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**SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND THE AGRARIAN TRANSITION IN
BOTSWANA**

By

Mercy Marietta K. Puso

A THESIS

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT
SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND THE AGRARIAN TRANSITION IN
BOTSWANA

by

Mercy Marietta Puso

This paper examines the agricultural and socio-economic transformations that have occurred in Botswana since the colonial period. It gives a historical discussion of how these transformations took place and how they affected the socio-economic status of the traditional cultivator and subsequently the peasant from the colonial era (1895) to present. The following have been identified as some of the forces of change for peasant transformation in Botswana: (a) the legacy of colonialism and the labor migration system; (b) economic relationships with South Africa; (c) local history, indigenous institutions and domestic policies; (d) climatic and demographic variables; and (e) technology

The nature and the extent of the impact of these factors on the following major factors of production in Botswana was explored: (a) land use as reflected in settlement pattern; (b) family labor; (c) cattle ownership and (d) water rights. The study concludes that: (a) Colonial policies, the migrant labor system and current agrarian policies have been the major forces of peasant transformation. (b) In general, participation in the market economy has brought some positive changes in the lives of the peasants, however, serious socio-economic constraints are still prevalent. (c) Different classes of peasantry have emerged based on the extent of adaptation to the market economy and the existing local conditions. (d) Increased dependency by Botswana on the South African economy further curtailed peasants' capabilities to carry out adequate agricultural production.

The study recommends a shift in government policy to address the changing peasant production systems. In particular, the changing settlement patterns and their implications for peasant production should be given due consideration. Options for rural employment creation should be followed aggressively.

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Introduction

Socio-economic transformations that occurred during (1895-1966) and after (1966 onwards) the colonial period have had both positive and negative impacts on peasant life and production. The aim of the paper is to assess socio-economic transformations that took place in Botswana from the colonial period to the present. The impact of these changes on the peasant's social and production life will be examined in detail.

The republic of Botswana is located in Southern Africa. The country is landlocked and is bordered by Zambia in the North, Zimbabwe in the east (both landlocked), the Republic of South Africa (RSA) in the south and by Namibia in the west. The land area is 580,000 square kilometers (See Appendix A Geographical Map of Botswana). The country in general lacks rich soil and a reliable rainfall which amounts to an average of 530 mm annually with drought occurring every 10 years or so. Rainfed crop production and cattle rearing provide a livelihood for most of the people in the rural areas. Even though the semi-arid climatic conditions are not conducive to crop production livestock is more resistant to drought and so there are clear incentives for increasing one's herd. For this reason cattle rearing is a very important activity in the life of the peasant. (See Appendix B, Botswana Mean Annual Rainfall and Arable Potential Map)

The population and settlement distribution of Botswana frequently reflects the resource utilization pattern. According to the National Development Plan (NDP) VII, 1991 the main features of the settlement pattern are: (a) heavy concentration in Eastern Botswana where land and water resources are best; (b) a predominantly rural population, but rapidly growing urban centers; and (c) declining seasonal movement between villages, arable lands and cattle posts implying evidence of more permanent settlements (See Appendix C, Direction of Flow of Internal Migration, 1980-81).

Population concentration is mainly in the eastern part of the country which is endowed with availability of surface and ground water, relatively good soils, relatively

good rains. The eastern area also has good communication networks that helps accessibility to both national and international markets. More than eighty percent (80%) of the population is found in the eastern part of the country. (Chernishovsky, 1985) (See Appendix D, Botswana Population Distribution Map, 1981).

The Economy

It is indicated that there has been an economic slow down in the country (Bank of Botswana (BOB), 1993). Economically, Botswana is heavily dependent on South Africa. Through the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) Botswana gets more than ninety percent (90%) of its imports from South Africa. The imports include food and manufactured goods. Food imported includes a substantial part of the nation's cereal requirements. SACU is the second largest revenue earner for the country (NDP VII, 1991). South Africa also provides formal employment for most of the unskilled peasants in rural Botswana, mainly in the form of migrant labor. The decline in manufacturing and mining sectors underscores Botswana's continued vulnerability to both international and domestic factors. Agriculture is not now a significant source of economic growth as it accounts for only three percent (3%) of the overall GDP (See Appendix E, Trends in Botswana GDP). However it continues to be an important source of livelihood for the majority in the rural areas.

Agricultural Development

There are three main categories of land tenure systems in Botswana. The state land comprised of game and forest reserves, parks, etc., takes up twenty five percent (25%) of the total land area. About fifteen percent (15%) of the communal land is used as state land for wildlife purposes. Freehold/private comprises of about five percent (5%) of the total land area. Communal/tribal land comprises of the rest, about fifty five percent (55%) of the total land area. (See Appendix F, Botswana Land Tenure Map)

The agricultural sector comprises of two major activities, crop and livestock raising. Cattle are important in the agricultural sector, not only as a source of income, but

also as a form of draft power for the majority of the peasants. Thirty eight percent (38%) of the farming households are without cattle, while over sixty percent (60%) of the national herd, 2.3 million is owned by less than 10 percent of the farming households (Ministry of Agriculture, 1991). (See Appendix G, Cattle Ownership in the Traditional Sector) The agricultural production system consists of two sectors, the traditional and the commercial. Each sector has both crop and livestock components. Commercial farms hold about 1% of the total farms. They tend to specialize in cattle production and have an annual turnover of Pula 11 M (US \$ 4.1 M) in cattle sales (Keijsper, 1992). Commercial farmers have access to both freehold and communal land, while peasants are exclusively confined to communal land (NDP 7, 1991). About seventy five percent (75%) of the total arable production is derived from traditional (subsistence) farming carried out by individual peasant households. The traditional farms however meet only a small fraction of their demand for food (Bhuiyan, 1987). The differences between the two sectors is not only due to use of modern technology (NDP 7, 1991) but also because policies tend to favor the rich, while those aimed at the poor peasants tend to be inappropriate and therefore ineffective.

Botswana like other Third World countries is a food aid recipient. The continued supply of food aid and dependence on South African food imports has developed a dependency syndrome in Botswana. It has been estimated that more than fifty percent (50%) of the population depend on food aid for the main part of their diet (Granberg and Parkinson, 1988). This dependence on food aid may act as a disincentive to peasant production.

Colonial History

Historically Botswana was a British colony from 1895 until 1966 when the country attained self-rule. Even before the advent of British rule, there is evidence that there were social and economic transformations taking place in the lives of the traditional cultivators (Leepile 1982, Parsons, 1988). Colonialism brought with it a whole new set of economic

relationships which were later to transform traditional cultivators into peasants. A major event was the drawing of the traditional economy into the global market economy.

Definition of Concepts

Peasant/peasantry

The use of peasant as a concept is said to have originated in Europe and latter applied to situations in Russia. According to Hesselberg (1985) the concept has been given different contents by the different disciplines and different scholars. In anthropology, cultural and social aspects have been emphasized. Even though anthropologists have mainly seen peasants as closed, self-contained systems (Keesing, 1981), recently they have considered the economic dimension in peasantry studies. In sociology and political science emphasis has been on the peasantry as a class and the impact of the state on the peasants has been emphasized. Earlier studies treated peasants as a socio-economically homogeneous group. Most recent studies recognize peasant differentiation (Wolf, 1967:504). Based on his Latin American experience, Wolf states that peasants can be dealt with as agricultural producers versus fishermen; those with effective control over the land and those who are tenants. He also notes the importance of differentiating between a peasant and a farmer.

Figure 1 : Characteristics of Production Systems Traditional, Peasant and Modern

Forms of Production	Traditional	Peasant	Modern
Aim	Mainly for consumption	balance between consumption and investment or sale	Mainly for sale and investment
	emphasis on risk aversion	delicate balance between risk aversion and profit-maximization	willing to take risk in anti-cipation of profit maximization
Risk Exposure	mainly concerned with risks of weather	faced with risks of weather, market fluctuations, political uncertainty	risk conditioned by complexities of advanced technology and political climate
Technology	Simple	Intermediate/	Advanced
	hoe and stick	plough, animal draught-power	mechanical draught-power
	traditional varieties	improved farmer varieties	high yielding varieties
	compost	non-regular use of fertilizer	regular use of fertilizer
Control over land/labor	full control of factors of production	partial control of factors of production	full control of factors of production and capital
	use family labor	use of family and hired labor	use of hired labor
	access to communal land	access to rented/communal land	private ownership of land
	economic system supported smaller population	economic system supports much larger populations	supports very few members of the population
Capital	no capital investment	minimal capital investment	heavy capital investment

(Figure 1 continued)

Market Relations	no sale at market for cash	part of production sold at market for market for cash	almost all production sold at market
		virtually no influence of the market conditions	greater influence by complex market conditions
		has to adapt to market changes	adapts and changes production to meet market conditions
Relations of Production	kinship relations primary to economic relations	balance between kinship and economic relations	economic relations override kinship relations
	Autonomy over production, distribution and consumption	Loss of autonomy over production, distribution and consumption	Reasonable control over production, distribution and consumption
Use of agric. Resources	used for economic and non economic purposes	struggling to balance economic and non economic uses	use almost exclusively for economic purposes
Relations with State	no state traditional authority	great deal of state control mostly unfavorable	mainly favorable state control
		minimal political power access to the state through peasant communities	some amount of political power access to the state non-community based (direct)

An operational definition of the concept should include the key characteristics of the peasants and how they differ from traditional cultivators and from modern farmers (See Figure 1). The main feature of the peasants differentiating them from traditional cultivators is the former's involvement in the market economy, use of simple technology, use of family labor, some degree of land control, inclination towards subsistence rather than production for the market, intervention and control by power holders (the state)

outside the peasant household. Peasants emphasize on production for subsistence while farmers emphasis is wholly on commodity production (Hesselberg, 1985). Some of the peasant characteristics also apply to both the traditional cultivators and modern farmers. While peasants have been drawn into the world capitalist system, they have not been fully incorporated, hence the existence of a dual economy. People like Wallerstein (1990), however deny the existence of dual economies and see the capitalist mode of production as an overriding factor since everyone participates in it in one way or the other.

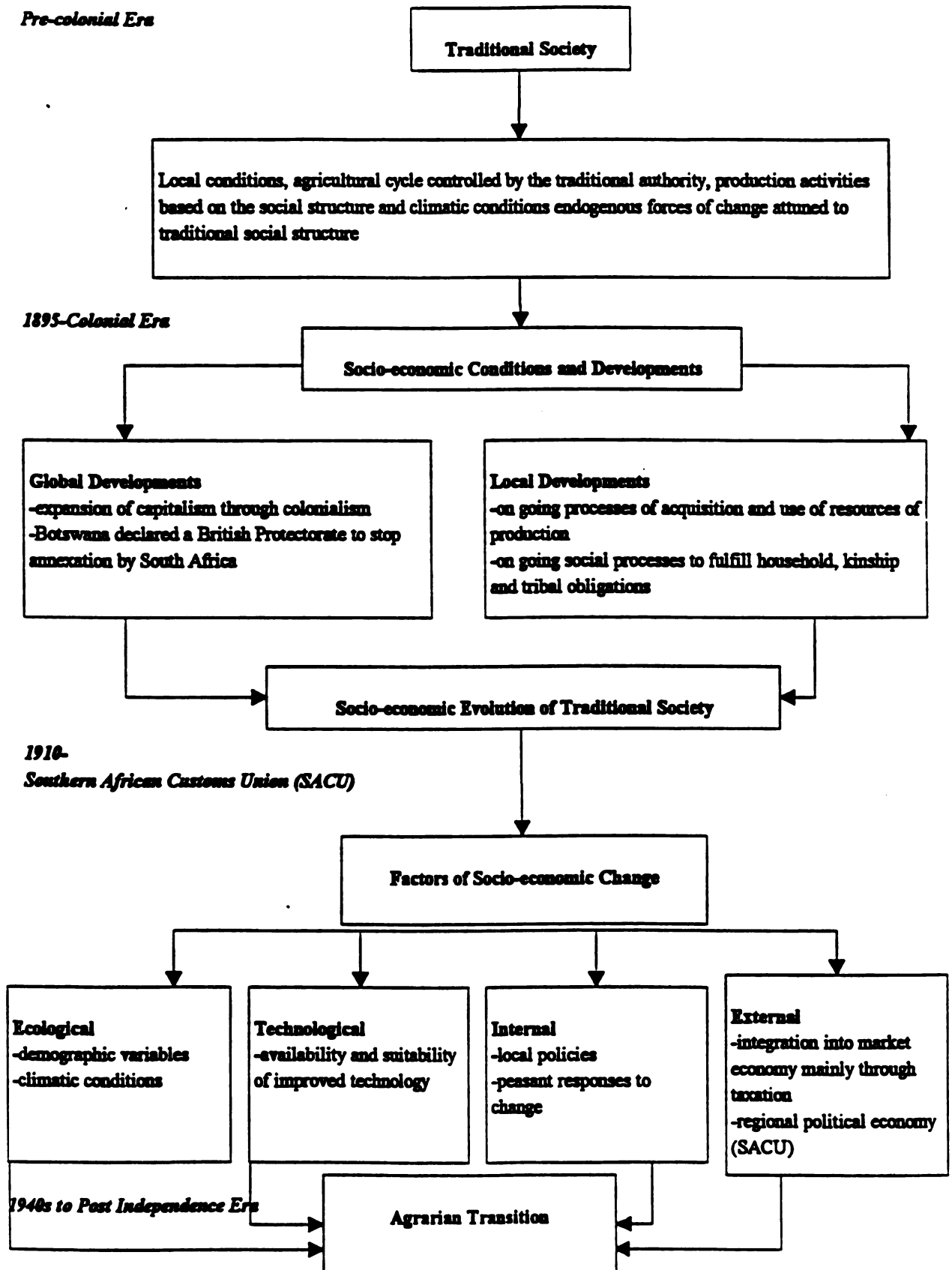
To operationalize our definition, peasants will be those who reside in the rural areas of Botswana, are wholly or partly dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. It is reported that fifty percent (50%) of the peasants in rural areas own small herds which are not economic both in terms of draught power and as potential sources of income (ALDEP, 1990). It is these peasants plus the (38%) of the farming households with no cattle (NDP, VII 1991, 1988 figure) that will be the major focus of this paper.

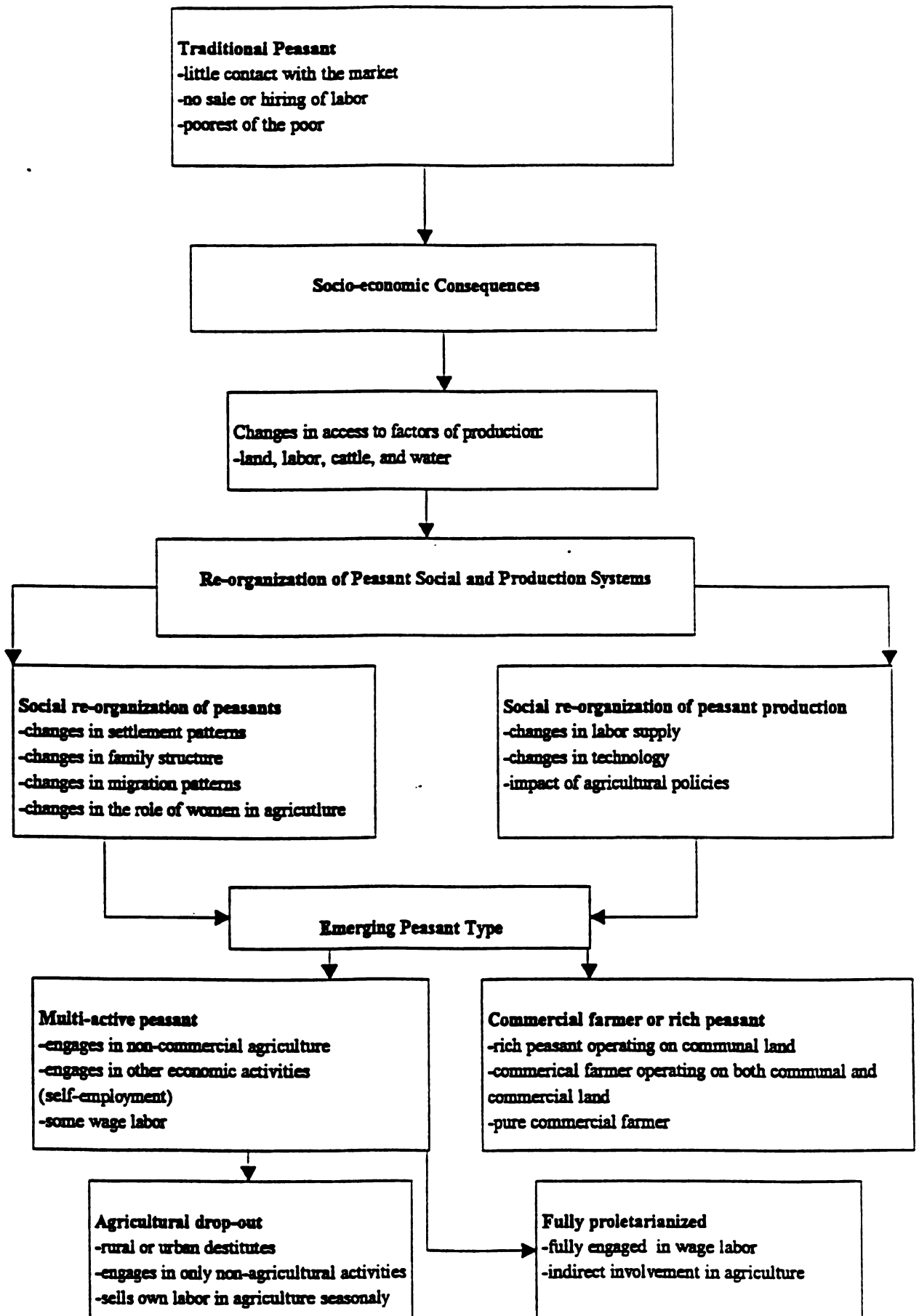
Peasant Transformation

Peasant transformation takes place by a process known as the agrarian transition. This is a historical and economic process of change that traditional societies go through in their evolution (Hesselberg, 1985). Agrarian transition involves changes in the relationships between factors of production which include technology, land, labor and capital. Hesselberg, (1985) cautions that the presence of modern characteristics in the Third World societies does not necessarily mean development is taking place.

One of the factors responsible for peasant transformation is the necessary extension and intensification of the market economy and the subsequent dependence on wages by peasants. Low wages in the market have force peasants to continue with their agricultural production and/or engage in non-agricultural activities. This produces a vicious cycle that tends to keep the peasants in a "permanent" state of transition.

Figure 2: Causal Linkages and Peasant Transformation in Botswana





A model designed to explain peasant change should take into consideration the peasants performance of agricultural and non-agricultural work which may strengthen or weaken peasant production. It may weaken it by removing the necessary labor, or strengthen it by providing the necessary capital needed for production. Peasant transition involves changes in socio-economic structures and relationships between such structures. Peasant transformation in Botswana can be traced from the pre-colonial through the colonial to the post colonial eras.

Figure 2 shows when and how social changes affecting the peasantry took place. Changes that were set forth by the colonial legacy continued to impact and change society even long after independence. The transition from colonial period to the post independence period evolved in a continuous manner such that one cannot draw a clear line between the two eras. The traditional society retained most of its customs well into the period of colonialism. But other forms of change developed after independence leading to the current state of affairs.

The Pre-Colonial Era : Traditional Life in Botswana

The aim of this section is to provide a backdrop against which we should understand the evolution of the present peasant farming systems. There is evidence that by 1600, the Tswana (people of Botswana also known as Batswana) groups already occupied approximately their modern habitats (Alverson, 1978). During this time and up to the time of colonialism, the Tswana had developed distinct forms of social and production systems. Indigenous production systems were characterized by a number of features which were mainly dictated by relationships with the physical environment. Social change in the traditional society was a function of both the social and the economic structures, with the social structure taking the upper hand. The resources and process of production were controlled in such a way as to maintain and support the existing social organization. To this extent, economic activities were more of an accessory feature of social institution

setting controlled and regulated by social authority (Polanyi, 1944). Social change was endogenous and so was not so drastic as to disrupt existing social and production systems. However tribal conflicts and wars did occur that disrupted the normal social order.

The major features of the traditional society can be classified under these broad categories, namely:

(a) Settlement Patterns An important feature of the traditional society in Botswana is found in the nature of settlement patterns. Settlement pattern is tripartite and consists of, production centers i.e. the fields/lands for crops and cattleposts for grazing; centers of social activities i.e. the villages. Due to population pressure, these areas are located further apart than was originally the case. Settlement patterns were tied to production systems. They both had a function of maintaining the greatest number of people with low stock ratios. Separate settlement areas allowed for effective exploitation of the fragile resources and adaptation to the often harsh climatic conditions of Botswana. The nature settlement patterns indicate that migration was not a new phenomenon in Botswana. However this type of migration was based on agricultural cycle and was an important element of the social organization. Social activities e.g. traditional ceremonies etc. were organized so as not to disrupt the agricultural cycle of which they were part.

(b) Resource Allocation Another characteristic of indigenous farming systems is found in its practices of resource allocation. In these societies, the productive forces were mainly land, labor, animals and simple tools. Land and water rights were communal and were controlled by the chief. Original land allocations were made by the chief. Subsequent land transactions were made through the family following the male lineage, women could also get land of their own through inheritance. Through the system of "tshwaiso", sons, daughters, and wives can get their own cattle which usually remain under the fathers/husbands control until a certain time in the life cycle of the beneficiaries. "Mafisa" is a system where people with less or no cattle were loaned cattle on a long term basis. The loaner benefited by getting draft power and milk from these cattle. On an

annual basis the caretaker would be rewarded with a calf or more depending on the number of offspring produced (Syson, 1971). Labor was based on gender and age. The tasks mainly involved, ploughing, weeding harvesting, food preservation, preparation, hunting and gathering and care for the young and the old. Redistributed of labor was done through the extended family mechanism, labor exchange through work groups, and summoned public labor.

(c) External Trade and Migration Batswana got involved in external trade. Goods were traded on barter with Europeans, mainly traders and missionaries. Leepile (1979) reports that pre-colonial trade took place among the Bakwena tribe between the years of 1840-1876. By 1880 the plough had already been introduced (Schapera, 1970) and people were beginning to go out to earn income to purchase the implement. But, Parsons (1985) argues that the activities of these foreigners did not undermine the integrity of the Batswana economy and polity. Instead it provided a new avenue for converting their surplus produce into manufactured goods and this meant reasonable prosperity in the society. In general, there existed a viable self-sufficient traditional economy. It is indicated in the works of several writers (Leepile 1979; Colclough and McCarthy 1980; Parsons 1985) that prior to the advent of colonialism there was in place a highly integrated traditional economy in Botswana. In this economy, there was complete autonomy in material flows, and a high "recycling ratio" of farm resources. For example labor, food, tools etc. were produced and utilized solely on the family farm. The characteristics of traditional production systems reflect the presence of an in-built risk aversion mechanism that ensured self-sufficiency.

The Colonial Era : Important Forces of Social Change

The era of colonial rule stretches from 1895 when Botswana was declared a protectorate, to 1966 when it became independent. During this period several developments penetrated the traditional society. Trade outside the territory spread at a

faster pace, economic relationships with South Africa became more formalized through the 1910 customs agreement. The major forces of change that were evident at this time included: (a) colonial land tenure systems e.g. crown lands resulted in land alienation; (b) introduction of taxation; the hut tax and later the war tax; (c) introduction of technology and (d) South African Customs Union (SACU). A combination of these factors led to the disruption of traditional production systems as people were forced to go outside the territory to seek employment in order to deal with the requirements imposed by the following changes.

Colonial Land and Taxation Policies

The British implemented their own land tenure system, this exercise took place between 1853 and 1914. The aim of the imperial government was to open up Botswana as a settlement territory once the native population was granted reserves. The British South Africa Company acquired a series of blocks covering an area of 2.5 million acres. These were divided into farms for stock grazing for Transvaal farmers. Apart from the tribal lands, the rest of the territory was made up of the Crown lands. Most of the crown lands were since given back to the government after independence, some of it has been retained by the British monarchy (Christopher, 1984). Needless to say this land grabbing exercise left many people without good land to carry out their normal agricultural activities. Land that was demarcated for settlement was in the most fertile area of the country. These farms to date are still occupied by farmers of South African origin.

The British introduced forms of taxation known as the Hut tax in 1899, the Native Tax of 1919 and the War Tax of 1939. The latter was established to raise funds for the Second World War (Bhila, 1985). These taxes which were to meet administrative costs as well as the costs of political protection provided by Britain. The taxes were payable in cash by every African male above age eighteen. Chiefs became bureaucrats and were appointed to collect these taxes. For these services the chiefs got a ten percent (10%) commission. It was therefore in the interest of the chiefs, who still commanded loyalty as

traditional leaders to encourage people to go to work in the South African mines. According to Schapera (1947), some chiefs promoted labor migration by imposing levies on regiments for purposes of public works. Others used it as a punishment for cattle thieves so that the tribe could rest from their predatory activities. Chief Isang of the Bakgatla said he wanted his people to acquire regular habits of industry and not rely for their livelihood upon selling cattle inherited from parents (Schapera, 1947). Forceful migration was used as a last resort when a person had defaulted from paying tax for many years and was considered liable for imprisonment (See Appendix H Reasons for Migration).

Introduction of Technology

An important factor that drew the traditional cultivator into the market system was perhaps the introduction of the ox-plough as a farming implement. It was introduced on a small scale before colonialism but its use became more widespread during the colonial era. The heavy investment in purchasing the ox-plough required cash inputs beyond barter. Therefore peasants had to engaged in wage labor to obtain the needed cash.

During the Second World War there was an appeal to Tswana peasants to increase agricultural production using improved methods and to work on special fields known as "war lands". The war lands were concentrated in the grain producing regions of the country and were additional lands to the family lands which were already under cultivation. The war lands scheme was the origin of the first cooperative scheme whose basis was to select a few farmers and groom them to become model farmers. This method of extension aggravated the already skewed distribution of resources, particularly cattle.

The Role of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU)

The events set in train by colonialism should be seen in the context of the developments that occurred in the Southern African region, particularly in the Union of South Africa. With large capital investments in the South African mining sector, South Africa became a core of economic activities in the region. A series of events led to the integration of Botswana into broader Southern African economy dominated by South

Africa. One of these events was the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) of 1910. The terms of agreement were that Botswana and other high-commission territories would receive a share of the total import duties collected by South Africa equal to the share of total imports consumed by the territory. This arrangement benefited South Africa because it protected South African goods from external competition in the territories (Colclough & McCarthy, 1978). This resulted in a form of financial integration of the territory into the South African economy where regional economic decisions were a prerogative of South Africa. For example, soon after the 1910 customs agreement, South Africa decided to restrict the import of cattle, a major export for Botswana. This devastated cattle owners who saw South Africa as a potential cattle market.

Even though SACU agreement and the taxation policies had some positive implications for the peasant economy, their primary aim was to serve the economic interests of the colonial state and its ally, the Union of South Africa. The conflicting interests of the colonial state in Africa are depicted by Berry as follows:

.... colonial regimes walked a tightrope between encouraging Africans to become involved in labor and commodity markets, and attempting to prevent them from becoming economically independent enough to ignore the opportunities afforded by European controlled markets and jobs. Officials did not want to stifle the flow of African labor, produce and tax revenue on which the fiscal and economic health of the colony depended, but they were equally anxious to minimize the cost of African labor and produce, and to limit African ability to influence the terms of exchange (Berry, 1993:27).

The major effect of these developments was the peasant loss of control over production and the onset of market forces as the major impetus for peasant social change.

Post-Independence Era : Important Forces of Social Change

Present Day Agrarian Policies

The present performance of the peasant production system cannot be solely attributed to the effects of colonial legacy. The peasants' attitude and culture was not a

causal effect either. The present government is responsible for initiating policies geared towards viable peasant production. Appropriate policy is the only way to redress the disadvantages placed by the colonial legacy. Government made great efforts after independence to develop the country as a whole, however, the amount of progress in the area of agriculture still leaves a lot to be desired. This is particularly true with regard to the poorer sections of the rural populations. This section of the study assesses two major agrarian policies, namely, TGLP and ALDEP.

The Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP)

The Tribal Grazing Land Policy, implemented in 1975, was basically an effort towards a new land tenure system.. It was expected that the new land tenure system would lead to better livestock management practices that would increase livestock production and at the same time conserve the rangelands. In turn, it was expected that the income gap between the rich and the poor would be reduced and so rural life standard would be upgraded. The first step was to zone land into commercial, communal and reserve areas. Livestock numbers were to be restricted on communal land by moving big cattle owners with 400 herd or more into commercial ranches. Peasants were encouraged to form groups so they could qualify for the commercial zone, where they were expected to increase their livestock numbers. Commercial farmers were to pay lease rental on the land, this gave them exclusive rights to the land without private ownership while retaining their communal land rights. Dual land rights, management problems, water problems and financial limitations all led to poor performance and in some cases complete failure of the TGLP (Tsimako, 1991).

Policy on Water Resources

Grazing patterns in Botswana are intrinsically connected with water point distribution. Apart from natural sources of water like pans (ponds), streams, lakes and rivers, water is traditionally privately owned in Botswana. Borehole owners have a de facto exclusive right to the 8 km radius of grazing land around their boreholes. The 8km

radius policy has resulted in land grabbing by big cattle owners who can afford to own several boreholes. Polarization between big and small cattle owners became pronounced especially when the latter lost their cattle during the drought. The bias towards big cattle owners is clearly so reflected in both the borehole drilling and the TGLP policies. Worse still, new agricultural policy of 1991 allows borehole owners to fence the 8km radius around their boreholes. This short discussion shows that peasant access to water resources is not adequate. Research has shown that the poor peasants are further disadvantaged in accessing publicly supplied water (Fortman, 1982). The National Water Master Plan ably summarizes the impact of the water policy as follows:

Most of the communal grazing has now been allocated to cattle owners with private water rights. This means that, in effect, it is no longer 'communal grazing', but has passed into the hands of a relatively few people who have exclusive rights.

. . . Most of what remains communal in the communal areas is overgrazed village environs, or areas so remote and waterless that they are inaccessible to the majority of people and livestock. (The National Water Master Plan, 1991, vol. 8:12-17, quoted here from Keijsper, 1992).

The Arable Land Development Policy (ALDEP)

While from livestock returns are much more reliable than those from arable production, most peasants households have insufficient livestock to meet subsistence requirements. The Arable Land Development Policy (ALDEP) was first implemented in 1978, its aim was to improve productivity and incomes from arable production. The program consists of a package that the peasant is required to adopt in order to augment production. Peasants are expected to raise fifteen percent (15%) down payment in cash or in kind. The government then provides the rest, eighty five percent (85%) of the grant. The program is aimed at assisting peasants with 40 herd of cattle or less and earning less than P3, 600 (approx. US\$1,350) per annum. The project components cover on-farm investment packages, extension support and program management including some

technical assistance, participatory tillage trials and an expanded program of demonstration farms (MOA, Draft of NDP VII, 1990). In addition to subsidies on seed, fencing, equipment and land preparation, the recipients of the program are expected to use recommended practices.

Peasants have been reluctant to adopt these technologies for empirical reasons. Some of the reasons given by Lightfoot (1981) are that the recommended winter ploughing stimulates the growth of weeds, fertilizers are too expensive and yield increases do not cover the costs. Technology package provided by ALDEP tends to be labor intensive. As Molutsi (1991) puts it, the inputs provided by ALDEP and other arable programs generally tend to aid agricultural extensiveness rather than intensiveness, i.e. improved productivity per unit. Clearly the program does not take into consideration the current shortage of labor in the peasant household. In 1986, 30% of all labor input into the arable agriculture sector was hired, Molutsi (1991) states that an overwhelming number of those hiring labor were women and a significant portion of the hired labor was paid in kind. The labor intensity of the program also assumes that crop cultivation is the sole or main economic activity that the peasants engage in to earn their livelihood. It ignores the fact that peasants have to use their labor in other activities in an effort to earn a decent living. Even with programs like ALDEP, national food sufficiency is now under fifty percent (50%) even in good years compared to ninety percent (90%) in the 1930's (Opschoor, 1981). According to Somolekae (1992), the environmental impact of the ALDEP has been noted to be potentially negative.

The previous discussion lays a foundation for the socio-economic processes that are responsible for the current status of peasants in Botswana. The following section deals with the socio-economic transformations that occurred as a result of the processes that took place during the colonial and post-independence eras in Botswana. Both the social organization and organization of production were greatly affected by these changes.

Changes in Social Organization and Production Systems of Peasants

In discussing changes in the social and production organization of the peasantry it is important to be aware of this relationship between social and economic components of the peasant society. This section of the study will focus on the transformation of the social organization of the peasant and peasant production systems.

Impact of Changes on Peasant Social Organization

From Tribal Society to Labor reserve - According to Parsons (1985) the "benign neglect" of the colonial administration led to Botswana being maintained if not "set up" as a labor reserve on the periphery of the South African political economy. The impact of taxation, technology introduction and SACU was to create conditions such as to force peasants to migrate. They became relatively dependent on the market for their livelihood. The socio-economic formation accordingly changed from "tribal" to "labor reserve" (Hesselberg, 1985:136) as labor became a commodity According to (Baffoe, 1981:3):

This status of labor reserves has its historical roots in the process of primitive capital accumulation which was initiated by the combined forces of colonial administrators, settlers and capital.....primitive accumulation followed the path of capitalist colonial expansion which imposed work and commodity exchange on the colonized peoples.

As labor reserves the rural areas had an role of sustaining the capitalist system in South Africa. Through a system of social obligations the rural areas also played a social role of taking care of the migrants family while he was at work.

Changes in societal values

As peasants became more and more integrated into the market economy they developed new needs and wants which were not related to improving agricultural production. The pursuit for wants tended to diminish the importance of the principles of reciprocity and redistribution of resources upon which the traditional society was founded. Basic social values were affected by these changes. While social ceremonies and festivals used to be solely organized around the agricultural production cycle, families now had to

take into consideration both labor migration and the agricultural seasons to plan these celebrations. The former had become part of the socio- economic processes of the society and later became recognized as a rite of passage. A young man who is not yet established in life is expected to take regular contracts in the mines in order to get established (Alverson, 1978)

Change in values can also be seen in consumption of food and industrial goods, due to the cultural/ideology of consumerism (Sklair, 1944). The traditional diet of the Tswana consisted of ground sorghum or millet meal. This was the major cereal composition of the diet. Maize however was produced in great quantities in South Africa both as cattle feed and for human consumption particularly the black population in the country. Due to the economic ties with South Africa, maize was introduced as a cheap wage food and has come to replace corn as a staple diet for the majority of the population both in the rural and urban areas. (See Appendix I Production and Consumption Patterns of Major Cereals). In addition, Renner (1991), states that the production of the main cereal crops such as sorghum and maize represented only thirty five percent (35%) of cereal consumption.

In addition to maize meal, tea, sugar and bread have also become an important part of a regular diet. Production of beef for the market has resulted in high beef prices. The high prices and the fear to part with one's asset makes meat a luxury for many, particularly in the rural areas. The generosity and hospitality culturally associated with food consumption has declined. The "wage food" culture makes it impossible for many to show hospitality by offering abundant food and drink because of the costs involved in feeding people outside the household.

Changes in Role of extended family

The supportive function of the extended family still remains to a large extent, but in a somewhat modified form. While many peasant families may appear to be nucleated on observation, there still exist strong networks among extended family members. Those

who have migrated maintain links through remittances and visits to the rural base. They also give assistance in terms of providing housing accommodation for relatives who migrate to towns for schooling or seeking job opportunities. This network has enabled some of the peasant offspring get the necessary education to obtain white collar jobs. These benefits occur particularly when household members migrate to towns within the country. Unlike in Botswana, the labor contract system operating in South Africa does not allow this because migrant workers could not migrate with their families. Wolpe describes the role of the extended family as follows:

The extended family (in the reserves) is able to, and does, fulfil 'social security' functions necessary for the reproduction of the migrant work force. By caring for the very young and very old, the sick, the migrant laborer in periods of rest, by educating the young, etc., the Reserve families relieve the capitalist sector from the need to expend resources on these necessary function (Wolpe, 1972:435)

Another response to the exigencies of labor migration and the poverty is to disperse dependants when remittances become unreliable. Children are placed in domestic groups other than those of their parents. This produces changes in household compositions and family structure (Spiegel 1987).

Impact of Changes on Organization of Peasant Production

The TGLP has, however, failed to produce expected results. It is reported by Tsimako(1991) that due to lack of management skill, financial limitations water problems absenteeism etc. the commercial ranches have registered very poor performance. Ranchers have always exercised dual rights to land ownership. They have been able to temporarily move their livestock out of the ranches into the communal grazing areas if their ranches become overgrazed or water point break down. This helped their pasture to recuperate while overgrazing the communal pasture (Tsimako, 1991).

White (1992) states that in the Bokspits communal grazing area, the effects of TGLP resulted in the decline of animals by fifty eight percent (58%) between 1979 and

1989, while the number of livestock owners declined by fifty seven (57%). He further alleges that most of the ex-stock owners have become destitute.

Declining Peasant Household Production

The decline in production can be attributed mainly to the different forms of taxation imposed on the peasant, in particular the war tax and the hut tax. The war lands were a first attempt by the colonial government to intervene in traditional agriculture. Produce from these lands was used to meet war expenses. The British took advantage of the customs such as "masotla" (tribute land on which subjects were to supply labor). However there was a deliberate mis interpretation of these customs by the colonial government. For example, the produce from masotla was left in the chiefs custody to distribute to the poor or use during special tribal ceremonies. In this case, there were no direct benefits to the peasants as a substantial proportion of what they produced went to hut tax, poll tax, and war levy. Peasants obtained low prices for their produce in relation to the high costs of commodities. The effects that these war lands had was to extract economic surplus out of the peasant while at the same time undermining peasants own agricultural production (Bhila, 1985) On a positive note, the scheme marked the beginnings of a now successful cooperative scheme in Botswana.

Another tax related factor according to Colclough and McCarthy (1979). The ten percent (10%) paid to chiefs for tax collection led to a concentration of wealth in a few hands and creation of personal fortunes by a few families, particularly the chiefs and their relatives. Taxation also meant some had to sell of all their cattle before they could migrate, or the few remaining cattle went astray while the owner was on contract labor. This resulted in serious problems of shortage of draft power which meant that some peasants were denied of a basic human requirement, namely food. This factor together with the implications of other present day government policies have led to a serious shortage of draft power in peasant agriculture (See Appendix J Draft power access). While tractors are used as a form of draft power, animal power remains the major source of draft in

peasant agricultural production. A few people use donkeys for draft power. These donkeys are provided by government under the ALDEP. Note should be made however that, unlike cattle, donkeys are not a source of income. There seems to be a decline in the number of people who own draft power. The high percentage of hired draft power is attributable to the Accelerated Rainfed Arable Program (ARAP). This program which was in effect until 1990, enabled farmers to hire tractors at government expense. The traditional Mafisa system is clearly on the decline leaving most poor peasants without access to draft power.

Shortage of Male and Family Labor

The penetration of capital in agriculture through the migrant labor system has led to a range of impacts depending on the specific nature of the existing social forms particularly those related to labor allocation (Raynolds, 1991:345). After independence labor migration to South Africa continued while migration to urban areas in the country also increased. The recent trends in migration of whole families and women to the urban areas of Botswana is indicative of the disruption of the extended family as the main source for agricultural labor, its disruption means the disorientation of the peasant production.

By siphoning male labor from the rural areas in this institutionalized manner, agricultural production was very much undermined. As early as the mid-1900's this effect was noticed by anthropologists like Schapera (1970) who notes that some families where the male was away had abandoned farming. This was probably a situation where the migrating male is a household head who leaves behind young children and a wife to carry out the agricultural production. Such migration contributed to the poverty commonly observed in female headed households when these are compared to male headed ones. It also meant that the traditional division of labor based on gender and age could no longer apply. Yet according to Harris (1981), several studies that have been undertaken in Botswana have shown that male labor in agriculture is not completely substitutable. If male labor is substitutable, agricultural production is little affected but if women have

difficulty mobilizing labor for male tasks, agricultural output often declines (Raynolds, 1991). Available technology is not designed for use by men and not by women who remained on the land.

Dependency on South African and Food Aid Imports

Control over production and consumption of food has been a source of power and wealth from pre-historic times to the present (Harris, 1987:82). To this extent, South Africa has been and will remain for sometime a powerful force in shaping the economy of Botswana. Loss of control over production meant that the people of Botswana had to rely on supplies of food produced from elsewhere. The country relies on South Africa for almost all of its food supplies including staple cereals. In 1986/7 about eighty five percent (85%) of the grain consumed in the country was imported from South Africa. Food production in the country has averaged 25,000 tons over the years compared with the consumption of about 200,000 tons (Granberg, 1988:23).

To the extent that the SACU arrangement is such that the Botswana government benefits directly by SACU transfers which are proportional to its imports, the economic relationship with South Africa is biased in favor of food imports from South Africa. Customs revenue was the fastest growing, it grew by 276% over the 5 year plan period from 1985 to 1991 (See Appendix K Major Sources of Revenue for Botswana).

Another important dimension affecting production of food is the role of food aid which in many instances has undermined local production and marketing of traditional foods. Even though food exports from South Africa cannot be reduced to the level of food aid, if need be these food exports are subsidized to protect South African farmers. Botswana receives food aid mainly from the USAID through United Nations agencies. Food aid has a negative effect of perpetuating dependency and further undermining efforts towards improved agricultural production in the country. Like most countries struggling with issues of development Botswana has adopted cheap food policies which have been made possible by relatively cheap and reliable imports through SACU and receiving food

aid. These policies seem to be economically rational because they have a minimal drain on foreign exchange. On the other hand peasants have to work harder and invest much more of their time in order to make to augment production. Under these circumstances, the only viable option left for government to ensure equitable access to food is to revisit its rural development strategies and effectively improve agricultural production in terms of quantity and quality and/or create rural employment opportunities depending on the exigencies of the nation.

Changes in Settlement Patterns

Change in settlement patterns is a distinctive feature of modern Botswana. Settlement patterns in Botswana are very much related to the production cycle of the peasants. These settlement patterns have been found to change with changing subsistence conditions, as well as with the changing political and socio-economic environment of the society at large. Settlement changes from one type to another may in fact reflect the material life of the Botswana society. (Mtetwa, 1982).

We have noted from earlier discussions that Botswana traditionally have three homes; the lands, the village home and the cattle post. Migration to South Africa or to the towns of Botswana adds a fourth category, the urban residence. There is an apparent growing trend for some people to move permanently from the villages to the lands and cattle post. They, however, still maintain links with the village by attending tribal meetings, celebrations and burials (Mtetwa, 1982, Silitshena, 1977). Mtetwa (1982) reports on a 1972 survey that showed that a small majority of peasant households were resident at one place only, i.e. either people were permanently resident at the lands or in the villages. This migration to towns simultaneously with permanent residence at the lands poses a number of interesting observations about the peasantry and change in Botswana. The forces of the market economy are pushing peasants out of the rural areas to urban areas and the same forces are pushing them to the other end of the continuum, the land areas. Are people returning to the land as a form of "social protection" from the

market economy (Polanyi, 1944)? Is this an outcry for help on the part of the peasants about an economic system that is not working for them? There is equally a tendency for people to remain permanently in the villages and not engage in crop production. Such people were found by Hesselberg in his 1982 study of the two villages of Tutume and Letlhakeng in Botswana. A study done by Silitshena (1979) reveals that most people reside permanently in the lands for agricultural reasons. From the information in Tables 1 and 2 below, it is clear that the farmers see long distances between their former villages and their lands as a major inconvenience in terms of costs. Time spent on travelling can be an indirect cost on production. Untimely ploughing can also lead to loss of production.

Table 1: Reasons for Settling Permanently at the Lands

Reason	Percentage
to look after our livestock	59.7
to plough early to be able to produce our food	55.5
to prepare fields and improve farming	23.7
plenty of firewood and mil	13.8
less costly to build a house at the lands	4.2
can derive income from selling thatching grass	
firewood, milk, and wild berries to villagers	3.5
lot of fresh air at the lands	2.8
Source Silitshena, 1979:223	

Table 2: Disadvantages of Living at the Village

Reason	Percent
unable to look after cattle	31.5
cost of living very high	23.0
cannot plough in good time	12.7
no space for ploughing at the village	9.9
time wasted in "kgotla" meeting and beer parties	9.9
no space for keeping livestock	8.1
cannot improve farming	3.5
expensive to maintain two homes	3.2
Source: Silitshena 1971:223	

With minimal resources it becomes necessary to manage all resources more closely rather than spread the resources over a vast land area as is traditionally done.

It has been argued that the relatively high standard of the Barolong farmers is due to the fact that farmers reside permanently on their holding to take care of their operations in a timely manner. By moving permanently to the lands, the poor peasant makes the best use of the time he has at his disposal by eliminating unnecessary travelling time between the three homesteads. So for the poor peasants the tripartite settlement system has become irrational.

As to how sustainable this move is in the long-term is another question for future research especially given the fact that these people are "sub-subsisting" as noted by Hesselberg (1985). The success of this move will depend largely on the ability the government to intervene with meaningful policies. Without this intervention which is currently lacking, the present peasant production systems will not survive and poverty in the rural areas will be inevitable consequence. According to Lesetedi (1992), The Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) played a part in encouraging people to move into large communities. Both the drought and the TGLP implementation resulted in loss of good grazing for some, thus pushing people out of the land.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the changes that took place during and after the colonial era were, for the most part, not favorable to peasant production. The underlying problem is the imposition of the modern sector on the non-specialized peasant economy. This created a situation of unfair competition between the isolated, vulnerable peasant economy and the modern economy based on economic specialization. These developments have rendered peasant production systems vulnerable and more susceptible to actions of surplus extraction by the larger society. In my view, the lack of a clear distinction between economic and social relationships is a plus for peasant societies. Were it not so, peasant poverty would be more acute than it is now. There would exist no opportunity for those who have economic hardships to seek remedy within the existing social institutions e.g. the extended family. Unless other remedies are provided, as modern economic relationships tend to undermine these social institutions, peasant poverty can be

expected to increase over time. The poverty associated with these changes led to further differentiation of the peasants.

Emerging Peasant Types

Emerging from all the socio-economic developments that took place, the adjusting and readjusting that had to be done by the traditional cultivator, produced particular types of peasantry. Each type is based on the options available to them and access to the means of production. The following different types of peasants have been identified as products of these changes:

Multi-active peasants who in addition to agriculture have to engage in multiple economic activities to make a living. Farming is just an alternative and a form of insurance when wage employment is no longer an option. Some of these activities include gathering food for sale in neighboring towns and to supplement food requirements, sale of traditional beer and selling of basic goods from ones home, "semausu".

Agricultural dropouts, those peasant who live on the land but do not subsist from it, they may engage in occasional labor migration, may become rural or urban destitute. One option for these peasants as observed in (Hesselberg, 1985) study is to become agricultural laborers for others. This option is found to be adopted mainly by female headed households who due to the poor road networks find it difficult to live at the lands.

Peasantariate are peasants who migrate to cities and are engaged in permanent wage employment, they may engage indirectly in agriculture. This peasant usually "keeps the rural options open" just in case he losses his job or for when he returns after retirement. It is also possible that this peasant may become fully proletarianized and never return to the land. This could be so particularly if he was not able to set aside enough earnings for retirement. The option of becoming full proletariat is not always open because of the small formal employment sector in the country

Wealthy peasant with as much resources as a commercial farmer, but is not classified as such because he is operating on communal land. This peasant's relationship to the market and methods of production are for the large part identical to that of the modern farmer.

Traditional peasants represent a group identified by Chernivosky (1985) peasants that can be described as "social protectionists" or traditionalists with no direct contact with the market. They will not sell their labor in the market neither nor hire labor in the performance of their agricultural tasks. These peasants may, however, exchange their labor in return for part of the harvest. For this group of people, the only option available may be to become agricultural drop-outs and consequently destitute as they do not sell their labor for cash.

Conclusions and Recommendations

It seems like whatever the route one takes, it is becoming harder and harder to become a modern farmer given the conditions of poverty that prevail. Instead, there has emerged types of peasant production systems that are extremely fragile making the peasants lives extremely marginal. Prevailing socio-economic conditions tend to hamper further transformation of the peasant production system. This places peasants in a state of "permanent transition". This state of affairs prevails because the peasants is torn between two systems the traditional and the modern means of survival and unfortunately none of these systems is adequate on its own. The peasants are trapped within a system that is willing to buy both their labor and their produce at unfair prices. Peasant Poverty is the end result of all these social processes as remittances from wage labor are used to meet consumer needs and not reinvested into agriculture (Rempel, 1977, Spiegel, 1987). (See Appendix L, Borrowing Trends)

The need to expand formal sector employment into the rural areas cannot be over emphasized. The formal sector in Botswana is too small to provide enough jobs particularly to the unskilled peasants in the rural areas. There is therefore an increasing

gap between job seekers and employment opportunities can be expected in the future (Bank of Botswana, 1993:1). This leaves agriculture as the main outlet to provide sustenance for many. appropriate infrastructure which is currently non-existent in the rural areas. However, the government still has an opportunity to promote industries that will produce indigenous foods and products thus eliminating competition from the well established South African industries. This might be a good starting point to reducing heavy dependence on the South African economy.

The issue of access to technology and access to loans is an important one. Technology has to be appropriate and also requires capital investment. If prices and other market conditions were favorable there would be an inducement for peasants to make capital investments in their production. Sound capital investment would substantially transform the current peasant production systems. The fact that modernization of agriculture has not advanced to a great extent means that there is still room for improving the existing agrarian structure.

The change in settlement patterns (returning to the land) discussed above means that peasants are able to pool their resources together land and cattle one spot. This has some policy implications and advantages: (a) extension services can be delivered much more adequately; (b) land is not yet a problem in Botswana, moving further away from the village vicinity seems to be the only way peasants can continue to practice mixed farming; (c) having livestock in proximity to the lands presents a viable option for a small peasant farm.

It should be the governments responsibility through initiation of appropriate policies to see to it that "peasant production systems" based on these circumstances are encouraged to benefit the peasant. Time has come for government to start planning according to the existing conditions by taking into consideration the fact that many households are physically dispersed in order to take advantage of the different economic opportunities and to spread the risks threatening their livelihoods. Thus development

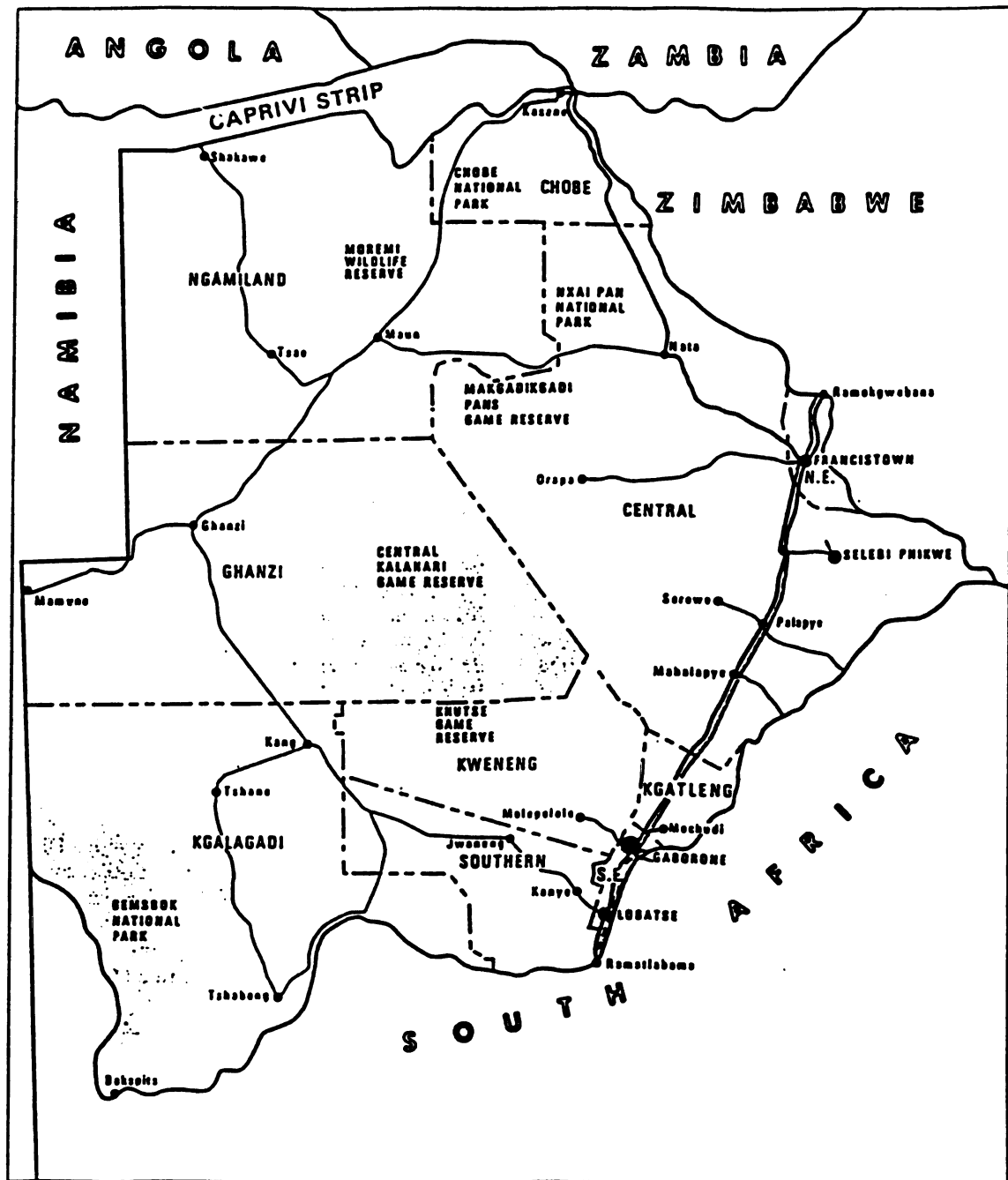
should be taken to where the people are instead of asking all people to converge at centers of development even when such centers do not offer them a decent livelihood.

The land tenure system should be left as it is. It is recommended that government desist from any efforts to privatize it as this will lead to devastating repercussions on the peasants. Peasants in Botswana are fortunate in that at least they still have control of their land which is communally owned. If peasants loose control of the land government will be faced with an influx of population in the urban areas. Besides current economic and technological base in the country is not yet ripe to sustain private ownership of land.

A viable agrarian policy should focus on both the multi-active nature of the peasantry and on changing settlement patterns in Botswana. Policies aimed at producing specialized pure farmers do not seem to be appropriate for Botswana conditions. This is true given the existing infrastructure, the small urban population and the semi-arid climate in the country. A larger urban population would allow for a faster development of peasant production if agrarian policies are favorable. In this regard, Botswana's rapidly growing urban population is unfortunately a mere reflection of unfavorable production conditions in the rural areas.

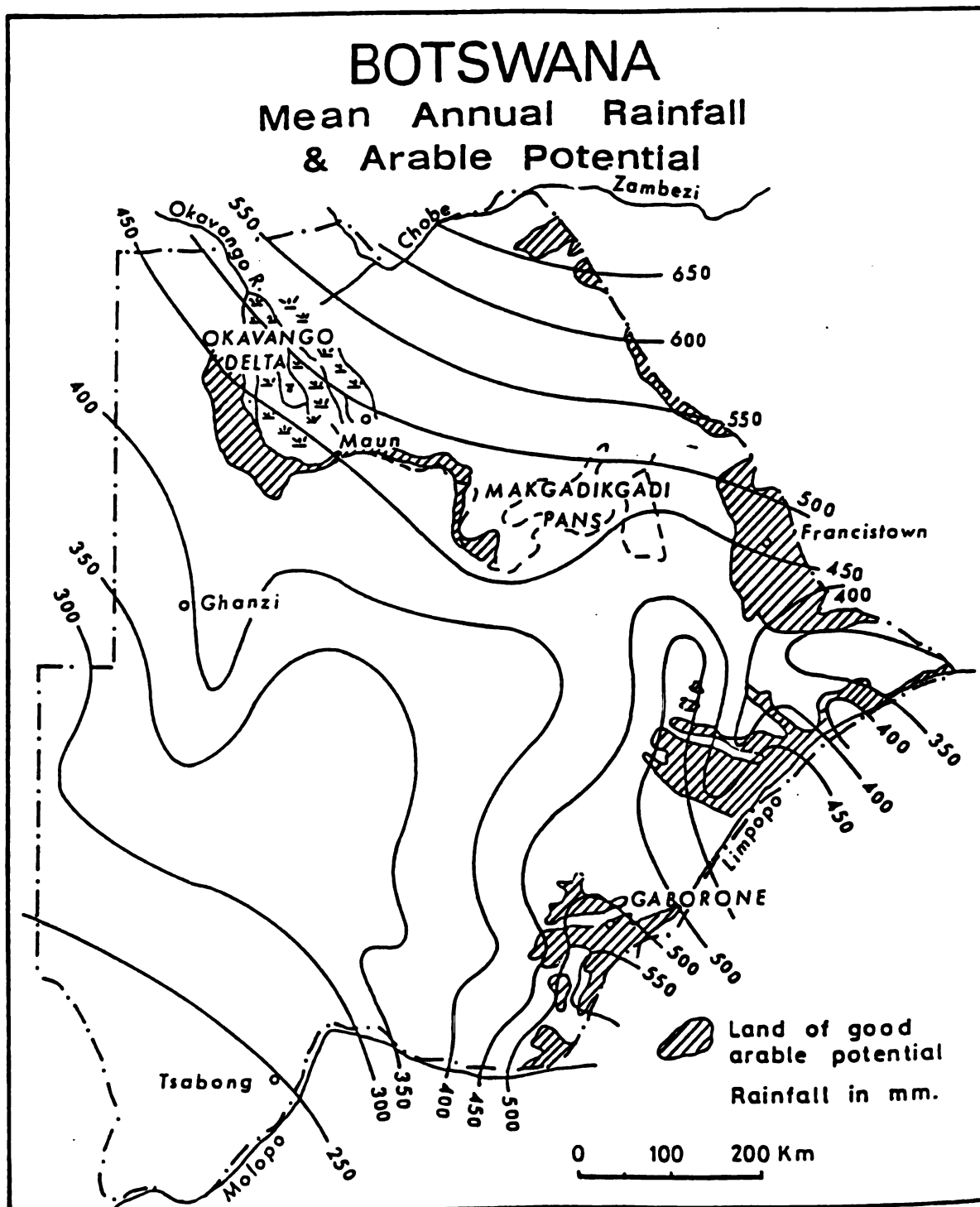
Lastly, even though the thrust of this discussion has been focused on regional and local conditions, we must not loose sight of the fact that regional and local conditions are in turn influenced by and dependent on world economic and food order. The solutions therefore do not solely lie within the jurisdiction of the underdeveloped country but can be brought about by a more equitable economic order, both regionally and globally.

Appendix: A Geographic Map of Botswana



Source: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning,
National Development Plan 7, Gaborone, Botswana.

Appendix: B Botswana Mean Annual Rainfall and Arable Potential



Source: Botswana Society (1980), Settlement in Botswana,
Gaborone, Botswana.

Appendix C : Direction of Flow of Internal Migrants in Botswana, 1980-81

Direction of Flow	Number	Percent
Between District Migration	78 974	100.00
urban to urban	5 816	7.36
urban to rural	21 748	27.54
rural to rural	28 794	36.46
rural to rural	22 616	28.64
Continued		
Within District Migrants	77 348	100.00
intra urban	494	0.64
intra rural	76 854	99.36
TOTAL	156 322	100.00

Source : CSO, Population and Housing Census, Analytical Report, 1987, in Lesetedi Gaborone

Appendix D : Population Characteristics of Botswana Over Three Decades

Demographic Variables	1971	1981	1991
Population ('000)			
Total	569.9 (100%)	941.0 (100%)	1334.0 (100%)
Male	272.5 (46%)	44.3 (47%)	640.6 (48%)
Female	324.4 (54%)	497.9 (53%)	693.8 (52%)
Proportion			
Urban	9.5%	17.7%	33.1%
Rural	90.5%	82.3%	66.7%
Population Age Distribution			
Aged 0-4	17.7%	19.7%	18.6%
Aged 5-14	29.9%	27.3%	29.5%
Aged 15-60	46.8%	48.4%	48.8%
Aged 64+	5.6%	4.6%	3.1%
Mean Age (years)			
Male	22.6	22.0	20.1
Female	24.1	23.4	21.9
Total	23.4	22.7	21.0
Appendix D continued			
Fertility Rate	5.6	7.1	6.0
Life Expectancy at birth (years)			
Males	52.5	52.3	57.0
Females	58.6	59.7	63.1
Population Density			
Per square km	1.0	1.6	2.3

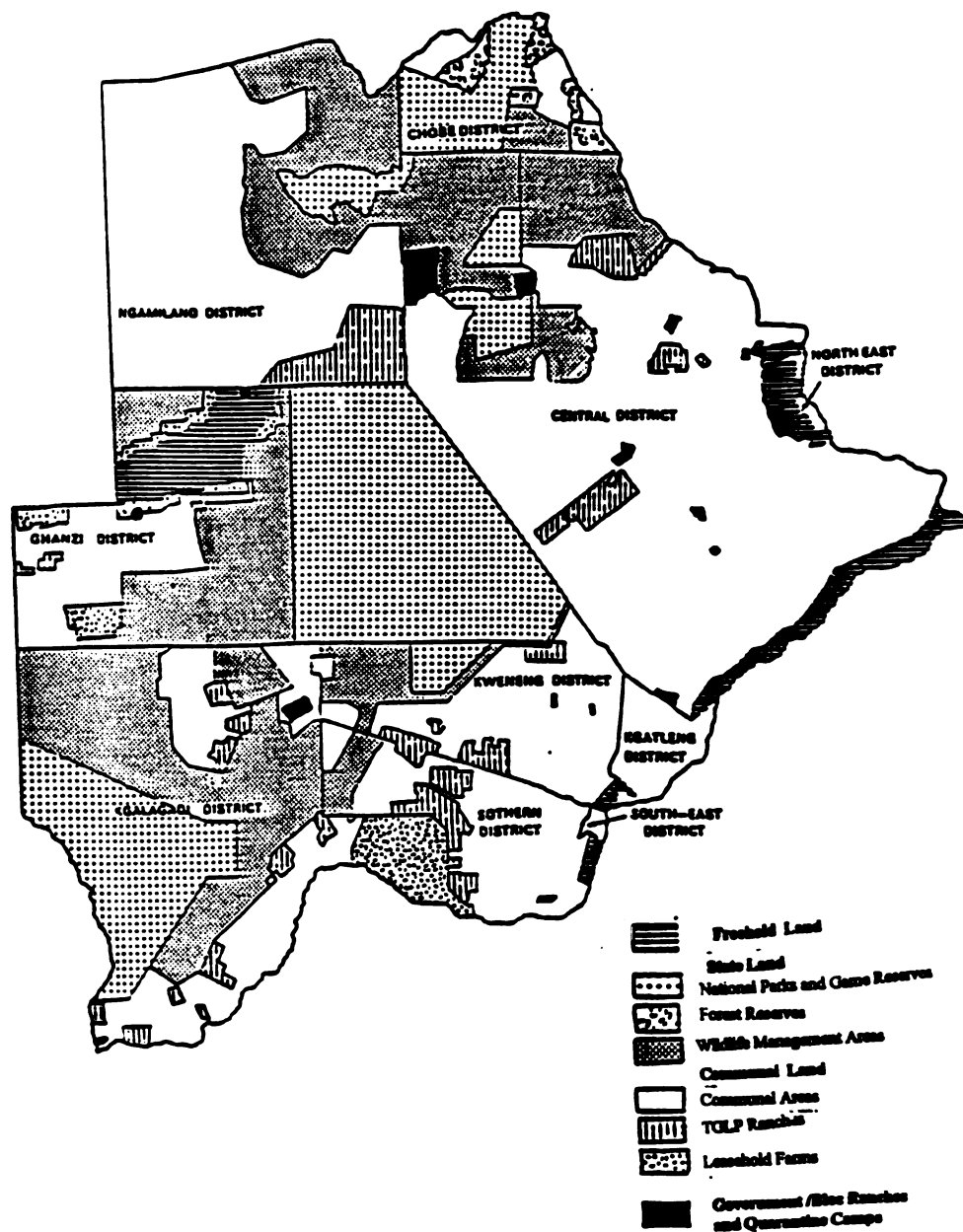
Source: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP)(1991), National Development Plan 7, Government Printer, Gaborone, Botswana.

Appendix E: Trends in the Structure of Botswana GDP Over Three Decades.

Sector	1966%	1976%	1986%	1991%
Agriculture	39	24	4	3
Mining	0	12	39	33
Manufacturing	8	8	6	4
Construction	6	7	13	16
Trade & Hotels	18	16	15	18
Government	13	14	14	16
Other	16	19	9	9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Source : C. Harvey & Stephen R Lewis Jr, 1990:32

Appendix F : Botswana Land Tenure Map



Source: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (1991)
National Development Plan 7, Gaborone, Botswana.

Appendix G : Cattle Ownership in the Traditional Sector, 1980 and 1988

Ownership	1980	1988
Farming households with no cattle	28%	38%
Traditional farms with fewer than 40 cattle	51%	48%
Traditional farms with 40-100 cattle	14%	9%
Traditional farms with more than 100 cattle	7%	5%

Source: MFDP, NDP 7, 1991 : 242

Appendix H : Reasons for Migration, 1934

	Reason	No.	%
Earn money for	- payment of taxes	119	40
	- pay taxes, buy clothing and other goods	83	28
	- because of poverty	39	13
	- buy cattle, clothing and other goods	16	5
	- buy clothing	29	10
	- give to one's parents	5	2
Miscellaneous	attraction of town life, dislike of herding, love of adventure etc.	6	2
Total		297	100

Source: Schapera Isaac (1947) Migration, Labor and Tribal Life in Bechuanaland

Appendix I : Production and Consumption of Major Food Cereals ('000 tons)

	Maize			Sorghum		
	P	I	C	P	I	C
1985	1.4	100	101.4	15	75	90
1986	3.6	125	128.6	16	25	41
1987	3.3	112	115.3	18	25	43
1989	19.8	80	99.8	53	-	53

Source: Compiled from Agricultural Statistics in NDP 7, 1991.

Appendix J: Percentage of Draft Power Access by Type, 1980-1990

Year	Own	Mafisa	Hire	Borrow	Other
1980	48.2	5.2	25.0	15.1	6.5
1982	53.7	4.2	21.4	14.8	5.9
1984	49.9	3.4	27.2	14.8	7.8
1986	32.3	2.2	46.1	13.0	6.4
1988	30.7	2.0	50.6	11.8	5.0
1990	35.0	1.3	44.9	11.8	7.1

Source : Central Statistics Office, Agricultural Statistic, 1980-90, Govt., Printer

Appendix E : Major Sources of Revenue for Botswana (Pula Million), 1985-1991

	85/86	86/87	87/88	89/90	88/90	90/91	Growth NDP 6
Customs	149	205	234	271	394	561	276.0%
Minerals	581	845	1036	1508	1597	1937	233.3%
BMC	10	15	13	11	13	13	37.0%
Firm taxes	43	68	43	67	86	103	140.8%
H/hold taxes	41	66	85	110	147	139	236.2%
BOB transfers	196	197	220	228	369	438	123.2%
Grants	40	68	106	113	100	110	176.2%

Source: MFDP (1991), NDP 7, Gaborone, Botswana. (P1M = US\$ 650 000 in 1987)

Appendix L: Rural Household Borrowing by Purpose, 1985/86

Purpose	% of Total Borrowed	Number on borrowers	Borrowers	
			Average Loan (Pula)	as % of total households
farming	26.4	7	1 784	1.2
food	26.5	254	56	38.3
building	5.8	5	634	0.8
consumer durables	26.1	4	3 540	0.6
death	1.3	3	233	0.5
education	3.6	26	75	3.9
Others (health, educ.)	10.3	56	98	8.4
TOTAL	100.0	355	152	

Source: Bank of Botswana (1987) Report on Rural Economic Survey, 1986.

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