatory frameworks that guided government to promote the development of the tourist industry.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the southern African liberation wars between 1966 and 1980 delayed the development of the Botswana tourist industry. Because of Botswana's proximity to South Africa, this industry was dominated by South Africa investors.

After 1980, with the cessation of hostilities, government chose to partner with foreign capital and aimed at the high end of the foreign tourist market, at the same time protecting the fragile park environment through the 'high returns-low volume' market strategy. Government crafted a tourist industry that benefited the private sector as the investor, and empowered the government and to some extent local communities through the CBNRM programme as custodians of natural resources. Tourism created employment opportunities in rural areas and contributed increasing amounts to the national Gross Domestic Product. The industry continued to be dominated by foreign capital and management.

[169] Government of Botswana, *Botswana Tourism Master Plan 2000* (Gaborone: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Tourism, May 2000).

Chapter Eight: Cross-border trade at Kasane: Combining multiple livelihood strategies

As previous chapters have demonstrated, the majority of the population of Chobe subsists on the fringes of the 'formal economy' dominated by the cattle industry.[1] Poverty and economic marginality in remote areas is a universal problem as Ieuan Griffiths points out.[2] Towards the end of the 1970s, the economic situation in this remote part of Botswana deteriorated as agriculture contracted due to the effects of new conservation laws and the expansion of the Chobe National Park. Many rural people moved from the edge of the park to the growing town of Kasane in the hope of securing wage labour or taking up cross-border trading. Because employment opportunities were limited, cross-border trade became the more viable option for poor households. This form of trade was not new but while it had once been tied into farming and fishing activities, many looked to trading as a full time activity particularly in the late 1980s when the disruptions of the Zimbabwean and Namibian liberation wars came to an end. Participation in cross-border trade increased particularly between 1991 and 2000. Chapter Eight examines cross-border trade as a livelihood strategy for people who moved to Kasane between 1980 and 2000.

Named after a hardwood tree called *isani* in Chisubiya, Kasane was established as a police post by the British Bechuanaland Protectorate Police in 1909.[3] Kasane became the colonial administrative capital of the Chobe District in the 1950s.[4] Kasane is a cross-border area, that is a 'geographical area that overlaps between two or more neighbouring states, and whose populations are linked by socio-economic and cultural bonds'.[5] The town is located on the southern banks of the Chobe river, a tributary of the Zambezi, at the spot where the borders of Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe meet. Kasane is unique in its geographical

[1] The district's population was dominated by marginalized ethnic groups such as the Basubiya, Hambukushu, Banambya, Bakwengo (local Sarwa), and Wayeyi. These groups were marginalised in terms of economic benefits and access to education.
[2] Ieuan Griffiths, 'The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries', in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 152, No. 2 (July 1986), p. 215. For full article, see pp. 204-216.
[3] International Court Of Justice, *Case Concerning Kasikili/Sedudu Island (Botswana/Namibia): Responses of the Republic of Botswana to the Questions put to the Parties by Members of the Court on 25 February 1999 and 5 March 1999*, (The Hagur: ICJ, 6 April, 1999). Prior to this period, the British officials were based at Sesheke in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), only moving across into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to found a police post at Kasane in 1909, marking the beginning of official presence and administration in Kasane.
[4] J. Lepetu, J. Alavalapati and P.K. Nair, 'Forest Dependency and Its Implication for Protected Areas Management: A case Study From Kasane Forest Reserve, Botswana', in *International Journal of Environmental Research*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (2009), p. 528. For full article, see pp. 525-536.
[5] A.S. Diarrah, 'The concept of "Cross-Border Area" in the West African Sub-Regional Integration Process: Results of the Sikasso Seminar', in R.T. Akinyele, (ed.), *Borderlands and African Integration* (Abuja: Panaf Publishing, 2008), p. 16. For full article, see, pp. 15-20.

location.[6] Crossings occur at the Kasane Border post which is accessed only by boat, and at the Ngoma Bridge border post, 30 kilometers south, where vehicles and pedestrians cross.[7] Nearby Kazungula, situated at the confluence of the Chobe and Zambezi Rivers, is the spot where the boundary between Botswana and Zambia (See Map 2) is located. While crossings at Kazungula itself are undertaken by ferry, the Kazungula Road Border post between Botswana and Zimbabwe is situated about 8 kilometers to the east.[8] This peculiar border zone created a 'cross-border area' where social and cultural interactions are a daily occurrence and trading activities are conducted across the frontier.[9]

As elsewhere in Africa, cross-border trade in the Chobe District predates colonial controls.[10] The Chobe District in fact had closer ties with neighbouring countries than with the colonial

[6] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1986-1989* (Maun: North West District Council, 1986), p. 7, http://buybridgetown.com/downloads/BOTSWANATOURISMOVERVIEW.pdf 'Botswana - One of Africa's Best Kept Tourism Secrets', accessed on 26/01/2010.

[7] John Purvis, *Fish and Livelihoods: Fisheries on the eastern floodplains, Caprivi* (Windhoek: Government of Namibia, 2002), p. 5. The Botswana side of the Kasane border post is known as the Kasane Immigration post while the Namibian border post to the north is called Impalila Island border post. The Ngoma Bridge is the common name to both sides at the bridge post.

[8] A perennial river, the Zambezi has a width of about 400 metres during the dry season and this doubles to 800 metres during the flood season. It has an average depth of about 7 metres in the dry season, rising by approximately 5 metres during the flood season. See http://www.icafrica.org/fileadmin/doc 'Briefing Memorandum: The Kazungula Bridge-Botswana-Zambia' accessed on 15/01/2010. Owned by the Zambian government, the pontoon ferry service was established in the early 1960s by Colonel Charles Trevor, the owner of Chobe River Lodge (the first hotel to be built in Kasane). The ferry has a capacity of 70 tonnes. See Government of Botswana, *Kasane-Kazungula Development Plan: Report of a Survey* (Maun: North West District Council, 1984), p. 2, See also the *Cape Argus,* 'The Chobe Belle plies upon the Zambezi', 25 January 1964, the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 30 September 1964. The pontoon was owned by ZASCO, a private company in Zambia. Interview with M. Miti, Senior Customs Officer, Kazungula Ferry, 26 May 2008.

[9] A.S. Diarrah, 'The Concept of "Cross-Border Area" in the West African Sub-Regional Integration Process: Results of the Sikasso Seminar', in R.T. Akinyele, (ed.), *Borderlands and African Integration* (Abuja: Panaf Publishing Inc., 2008), p. 17. For full article, see pp. 15-20.

[10] In the literature, small-scale trade activities (including cross-border trade), are generally referred to as 'Informal Sector' activities. Different scholars differ in the conceptualisation of these activities. Preferring the term 'Informal Economy' (to 'Informal Sector'), Caroline Skinner, Richard Devey and Imraan Valodia noted that the defining characteristic of the phenomenon was that these were small-scale economic activities that 'elude certain government requirements such as registration, tax and social security obligations and health and safety rules.' They however conceded that it was difficult to draw a clear distinction between the so-called informal economy and the formal economy because, except for illicit activities, the two were linked 'either through supply or customer network' and that 'formality and informality are really the opposite poles of a continuum with many intermediate and mixed cases.' Richard Devey, Caroline Skinner and Imraan Valodia, 'The Informal Economy in South Africa: Who, Where, What and How Much?', Unpublished Paper presented at the Development Policy Research Unit (DPRU) Second Annual Conference on Labour Markets and Poverty in South Africa, Glenburn Lodge, Johannesburg, 22-24 October 2002), pp. 3-5. According to Andrew Hartnack, the term 'Informal Sector' was, in Africa, associated with 'black activities', which he criticised because the activities in the sector were 'not necessarily restricted to certain races even in Africa' hence the weakness of the formal/informal sector categorisation. Andrew Hartnack, 'Carving Out An Existence: A comparison of social, economic and political factors between two different groups of informal sector traders in Harare', Unpublished Paper presented at the Annual Conference of Anthropology Southern Africa, Univeristy if South Africa, Pretoria, April 2001. See also, Keith Hart, 'Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana',

economy.[11] In the nineteenth century, this trade was characterised by the frequent mobility of people and goods in *mekoro* (*mokoro* singular) or dug-out canoes.[12] In the post independence period, there was an increase in the volume of cross-border trade and in the range of products and services traded.[13] In times of drought, floods and hardship, rural people moved into Kasane.[14] In the 1990s, dozens of families moved into Kasane from the edges of the Chobe National Park. As one market trader, Kelipile Molongwane, explained:

> We have given up crop production in the village of Kachikau, completely. The unfenced boundary between the [Chobe National] Park is close behind our village, and, [pointing to the forest to the east of the village], all kinds of animals hide there to pounce on our livestock, especially lions, hyena, wild dog and jackal. Elephants and herds of buffalo also pass by our fields eating up all crops, every year, on their way to drink water at the [Chobe] river. It is pointless to continue planting for wild animals. People of Kachikau depend on supermarkets to buy mealie-meal and sometimes from farmers in villages on the floodplain such as Satau and Parakarungu.[15]

Molongwane's testimony was corroborated by Nanzala Nawala, another market trader who hailed from Mabele village, on the banks of the Chobe River.

> We *Bekuhane* [river people] cultivate *molapo* fields on the river banks and in a good year we have good harvests. Sometimes however, floods have been so strong that they burst the river banks and submerge our crops resulting in low or no harvests. Besides, whatever surplus harvest the only place to sell is at BAMB [at Pandamatenga, about 160 kilometers from Mabele], which pays us

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in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 11, No 1 (March 1973), pp. 61-89, Klarita Gerhani, 'The informal sector in developed and less developed countries: A literature survey', in *Public Choice,* Vol. 120, No. ¾ (September, 2004), pp. 267-300. In Kasane, however, save for a few illicit activities, traders were not only registered with government departments, they also operated legally through hawkers' and vendors' licences as well as obtaining permits to import fresh fish and paid rent for the stalls they occupied in the market place. As such, this chapter argues that it would be inappropriate to call them informal traders who evaded state regulation.

[11] Government of Botswana, *Kasane Baseline Survey* (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1982), p. 11. See also, http://www.encapafrica.org/documents/MEO_workshop/Botswana%20MEO_CTO%20workshop%Summary 'Africa Regional Course in Environmental Assessment and Environmentally Sound Design, Kasane, Botswana, 17-20 May 2005', accessed on 09/09/2009. For example, until 1986, telecommunication services including mail destined for Kasane were routed through Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe, electricity was sourced from Zambia. See Botswana Government, *Chobe District Development Plan 1986-1989* (Maun: North West District Council, 1986), pp. 36-37. See also, *Daily News*, 'Kachikau lags behind in development' 14 December 2005, BNA OP 58/7, 'Chobe District Internal Security Plan, 1966-1966'.

[12] D.M. Shamukuni, 'The Basubiya', pp. 161-184, Edward C. Tabler, (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, p. 38.

[13] Interview with M. Miti, Senior Customs Officer, Kazungula Ferry, Kasane 26 May 2008.

[14] Government of Botswana, *Chobe CFDA Study Technical Report No. 1, 1988'*(Maun: North West District Council, 1988), p. 36, Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1977-1982* (Maun: North West District Council, 1977), p. 4, Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan, 1989-1995* (Maun: North West District Council, 1989), p. 3.

[15]Interview with Kelipile Molongwane, female market vendor, Kasane Fish Market, 6 November 2009.

> very little returns after having paid for transporting the crops to the BAMB depot far away at Panda[matenga].[16]

Over time, the town of Kasane attracted people of different ethnic and social backgrounds from surrounding villages as well as expatriates employed in tourism or on the commercial farms.[17] A few local people oscillated between Kasane and their home villages while many established permanent residence in Kasane, giving up their former lifestyles and taking up urban livelihoods.[18] The population of Kasane expanded from 2,844 residents in 1981, to 5,840 in 1991 and 7,638 in 2000.[19] The big increase in the 1980s was due to a surge in economic activity as a consequence of the tourist industry. Most of the newcomers engaged in cross-border trade. Trading goods ranged from exchange in seasonal agricultural products to craftware, second hand European clothing and supermarket items.[20] Services included backyard automobile repairs, watch repairs, accommodation, hair salons, transport, traditional and bottled beer, healing, commercial sex and money changing. These activities took place at the border posts, the Kasane fish market and in the towns of Kasane and Kazungula.

Cross-border trade has been the subject of several recent studies.[21] From one perspective, cross-border trade is viewed as 'informal', illegal activity that threatens the economic

[16] Interview with Nanzala Nawala, female market trader, Aged 44, Kasane Market Place, 6 November 2009. The name 'Mabele' means sorghum crop which used to be the pride of the village in the early 1950s, as explained by Nawala. The Chobe Enclave comprised the villages of Mabele, Kavimba, Kachikau, Satau and Parakarungu, on the western end of the District.

[17] J. Lepetu, J. Alapati and P.K. Nair, 'Forest Dependency and Its Implication for Protected Areas Management' p. 528.

[18] Interview with David Kapule Mabuta, citizen of Kasane employed by the University of Botswana, 15 December 2009.

[19] These are combined figures of Kasane and the adjacent Kazungula township, sourced from Government of Botswana, *Report on The Population Census, 1971*, (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1972), Government of Botswana, *1981 Population and Housing Census* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1983), and Government of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1992), respectively. In the decade between 1990 the average annual population growth rate for Kasane was estimated to have been between 7% and 10% a significant growth rate for a secondary town the size of Kasane.

[20] Kasane is 480 kilometers from Francistown, the nearest city in Botswana. The town is however nearer to big towns in neighbouring countries; 70 Kilometers from Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe, 75 kilometers from Livingstone in Zambia, and 120 kilometers from Katima Mulilo in Namibia, making it easier for residents in Kasane to source manufactured goods from these neighbours in a shorter time than would be the case with Francistown or Gaborone. Also, see Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan 1986-1989* (Maun: North West District Council, 1986), p.5.

[21] J. Andrew Grant. 'Informal Cross-border Micro-regionalsm in West Africa: The Case of the Parrot's Beak', in Fredrik Soderbaum and Ian Taylor, (eds.), *Afro-Regions: The Dynamics of Cross-Border Micro-Regionalism in Africa* (Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2008), pp. 105-120, Nkululeko Khumalo, 'Facilitating Cross-Border Trade: Challenges in the WTO and Southern Africa', in Peter Draper, (ed.), *Reconfiguring the Compass: South Africa's African Trade Diplomacy* (Braamfontein: The South African Institute of International Affairs, 2005), pp. 139-182, Caroline Skinner and Imraan Validia, 'Local Government Support for Women in the Informal Economy in Durban, South Africa', in *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society,* Vol. 16,

stability of the regions and countries concerned.[22] Jean-Paul Azam, for example, writes on smuggling across West African borders which he sees as an undesirable consequence of cross-border trade areas.[23] In contrast, Brenda Chalfin argues that the border line spanning Ghana, Togo and Burkina Faso, provides an economic zone that generates new opportunities.[24] The crucial point about cross border trade areas is that they are built on 'geo-ethnic bonds' that generally prevail 'over lines of territorial partition'. As Daniel Bach points out, these relationships cannot be 'wished away'.[25] Cross border trading zones create challenges for governments who seek to both regulate the trade and maintain tight international borders. Victor Muzvidziwa argues that border post management in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), has been an impediment to the development of cross border trade.[26] State functionaries, he demonstrates, engaged in corrupt practices. Immigration and customs officials were often 'too zealous', harassed the traders and seized their goods.[27] Governments seemed unwilling to recognize the special needs of cross border traders. As Reiko Matsuyama explained, 'To date, no country in the [SADC] region has a specific permit or visa for these entrepreneurs, and they do not benefit from preferential tariffs'.[28] In Botswana, small-scale traders including cross-border traders were not formally accounted for by government until 1999.[29] This chapter relies largely on

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No. 3 (Spring 2003), pp. 431-444, Daniel J. Plunkett and J. Dirck Stryker, *Regional Interventions to Improve Cross-Border Trade and Food Security in West Africa: Agricultural Policy Development Programme* (Bethesda: Abt Associates Inc., 2002), Ernestina Coast, 'Maasai Socioeconomic Conditions: A Cross-Border Comparison', in *Human Ecology* Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 2002), pp. 79-105, Omotunde E.G. Johnson, 'Trade Tax and Exchange Rate Coordination in the Context of Border Trading: A Theoretical Analysis', in *Staff Papers – International Monetary Fund* Vol. 34, No. 3 (September 1987), pp. 548-564, Gayle A. Morris and Mahir Saul, 'Women Cross-bOrder Traders in West Africa', in Sylvain H. Boko, Mina Baliamoune-Lutz, and Sitawa R. Kimuna, (eds.), *Women in African Development: The Challenge of Globalization and Liberalization in the 21st Century* (Asmara: Africa World Press, 2005), pp. 53-82.

[22] Stephen Ellis and Janet MacGaffey, 'Research on Sub-Saharan Africa's Unrecorded International Trade: Some Methodological and Conceptual Problems' in *African Studies Review* Vol. 39, No. 2 (September 1996), pp. 19-20. For full article see pp. 19-41.

[23] Jean-Paul Azam, 'Cross-Border Trade and Regional Integration: A Welfare Analyis', in Ademola Oyejide, Ibrahim Elbadawi and Stephen Yeo, (eds.), *Regional Integration and Trade Liberalization in SubSaharan Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 281-304.

[24] Brenda Chalfin, 'Border Zone Trade and The Economic Boundaries of the State in North-East Ghana', in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol. 71, No. 2 (2001), pp. 202-224.

[25] Daniel Bach, 'Beyond Parochialism: Cross-border Regionalism as a Gateway', in Fredrick Soderbaum and Ian Taylor, (eds.), *Afro-Regions: The Dynamics of Cross-Border Micro-Regionalism in Africa* (Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2008), pp. 171-180.

[26] Victor N. Muzvidziwa, *Women Without Borders: Informal Cross-Border Trade among Women in the Southern African Development Community Region (SADC)* (Addis Ababa: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa – OSSREA, 2005), p. 48.

[27] Victor Muzvidziwa, *Women Without Borders,* pp. 148-149.

[28] http://www.afrol.com/articles/24435 Reiko Matsuyama, 'Risky Business of Informal Cross-Border Trade', accessed 25/11/2009.

[29] Government of Botswana, *Informal Sector Survey Report 1999/2000* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, July 2003).

interviews to chart the activities of cross border traders in the Kasane area from the late 1970s to 2000.

The MaSorosi and the Liyambezi fish trade

Cross–border trade in the Kasane area was associated most strongly with fishermen. Demand for fish from the Chobe increased in the 1970s. Buyers from Livingstone apparently developed a taste for fish caught in Lake Liyambezi on the border between Botswana and the Caprivi Strip.[30] Local people referred to these buyers as *MaSorosi* (*MoSorosi*, singular) probably a Subiya corruption of 'salesmen'.[31] Fishermen and *MaSorosi* set up camps on the shores of the lake where the fish was salted and dried. This fish market gave rise to opportunistic social networks as young women from the villages of Satau and Parakarungu courted the favours of MaSorosi men sporting GMC Chevrolet and Ford trucks, big iceboxes and plenty of cash.[32] The *Masorosi* men fathered a generation of children around the fish market. Kapule Mabuta recollects:

> As far as I can remember, there existed a cordial relationship between the local fishermen and the *MaSorosi. MaSorosi* brought money to the Lake Liyambezi area and attracted some local women. Even today there are few individuals of *Sorosi* parentage in Satau, Parakarungu and neighbouring settlements such as Mazuunzwe, Iyaambeezi. So significant they were that there is a Chisubiya Chiperu [dance] song sung by women at Satau, which goes, '*Vakamwalye ve Yambeezi va yendera Masorosi'* which translates as 'Ladies of the Lake Liyambezi, go to the *Masorosi* men'. [33]

Mma Mokuwe, a receptionist at a local lodge was a small girl at the time. Reflecting on the developments at Lake Liyambezi, she said:

> Lake Liyambezi was like a mirage to us when we grew up. The water was vast and seemingly ending where it met the horizon, very far away. Equally, there were as many *mekoro* operated by Batswana as well as Namibian fishermen on the lake. Then there were these famous Zambian traders who came to buy fish by the lake side. They were given a local name *MaSorosi*, the rich ones or middle men, or traders, to which they did not object. Many women and girls bigger than us consorted with them a lot, milling around their big trucks, but we did not understand as small girls. They even helped them with washing clothes for them. Some of their offspring are now adults and are known in the villages of Satau and Parakarungu.[34]

Ndana Ndana who hails from the Chobe area, remembers *MaSorosi* too.

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[30] Interview with Chasimu Sabota, retired subsistence farmer, Parakarungu Village, 84 years, 11 June 2008. Liyambezi derives from 'Iyaambeezi' a Chisubiya word for a place of abundant water.
[31] Interview with David Kapule Mabuta, inhabitant of Chobe residing in Gaborone, 8 December 2009.
[32] Interview with David Kapule Mabuta.
[33] Interview with David Kapule Mabuta.
[34] Interview with Mma Mokuwe,aged 50, receptionist at Sedudu Lodge, Kasane, hailing from Parakarungu, 10 June 2008.

> When they came to Satau, *MaSorosi* put up at a known fisherman who would play host and even connect the mercantilist to some local women. In return, the fisherman would feel important to have hosted one who comes from outside. I know at least three people born in the 1980s and have never set eyes on their biological fathers, save to know that their fathers are *MaSorosi* from either Zambia or Rhodesia, as it was called then.[35]

Some *MaSorosi* were associated with religious business, as Ndana recounted.

> I recall that when lightning struck at my place and injured my mother in the process, there was a *MoSorosi* in Satau and he claimed to be able to assist victims of such natural disasters. The *MoSorosi* heard about our ordeal and was ready to assist whereupon a local fisherman (now deceased), reminded him that he came not to heal but to fish. And so we were not assisted, at least by this *MoSorosi*. It is therefore possible that some of these *MaSorosi* were either accomplished medicine men who helped, or quacks who cheated local people.[36]

Women brewers found an excellent market in the *Masorosi.* Chasimu Sabuta said that:

> Because *Masorosi* stayed for sometime awaiting more fish from the lake as well as its processing most local women engaged in brewing of traditional beer which *Masorosi* relaxed on, providing a new source of income to the rural women. It was profitable because the women did not incur any transport costs since the market was in the village.[37]

Many went as far as Pandamatenga to buy sorghum from the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB). Some successful brewers purchased livestock for draught power and returned to farming.[38]

The local people regarded *MaSorosi* as outsiders. The word *MaSorosi* was derogatory and later used in reference to any male stranger who was not a MoTswana.[39] In 1975, the fish market declined when fishing on the Chobe River became part of the Chobe National Park and fishing was prohibited.[40] Then, in 1985, when Lake Liyambezi dried up, the market closed down entirely.[41] Kariba weed or *muchimbami,* a Chisubiya word for *salvinia molesta* took over those parts of the lake where water trickled in. Many women who had earned their

[35] Interview with Ndana Ndana, inhabitant of Satau residing in Gaborone, 12 August 2009.
[36] Interview with Ndana Ndana.
[37] Interview with Chasimu Sabota.
[38]Interview with Mma Mokuwe. She stated further, that a few female headed families acquired cattle and could cultivate larger fields too in the rainy season, harvesting good crops as a result, during years of good rain.
[39] Interview with David Kapule Mabuta.
[40] The *Fish Protection Act*, CAP 38:05 of 1975. The Act designated fishing areas and prohibited fishing in 'protected areas' such as game parks. The Chobe River was regarded part of the Chobe National Park at the for its length around the Kasane area. The Act prohibited fishermen around Kasanefrom fishing on the river. This Act irked the local communities and remained a contentious issue.
[41] Government of Botswana, *General Economic Data: Fisheries Data* (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 2000), (no page number).

living at the Lake Liyambezi fish market moved to Kasane.[42] But cross-border trade at Kasane was limited in the 1970s and 1980s by the liberation wars discussed in Chapter Seven.[43] The Caprivi Strip became the epicentre of South Africa's policy of destabilising the sub-region.[44] From its garrison at Impalila Island on the banks of the Chobe River, the South African Defence Force made regular incursions into Zambia and occasionally fired gunshots on Botswana soil in the Kasane area.[45] Cross-border shootings generated fear among ordinary people.[46] People did not move about as they were accustomed and the volume of cross-border trade declined.[47]

At the same time, this trade remained the main source of livelihood for the poor in the cross-border area. The Botswana authorities recognized its importance and avoided interfering as far as possible. According to Luckson Sankwasa, a local councillor in the Chobe District, border officials were pragmatic, merely advising those that undertook trips into Namibia to exercise caution.

> Communities living along the borders in Botswana, Namibia and Zambia have always been trading with each other and they all suffer the effects of unemployment in that there are no big towns around. Government cannot stop their activities because of the war because it is their source of life. They will always find a way even if government stopped them, of course for their own safety. We discussed these issues at the *kgotla* [local assembly], and the traders asked what safety meant when they were hungry. Government's position was that they should be allowed to visit their relatives and those with whom they exchanged goods but they should not act in any manner that would provoke the ire of the South African authorities. Even when crossing the Zambezi River to Zambia, they knew that the pontoon had been shot at by the South Africans before but most people in Kasane lived by and still do cross-border trading today.[48]

There were moments when the Kasane border post was closed due to the war. On 21 August 1984, when two Botswana Defence Force soldiers appeared at the Kasane Magistrate's Court

[42] Interview with Luckson Sankwasa.
[43] Willie Henderson, 'Independent Botswana: A Reappraisal of Foreign Policy Options', in *African Affairs,* Vol.73, No. 290 (January 1974), p. 47. At the same time, Kasane assumed a new commercial advantage as the furthest point north of the Southern African Customs Union (SAC), in supplying Zambia after the closure of the Victoria Falls Bridge in 1973, and as trucks from the south increased with the BotZam road under construction and new ferries at Kazungula.
[44] Wofgang Zeller and Bennett Kangumu Kangumu, 'Caprivi under old and new indirect rule: Falling off the map or a 19th century dream come true?', in *Transitions in Namibia: Which Changes for Whom?* (Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), p. 196, For full article, see pp. 190-208.
[45] BNA OP28/13, 'Incursions into Botswana by South African Security Forces', Commissioner of Police to Secretary, External Affairs 20 June 1980. See also, Bennett Kangumu Kangumu, 'A Forgotten Corner of Namibia: Aspects of the History of the Caprivi Strip, c1939-1980' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, August 2000), pp. 38-39.
[46] BNA OP 9/19, 'Shooting by South African Police at Nyungwe, near Kasane', 11 June 1984.
[47] Interview with *Kgosi* Moffat Mwezi, chief of Kasane, 5 November 2009.
[48] Interview with Luckson Sankwasa, Councillor, Kasane District Council, 23 May 2008.

for killing a white South African on the Chobe River a South African Air Force jet swooped down over the court.[49] On 24 October, the Botswana Defence Force fired at South African soldiers who were allegedly on the Botswana side of the Chobe River.[50] 'Soon after, on 31 October [1984] the SADF retaliated by shooting at a BDF vehicle at Ngoma [Border post].'[51] The border post was closed and cross-border trade ceased temporarily.[52]

Pasco Seboko, a fisherman at Kasika island in the Eastern Caprivi explains:

> Before the war intensified in Namibia, we used to sell our fish in Botswana at the Kasane market as the Botswana government allowed us. We are fishing people here in Kasika and Impalila. However, during the war the South African Police and the South African Defence Force at Impalila Island harassed us, sometimes prohibiting us from going to sell our catch at Kasane. We were accused of taking fish to terrorists in Botswana. Fishing was also risky as there were often shootings on the banks of Chobe River, by both the South African Defence Force and the Botswana Defence Force. Many people were afraid and gave up fishing and selling it for sometime. Fish brought us cash with which we bought grocery from Kasane. Katima [Mulilo] is far away from here and you cannot get there without passing through Kasane. [53]

Lucia Munisola, a basket weaver from Satau village who traded in Kasane complained that the war in Namibia cut off her supply of papyrus and reeds so that she was unable to produce the baskets and mats that were in high demand in Kasane. It was unsafe to harvest palm and papyrus leaves in the river as South African forces lurked everywhere. Munisola turned to trading in cigarettes, matches, candles, sweets, biscuits and insecticides which were far less profitable than craftwork.[54]

The *kgosi* at the Kasane *kgotla*, Moffat Mwezi, confirms the disruption of social and economic relationships as a consequence of the war:

> We are so interdependent with people of Caprivi Strip and Kazungula and Mambova villages in Namibia and Zambia respectively. We are Subiya and Lozi. The war affected all spheres of our

[49] Interview with Jonathan Gibson, Managing Director, Chobe Game Lodge. Gibson, a naturalized form South Africa citizen who once served in the South African Defence Force at Caprivi, has lived in Kasane for a long time and witnessed most of the incidents, 23 May 2008.
[50] Colin Legum, Marion Doro, Barbara Newton, Ronald Watson (eds.), *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey And Documents, 1984-1985*, Vol 17 (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1986), p. B663.
[51] Colin Legum et al, *Africa Contemporary Record*, p. B663.
[52] Interview with Kenneth Mokua, Personnel Manager, Chobe Safari Lodge and resident of Parakarungu village, Chobe District, 20 May 2008. This was not the first time a border post in the area was closed. The Rhodesian government closed its border with Zambia at the Victoria Falls Bridge in 1973 following the shooting of a Canadian girl, and Botswana closed the Kazungula border with Rhodesia following the Lesoma Incident of 1978 in which Rhodesian forces ambushed and killed 15 Botswana soldiers at Lesoma village in Botswana. These incidents disrupted social and economic activities.
[53] Interview with Pasco Seboko, Aged 38, fisherman, Kasika Island, Caprivi Strip, 7 November 2009.
[54] Interview with Lucia Munisola,Aged 42, trader, Kasane, 10 November 2009.

> lives. The Botswana side of the Chobe River is a conservation area and we do not have the benefit of the resources of the river. The Caprivi people supplied us with fish, reeds, papyrus, mats, baskets but the boers chose when to and when not to allow them to come to Kasane, depriving us of these resources. We were not free to get to Caprivi for fear of the boers.[55]

Kgosi Sinvula also recounted an incident in 1986 when Daniel Shamukuni, a prominent inhabitant of Satau village and a few others were allegedly beaten by armed members of the South African Police. The men had gone to Ihaha village in the Caprivi Strip to buy a *mokoro*. Sinvula recalled the incident:

> Shamukuni visited Ihaha to buy a *mokoro*. His mistake was to enter Namibia on Botswana's Independence day putting on a tie bearing the Botswana flag, with the inscription, 'Botswana, 20 years of Independence, 1966-1986'. The boers beat him up, accusing him of inciting peaceful people of Caprivi and to cause them to agitate for independence too. Yet the Shamukuni had gone there to buy a *mokoro* from a well-known wood-carver in Ihaha.[56]

Women and the expansion of cross-border trade in the 1990s

In 1990, Namibia achieved political independence and the South African forces withdrew from their territory. In South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) was unbanned. The Kasane border could now operate without fear.[57] The broader liberalisation of trade through structures such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) also facilitated free movement of people in the sub-region.[58] The democratisation of South Africa in 1994 added further impetus to regional trade. Kasane became a transport corridor connecting the southern sub-region with the north resulting in expansion in the volume of trade.[59] These changes in the political and economic environment made it easier for small traders to operate.

Often described as a 'dynamic fringe sector', trade in borderland areas was flexible and adaptable.[60] Firstly, trade was not unidirectional as traders came from many villages along the river, either sourcing or selling goods depending on demand and supply. Secondly, the choice of goods and market destination was determined by individual traders. As John Purvis noted:

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[55] Interview with *Kgosi* Moffat Mwezi, Kasane, 5 November 2009.
[56] Interview with *kgosi* Moffat Sinvula, chief at Kavimba *kgotla*, 23 May 2008.
[57] Interview with Mwampole Mwampole, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 10 November 2009.
[58] Tor Sellstrom with Saul Kahuika, Peter Amutenge and Eline van der Linden, *Regional Initiatives to facilitate cross-border trade, investment and payment in Eastern and Southern Africa: Namibia, Draft Final Report on Phase 1 and 2* (Windhoek: The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit, 1993), p. 19.
[59] http://www.icafrica.org/fileadmin/DocpdfBriefing Memorandum , 'The Kazungula Bridge-Botswana-Zambia' accessed on 15/01/2010.
[60] Victor N. Muzvidziwa, *Women Without Borders'* p. 18.

> Zambian women often cross into Namibia travelling as far as Katima Mulilo [Namibia's biggest town in the north] to sell fish and [equally], produce from Namibian households is sold in Zambia. For example, in Impalila [island on the Caprivi Strip], households may decide where to sell their fish on the basis of the produce they need to buy and therefore the currency they need. If they want to save for school fees in Namibia, produce will be sold in Katima; if they want money to buy cooking oil and bread in Botswana, then it will be sold in Kasane; and if they want to buy fishing nets in Zambia then the produce will be sold in Zambia.[61]

The Kasane Fish Market, 800 metres from the Chobe River in the town centre was a key locus of trade.[62] There was a substantial local market as fish was central to the diet of the river people.[63] The bream fish (*tilapia*) also became popular among people whose totems forbade them to eat fish such as the Bakwena and Batlhaping.[64] Banned from fishing on the Botswana side of the Chobe by new conservation laws, Namibian fish traders at Kasika Island on the Caprivi Strip regularly supplied fishmongers at the Kasane border post.[65] The fish was then sold at the Kasane Fish Market.

The Kasane Fish Market was administered by the Chobe District Council through the Village Development Committee (VDC). Established by Presidential Directive in 1968, the VDC is a community development structure that is responsible for implementing development programmes in villages.[66] Trading outside the market structure was illegal and subject to seizure of goods.[67] Market traders were required to hold a vendor's licence which was issued exclusively to Botswana citizens. Traders paid an annual rent of P70.00 for the stand to the VDC, and an additional P60.00 for overnight storage if they left their goods in the market after hours.[68] The vendors complained bitterly about conditions at the market. Esther Mokete explained:

> We pay a lot of money to the VDC as rent and the market is so crowded and dirty yet there is no improvement made. We have always been promised by successive VDC chairpersons but up to today, as you can see, the market is fenced with broken reeds and there are patches everywhere. The roof is leaking and come rainy season, water leaks in and soaks traders, customers and goods

[61] John Purvis, *Fish and Livelihoods: Fisheries on the eastern floodplains, Caprivi* (Windhoek: Government of Namibia, 2002), p. 25.
[62] Interview with Tumedi, Commercial Affairs Officer, Chobe District Council, 4 November 2009.
[63] Interview with Lucia Matomola, Aged 41, fish trader, Kasika Island, Caprivi Strip, 30 May 2008.
[64] Interview with Katlego Lubinda, Aged 45, vendor, Kasane Fish Market, 25 May 2008.
[65] Interview with T. Kwati,Immigration Officer, Kasane Border Post, 26 May 2008. The process of obtaining fish involves a chain of actors before the fish can get to the fish market at Kasane as this involved fishermen, middlemen and Botswana traders. See Chapter Seven for details.
[66] Batlang Comma Serema, 'Community Information Structures in Botswana: A Challenge for Librarians', paper presented at the 68th IFLA Council and General Conference, Glassgow, August 18-24, 2002, p. 2.
[67] Interview with Mr Tumedi, Commercial Affairs Officer, Chobe District Council, Kasane, 4 November 2009. Bye-Laws were district specific, differing in different districts.
[68] Interview with Esther Mokete, Aged 41, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 17 June 2008.

> alike yet we pay P70.00 every year. Even the storage charges are prohibitive to struggling people who wish to make a living through trading at the market. What does VDC do, it should disband. Even the Council disowns us each time we appeal to them, as if we are not Batswana. When we construct structures out of the main market bye–law officials destroy them and take our goods. The area smells of fish because we have nowhere to dispose melted ice blocks that serve as fridges for our fish.[69]

Figures 13 and 14 illustrate the poor infrastructure of the Kasane Fish Market in 2009. Traders felt the effects the weather acutely. Also, traders were annoyed by tourists taking photographs without their permission and blocking the entrance to the market place with their vehicles.[70]

Figure 13. The Main Kasane Fish Market. Note the make-shift tables and the reed material that serves as the wall around the market. Source: Photograph by Bongani Gumbo, Kasane, May 2008.

Figure 14. Extension wing of the Kasane Fish Market. Source: Photograph by Bongani Gumbo, Kasane, May 2008.

[69] Interview with Esther Mokete, 17 June 2008.

[70] Interview with Edzani Mbulawa, Aged 30, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 17 June 2008. Corroborating the constraint, an employee in the Tourism Office added that tourists made money out of the photographs which they developed into post-cards that sold lucratively in European countries. While conceding that it was improper for unauthorised photographing of traders, she argued that it was difficult to monitor individual tourist activities in Kasane and that it was beyond her office to interfere with tourists' photographical activities which were integral to their visits.

Government officials blamed the VDC for the conditions at the market place. The Acting Council Secretary said that, 'The market is the responsibility of the VDC. We just assist them. We will advise them to model the Katima Mulilo market in Namibia.'[71] The capacity of the VDC was weak. Many of the committee members were illiterate and lacked confidence.[72] Accounting was poor and equipment disappeared.[73] Not everyone blamed the VDC. In *kgosi* Mwezi's view, by shifting the blame to the VDC, the District Council was abdicating its responsibility. VDC committee members were volunteers whose duty it was to voice the views of those who used the market. It was the Council's job to develop the market as the VDC was under its control, he said.

As in most other cross-border trading zones, trading at Kasane was dominated by women for whom it was a critical means for economic uplift.[74] It was also a significant means of stabilizing food security as Morris and Saul argue.[75] Katlego Lubinda's story corroborates this view. Lubinda is a single parent who lives in Baambazangu township at Kasane and has worked as a fish monger for more than 15 years. She told me:

> I travel to Kasika Island on the Caprivi Strip in Namibia every second day in a week to buy fresh fish in bulk in order to sell at a profit at the Kasane fish market. I spend P10.00 for the return fare on the motorised boat from Kasane to Kasika and back. In most trips I usually bring about 30 to 45 kilogrammes of bream fish, large and medium sizes costing about P8.00 and on average getting between P90.00 and P100.00.

Lubinda's working expenses include buying ice-blocks for about P10.00 to keep the fish fresh at the market.[76] She also paid an import tax of P5.00 per day, depending on the weight of the fish, and a further P2.00 for the license to import fish from Namibia, making her profit about P55.00 per trip. On this income, Katlego Lubinda educated her two daughters. Her eldest daughter was at the teacher training college in Francistown and the other was at the local

[71] Interview with Erastus Mathumo, Acting Council Secretary, Chobe District Council, 17 June 2009.
[72] Interview with *Kgosi* Moffat Mwezi, chief, Kasane, 5 November 2009.
[73] Interview with Munihango Kanyenvu, newly elected chairperson of the Kasane Village Development Committee. 6 November 2009.
[74] Approximately half of the district's households were female-headed. See Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan 1989-94* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 1989), p. 5.
[75] Gayle A. Morris and Mahir Saul, 'Women Cross-Border Traders in West Africa', in Sylvain H. Boko, Mina Baliamoune-Lutz, and Sitawa R. Kimuna, (eds.), *Women in African Development: The Challenge of Globalization and Liberalization in the 21st Century* (Asmara: African World Press, 2005),p. 53. For full article see pp. 53-82. See also, Unity Chari, 'The Changing Face of Women's Economic Empowerment', in Lisette Ferera, (ed.), *Women Build Africa* (Quebec: Musee de la civilization, 2000), pp. 109-134.
[76] In Impalila Island on the Caprivi, dry fish was cheaper as it was caught in bulk, though eating dry fish in Namibia was usually associated with poor people who could not afford money to buy fresh fish. Interview with Lalu Matomola, fish trader, Impalila Island, 24 May 2008.

junior secondary school in 2009. She was determined that they should 'not take the same hard route into life' as she had done.

Not all cross-border traders relied solely on this activity for a living. For some, trading was one of several activities. For others, diversification meant not relying on only one trading commodity. Jaap Arntzen noted that rural households often put together a 'diverse portfolio of activities and assets in order to survive and to improve their standard of living.'[77] Ogone Matengu, a market vendor sold a variety of foodstuffs including *kapenta* (packaged small dried fish), green vegetables, dried leguminous vegetables, fresh fruit such as mangoes, *ndongo* (groundnuts), and dry beans which she bought from Zambian traders at the Kazungula Ferry.[78] Matengu said that relying on a single perishable commodity like fresh fish was risky. Fish needed ice blocks to keep it fresh and one was forced to reduce the price to avoid being left with spoiled fish. It was difficult to obtain ice at Kasane. Before 1987, there was no electric power at Kasane.[79] Matengu said she switched to dried fish because of the difficulty of obtaining ice. Leafy vegetables, she said, could be kept in water in order to maintain the freshness at not much expense.[80]

The growth in retail stores at Kasane attracted traders from the neighbouring countries who came to shop at the supermarkets.[81] Cooking oil, sugar, mealie meal, soap, and petroleum products were bought for resale in Zambia and Namibia.[82] Chileshe Katongo traded in these goods in Zambia.

> I am married, with three children but my husband is unemployed. We travel together to buy goods from Kasane. I feel secure with him around me carrying large amounts of money and moving the goods from one point to another. Cooking oil fetches money in Zambia and I have been able to

[77] http://www.car.org.bw/Documents/Okavango%20livelihoods%20report.pdf Jaap Arntzen, 'Livelihoods and Biodiversity in the Okavango Delta, Botswana, Final Report, April 2005', p. 24, accessed on 03/04/2010.
[78] Interview with Ogone Matengu, Aged 51, vendor at the Kasane Fish Market, 26 May 2008. She supplemented her wares with sweets, biscuits, cigarettes and snuff.
[79] Government of Botswana, *Chobe District Development Plan 1986-1989* (Maun: Northwest District Council, 1986), p.8. Kasane was electrified in 1987, following the completion of the transmission lines from Zambia to Kasane in 1987.
[80] Interview with Ogone Matengu, 26 May 2008. According to Matengu, vegetables could only be obtained across the borders of Botswana as horticulture was virtually impossible in Kasan due to menacing wild animals such as baboons and warthogs often descended on people's yards in the townships during the day, and, sometimes, elephants and buffalo walked freely in people's homes late at night destroying vegetable gardens, fruit trees and lawns, anything green. This was corroborated by officials of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.
[81] Interview with Sinka Matengu, Information and Communication Technology Officer, Kasane Hospital, 6 November 2009.
[82] Interview with Chileshe Katongo, Aged 38, Zambian trader, Kasane, 7 November 2009.

> build a decent house in Livingstone. I added three rooms as living quarters at the backyard, which I rent out to municipal workers.[83]

Batswana women traders also travelled to Livingstone and Lusaka in Zambia to buy cloth and clothing which sold well at Kasane. The Lozi in Zambia and Basubiya in Kasane shared common cultures, including the wearing of *chitenge* printed cloth. *Chitenge* was a print cloth that was wrapped around the body and worn for leisure and on special occasions such as weddings.[84] *Chitenge* was worn in the hot weather at Kasane as the cloth was light and loose.[85] Inambao Kanyemvu made trips to Maramba market at Livingstone, usually after receiving specific orders from clients. She traveled in the morning and returned the same day.

The absence of clothing stores in northern Botswana meant that western-style clothing was difficult to come by. Local traders travelled to Zambia, Kenya and Tanzania to purchase second hand European clothing for sale in Botswana.[86] The trade in second-hand clothing from Europe was known as *salaula.* These clothes were reputedly 'as good as new' and sold in bales.[87] According to Karen Hansen the term *salaula* in Bemba language means:

> to select from a pile in the manner of rummaging or to pick, the selection process that takes place once a bale of imported secondhand clothing has been opened in the market and consumers select garments to satisfy both their clothing needs and their clothing wants.[88]

Salaula traders in Kasane draw customers from as far as Namibia. Sales generally increased towards Christmas when many weddings took place.[89] Selling second hand clothes could generate good profits depending on the aptitude of the seller. According to Mildred, a *salaula* trader, the key was to recover all costs including transport, accommodation, meals and 'risks'.[90] One then calculated the price so as to produce a 'worthwhile profit'. For example, if

[83] Interview with Chileshe Katongo, 7 November 2009.
[84] Interview with Inambabo Kanyemvu, Aged 43, vendor Kasane Fish Market, 8 November 2009.
[85] Interview with Tshegofatso Moeng, waiter at a local hotel, Kasane, 7 November 2009.
[86] Interview with M. Miti, Senior Customs Officer, Kazungual Ferry, 26 May 2008.
[87] Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Salaula: The World of Secondhand Clothing and Zambia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 18.
[88] Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Salaula* p. 1.
[89] Interview with Inambao Kanyemvu, 8 November 2009.
[90] Interview with Mildred Gabasebiwe, Aged 35, trader in *salaula*, Kasane, 15 January 2010. 'Risks' were constituted by, for example, travelling in a taxi to a hotel in Lusaka and they feared that they could be raped or robbed on the way. Risks also included money paid to Zambian police officers at roadblocks who usually demanded bribes. When in Lusaka, they used cheap hotels which were usually recommended by friends who had been there before.

a bale of clothes was bought for P200 the selling price usually amounted to P600.[91] Some Zambian suppliers established local agents in Kasane.[92] Traders sometimes hired transport to take bales to Francistown, about 500 kilometres away and to Ngoma Bridge, approximately 60 kilometers from Kasane.[93] Successful *salaula* traders reputedly operated bank accounts, a sign of competence and a mark of prestige.[94]

Informal traders also opened opportunities for others, creating a kind of "multiplier-effect". The 400 meters of no man's land between the Botswana Customs offices and the pontoon at the riverside was a hive of activity. Porters pulling hand-drawn carts made by welders in Kasane moved merchandise across no-man's land. Small-scale money changing took place in the no-man's land. The Zambian *Kwacha* was not exchangeable for the Pula in the banks in Botswana. Money changers took hefty commissions.[95] Zambian women reputedly carried the *Pula* and the *Kwacha* notes wrapped around their bodies. Money changers posed as traders so that they avoided detection by any security agents.[96] Beyond no-man's land, backyard mechanics in Kazungula township were 'always open' to service broken-down vehicles.[97] On the Zambian side, Zambian women hair specialists earned the reputation of being expert stylists.[98]

[91] Interview with Mildred Gabasebiwe. Mildred is Aged 35 and has one son. She bought a house in Plateau township and a Mazda 323 saloon car which she bought through proceeds of the *salaula* trade.
[92] Interview with Chipo Maruza, Aged 33, trader Kasane Market, 9 November 2009.
[93] Interview with Ndereko, Aged 39, transport operator, Kazungula Ferry, 8 Novemebr 2009.
[94] The researcher observed a few Zambian nationals in the queues at the Automated Teller Machines (ATM) at local banks.
[95] Interview with Monde Mwamba, Kazungula Ferry, 10 November 2009.
[96] Interview with Monde Mwamba.
[97] Interview with Lesedi Lebani, Aged 33, self-employed backyard motor mechanic, Kazungula, 25 May 2008.
[98] Interview with Boitumelo Kgosietsile, Aged 23, teller in a local bank, 10 November, 2009.

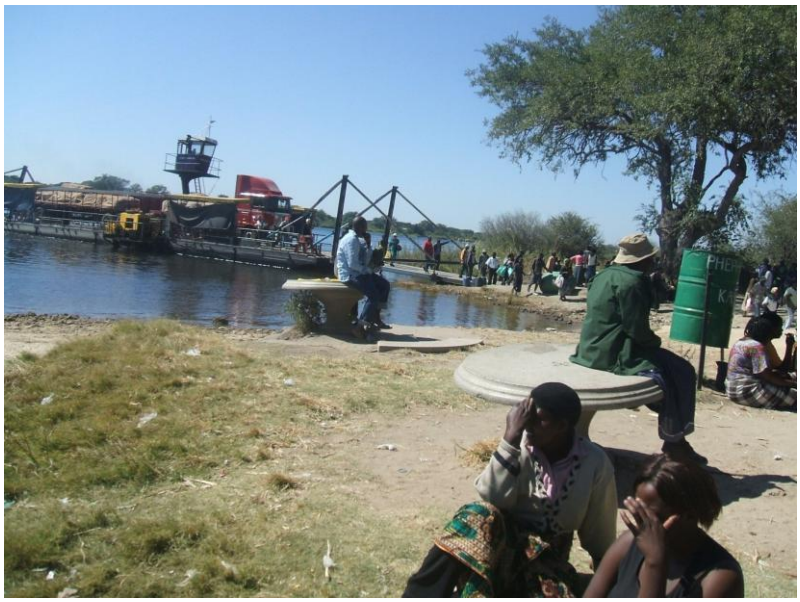

Figure 15. Pontoon arriving on the Botswana side of the Zambezi River.
Source: Photograph by Bongani Gumbo, Kazungula May 2008. Note, the pontoon is laden with trucks, goods and people. Wrapped in *chitenge* cloth, the ladies seated are money changers with stacks of Zambian kwacha and Botswana pula.

Some informal traders moved up the social ladder to become shop owners. Charley Gumbo is a well-known entrepreneur in Kasane. He owns a supermarket, butchery, bottle store and an arable farm in Kazungula. Charley Gumbo started as a hawker, selling fat-cakes and vegetables on his bicycle at Kasane in the 1990s.[99] Gumbo used his savings to build a retail shop that grew into a supermarket which then financed a butchery and bottle store.[100] Key to his success, he said, was to avoid credit. In his opinion, most Batswana did not succeed in business because they expected government to fund them. They made no effort to save themselves. He added that 'it is very important to train members of the family, wife and children in business ethics so that there is continuity and they also become entrepreneurs in their own right'. Gumbo's daughters had businesses of their own. Mma Grace has an arable farm in Pandamatenga, retail shops in Kasane and Pandamatenga. Mma Majola has a bottle store in Kasane and a retail shop in Mabele village in the Chobe enclave.

Several men made a good living in the transport business. Local vehicle owners at Kasane ran an informal shuttle service from Kasane to the Kazungula Ferry, and to the Zimbabwean border, and back.[101] Elias Leballo, a former waiter at a local hotel parked his pick-up van on the Botswana side of the Zambian border to carry groups of traders and their goods from the

[99] Interview with Mma Majola, entrepreneur and daughter of Charley Gumbo, Kasane, 8 November 2009.
[100] Interview with Charley Gumbo, entrepreneur, Kasane 8 November 2009.
[101] Interview with Elias Leballo, Aged 56, owns a pick up van that he used to carry traders' goods from the Kazungula Ferry to Kasane and supermarket goods from Kasane tothe Kazungula Ferry, 6 November 2009.

ferry to Kasane, charging them on the basis of their loads. Leballo waited outside the supermarkets for Zambians laden with groceries to take them to the Kazungula Ferry. He made between P200.00 and P500.00 per day, and gave up his job as a waiter to take up full-time transporting services.[102]

Only two pontoons carried the huge volume of traffic comprising vehicles, goods, bicycles and people across the river to and from the Botswana border.[103] According to a Botswana Customs officer, the Kazungula Ferry border post handled approximately 140 trucks (70 departing from the Botswana side and 70 arriving from the Zambian side), per day in the mi-1990s. Long queues sometimes took up to a week to clear before the trucks crossed to Zambia.[104] (See Figure 16) While most traders declared their merchandise to the customs officials at the border post, it was common for some to arrange with the truck drivers to further 'arrange' with customs officials for the passage of their goods.[105] As Matsuyama observed, women traders took risks when they set up transport arrangements. 'Transactional sexual relationships may arise between female traders and truck drivers in exchange for free transport or opportunity to sleep in the trucks. Some female traders end up sleeping in the open, again, exposing them to various vulnerabilities including sexual assault'.[106] Monde Mwamba, a Zambian trader in horticultural products claimed that she knew traders carrying large boxes of fruit who spent the night with truck drivers in Kasane as payment for transporting them and their goods.[107] Transport remained one of the major obstacles to trade for women traders in the cross-border area at Kasane.[108]

[102] Interview with Elias Leballo, transport provider, Kazungula Ferry, 8 November 2009. Elias' clients were usually Zambian traders who delivered goods in Botswana to known local traders, and, on their return purchased supermarket goods to re-sell in Zambian towns where they were scarce. Passengers crossing the Zambezi River to and from Zambia and Botswana paid a fare on the ferry.
[103] Interview with M. Miti.
[104] Interview with M. Miti.
[105] Interview with Jane Moilwa (pseudonym), Aged 30, Trader and regular travellor across the Kazungula Ferry border post, 10 November 2009.
[106] http://www.afrol.com/articles/24435 Reiko Matsuyama, 'Risky Business of Informal Cross-Border Trade'. Accessed on 25/11/2009.
[107] Interview with Monde Mwamba.
[108] Interview with Kenayang Molao, Female driver at Chobe District Council, 24 May 2008.

Sex –work, beer and cross border trade

Commercial sex went beyond payment for transport.[109] While prostitution is outlawed in Botswana, Kasane's position as a transit point provided an ideal environment for sexual economic exchanges.[110] Commercial sex at Kasane drew women participants from Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.[111] Sex workers plied their trade at the local Sesheke Bar, the Engen Filling Station, a local lodge and along the fleet of long distance trucks at the Kazungula border.[112] Truck drivers often whiled away the long wait at the borders in the company of a sex worker.

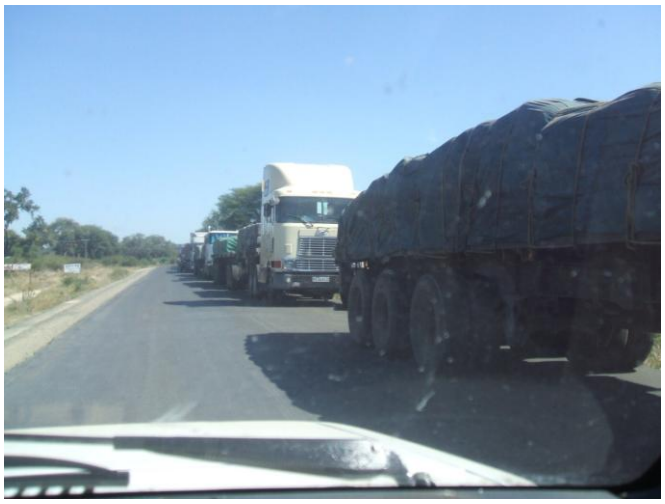

Figure 16. Trucks in long queues at the Kazungula weigh bridge. Source: Photograph by Bongani Gumbo, Kazungula, May 2008.

According to a local sex worker, the drivers were often generous and humane 'unlike Batswana customers who do not want to spend more than the money agreed upon, some foreigners buy and share drinks and food from the local restaurants before we get to work'.[113]

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[109] Janet Maia Wojcicki prefers the term 'survival sex' to 'commercial sex', in order to 'highlight the survival and economic component that drives women to engage in sex-for-money exchange.' See Janet Maia Wojcicki, ''She drank His Money': Survival Sex and the Problem of Violence in Taverns in Gauteng Province, South Africa', in *Medical Anthropology Quarterly,* Vol. 16, No. 3 (September 2002), p. 268. For full article, see pp. 267-293. The sex workers I interviewed in Kasane referred to their work as *go dirisanya,* literally meaning a 'mutual arrangement to do something together', in which, the informant stated that the man desired sexual satisfaction while the woman needed money.

[110] *Daily News,* 5 September 2003. See also the Botswana *Penal Code*. However, in other areas such as South East Asia, Thailand is regarded as a 'premiere destination' in the world, frequented specifically for sex services from local women with Japanese men as the main consumers of commercial sex. See Famihiko Yokota, 'Sex Behavior of male Japanese Tourists in Bangkok, Thailand', in *Culture, Health and Sexuality* Vol. 8, No. 2 (March-April 2006), p. 115. For full article, see pp. 115-131. The Kazungula Ferry border post as Kasane is the first port of entry into and the last port of exit from the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) countries comprising Botswana, South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland.

[111] Tshireletso Modise (pseudonym), Aged 24, Female Police Officer, Kasane , 10 November 2009.

[112] Interview with Kingston Hampande, aged 45, truck driver for a transport company that travels between Durban in South Africa and Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kazungula, 2 November 2009.

[113] Interview with Miriam Kgengwe (pseudonym), aged 30, a local sex worker who hailed from Lesoma, 3 November 2009.

Miriam Kgengwe said that even beyond the trucking queue, business was good. Some high profile conference delegates took time off after hours to 'view Kasane by night' and solicited sexual services from the sex workers around Sesheke bar. 'This category of clients', Kengwe explained included 'local policemen' and was 'very sensitive'. For this reason, she rented a room in Kazungula. 'I must protect their identities since they are government people who do not want to be seen with us at their hotel rooms.'[114]

Sex work often complemented other incomes. As Malebogo Kewagamang put it,

> My salary of P400.00 a month as a cleaner in a local hotel cannot sustain me and my three children who are of school-going age. I also bought home furniture on a hire purchase with a local furniture shop and their interest always increases when I default payment. I have to pay rent for the two rooms that my children and I stay in. I have to lie to the children that I am going back to work at night while I actually get to Kazungula to supplement the low salary.[115]

Sizakele Moyo, a 25 year old sex worker from a poor family in Tjolotjo in Zimbabwe, wore heavy make up in the face, a wig and hot pants as she hung around the filling station.

> My parents were poor farm employees who lost their jobs when their white employers emigrated in the late 1990s and we could not all get beyond primary school education and no employment as a result. A friend who had years of sex work at Victoria Falls recruited me to join her to 'make a living'. It was a difficult decision to make but the poverty at home with old parents and younger siblings pushed me into sex work. We later moved to Botswana at the advice of friends who were doing sex work at the trucks in Kazungula. I come into the country legally using a passport and ask for 90 days during which time I work hard to generate income for my family. I rent a room in Kazungula for which I pay P60.00 per month. A whole night's rate is usually P200.00. There are greater opportunities here than at home although our Batswana counterparts dislike our business acumen and being the preferred service providers by most clients in Kasane. In Zimbabwe sex work is difficult because, like many consumer goods, condoms are in short supply, while in Botswana you get into toilets at immigration posts and filling stations and condoms are many. There is life here.[116]

Zimbabweans reputedly 'undercut' other sex workers. For example, while the standard price at Kasane ranged from P80.00 to P100.00 per single 'session', the Zimbabweans would accept as little as P40.00.[117] Accused of monopolising clients, and undercutting locals, Zimbabwean sex workers were sometimes attacked by Batswana sex workers. Police occasionally intervened to control emotions that bordered on xenophobic anger.[118] In an effort

[114] Interview with Miriam Kgengwe, 3 November 2009.
[115] Interview with Malebogo Kewagamang, aged 43, (pseudonym), part-time sex worker, Kazungula, 6 November 2009.
[116] Interview with Sizakele Moyo (pseudonym), aged 24, a Zimbabwean commercial sex worker, Kazungula, 2 November 2009.
[117] Interview with Tshireletso Modise, (pseudonym), Female Police Officer, Kasane,,10 November 2009.
[118] Interview with Tshireletso Modise.

to retain regular customers, Sizakele Moyo, a young Zimbabwean girl, admitted that she did not insist on condom use.[119] But far from benefiting from higher risk taking, young girls who had sex without condoms placed themselves in acute danger. Kasane had the highest HIV infection rates in the country. HIV infections increased from 13.3% in 1992 to 38.8% in 1998.[120] By 2000, half of expectant mothers in Kasane were HIV-positive.[121] Similarly, neighbouring Caprivi Strip had the highest rate in Namibia.[122] Health officials attributed the high rate of infection at Kasane to truck drivers and other wealthy men paying high sums for sex without condoms, especially with younger women.[123]

Sex workers complained that neither the police nor the law afforded them any protection. Many claimed that the police harassed them and charged them with 'loitering'.[124] Officials regarded sex work as an offence to the dignity of a person and an illicit trade that offended public decency.[125] Sex workers were charged with violating the Penal Code, particularly under Sections 176, common nuisance, 179, idle and disorderly persons, and 182 rogues and vagabonds.[126] Sex workers were generally not stringently punished however and fines seldom exceeded P50.[127] Writing on prostitution in Nairobi, Luise White argued that criminalising prostitution was in fact 'criminalizing poor women's occasional labour and creating an illegal population of streetwise, community-minded prostitutes.'[128] As the Johannesburg *Star* put it, 'It's easy to moralise when your own livelihood is not at stake.'[129]

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[119] Interview with Sizakele Moyo, 2 November 2009. Wojcicki also argued that sexual encounters in Africa were largely dominated by' patriarchal ideologies' where men defined their power by 'imposed[ing] their will over women', for example determining whether or not to use a condom. Janet Maia Wojcicki, p. 271.
[120] Government of Botswana, *Socio-Economic Impact of HIV/AIDS in Botswana: An Impact Assessment of HIV/AIDS on Current and Future Population Characteristics and Demographics in Botswana* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, August 2000), p. 29.
[121] *Daily News*, 23 October 2000.
[122] Wolfgang Zeller and Bennett Kangumu Kangumu, 'Caprivi under old and new indirect rule: Falling off the map or a 19th century dream come true?', in Henning Melber, (ed.), *Transitions in Namibia: Which Changes For Whom?*(Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), p. 190. For full article, see pp. 190-208.
[123] Portia Tshweu, Hospital Matron, Kasane Primary Hospital, 20 May 2008.
[124] Interview with Miriam Kgengwe, 3 November 2009.
[125] Interview with Portia Tshewu, Hospital Matron, Kasane Hospital, 21 July 2008.
[126] Government of Botswana, *Penal Code*, Vol. II Chapter 08:01, June 1964.
[127] *Mmegi*, 'Botswana Women are we ready for 2010?', 27 November 2009.
[128] Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 3-4, Luise White, 'Women in the changing African family', in Margaret Jean Han and Sharon Stichter, (eds.), *African Women South of the Sahara* (Harlow: Longman Group, 1984), p. 65. For full article, see pp. 53-68, Claire C. Robertson, 'Women in the urban economy', in Margaret Jean Han and Sharon Stochter, (eds.), *African Women South of the Sahara* (Harlow: Longman, 1984), pp. 33-50, Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women: A Modern History* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 127-128, Neil Leiper, *Tourism Management* (French Forest: Pearson Education Australia, 2004), pp. 240-241, Marie-Francoise Lanfant, Introduction, in Marie-Francoise Lanfant, John B. Allock and Edward M. Bruner,

Sex workers in the Kasane area believed that in targeting women, the service providers, and not the clients who were men, the law was biased. As Malebogo Kewagamang stated:

> If justice were to be ensured, the police should arrest both parties. Granted, we are victims of poverty but we would not be here if there was no demand. In soliciting our services in what the law says it does not allow, men are equally guilty as they are the incentive for our coming here, which warrants that they also be charged.[130]

Another thriving activity in Kasane was the selling of 'traditional' sorghum beer in shebeens.[131] Shebeens are unlicensed beer outlets operating in residential homes, usually in low-income urban townships. Shebeen 'queens' sold traditional home brewed alcoholic beverages and also highly potent illicit concoctions to 'the immediate local market'.[132] Traditional sorghum beer was made from malted grain (sorghum, maize or millet) to produce beer of about 3% alcohol content and 'a good source of calories.'[133] J. Finlay and R.K. Jones estimated that the protein content in sorghum beer was 9.5%. at least 2% lower in alcohol content than bottled beer. It was also cheaper than lager beers.[134] Shebeens also sold factory-

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(eds.), *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1995) Philip Kotler, John Brown, James McKens, (eds.), *Marketing for Hospitality* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1999), p. 659.

[129] *The Star,* Editorial, 28 August 1997. Michelle le Roux of the *Mail and Guardian* shared the view: 'There is a certain hypocrisy in our refusal to recognize sex as a power or a commodity with a price like any other and accord respect to the choice of women to sell it, and yet at the same time continue as a society to value women primarily on their physical and sexual availability.' See *Mail and Guardian,* 'Not all sexworkers are victims', June 4 to 10 2010.

[130] Interview with Malebogo Kewagamang (pseudonym), aged 43, part-time sex worker, Kazungula, 6 November 2009.

[131] Also, Matseliso Mapetla and Pea Machai, 'Beer Brewing as a Survival Strategy in Urban Lesotho', in Anita Larsson, Matseliso Mapetla and Ann Schlyter, (eds.), *Changing Gender Relations in Southern Africa: Issues of Urban Life* (Roma: Institute of Southern African Studies, 1998), pp. 155-183. Trade in indigenous sorghum beer including the selling of *Chibuku* was not regulated. According to bye-law enforcement officers in Kasane, the state took into cognizance the fact that many households derived their livelihoods from selling traditional brews and therefore decided to leave its trade open. This position was confirmed by Mrs Masendu, Senior Officer at the Ministry of Trade and Industry in Gaborone, 8 October 2009, E.R. Mokgwathi, Commercial Affairs Officer, Gaborone City Council, 8 October 2009 and Tumedi, Commercial Affairs Officer, Chobe District Council, Kasane, 4 November 2009.

[132] Earl P. Scott, 'Home-Based Industries: An Alternative Strategy for Household Security in Rural Zimbabwe', in *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol. 29, No. 2 (January 1995), p. 189. For full article, see pp. 183-212.

[133] Steve Haggblade 'Vertical Considerations in Choice of Technique Studies: Evidence from Africa's Indigenous Beer Industry', in *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 35, No. 4 (July 1987), p. 728. For full article, see pp. 723-742. Michael McCall put it at 2%. See Michael McCall, 'Rural brewing, exclusion, and development policy making', in *Gender and Development,* Vol. 4, No. 3 (October 1996), p. 30. For full article, see pp. 29-38.

[134] J. Finlay and R.K. Jones, 'Alcohol Consumption and the nature of Alcohol related problems in Botswana: A Preliminary Report', in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (November, 1983), p. 4. For full article, see pp. 1-13. Earl P. Scott, 'Home-Based Industries: An Alternative Strategy for Household Security in Zimbabwe', in *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol. 29, No. 2 (January, 1995), p. 197. For full article, see pp. 183-212.

produced grain brew *Chibuku*.[135] *Kgadi* was the most common concoction varying in ingredients and alcohol contents but generally a mixture of roots of the *motopi* tree (shepherd's tree), *moretlwa* (*grewia flava*) berries and honey. Other illicit beverages contained a variety of fermenting agents such as brown sugar, yeast, molasses and sometimes toxins as such as brake fluid, battery acid, tobacco leaves and snuff.[136] After being retrenched by a safari company, Manga Mubila sought solace and relief in *laela mmaago,* a highly potent locally distilled brew.[137] Many of his friends drank *mokoko o nchebile,*(the cock is staring me in the face, *samdenyola* (it has tripped him), and *laela mmaago* (bid your mother farewell).

Shebeens were furnished with benches, chairs and boulders for seating and the queens provided food such as maize meal and offal or beef chunks. Joyce Seenga, a shebeen owner in Kgaphamadi township is a successful shebeen queen.[138] She hired three Zambian women to supplement the family labour force. After four years, she was able to provide her children with shelter, food, clothing and education. She explained:

> In this business you need to have a vision and be willing to be flexible. You should know what your clients want, such as savoury food items that go well with drink. At times you take the risk of availing credit terms especially with regular clients. You also need a few friends in the police and those in the Chobe District Council who deal with enforcement of by-laws, because some of our brews are prohibited by the law but knowing one or two of them helps. I started operating from a small room in this yard but ploughed back the profits into enlarging the buildings. From the proceeds I bought a house in Plateau township and added some servants' quarters at the back for renting out. With savings on the profits I was able to provide collateral at Barclays Bank and managed to buy a second hand van at Maun which my son uses to provide transport to Zambian traders from the border to Kasane centre.[139]

Michael McCall wrote that 'brewing, beer sales and prostitution are closely linked.'[140] Kasane was no exception. Patricia Mathe, a Kazungula shebeen queen who employed sex workers explained, 'You do not let a customer return home with change, especially a man. He must spend all the money in your business. Men cannot resist these girls especially after taking a

[135]Though dominant in shebeens, *Chibuku* served as a 'proxy', shielding the illicit brews, which were in high demand, in case police raided the drinking place.
[136] Interview with Susan Kelediyakgosi (pseudonym) shebeen queen, Kgaphamadi township, Kasane5 November 2009. These ingredients suited urban brewing because they were never in short supply in the town, as Kelediyakgosi further pointed out that they had networks with especially motor mechanics who supply them with brake fluid and battery acid at very little cost.
[137] Interview with Manga Mubila, aged 27, job-seeker, Kazungula shebeen, 10 November 2009.
[138] Shebeens were a common sight in other poor townships such as Baambazangu, White City and Kazungula.
[139] Joyce Seenga (pseudonym), aged 49, shebeen owner, Kgaphamadi, 12 November 2009.
[140] Michael McCall 'Rural brewing, exclusion, and development policy making', in *Gender and Development*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (October 1996), p. 31. For full article, see pp. 29-38.

few drinks, and I cannot resist the opportunity to take their money.'[141] The shebeen trade altered the traditionally ascribed markers of success in that 'a woman's productivity' was 'demonstrated by cash rather than the sorghum harvested.'[142]

Regulating cross-border trade

Government attempts to regulate cross-border trade generated conflict between traders and authorities. In Zambia, Karen Tranberg Hansen noted that, the government found itself in a regulation quagmire and was unable to resolve the conflict between 'free market' policies and small-scale traders. On the one hand, the authorities had to recognise the efforts of small entrepreneurs who made a living through selling the imported second hand clothing and, on the other, they had to protect the interests of local textile manufacturing industries.[143] In Botswana from the mid-1980s, the government began to develop regulatory instruments and institutions to control and monitor the movement of goods and people at border areas. Customs and immigration officials monitored the movement of goods, collecting customs duties on imports.[144] Most of the activities of small-scale traders were regulated by Section 30 of the Trade and Liquor Act of 1986. Traders importing goods were required, in addition to having a vendor's licence, to acquire an import licence.[145] Importers were required to declare all the goods acquired from outside Botswana, as well as foreign currency in their possession. Contravening customs regulations resulted in high penalties, depending on the nature of the offence and often, goods were seized, forfeited to the state and later auctioned.

Cross-border traders used various strategies to avoid authorities at Customs and Excise. The fact that traders traversed the same route routinely to replenish their supplies enabled them to observe and exploit administrative loopholes at border posts. A strategy commonly used by Zambian traders was to take advantage of peak hours and walk straight past the Customs

[141] Patricia Mathe, aged 61, shebeen owner, Kazungula, 10 November 2009. The rate for a short session was P50.00 and there were no overnight sessions.
[142] David N. Suggs, 'Mosadi Tshwene: The Construction of Gender and the Consumption of alcohol in Botswana', in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 23, No. 3 p. 598. For full article see pp. 597-610. Suggs was writing on gendered perceptions about alcohol consumption in the context of a bar owned by a woman in Mochudi village. He suggested that while on the one hand the Mosadi Tshwene bar represented continuity in ascribing alcohol consumption to men it also illustrated change in gender roles and opportunities in a capitalist economy.
[143] Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Salaula: The World of Secondhand Clothing in Zambia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 229.
[144] Interview with Ramphaleng, Customs Officer at Kazungula Ferry, 26 May 2008.
[145] Interview with M. Miti, Senior Customs Officer , Kazungula Ferry, 26 May 2008. According to Miti, there were instances where some traders were were guilty of smuggling goods from Zambia, such as *salaula* clothing, *chitenge* material, facial creams and hair pieces.

undetected, while others avoided the Customs area by diverting along the Chobe River bank shortly after disembarking from the pontoon from Zambia.[146] Others bribed truck drivers to conceal their merchandise under the driver's bedding on the truck knowing full well, that Customs officials would not search each truck that entered or left the country.[147] Besides, most of the border posts were understaffed.[148]

While senior Customs and Immigration officers argued that they were not aware of the issue of bribes, they were not dismissive of the issue, urging traders to inform them of the particular officers who solicited bribes.[149] Although statistical data was not available, they said that commonly smuggled goods included second hand clothing, shoes, facial creams, *chitenge* material and, hairpieces. If seized, these items were forfeited to the state and eventually auctioned.[150]

John Helliwell argued that tensions between heavy-handed officials and cross-border traders often resulted largely from the state's fear of losing sovereignty if it did not control this trade. In his own words:

> As cross-border economic integration increases, governments experience greater difficulties in trying to control events within their borders. Those difficulties, summarized by the term *diminished autonomy*, are one of the reasons why tensions arise from the competition between political sovereignty and economic integration.[151]

Local traders were irked by these regulations and also by foreign competition. Women traders alleged harassment by Botswana customs officials at both the Kazungula Ferry and Kasane border post complaining that Zambian and Namibian traders were not subjected to similar treatment. In the words of Catherine Mohibidu, a trader in vegetables:

> We are searched as if we are thieves who have stolen something yet Zambians are given preferential treatment by our officers in our own country. Why don't they search the Zambians, why? When we arrived from Zambia, one woman bragged that she would get across Botswana customs without a permit and no one would search her. Indeed, she crossed and even refused to

[146] Interview with Sally (pseudonym), trader, Kasane, 17 June 2008. The strategies could as well have been used by local traders too although they denied it.
[147] Interview with Sally, Kasane, 17 June 2008.
[148] Interview with Mma Mosiakgabo, Senior Immigration Officer, Kasane border post, 17 June 2008.
[149] Interview with M. Miti, 17 June 2008.
[150] Interview with M. Miti, 17 June 2008.
[151] John F. Helliwell, *How much Do National Borders Matter?* (Washington D.C: The Brookling Institution, 1998), pp. xviii-xxi.

> sell her vegetables to Batswana traders at the border, again bragging that she was going to sell in Kasane despite being a foreigner, because she was friend of officials at customs.[152]

Irene Mabika is another trader who bought her vegetable supplies in Zambia and sometimes crossed into the Caprivi Strip to get fish from Kasika Island. She alleged that the Zambian women traders told them that they 'endeared themselves' to the Botswana officials by giving them tomatoes and *merogo* (vegetables), a favour that exempted them from being searched. She complained that Zambians sold their wares in no man's land while Batswana were forbidden to do so. On the other side of the river, Namibian officials would not allow Batswana traders to move beyond the Kasika market place, not even to the bathrooms, without being escorted. As she put it,

> We are abused in foreign lands as well as in our own country. In Namibia, they call us *Makwengo* [a Chisubiya name for Basarwa], because they say we do not produce anything to eat and we are dependent on Namibians for fish. In Botswana, a Namibian called Zebra, bribes the customs officials with a cooler box full of fish so that she is let into Kasane to sell to households in the townships, which the law prohibits. Is it because we are members of a minority Subiya group that we are so despised?[153]

Local traders felt that they were not protected against foreign hawkers who walked the streets and were the more visible to potential clients on the streets while local traders were confined in the market structure.[154] Foreign hawkers allegedly traversed Kasane's townships selling vegetables, fish and curios without being arrested.[155] Prejudice often informed buying preferences. One teacher at a local primary school said openly that she preferred to buy fish from Namibians at the border rather than from the local Basubiya who 'smelt' of fish.[156]

National politics also came into play. The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), was aware that disgruntlement could play into the hands of the Botswana People's Party which enjoyed support in the area. The BDP feared that rigid control of trade would alienate the small-scale traders who constituted a substantial section of the local population.[157] The

[152] Interview with Catherine Mohibidu, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 17 June 2008.
[153] Interview with Irene Mabika, aged 32, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 17 June 2008.
[154] Interview with Rosemary Matengu, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 17 June 2008.
[155] This was a controversial issue as some traders insisted that some Batswana colleagues were dishonest in that they invited their Namibian relatives to come into Kasane as there was ready market for fish.
[156] Interview with Pearl Mogwera (pseudonym), aged 22, teacher at a local primary school, Kasane, 10 November 2009. Such offensive cleavages were not taken kindly by local traders.
[157] Interview with Munihango Kanyenvu,newly elected chairperson of the Kasane Village Development Committee, 6 November, 2009. On learning about traders' misgivings with authorities, the area Member of Parliament, a ruling party MP often called meetings with traders and subsequently with traders and authorities representing different departments that were involved in the control of small-scale trade.

authorities thus adopted a pragmatic approach to traders, deliberately turning a blind eye to some of their activities.[158] Though reluctant to discuss activities in the Kasane border area, an officer in one of the security departments admitted that the traders' activities were not dangerous and were treated as small-scale acts of survival.[159] He explained that by not 'following up' people, officers were just being realistic in an environment where cross-border trade was the single most important source of employment for many poor families. Local people were poor and relatively uneducated. In 2000 there were only two junior secondary schools and no senior secondary school in the Chobe District. The nearest secondary school was more than 500 kilometers away.[160] According to some, illiterate traders were unable to know whether or not they had made a profit.[161]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the ways in which cross-border trade contributed to local livelihoods in Kasane between the 1980s and 2000. As cross-border trade increased, so did competition between traders. Tensions emerged amongst the traders and between the traders and government authorities. The regulation of the fishing trade was most irksome to local fish traders. Most of the cross-border traders were women from marginal communities who eked out a living on the fringes of the formal economy. Cross-border trade provided opportunities for households to combine diverse strategies in order to survive. National and ethnic undercurrents notwithstanding, cross-border trade enabled a significant number of women to earn a living. At the same time, they ran considerable risks with many young women testing HIV positive. The future of this trade at Kasane depends more on developments in the control of HIV and AIDS than in regulation of cross border trading.

[158] Such activities included for example, private vehicles transporting traders and their goods from Kasane to local border posts and back (as long as it was within Botswana), small-scale trading outside gazette points, shebeens and money changing at the Kazungula Ferry.
[159] Interview with Max (pseudonym), Security Officer, Kasane, 10 November 2009.
[160] One senior secondary schools was in Maun, two in Francistown and one in Masunga. All these schools were more than 500 kilometres away from Kasane.
[161] Interview with Swenkie (pseudonym), aged 43, trader, Kasane Fish Market, 9 November 2009.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has focused on the relationship between people, economic activity and environment in the riverine communities of Chobe and Ngamiland which are cut off from the central and eastern parts of the country by 'wide areas of waterless country' from the late nineteenth century to the recent past.[1] It has also highlighted the efforts of Botswana's developmentalist state to modernise economic activity in this region. The study has shown that despite the initially distinct economic activities carried out by different ethnic groups, intermingling between people led to changes in economic activity. People intermarried, bartered goods, exchanged skills and moved across the region. These adaptations created a mosaic of social and economic practices that cut across ethnicity and locality. The thesis has demonstrated how these northern communities, eking out an existence in the environmentally fragile, disease-ridden wetlands, were slowly brought within the developmental strategies of the colonial and postcolonial states. While the state's efforts achieved mixed results, people avoided famine and sometimes progressed by making use of the region's biodiversity.

State intervention was most successful in the fostering of a cattle industry in the wetlands. The spread of the buffalo-transmitted foot and mouth disease in the Okavango was checked in the 1950s when the colonial administration established cordon fences that separated cattle from wild animals.[2] Once the tsetse fly and disease had been contained in the late 1960s, the colonial administration and the later post colonial government encouraged cattle ownership. By the late 1970s Ngamiland had begun to take on the character of the rest of the country where cattle served not only as commodities for sale but as 'the infrastructure of social relationships', particularly among the elite.[3]

Following independence, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) led government instituted centrally coordinated and controlled development programmes aimed at boosting the productive capacities of peasant farmers. The BDP comprised a strategic alliance of elites made up of state and non-state actors who formed a developmental state in which the

[1] Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* p. 126.
[2] Andrew Murray and Neil Parsons, 'The Modern Economic History of Botswana', in Z.A. Konczacki, Jane L. Parpart and Timothy M. Shaw, (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of Southern Africa,* Vol. I: The Front-Line States (London: Frank Cass, 1990), p. 178. For full article, see pp. 159-199.
[3] Uri Almagor, 'Pastoral Identity and Reluctance to Change: The Mbanderu of Ngamiland', in *Journal of African Law,* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring 1980), p. 36. For full article, see pp. 35-61. The Mbanderu were part of Baherero who fled the German-Herero war of 1904, settling in Ngamiland.

Ministry of Finance and development Planning played a central role. Economic development – often understood as the application of modern, scientific farming methods and the adoption of commercial values by the Botswana government – was uneven and halting. The wetlands teemed with game and wild animals preyed on domestic livestock and crops; swamps, lagoons and flooding limited grazing lands. Roads and communication in these remote parts were rudimentary and the cost of establishing a stronger infrastructure for modern development was prohibitive.

The modernisation of agriculture centred very largely on cattle farming and in the wetlands region, this meant eradicating disease and subsidising farmers who were willing to improve their cattle herds. New grasslands were opened up in the southern and south eastern areas around Tsau, Sehitwa, Toteng, Shorobe and Lake Ngami where, after 1975, government allocated ranches to cattle rich farmers as part of the Tribal Grazing Policy (TGLP) and in 1983 established a branch of the Botswana Meat Commission. Ngamiland became one of the largest cattle producing regions. In 1995, following the outbreak of lung sickness, the entire wetlands herd was destroyed. By this time, the growth of the industry had led to an increase in the stratification of society. At one end was a class of wealthy cattle barons and at the other, a poor class of subsistence farmers who continued to eke out a living on the margins. Modernisation through cattle also entrenched gender disparities. Arable farming, the primary activity of women in the wetlands as in all regions of the country, did not receive state attention until 1982 when government introduced the Arable Land Development Programme (ALDEP). A few women benefited from this programme.

After Zimbabwe and Namibia gained their independence and peace returned to the area along the Zambezi and Chobe rivers, the Botswana government began to encourage an international tourist industry. Deriving from wildlife, the tourist industry produced mixed results. The industry created tensions between the needs of local farmers and the imperatives of wildlife conservation. Learning from its own mistakes and from international agreements, the Botswana government slowly moved away from inherited colonial ideas about conservation to develop a more people-centred approach. By the 1990s, communities closest to the Game Parks were becoming more involved in conservation to their mutual benefit. Also, the dominance of the tourist industry by expatriates created racial tensions and insecurity in the

hospitality sector. The remoteness of the tourist establishments made it difficult for state officials to monitor the operations of these institutions on regular bases.

Significantly, state interventions in the remote wetlands sometimes displayed a lack of political will. The wetlands people were cut off from the dominant cattle owning people in Botswana by ethnicity, region and lifestyle. Within the wetlands, wealthy cattle owning groups dominated the poorer, less organised communities, imposing their cultural values, language and tenure systems. Together with the national bureaucracy, they determined access to and control over resources. Some of the marginalised groups began to organise themselves, invoking their right to do so in a democratic country. The relatively small numbers of Wayeyi in wetland communities meant that they were marginalised by the government's policy of 'large population agglomeration' which held that the larger the resident group, the more services and facilities it was eligible for.[4] But they stood up to Tawana hegemony by establishing the Kamanakao Association which advocated for the linguistic and cultural rights of Wayeyi.[5]

By amplifying the voices of wetland farmers, fishermen, basket makers and traders, this thesis has demonstrated that women and men engaged state-initiated development from an understanding of the relationship between economic activity and environment. As in arable agriculture, gender relations were significant in the economics of fishing and handicraft production among the 'river people' whose lifestyle was inextricably tied to riverine resources. Local knowledge and skills was passed down among women, in the case of handicraft or among men, as in the case of fishing. Interventions on the part of the state did not always build on this understanding and very often achieved limited success. These interventions support James Scott's contention that the modernisation ambitions of post-colonial states centred on the social engineering of peasants rather than on building on local knowledge. In the wetlands too, some farmers viewed the introduction of modernisation programmes as cutting them off from the production regimes that had sustained them in the past.

[4] Teedzani Thapelo, 'Public Policy and San Displacement in Liberal Democratic Botswana' pp. 93-104.
[5] Zibani Maundeni, 'Mutual Criticism and State/Society Interaction in Botswana', in *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 42, No. 4 (December, 2004), pp. 619-636.

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All Interviews were conducted by Glorious Bongani Gumbo

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Britton, D. Personnel Manager, Chobe Safari Lodge, 2 June 2008.

Chebanne, A. Aged 50, Medium-sized Cattle owner, Mea cattle postst, Mokubilo, 23 May 2009.

Chiliwa, K. Aged 51, Female Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga 19 June 2008.

Disho, E. Aged 41, Basket Weaver Etsha 6, 29 June 2008.

Ditsheko, O. Church Pastor and Former Police Officer in the colonial Bechualand Protectorate Police, Maun, 27 June 2008.

Esnart, S. Aged 58, Resident, Pandamatenga, 6 June 2008.

Fenny and Sylviah, Officers of the DWNP, Kasane, 2 June 2008.

Gabanakitso, L. Instructor at Nxaraga Rural Training Institute, Ngamiland, 4 July 2008.

Gabasebiwe, M. Aged 35, Trader, Kasane, 15 January 2010.

Gaonyadiwe, R. Professional Guide, KALEPA, Lesoma village, 21 July 2008.

Gibson, J. Managing Director, Chobe Holdings, Kasane, 24 May 2008.

Gumbo, C. Entrepreneur, Kasane, 8 November 2009.

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Habano, K. Aged 45, Subsistence Farmer, Etsha 6 Village, Okavango, 28 June 2008.

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Halahala, K. Aged 79, Subsistence Farmer, Kauxwi Village, East Bank, Okavango Delta, 28 June 2008.

Hampande, K. Aged 45, Truck driver, Kazungula, 2 November 2009.

Hampande, K. Aged 61, Vendor, Maun Bus terminus, 7 July 2008.

Hart, N. Marketing Manager, Botswanacraft, Gaborone Warehouse, 2 February 2009.

Heii, M. Villager, Nxamasere Village, Okavango sub-District, 28 June 2008.

Hiri, T. Aged 72, Subsistence Farmer, Boyeyi Ward, Maun, 25 June 2008.

Itengu, P. Aged 59, Mabele village, 7 June 2008.

Kabo, K. (pseudonym), Agricultural Demonstrator, Maun, 2 July 2008.

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Kane, M. Post-graduate Student from Lesotho, University of Cape Town, 21 October 2008.

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Kanyenvu, M. Chairperson of the Village Development Committee, Kasane, 6 November 2009.

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Karundu, N. Aged 60, Basket weaver, Gomare, Okavango, 29 June 2008.

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Kasale, G. (pseudonym), Aged 31, waitress in a hotel in Kasane, 1 June 2008

Kashokela, E. Aged 33, Senior Supervisor, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.

Kashweka, Proprietor, Liya Guest House, Plateau, Kasane 22 May 2008.

Kasiana, K. Aged 60, Kauxwi Village, Okavango, 28 June 2008.

Katongo,C. Aged 38, Zambian Trader, Kasane, 7 November 2009.

Katutu, Aged 53, Basket weaver, Etsha 6, 29 June 2008.

Kavuma, N. Aged 63, Female Subsistence Farmer, Etsha 6, Okavango, 28 June 2008.

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Kelediyakgosi, S. (pseudonym) Shebeen Queen, Kgaphamadi township, Kasane, 5 November 2009.

Kewagamang, M. (pseudonym), Aged 43, Sex worker, Kazungula, 6 November 2009.

Kgaile, M. Proprietor, Water Lily Lodge, 4 November 2009, Kasane

Kgengwe, M. (pseudonym), Aged 30, Sex worker, Kazungula, 3 November 2009.

Kgosietsile, B. Aged 23, Teller in a local bank, 10 November, 2009.

Kgwathe, M.G. Manager, BAMB, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.

Kole, P. Aged 20, Farm Employee, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.

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Kwati, T. Immigration Officer, Kasane Border Post, 26 May 2008.

Kwerepe, N. Aged 53, Widow and Subsistence Farmer, Mohembo village, Okavango, 28 June 2008.

Le Grange, J. aged 49, Commercial Farmer, Pandamatenga commercial farms, 9 June 2008.

Leballo, S. Transport provider, Kazungula Ferry, 8 November 2009.

Lebani, L. Aged 33, Backyard motor mechanic, Kazungula, 25 May 2008.

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Limbo, C.K. District Agricultural Officer, Kasane, 23 May 2008.

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Mainga, F. Aged 27, Fisherman, Samochima, 28 June 2008.

Majola, Female Entrepreneur, Kasane, 8 November 2009.

Makhondo, Female Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Kasane, 2 November 2009.

Manase, N. Aged 58, Female Hawker, Maun Bus terminus, 7 July 2008.

Mangate, J. Tourism Officer, Maun regional office, 24 June 2008.

Manyemana, J. Head of Fisheries Unit, Maun, 27 June 2008.

Mapanda, R. Aged 55, Headman, (cousin to Rebecca Banika, Chief, Pandamatenga village, 6 June 2008.

Maruza, C. Aged 33, Trader Kasane Fish Market, 9 November 2009.

Maruza, L. Aged 60, Subsistence Farmer, Mabele Village, 29 April 2008.

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Matengu, R. Trader, Kasane Fish Market, 17 June 2008.

Mathe, P. Aged 61, Shebeen owner, Kazungula, 10 November 2009.

Mathumo, E. Acting Council Secretary, Chobe District Council, 17 June 2009.

Matomola, L. Aged 41, Fish Trader, Kasika Island, Caprivi Strip, 30 May 2008.

Max, (pseudonym), Security Officer, Kasane, 10 November 2009.

Mbeha, B.C. Principal Veterinary Officer, Kasane, 22 May 2008.

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Mngadi, T. (pseudonym), aged 25, waitress in a hotel in Kasane, 1 June 2008.

Modimoosi, J. Kasane, 8 November 2009.

Modise, J. Administrator, Nxaraga Rural Training Institute, Ngamiland, 4 July 2008.

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Moeng, T. Waiter at a local hotel, Kasane, 7 November 2009.

Mogwera, P. (pseudonym), Aged 22, Primary School Teacher , Kasane, 10 November 2009.

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Molao, K. Female driver, Chobe District Council, Kasane, 24 May 2008.

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Mwezi, G. Subsistence Farmer, Mabele Village, Chobe, 29 April 2008.

Nawala, N. Aged 44, Female Vendor, Kasane Market, 6 November 2009.

Nchunga, Programme officer, Chobe Enclave Community Trust (CECT), 17 June 2008.

Ndana, N. Satau Resident, University of Botswana, Gaborone, 12 August 2009.

Ndereko, Aged 39, Transport operator, Kazungula Ferry, 8 Novemebr 2009.

Ndjwaki, S. Chairperson, Okavango Fishers Association, Samochima, 27 June 2008.

Ndwapi, L. Retired Pandamatenga Farmer, Francistwon, 18 May 2008.

Ndzinge, T. Former Director of the Department of Tourism, Gaborone, 20 December 2009.

Ngwenya, B. (pseudonym), Aged 32, Employee of Botswanacraft, Gaborone Warehouse, 2 February 2009.

Nkoni, P. Council Secretary, North West District Council, Maun, 23 May 2009.

Nkunga, K. Aged 54, Cook, Chobe Community Junior Secondary School kitchen, Kasane.

Nkwane, B. Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008

Pelaeo, G. Aged 70, Retired Employee of Botswana Game Industries, Somerset Township, Francistown, 9 November 2009.

Peter, (pseudonym), Agricultural Demonstrator, Maun, 16 August 2009.

Phathe, G. Senior Technical Assistant, Mabele Village, Chobe District, 25 June 2008.

Phepheng, L.C.M. Principal, Maun Technical College, 7 July 2008.

Philip, J. Church Pastor, Assemblies of God, Maun, 30 June 2008.

Phuluweni, B. Aged 34, Female Subsistence Farmer and Vendor, Kasane, 27 June 2008.

Ramphaleng, Customs Officer, Kazungula Ferry, 26 May 2008.

Rutina, L. Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Gaborone, 29 May 2009.

Sabota, C. Aged 80, Retired Subsistence Farmer, Parakarungu Village, 11 June 2008.

Sally, (pseudonym), Trader, Kasane, 17 June 2008.

Sankwasa, L. Councillor, Kasane District Council, 23 May 2008.

Sarah, (pseudonym), Liya Guest House, Plateau, Kasane, 31 May 2008

Sebele, K. Retired Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Gaborone, 20 December 2009.

Seboko, P. Aged 38, Fisherman, Kasika Island, Caprivi Strip, 7 November 2009.

Seenga, J. (pseudonym), Aged 49, Shebeen owner, Kgaphamadi township, Kasane, 12 November 2009.

Sefhako, Age 50, Female Commercialising Subsistence Farmer, Pandamatenga Village, Chobe, 18 June 2008.

Sefo, S. Samochima Fisheries, Okavango, 28 June 2008.

Selina, Aged 28 years, Accounts Officer, Chobe Farms, 24 May 2008.

Sesinyi, M. Fisherman, Samochima, 28 June 2008.

Shamukuni, J.M. Aged 70, Headman, Satau Customary Court, Chobe District, 11 June 2008.

Sikele, T. Subsistence Farmer/Security Guard, Pandamatenga Primary School, 6 June 2008.

Sinvula, I. Aged 59, Fisherman, Sebuba, Kasane, 31 May 2008.

Sinvula, M. Aged 69, Village Chief, Kavimba Village, Chobe District, 11 June 2008.

Somolekae, K. Aged 34, Magistrate, Mochudi Magistrate's Court, 2 June 2009.

Swenkie, (pseudonym), Aged 43, Trader, Kasane Fish Market, 9 November 2009.

Thekiso, T.T. Aged 43, Administrator, BAMB, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.

Thokoeng, L. Aged 42, Technical Officer, Livestock Production, Ministry of Agriculture, Maun, 07 July 2008.

Tshweu, P. Matron, Kasane Primary Hospital, 21 July 2008.

Tumedi, Commercial Affairs Officer, Chobe District Council, Kasane, 4 November 2009.

Twapika, R. Female Subsistence Farmer and Basket weaver, Etsha 6, 29 June 2008.

van der Westhuizen, J.J. Commercial Farmer and Former Chairperson of the Pandamatenga Farmers Association, Pandamatenga, 19 June 2008.

Visser, W. (pseudonym), Managing Director of a lodge (anonymous) in Kasane, 3 June 2008.

Yuyi, K.K. Farm Employee, Pandamatenga, 9 June 2008.

Zebe, I. Former District Commissioner, Kasane, Chobe District, 18 May 2008.

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