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MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF TSWANA MALE LABOR MIGRATION TO THE DIAMOND MINES OF BOTSWANA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE LOCAL TSWANA ECONOMY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to examine the impact of migration on national economies. It focused specifically on the periodic migration of Tswana males to Botswana's diamond mines and its effects on rural Tswana communities and their economies. Colonialism greatly impacted the Southern Africa region, as it did in the rest of the African continent, beginning in the latter part of the 19th century. Great Britain colonized the Botswana region from the period 1890 to 1966, when Botswana gained its political independence. During colonial rule, the British discovered an abundance of natural resources in the area, including diamonds-- a discovery which has greatly impacted the cultures and ways of life of the various ethnic groups of the region, including the Tswana, into the post-independence era. Several political and economic forces, such as the increased need for labor in South African diamond mines and colonial tax systems, soon necessitated male Tswana migration from their local communities to seek wage employment in South African diamond mines. The discovery of diamonds thus transformed the traditional occupational lifestyle of the Tswana from cattle-herding to wage-earning labor. This system of periodic migration persisted into the post-independence era, as larger and more lucrative diamond mines continued to be discovered domestically in Botswana. Migration thus has reallocated labor from Tswana domestic economic activities to the diamond mining sector of the country's national economy. The development of the diamond industry as well as the absence of males due to migration continues to impact the economic development in rural areas of Botswana.

The findings of the study confirmed the original hypothesis that periodic Tswana male migration to work in the diamond sector of Botswana's economy has had adverse impacts on rural Tswana communities and their economies. The study also found that the diamond industry's domination of the national economy did achieve some sustained economic growth for the country initially, but in general, has failed to contribute to economic development especially in the rural areas. Several recommendations have been proposed for the government and other interested parties, including investors, based on the findings of the study to assist with efforts to achieve balanced economic development for the country.

Data collection for the study employed library resources, including books, ethnographic research reports, journal articles, statistical reports published by international organizations, and Internet sources.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine the impact of labor migration on national economies. It focuses on the periodic male labor migration from the traditional Tswana communities of Botswana to the diamond mining sector of the country's economy. The objective is to assist in designing strategies and policies capable of effecting balanced economic development for the country.

Statement of the Problem

In 1990 the World Bank labeled Botswana as an "African success story," due to the government's prudent management and use of the country's abundant natural resource – diamonds – for national development. The Bank arrived at this conclusion after comparing Botswana to many other African countries where the use of natural resource income has failed to cause development or economic growth neither at the national nor regional levels. The discovery of diamonds in Botswana during British colonial rule of the region from the period 1890-1966 altered the culture and lifestyle of the Tswana ethnic group, the largest and most dominant ethnic group of the region, which had inhabited the area for centuries. It also transformed their traditional occupational lifestyle from cattle-herding to wage-earning labor, as the males began to migrate from their traditional communities to work as laborers in the new diamond mines.

Although cattle-herding still dominates in rural Tswana communities and remains an essential component of their culture, still the periodic migration to urban areas and to the diamond industry impacts the Tswana local economies in various ways. While several studies have been conducted on the Tswana culture and male labor migration to the diamond mines, still there is very little research conducted on the economic impact of male labor migration on local Tswana communities. This study hopes to fill in the gap left by earlier studies.

Background to the Problem

Introduction

Botswana is a landlocked country in Southern Africa bordering South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Zambia and has a semi-arid climate. It is covered in part by the Kalahari Desert and is known for its abundant rich deposits of natural diamonds. The major ethnic groups are the Tswana, the Kalanga, the Basarwa, and the Kgalagadi. The Tswana comprises the main ethnic group, forming about 79% of the country's total population. Compared to most other African countries, Botswana is considered politically and economically stable by the World Bank. Since Botswana's Independence from British colonial rule in 1966, its economy has experienced consistently high growth rates, while the ruling Botswana Democratic Party has headed its parliamentary republic uninterrupted.

Brief History

Even before European colonialization of Southern Africa, the region was characterized by human migration. Various ethnic groups moved into and about the region, staying in particular places for generations to benefit from favorable environments, such as fertile land and water sources (Maundeni, 2012). Evidence of the Khoisan inhabiting what is now Botswana predates the first millennium, while various Sotho-Tswana groups entered the region after 500 A.D. (Picard, 1987: 25-28). The first group to arrive in the region was the Kgalagadi, then the Rolong ancestors, followed by the Sotho (Sillery, 1952: 1). The next thousand years allowed gradual and independently-occurring adaptations, mixing, and separating of cultures, languages, and economies, leading to the ethnic makeup of present-day Botswana (Picard, 1987: 25-28).

European contact with people in Botswana was first recorded in 1801, however, trade relations between Europeans and the Tswana are believed to have been well established by this time. Christian missionaries, traders, and labor recruiters in the region increased throughout the century and by 1850 conflicts had arisen between the Tswana and the various European groups. Specifically, the 1867 discovery of gold in the Tati district (modern-day Francistown) and the strategic location of Botswana for north-bound trade routes raised stakeholder interest in the region and encouraged more permanent European settlement (Picard, 1987: 26-27). There had been an unofficial protectorate between British colonists in Cape town and Tswana chiefs by 1880. Throughout the 1880s, both external and internal threats motivated the Crown to establish an official protectorate. In 1885, the northern part of Tswana territory became The Bechuanaland Protectorate (current-day Botswana), while the southern part of Tswana territory became an official Crown colony called British Bechuanaland. British Bechuanaland was transferred shortly after to the Cape Colony while The Bechuanaland Protectorate remained under British control until Independence in 1966.

In 1894, a representative from the British South Africa Company (BSAC) proposed to the Crown that the Protectorate be placed under direct authority of the Company, to relieve the Crown of colonial expenses and to allow the Company to further its economic interests in the territory (Sillery, 1952: 66). Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the Company had several interests in Bechuanaland. First, he wanted to build a railway that facilitated trade and communication, especially with places like Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe). Second, he envisioned large-scale European settlement and the exploitation of mineral resources. The Company's principal interest concerned the labor reserves of Tswana men that could work on farms in the Transvaal, diamond mines in Kimberly and Rhodesia, and on the rail road being built across Bechuanaland (Picard 1987, 30). However, due to the petition sent to the Queen by Tswana chiefs Sebele, Bathoen, and Letswe asking for their territory to remain under her protection and free from the Company and from German and Afrikaner interests (Picard, 1985: 48), the BSAC never directly ruled Bechuanaland. The settlement reached allowed the construction of the railroad but provided concessions to the petitioning chiefs (Sillery, 1952: 68). These concessions demarcated boundaries agreed upon by colonial and Tswana representatives and allowed Tswana chiefs to retain authority over Tswana matters, collect taxes themselves from the people, and to keep the "white man's strong drink" out of the territory (Sillery, 1952: 72).

Although Tswana chiefs may have exercised 'authority' over economic and political matters for a time, the capitalist demand for surplus labor imposed what some argue to be the most influential colonial legacy on Botswana: labor migration (Picard, 1987: 110). Labor migration to other colonies dates back to 1844, however, after the turn of the nineteenth century, the magnitude of migration increased significantly. Various reasons motivated this migration, but the suppression of native traders, the imposition of an 1899 hut tax, the 1919 "native tax," restrictions on cattle trade, and outbreaks of various cattle diseases necessitated the Tswana to seek income outside of their traditional subsistence agriculture (Picard, 1987:108; 1985: 49). Labor migration is nothing new to the people living in present-day Botswana. Demand for labor in South African mines, combined with the need for higher income, resulted in about half of 15-44-year-old men from Bechuanaland going to work outside of their native land (Picard, 1985: 50). Picard summarizes the impact of this labor migration:

> "Stripped of a significant proportion of its male labor, the agricultural system became less productive, reinforcing the need to rely on wage remittances, however small. And while the family's importance was underlined, its stability was undermined by the long periodic absences of its menfolk" (1985: 52).

This cycle developed a new class of laborers and allowed the retention of cattle and land ownership, but developed a dependency on wages and on the capitalist economy that emerged in South Africa.

The Discovery of Diamonds and Labor Migration

Diamond mining in Botswana began in 1972 at Orapa and then in smaller mines at Lethlakane and Damtshaa. In 1982, the much larger and richest diamond mine in the world opened at Jwaneng (Parsons, 2016). By 1983, Botswana was producing more diamonds than South Africa, and between 1970 and 1978, the economy grew at 16.1% (Picard, 1985: 232). The high cost of mining infrastructure reallocated resources from other sectors of the economy and the wealth produced by mining diamonds certainly did not benefit the entire society. For example, since 2003, the agricultural sector employed about one-quarter of the population but accounted for only about 3% of GDP, a figure that has decreased sharply since the 1990s (Picard, 1985: 233, OECD, 2004: 72).

Scholars have coined the term 'peasantariat' to represent the class of people who supplement their sustenance agriculture with wage labor (Parson, 1984a: 18). This class structure and the mining industry it supported persisted into the post-colonial period. During colonial rule, Tswana chiefs often benefitted from laborers' taxes (Picard, 1985: 130), but since Independence, revenue from the mining sector has benefitted the state and funded extensive social spending (African Development Bank, 2016a). Thus, the Botswanan government implemented policies that hindered the growth of traditional economic activity, while the periodic male labor migration to the diamond mines remained a principal economic process in Botswana (Parson, 1984a: 18). As economic growth soared, the wage laborers in the mines received a very disproportionate return on their labor and remained poor. On the other hand, resource revenues allowed the Botswanan government to grow in size and to fund infrastructure, welfare, and rural development programs (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2016). Parson (1984) maintains that although these programs mediate some of Botswana's rural poverty, they are only necessary because wages are so low and because policies and uneven cattle ownership make rural livelihoods difficult. In addition, the rural programs largely benefit wealthy cattle-owners, not the poor.

Since Independence, Botswana has been experiencing impressive economic growth and maintained a peaceful, participatory, and stable democracy. This is partly due to the prudent management and use of the revenue from the rich diamond deposits the country, but the discovery of diamonds has not benefited all citizens equally. Tswana pastoral communities continue to face economic hardships because various government policies prevent their economic independence. Families have been left with less labor to perform agricultural and herding functions which have not been appropriately supplemented by the low remittances sent by the men working in the mines. This study hopes to examine the economic impact of the periodic male labor migration to the diamond mines of Botswana on the Tswana communities of the country.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is two-fold. First, it will contribute to the existing body of knowledge regarding the effects of labor migration on national economies. Second, it will benefit the Botswana government and policy-makers in designing and implementing effective and balanced economic development plans for the country. It will also benefit academics, researchers and students of African Studies, as well as international aid agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which provide aid to local African communities.

Hypothesis

The periodic Tswana male labor migration to the diamond mines of Botswana for wage employment has adverse economic impacts on Tswana local communities and economies.

Methodology- Data Collection

Data collection employed library resources, such as books, ethnography research reports, journal articles, statistical reports, and Internet sources.

Research Questions

1. What are the major labor migration theories?
2. What is the history of Botswana?
3. What are the main occupations of the Tswana ethnic group?
4. How has the discovery of diamonds impacted the traditional economy of the Tswana?
5. How has the Botswana government responded to male labor migration to the diamond mines and its effects on local communities in the country?

Chapter 2

Literature Review: Theories of Migration

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature on the theories of migration. It discusses the Neoclassical Economic theory, the Segmented Labor Market theory, and the World systems theory and their suggestions about the nature, causes, and effects of migration on national economies.

The Neoclassical Economics Migration Theory

Neoclassical Economics is an approach to economics grounded in an individual's rationality and desire to maximize utility. The approach uses supply and demand to determine outputs, inputs, and prices within an economy. The Neoclassical Economics theory views migration as an individual choice made to maximize personal income. It contends that migration is a function of wage and employment differentials between countries and the costs of migration, such as the material cost of traveling, or the psychological costs of adjusting to a new culture or language. According to the Neoclassical theory, migration is a rational actor's calculated choice, instead of a result of structural forces.

Macroeconomic Theory and Migration

Macroeconomic theory employs larger units of analysis, such as an entire national economy, in order to analyze economic situations. The macroeconomic theory of migration considers migration a result of wage differentials caused by differences in factor endowments (Massey et al., 1993). It argues that the labor and capital endowments of countries determine the levels of supply of labor, thus creating unequal wages across countries. In other words, countries that are abundantly endowed with labor have a high supply of labor relative to their domestic demand for labor. Therefore, equilibrium wages are lower relative to equilibrium wages in other countries, specifically those with a low labor supply. When labor moves out of the labor-abundant country and into the labor-scarce country, labor supply decreases in the place of origin and increases in the destination. As a result, workers in the place of origin are paid more, because there are fewer of them, and workers in the destination are paid less, because there are more of them (Wood, 1982: 300). Migration will continue until wages across countries are equalized, taking into account the various costs of movement.

It is important to note that this theory strictly distinguishes between skilled and unskilled labor migration. Instead of contributing to the labor market of a country, a skilled worker contributes to the capital endowment of a country, specifically to the human capital market. In the case of the skilled worker, migration is induced by differentials in returns to human capital across countries. This is because capital-scarce countries will have a relatively higher return to capital, while capital-abundant countries will have a relatively lower return to capital. Thus, the capital-scarce countries attract capital inflows from the capital-abundant countries. The implication of distinguishing between the two factors is that the migration patterns of skilled and unskilled workers can be completely different, all other factors held constant (Massey et al., 1993: 433).

The main assumptions of the macroeconomic model are as follows:

1. Migration is caused by wage differentials.
2. In the absence of wage differentials, migration will not occur (Arango, 2000: 285).
3. Highly skilled workers respond to differentials in returns to capital, inducing an entirely separate migration pattern from that of unskilled workers. Fourth,
4. Labor markets induce international labor flows; other markets do not influence international labor flows to as significant an extent.
5. Governments can manage immigration through policy regulating labor markets in sending and/or receiving countries (Massey et al., 1993: 434).

Microeconomic Theory and Migration

Microeconomic theory analyzes economics using smaller units of analysis, such as the individual or firm. The microeconomic model is mainly distinct from its macroeconomic counterpart because instead of solely considering wage differentials, it considers *expected income*, a product of earnings in the destination and the likelihood of being employed there. This model was introduced in order to explain migration to urban centers despite saturation of the urban labor market. Potential migrants may conclude an expected net benefit of migration, despite urban unemployment, because urban centers tend to have higher-than-market minimum wages (Harris and Todaro, 1970). Relocation costs are derived from the material costs of moving, income lost while looking for work, learning a new language, adapting to a new culture, as well as many other psychological and material tolls induced by uprooting one’s life. In this model, migration is viewed as an investment in human capital, where the individual will see higher returns for labor after having invested in the costs of movement (Massey et al., 1993).

The individual's calculation determining whether or not to migrate is represented by the following equation:

$$ER(0) = \int [P_1(t)P_2(t)Y_d(t) - P_3(t)Y_0(t)]e^{rt}dt - C(0)$$

where ER(0) is the net return to migration expected at time of departure, 0, and *t* is time spent in the destination. $P_1(t)$ represents the probability of not being deported from the destination, which is 1 for legal migrants and <1 for undocumented migrants. $P_2(t)$ represents the probability of gaining employment in the destination, and $Y_d(t)$ are the earnings if employed. The following terms concern the individual's origin: $P_3(t)$ is the probability of employment in the sending country, while $Y_0(t)$ represents the earnings there. The discount factor is represented by *r*, meaning that the individual receives higher utility from earnings today than from earnings in the future. Lastly, C(0) is the sum of costs of movement, including those of a psychological nature.

In sum, the equation integrates the difference between earnings in the destination and the origin, discounting the future, and then subtracting the costs of movement. If ER(0) is positive, the benefits outweigh the costs, and the actor migrates. If it is negative, the actor stays; and if it is zero, the actor is indifferent to migration (Massey et al, 1993).

The differences between the macro- and microeconomic models of neoclassical theory are as follows:

1. The macro model assumes full employment, while the micro incorporates employment rates.
2. Human capital characteristics, such as education and skills, that increase likelihood of employment or expected earnings in the destination relative to the origin, will thus increase the likelihood of movement, controlling for other factors.
3. Factors both internal and external to the individual that lower migration costs will increase the net benefits of migration and thus increase the likelihood of movement.

4. According to previous assumptions, individual characteristics can affect both the costs and benefits on migration; therefore, individuals within the same country can face very different propensities to migrate.
5. In the absence of wage and employment differentials between countries, international movement does not occur. Movement occurs until the product of earnings and employment rates are equalized across countries.
6. The size of expected earning differentials determines the magnitude of migration flows between countries.
7. Similar to the macroeconomic model, migration is determined by differences between labor markets, and not by other markets.
8. In cases where the receiving country is psychologically attractive, there may be negative costs to migration, in which case in-migration can only be stopped by lower expected earnings in the receiving country relative to the origin country.
9. Governments control immigration by implementing policies that affect the costs of migration and/or expected earnings. These policies may include those that seek to raise domestic income, those that lower the likelihood of employment, or those that increase the psychological and material costs of migration. (Massey et al., 1993)

The Neoclassical model is useful because of its ability to combine testable variables rested on widely-accepted assumptions, such as rational behavior. The criticisms of neoclassical theory hinge upon the theory's inability to explain the lack of factor price equalization expected to occur after migration. Wood (1982) contends that massive out-migration from rural communities into industrialized ones accentuates the disparities between regions. He suggests that the surplus labor moving from underdeveloped areas accumulates beyond a point of equilibrium, further impoverishing the sending areas. The second criticism concerns whether or not an equilibrium could be achieved at all through migration. The exploitation of cheap migrant labor by the dominant classes by definition keeps wages low and unresponsive to decreasing supplies of labor. Third, the policy implication of the theory is that governments should not regulate migration because migration is the mechanism through which factor prices are corrected. However, this is clearly not the reality. Lastly, Neoclassical Economics assumes that individuals are free to move after having determined migration will provide a net gain. The theory does not address the social, political, and historical barriers to movement that are beyond the scope of neoclassical economics (Wood, 1982: 305).

The Segmented Labor Market Theory and Migration

The Segmented Labor Market theory suggests that there are two sectors of any economy: the primary sector, where employment is typically stable and requires skilled labor, and the secondary sector, where employment is insecure and offers few options for self-advancement. The major difference between the Segmented Labor Market theory and Neoclassical economics theory is the level of analysis. Migration is not a choice made by individuals but rather a result of labor market demands, specifically those of industrialized economies. According to this theory, migration is not caused by relatively low earnings in the sending country, but rather pull factors of industrialized economies, specifically the perpetual need for migrant labor (Piore, 1979). The theory offers an explanation for why there are low-paying, low-prestige jobs in advanced economies and why immigrants are willing to take them (Arango, 2000: 289).

The demand for immigrant labor comes from four fundamental characteristics of developed economies and societies:

1. *Structural inflation*:

There is an occupational hierarchy within society, determined by the prestige of one's profession. There is an expectation that wages reflect the status of one's occupation, and so there is an expectation that those with more prestigious occupations should have higher wages relative to the lower-status jobs. In other words, wages can't always respond to the supply of labor; they are subject to a variety of social norms and expectations and so they correspond with perceived status (Piore, 1979: 93). When an employer needs to recruit employees for jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy, they cannot make the job more attractive by raising wages for that position only. For example, if the waitresses in a restaurant realize that dishwashers' wages have increased, they too will expect a higher wage. Structural inflation is when wages rise proportionately across the occupational hierarchy. The cost of raising one employee's wages typically costs more than the value of the wages alone. Thus, an employer is compelled to hire non-native workers willing to accept the lower wage, instead of raising all employees' wages in order to attract a native worker (Massey et al., 1993: 441, Piore, 1979: 97).

2. *Motivational problems*:

Motivational problems also encourage immigration within a society. This component of the theory suggests that employees occupying the bottom rung of the social hierarchy experience motivational problems due to a lack of opportunity to improve social status (Piore, 1979: 33). It is impossible to simply eliminate the low-status jobs, and so employers encounter trouble filling the positions. This social norm encourages migration in the following ways: First, migrants who do not view themselves as part of the receiving culture may not identify with the stigma associated with low-status jobs. Second, many migrants, especially newly arrived migrants, will view employment simply as a means to generate income in order to acquire resources in the receiving country. Lastly, although the position may be low-status in the receiving country, the wages may be considered generous, especially if the migrant comes from a low-income country.

3. *Economic dualism*:

The inherently different nature of capital and labor creates a dual labor market segmented on the basis of whether production is capital-intensive or labor-intensive. Factors of production must be added or subtracted in order to respond to business-cycle fluctuations in demand for goods and services. When capital must be laid off, the owners of capital bear the cost of unemployment; when labor must be laid off, the workers themselves bear the cost of unemployment. In order to minimize losses, employers hire capital to produce what is steadily demanded, while hiring labor to satisfy the seasonal or fluctuating demand. This creates a division in the labor market between workers in the capital-intensive primary sectors and the labor-intensive secondary sectors (Piore, 1979: 36-7). Employers invest in the capital-intensive workers because they possess knowledge and specialized skills necessary to the firm. They also invest in unionized or highly professionalized workers who demand an expensive severance package or unemployment benefits if laid off. On the other hand, the workers in the labor-intensive secondary sector are variable factors of production. They may be laid off at any time without the employer having to bear the cost of their unemployment. Therefore, their jobs are unstable and it is often difficult for employers to fill these positions; hence employers turn to immigrants (Piore, 1979: 105).

4. *Demography of labor supply*:

Historically, women and teenagers filled the low-status occupations. These positions earned supplementary income and were not status-defining jobs for women and teenagers, whose principal roles were not to earn family income (Piore, 1979: 88-9). The increased participation of women in the labor force combined with declining birth rates and the rising importance of formal education have reduced the supply of labor from these demographic pools. Women are more frequently selecting jobs on the basis of career- and status-building characteristics, while lower birth rates and formal education have reduced the number of teenagers available for employment (Massey et al., 1998: 443). As a result, there is unmet demand for low-skilled, low-status labor in the national economy.

Piore (1979) discusses the implications of migration in the country of origin. He evaluates the extent to which migration contributes to economic development in the home country and serves as a "safety valve" to release surplus labor. He notes that the development literature assumes migrants will pay remittances to their family at home, while acquiring meaningful technological skills that they will contribute upon returning. The remittances are meant to serve as a much-needed source of foreign capital, however Piore suggests that more often than not remittances are used to purchase imports from abroad, and the home country government fails to prevent this because remittances are kept in cash form, or worse, remain abroad. In terms of technological skills, migrants are often not hired in positions that allows the accumulation of innovative skills. In addition, the skills and behaviors acquired abroad may fuel the likelihood of using earnings to purchase foreign imports. Therefore, Piore doubts the assumption that migration is a force for economic development in the country of origin.

In terms of migration acting as a "safety value" to release surplus population from a lack of opportunities at home, Piore doubts the causal mechanism of "aspirations." He questions the commonly held belief that migratory populations generate expectations and aspirations not able to be met at home and will migrate in response. He suggests that this idea is presented only when migration is already occurring, and thus one cannot be sure if aspirations are either a cause or an effect of migration; an individual may develop expectations *after* migrating abroad. He offers the alternative explanation that migration abroad degrades the traditional, often rural, occupations left behind at home. He offered the example of rural Puerto Ricans migrating to the US, where resources and habits accumulated abroad made younger generations unwilling to complete the tasks performed by older generations, creating a labor shortage in the agricultural sectors, despite labor scarcity and relatively high wages.

In sum, this theory discusses the social components of industrialized societies that drive microeconomic decisions such as migration from less-developed areas. It provides a theoretical basis for why there are undesirable, unfilled positions in industrialized sectors. Criticisms of dual labor market theory largely concern the oversimplified nature of the argument. Suggesting that migration occurs solely based on “pull” factors assumes a lack of agency on behalf of the migrants. Critics strongly contend that mere labor scarcity in industrialized economies is not a sufficient driver of migration. Secondly, recruitment practices cannot be mainly responsible for attracting migration because there are countless incidences of migrants relocating on their own accord, without knowledge of an available position. On the contrary, migrant labor often creates demand for new goods and services not previously offered by the receiving economy (Arango, 2000: 290). Notably, the critics of dual labor market theory do not doubt the importance of Piore’s original argument claiming perpetual demand for migrant labor is a contributing force to international migration.

The World Systems Theory and Migration

The World Systems theory classifies countries by their role in the global capitalist economy. ‘Core’ countries are dominant, capitalist world powers whose owners of capital utilize the ‘periphery’, or the poor, less developed countries, for resources, labor, and external markets (Massey et al., 1994 :445). There are also ‘semi-periphery’ countries. The interactions between the core and periphery are asymmetrical in terms of trade, capital penetration, and labor movement (King, 2012:18). The theory posits that as capitalism expands from the core countries, more states and higher proportions of human populations become involved in the global capitalist economy, changing their economic order. The resources—mainly land and labor—in the periphery are then incorporated into the global economy, and become re-organized in a process that induces migration.

The reorganization of land accompanying capitalist expansion generates a mobile labor force prone to migrating by disrupting traditional economic activity and displacing traditional agriculturalists, while weakening the displaced persons' social ties to rural agrarian communities (Massey et al., 1993). This processes mainly occurs through land consolidation and modernization of farming techniques. Land consolidation disrupts customary land tenure systems based on inheritance and customary law. The introduction of machines, fertilizers, and insecticides reduces the amount of labor required to cultivate land, and therefore smaller, non-mechanized farms cannot compete in the market. Lastly, the shift from subsistence farming to cash crop farming disrupts traditional social and economic systems used to build relationships, and as a result, weakens social ties. This displacement and disconnection of agricultural workers creates a surplus labor pool that cannot yet be absorbed into other, undeveloped sectors of the economy, thus causing people to migrate into cities and to other countries (Arango, 2000: 291).

The resource extraction accompanying capitalist expansion can transform the nature of labor markets in periphery states, because resource extraction requires wage-earning labor. Social and economic systems in peripheral states usually depend on reciprocity, interdependence, and defined roles within the community. The theory suggests that wage-labor transforms the labor market into one characterized instead by self-interest and personal gain that disconnects former peasants from their traditional lifestyle. The labor market transformation as well as access to wages increases willingness and ability to migrate (Massey et al., 1982).

Lastly, capitalist expansion typically involves firms from the core countries establishing factories and production plants in the peripheral states. The goods produced in these factories compete with locally-produced goods, displacing native producers and undermining traditional economic activities. These factories often demand female labor without providing industrial opportunities for men, and often do not pay female employees a wage high enough to support a lifestyle in accordance with the imported economic structure (Massey et al., 1982). This restructuring of the labor market increases economic vulnerability and therefore increases the likelihood of migration.

To summarize, The World Systems theory posits that the penetration of the global capitalist system from the core countries into the periphery dislodges people from their traditional economic and social institutions, creating a pool of displaced persons prone to migrate. Often times, the employment opportunities lacking in the recently transformed country of origin are provided in the core countries, where certain sectors are dependent upon cheap labor in order to maintain high profit margins (Arango, 2000: 291). In this way, the core creates a labor supply to fill low-paying, and low-prestige positions as fluctuations in the core economy demands (King, 2012: 19). The migration of former peasants to the unskilled labor-intensive sectors of the core maintains linkages between former colonies and their former colonizers. The capital penetration established during the colonial era has persisted into the present via neocolonial institutions and multinational corporations (MNCs). These linkages are still visible in the form of linguistic similarities and transportation infrastructure (King, 2012:18).

The World Systems theory shares with the Segmented Labor Market theory the assumption that migration is a result of structural functions governing society rather than a calculated, autonomous choice. Unlike the Neoclassical Economics theory, the World Systems theory contends that migration accentuates disequilibria of income and resources, instead of correcting them. When migrants gain employment in the core, where there is a relatively low supply of labor willing to complete the tasks to which migrants are assigned, wages in those sectors should decrease in response to the increased supply. However, according to the Segmented Labor Market theory, these wages are low in the first place in response to social hierarchy. Conversely, the World Systems theory, argues that wages in both the core and the periphery are kept low, regardless of fluctuating labor supply and demand, in order to maintain high profit margins for the owners of capital.

The main criticism of the World Systems theory and other historical-structural theories of migration rest on their overly deterministic nature. By suggesting that migration is solely a product of forces external to the individual, it has assumed that individuals lack agency and are mere victims to global capitalism. Critics recognize the condition of oppressed, exploited and abused immigrants while also making note of the successful and prosperous immigrants (King, 2012: 19; de Haas, 2008). It also ignores that incorporation into the global capitalist system has facilitated rapid development among previously undeveloped states. The theory is further challenged on the argument that labor migration is not necessarily an escape from extreme poverty created by capitalist expansion; evidence suggests it is not the poorest of people who make up most migrants (de Haas, 2008: 8). Third, migration paths do not necessarily coincide with the path of capitalist expansion. Migrants travel all over the world, and not solely to former colonial powers. Lastly, the theory, along with most others, does not recognize the role of the state in driving migration flows. Regardless of individual desire or structural systems, governments can implement policy that prevents or necessitates migration (King, 2012).

Conclusion

The three theories discussed above suggest widely varying causes and consequences of migration. Each theory criticizes the others' shortcomings, and to some extent, one theory addresses what another lacks. The conflicting theories offer little clarity as to whether or not migration facilitates development or prevents it, or whether it equalizes or diverges factor prices. It also does not offer definitive and widely-applicable drivers of migration. More importantly, none of the theories assume the state plays a prominent role in determining migration flows. The reality of migration is most likely a combination of all of the drivers and consequences discussed above. Migration scholars agree that the literature lacks a comprehensive model that considers all of the forces driving international and domestic movement, however, the increasing frequency of interdisciplinary approaches offers hope in understanding the movement of people across the globe.

Chapter 3

The History of Botswana and the Creation of the Labor Reserve

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the history of Botswana and provide the context in which labor migration became an essential component of Tswana society. First, it discusses the precolonial history of Botswana, including the characteristics of the powerful precolonial Tswana states. Second, it provides a brief overview of British colonization of Botswana and how the balance of power transformed under colonial rule, emphasizing the competing interests within the colony as well as the native chiefs' ability to maintain power relative to other colonies. Lastly, it concludes by detailing the mechanisms through which the British government and various economic actors created a labor reserve in Southern Africa to supply cheap labor to South African mines.

Precolonial Botswana and the Expansion of Tswana States

Historical evidence gathered suggests that ancestors of the Khoisan-speaking San were the first to inhabit present-day Botswana as early as 17,000 B.C. These early inhabitants initially survived by hunting, and then eventually developed a culture of migration and herding (LeVert, 2006:17). The San were the sole inhabitants of present-day Botswana until Bantu-speaking groups began migrating to the region in the first few centuries A.D. The arrival of the Toutswe around 700 A.D. introduced a shift in culture and lifestyle, as they engaged in iron-working, domesticated plants and animals, and developed a unique ceramic style (Mosothwane and Steyn, 2004: 45). There is disagreement regarding when Bantu-speaking peoples, the ancestors of the Tswana, arrived in Botswana. LeVert (2006) and Parsons (1999) agree that the ancestors of the Kgalagadi, the westernmost dialect group of the Sotho-Tswana, inhabited southeastern Botswana after about 1095 A.D. On the other hand, Osaki (2001), dates the Kgalagadi's arrival in Botswana around 1400 A.D.

Ancestors of the Tswana first settled the Transvaal Region of present-day South Africa in 1250 A.D. before moving northward again to Botswana around 1700 A.D. (LeVert, 2006:18). According to LeVert, the mid-13th century saw a major migration of more Bantu-speakers to Southern Africa (2006:18). Although LeVert implies this migration of Bantu-speaking peoples was a large, homogenous migration that diversified after settling in Southern Africa, recently scholars have come to agree that the groups traveled slowly and gradually into Southern Africa and over time separated from, integrated with, and subjugated various other groups, forming more specific characteristics over time (Ngcongco, 1979). According to this theory, the Tswana did not arrive in a defined, homogenous ethnic group in Southern Africa. Instead, Tswana groups formed gradually over time after arrival. Through merging and separating, the many Tswana subgroups, polities, and chieftaincies formed, including the eight that are recognized and represented today within the government of Botswana: the Barolong, Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Balete, Bakgatla, Batlokwa, Bangwato and Batawana.

There were many precolonial Tswana and non-Tswana polities that occupied present-day Botswana, however, there is little historical record of these groups prior to the Difaqane wars (Morton, 2009: 222). There were a few main Tswana dynasties, such as the Kwena, Hurutse, Kgatla, that rose to power before 1700, as evidence from the Transvaal region shows many stone-walled villages and large towns. By 1795, The Kwena and Hurutse founded a chiefdom in southeastern Botswana called the Ngwatetse. This chiefdom became extremely powerful by controlling hunting, cattle raiding, and copper production. Another Kwena group became the Ngwato and settled north. From the Ngwato, a group called the Tawana formed, establishing a state near lake Ngami. These dynasties all derived from the Phofu dynasty, illustrating the constant restructuring of precolonial Tswana states and their ability to build power across present-day Botswana (Parsons, 2016). However, the Difaqane wars starting in about 1750 caused the destruction, subjugation, and reorganization of the many precolonial polities. The Difaqane, or mfecane, were attributed to drought-inducing climate change that increased competition for food, water, and grazing land, as well as competition with white settlers as the slave, ivory, and cattle trades spread across Africa (LeVert, 2006: 18).

The two major conquests that took place in present-day Botswana were executed by the Bakololo and then the Amandebele. Although these conquests destroyed most of the pre-existing societies, four Tswana polities managed to restructure themselves in the period between 1838 and 1880 (Morton, 2009: 222). These groups were the Bakwena, the Bangwato, the Bangwaketse, and the Batawana. Between 1825 and 1834, the Bakololo successfully broke up the Bakwena, the Bangwato, and the Bangwaketse into smaller polities, or *merafe*, while effectively destroying the Batawana chieftaincy. The Amandebele invaded the western Transvaal in 1832, forcing the remaining three groups to factionalize and migrate in various directions (Morton, 2009: 224). Dispossessed of their cattle, land, and decimated population, these groups essentially ceased to exist. The remarkable reconstitution of the four Tswana merafe has been attributed to their highly sophisticated political and social structure (LeVert, 2006: 19), which allowed them to gain control of various trades, build powerful militaries, and subjugate other populations while expanding their own (Morton, 2009).

The political and social organization of precolonial Botswana was highly organized and hierarchical. At the center of the merafe was the *kgosi,* or king. The kgosi possessed autonomous judicial, economic, religious, and moral authority over the complex network of social and political units below him (Vaughan, 2003). The kgosi served lifetime terms contingent upon their ability to demonstrate exceptional leadership skills, and they used the distribution of cattle, land, and access to other resources to sustain their groups as well as maintain loyalty (Vaughn, 2003; Samatar, 1999). Those who signaled disloyalty or violated accepted belief systems were dispossessed of their cattle, a signifier of wealth and status in Tswana society.

Due to the geographically small and highly structured nature of Tswana polities, maintaining power was relatively easy for the kgosi (Samatar, 1999: 40), however challenges to power were not uncommon in Tswana merafe. One reason was the complexity of the succession procedure due to the practice of polygamy, which often offered several eligible heirs to the position. Additionally, personal attributes of the potential heir as well as social, economic, and political circumstances often played a role in selecting the heir apparent (Vaughn, 2003). The complex succession procedures also applied to lower level offices, which often resulted in frequent challenges to power and further fragmentation of the Tswana state. The kgosi ruled autonomously, however it was a highly respected moral and religious authority, serving as a link between the community and the spirit world. He employed a highly democratic advisory council composed of all ward headmen who served under his authority.

There were several social units composing each ward, or *kgotla*. At the most basic level was the household, composed of a husband, wife or wives, children, and any dependent family members. Households possessed cattle and fields in order to survive. Several households, related by blood and led by the eldest male, comprised the family group. Family groups were organized in an agnatic manner, meaning each family group shared the same male ancestor, traced through patrilineal descent. Disputes within family groups were resolved by an elder council, and family groups took on large tasks together when an individual household was not capable of independently completing them (Samatar, 1999).

The headman of the ward, *kgosana,* had specified and well-defined responsibilities. He used administrative and judicial power to act on behalf of the kgosi. *Kgotla* refers to the ward itself as well as "the public assembly of adult males" where local leaders conducted business (Vaughan, 2003: 6). The Kgotla was a public forum where all free adult males, elders, and officials expressed concerns and deliberated upon religious, social, political, and economic community matters, earning the Tswana the classification of "tribal democracy" by early European ethnographers (Vaughn, 2003: 15). There were royal wards, where the kgosis' descendants were headmen, as well as commoner wards, where regular men who had displayed loyalty to the kgosi during political challenges were granted authority, and finally, immigrant wards, which were composed of foreigners seeking protection from the Tswana king. Royal headmen could not be easily deprived of their title, and so they often challenged the kgosi for power, contributing further to the dynamic political structure of Tswana merafe (Samatar, 1999: 41).

The other defining organization characteristic of precolonial Tswana merafe were age sets, or *mephato* (sing: *mophato*). Upon reaching puberty, both males and females were initiated into mephato in ceremonies called *bogwera* for men and *bojale* for women. For men, initiation included circumcision. Upon return to the community after about three months, mephato served essential public service functions in society. Mephato labor, especially male, was crucial for the construction of public buildings, policing the community, and farming (Livingston, 2005: 82). They also hunted, attended official meetings, acted as diplomats, and raided cattle (Morton, 2012: 396). In the 19th century, when the major Tswana states were reemerging, mephato also served as military units that could be called upon during times of battle. According to Morton (2012), mephato were crucial in maintaining territories of major Tswana merafe. Livingston (2005) notes that colonial rule effectively ended this need for territorial protection. Overall, the social organization based upon the foundations of upholding royal power and serving the community proved essential for reconstituting and expanding the major precolonial Tswana states in the 19th century. By 1880, the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bangwato, and Batawana controlled most of modern-day Botswana (Morton, 2009: 222).

In addition to well-defined political and social institutions, Tswana states gained power and influence toward the end of the 19th century using their control of various trades and through incorporating immigrant populations. Around 1850, traders from all over the world had been seeking profit in the ivory trade. By this time, the main four Tswana states possessed firearms that allowed them to take control of both the elephant and human populations inhabiting ivory-rich territory. Subjugating populations inhabiting ivory-rich areas helped generate massive ivory exports and tribute for chiefly families. It is important to note that during this time, the Batswana exhibited authority over foreign traders, and exchanges did not exploit the Tswana, only the forced labor the Tswana employed. The forced labor utilized by the Tswana helped secure more profits, and these profits expanded capacity to control more territory. Thus, the Bakwena, the Bahurutse, the Batawana, and the Bangwaketse chiefdoms continued to expand leading up to the colonial era (Morton, 2009: 225-28).

It is also important to address the role of slavery in accumulating wealth for Tswana states. Slaves were either prisoners of war, or most commonly, people simply kidnapped from subjugated and less powerful surrounding communities, such as the San. Slaves were denied the kinship and citizenship afforded to Tswana community members. Slave labor provided wealth through cattle herding, agricultural production, hunting, and domestic duties that helped expand the wealth and power of Tswana states (Morton, 2009: 232-33).

Lastly, the ability of the Tswana to incorporate immigrants and refugees contributed to the massive population growth experienced in the latter half of the 19th century. Immigrants arrived in each of the Tswana states due to white suppression in present-day South Africa, or were simply seeking economic opportunity within the various trades that these kingdoms dominated. There is disagreement concerning the willingness of foreigners to be incorporated into Tswana society. For example, Kowet (1978: 30) claims that minor groups accepted the authority of more powerful ones, and were even permitted to retain their political and social institutions and leaders. Conversely, Morton (2009), argues that this is “simply untrue.” Regardless, the populations under Tswana control increased significantly immediately before the European colonization of present-day Botswana. As a result, there were at least 100 wards within the Bangwaketse by 1880, an estimated population over one hundred times that of the pre-Difaqane state (Morton, 2009: 234). The massive expansion of power and wealth of the main Tswana states occurred simultaneously with, and was in fact aided by, European penetration and sets the stage for the interactions that occurred in the colonial period (Samatar, 1999: 43).

The Colonial Period

European expansion into present-day Botswana occurred simultaneously with Tswana expansion, and even aided it indirectly. Competing interests between missionaries, Dutch Boers, and the British caused the Tswana to form alliances with various groups, seeking protection from one group or another based on circumstances. The European parties involved had interests in farming and grazing land, and later in the mineral deposits discovered in present-day Botswana. Specifically, a proposed "Road to the North" provided a path for missionaries to spread Christianity throughout Africa. On the other hand, the Boer Republic wanted control of this territory after diamonds were discovered in the Tati district in 1866. Experiencing financial difficulties at the time, Pretorius, the president of the Boer Republic of Transvaal, was eager to proclaim "protectorate" status over the land in which the gold, and the proposed "Road to the North" lay (Kowet, 1978: 35). The British initially disregarded the requests by Tswana chiefs for protection against Boer annexation of Tswana lands. It was not until diamonds were discovered in 1868 in Griqualand that the British decided to annex the area to prevent Boer expansion. This area became a "buffer zone" known as British Bechuanaland, and did not include the remaining Tswana territories.

It was not until Cecil B. Rhodes, the founder of the British South Africa Company, advocated for the northward route's economic benefits did the British take a firm stance against Boer encroachment (Samatar, 1999: 44). Rhodes perceived the northward route as a connection between South Africa, Bechuanaland, Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), and even as far north as Cairo. Facing increasing threats from German presence in Southern Africa, and under influence from Rhodes, and to a lesser extent the Christian missionaries, the British established the Bechuanaland Protectorate in January, 1885. The British feared being entirely pushed out of

Southern Africa and losing the “Road to the North” to competing German and Boer forces (Kowet, 1978: 35).

Initially, British involvement in Bechuanaland was very limited because administering a protectorate is expensive, especially when there are no obviously exploitable resources. In fact, the colonial overlord was limited to assisting the chiefs in defending their territory (Samatar, 1999: 44). In the subsequent years following the establishment of the protectorate, the autonomy of the chiefs eroded and transformed, largely due to the economic interests of the BSAC. The British South Africa Company was the mechanism for privatizing British colonial expansion. The Company aimed to ‘relieve’ the Crown of expensive administrative costs by administering Bechuanaland on its own (Samatar, 1999: 44). In 1890 the Company wanted to build a railway through the protectorate that would end in what was then Rhodesia. An 1895 charter would eventually cede Bechuanaland to the BSAC, but three Tswana kings, Sechele (Kwena), Bathoen (Ngwaketse), and Khama (Ngwato) traveled to London to successfully prevent the protectorate from being handed over to the company (however, the southern part of Tswana territory, British Bechuanaland, was ceded to Rhode’s Cape Colony in 1895) (Picard, 1985: 10). In exchange for the protectorate to remain under the Crown’s protection, they had to allow the railroad to be built (Parsons, 2016) and for a Hut Tax to be imposed in 1899. The chiefs were to collect the Tax and were permitted to keep 10% of the proceeds (Vaughan, 2003; Samatar, 1999: 45). One can see that the traditional leaders, far fewer in number and now governing much larger populations, retained authority over certain matters, and even benefitted financially, while having to make many concessions to the British government, the BSAC, and the various other companies extracting resources from the land.

An example of the traditional leaders' loss of autonomy at the hands of natural resource exploitation is illustrated by the events that occurred in the Tati region. Chief Rawe of the Bakhurutse, wishing to return to his land that had been ceded to the Tati Company, entered an agreement with the Company in exchange for a small portion of land for his people to inhabit. The agreement of 1899 between Raw and the Tati Company stated that the chief and his men were required to work in the mine, supplying 20% of their male population. In addition, the tribe was not to conduct trade of corn or cattle with any other groups or supply labor to any other companies without special permission. Lastly, the chief had to pay a hut tax for every dwelling built in the area (Kowet, 1978: 78).

For the most part, chiefs retained authority over community matters and in some ways, became even more powerful under colonial rule. The protectorate was divided into eight "tribal" reserves, five white farm settlements, and general "crown" lands (Parsons, 2016). The strict demarcation of territory prevented challenges to the kgosi that had been so frequent in the past. The colonial administration vested essentially 'absolute' power in the chief as the principal native judge, and often sided with the chief in times of disagreement, and the imposition of taxes released chiefs from dependency on tribute. The chief's increased power was not necessarily opposed by common people; the chiefs had successfully repeatedly prevented the Protectorate from being incorporated into South Africa, thus protecting their people from further subjugation (Samatar, 1999: 47).

In the 1930s and 40s, various proclamations were introduced by the British government attempting to decrease chiefly powers in the protectorate. For example, the Native Administration Proclamation of 1933/1934 allowed the high commissioner to approve or disapprove succession to the chieftainship, and the Native Administration Proclamation of 1943 required chiefs to consult with members of their counsels (Vaughan, 2003: 39-41). In addition to political reforms, the commoditization and privatization of property contributed to the decline of patronage in Tswana society, and thus decreased dependency on the chief (Samatar, 1999: 52). The period from 1934 until 1957 is referred to as the ‘indirect rule’ stage, because now there was much more interference with chiefly power. It is important to note that although chiefs saw a decline in their authority, they were still hugely popular among their people. For example, when the British exiled heir apparent Seretse Khama (who then had to denounce his chiefship) for marrying a white woman, the Bamangwato, whom he was to rule, refused to cooperate with colonial authorities, illustrating the legitimacy of the chief among the people (Samatar, 1999: 53). In fact, Seretse Khama became the first Prime Minister and President of Botswana upon independence in 1966 (Vaughan, 2003: 52).

These political reforms, combined with the emergence of a Western-educated elite created by massive conversion to Christianity contributed to the push for democratization (Vaughan, 2003: 59). The chiefs relentlessly opposed any political reforms made by the colonial government and eventually The Legislative Council was established in 1961 (Parsons, 2016; Samatar 1999: 54). The Legislative Council, led by Seretse Khama, created a constitution and paired with administrators in order to combine traditional leaders with the new, emerging politicians (Samatar, 1999). The Bechunaland People’s Party (BPP) was established in 1960, but due to the party’s agitative rhetoric and potential animosity with South Africa, it transformed into the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) in 1962. This more moderate party was still led by Khama, along with “nontraditionalist” leaders, many of whom also served on the Legislative Council.

This moderate position encouraged the British government to facilitate independence, and a conference in 1963 occurred to revise the 1961 constitution of the Legislative Council and to establish the governing institutions for the post-independence era. The chiefs' role decreased significantly. After this conference, they had no lawmaking powers but were conferred the status of 'advisory council' in the House of Chiefs (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2006: 2; Samatar 1999). The constitution decided upon at the conference was implemented in 1964, and elections later that year determined that the BDP would occupy 28 of 31 seats, with Seretse Khama as the Prime Minister.

The Development of the Labor Reserve

The brief account above detailing the colonial balance of power largely excludes the underlying changes that occurred within the economic structure of the Protectorate. Many scholars refer to the major economic changes that occurred during the colonial period as the development of a "labor reserve" in present-day Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (Wilson, 2001; Picard, 1985; Massey, 1980; Kowet, 1978). The labor reserve developed as a result of various political and economic policies, as well as natural circumstances. It served to supply unskilled labor to the gold and diamond mines of South Africa; but whether or not the creation of the labor reserve was deliberate remains a contentious issue.

Even before the discovery of minerals in present-day South Africa, there had been migrant flows both to and from the Cape Colony. For example, in 1844 there were members of the Kwena group working on South African farms (Kowet, 1978: 88). Kowet (1978) claims that migration to South Africa was primarily a result of overpopulation in the surrounding colonies.

When the southern part of Tswana territory was ceded to the Cape Colony and when the BSAC begun construction of the railroad, many Tswana left those territories for other, more crowded areas. Food availability declined as the pressure on land increased, generating a push factor out of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1868 and the discovery of gold in 1886 near Johannesburg amplified the migration flows, and by 1899 100,000 men had been recruited from all over Southern Africa to work in the mines (Massey, 1980: 6).

The second factor that contributed to the creation of the labor reserve was the imposition of taxes upon the inhabitants of Bechuanaland Protectorate. First, the Hut Tax of 1899 supplied revenue for administrative costs, such as officers' salaries and the maintenance of law and order. Very small amounts of revenue (about 25%) contributed to the development of infrastructure or the modernization of agriculture in Botswana. In 1919, the Native Tax was imposed as a response to changing consumption patterns; there was increased demand for education and imported goods, such as guns and textiles (Parson, 1984b: 23). Massey (1980) contends that although there is 'no evidence' that the taxes were deliberately meant to force southern Africans into wage employment, colonial administrators were well aware of the consequence. On the other hand, Kowet (1978) contends that the imposition of the Hut Tax was one of South Africa's direct labor recruitment techniques. Under ideal environmental and economic circumstances, people would have been able to engage in the trade of cattle, crops, and manufactured goods in order to pay colonial taxes and traditional tributes (Parson, 1984b: 23). At the same time taxes were increasing, economic opportunities to pay them were decreasing. The next paragraph explains the ways in which people's options for earning income were restrained.

The rinderpest epidemic of 1896 decimated the cattle herds that were so essential to Tswana survival. Second, increasingly protectionist policies in South Africa made it extremely difficult for people to sell cattle and other agricultural goods to the massive market to the south. It is argued that South Africa's protectionist policies were deliberately put in place to keep the economies of the High Commission Territories (HCTs) of present-day Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Namibia weak, because it would justify the incorporation of the HCTs into the Union of South Africa. For example, South Africa imposed a minimum weight of 800 pounds on cattle imports in 1923. This policy effectively barred cattle imports from most black traders in the HCTs, but had a less significant effect on cattle owned by white Afrikaners (Gibb, 2006: 590). Third, there were discriminatory policies that prevented Africans from engaging in entrepreneurial activities at all. In 1949, only 6% of stores were owned by African businessmen, the rest owned by Europeans (Picard, 1985: 50).

The fourth factor contributing to the labor reserve creation included a set of policies that placed Bechuanaland's economy on the periphery of the larger South African system. One of the most important of these policies, the Customs Union of 1910, deprived Bechuanaland and the other HCTs of their economic agency. It also prevented Bechuanaland from raising its tariffs to a level higher than South Africa's, and therefore they could not raise revenue for development and investment (Gibb, 2006: 589). Initially, the Customs Union would have benefited the Tswana because it provided access to South Africa's cattle market, however the cattle embargoes beginning in 1923, aside from violating the customs union, further restricted economic opportunity in the HCTs. According to Massey (1980: 19), a white settler frustrated with the lack of development in Bechuanaland accused South Africa of deliberately using the embargo to induce desperation and force workers to seek wage employment in the mines.

The changes in land allocation are another attributing factor to labor migration. Although only 3% of present-day Botswana had been allocated for white settlement, this land included much of the arable land suitable for animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture. This land comprised much of the eastern border and included the Tati Concessions discussed previously, as well as several other blocs that were sold to white settlers exclusively. There were several results of this land reallocation. First, members of prominent Tswana groups became rent-paying tenants of land they previously owned themselves. Second, for those groups who were physically removed from their land, they contributed to overcrowding and resource degradation. Land appropriation, through either imposing additional costs or reducing economic opportunity, contributed to the Tswana's propensity to migrate (Massey, 1980: 23).

It is important to note that the labor migration from Bechuanaland to South Africa was cyclical. First, earning wages away from home assisted in diversifying income. This was especially helpful to subsistence households during times of drought (Parson, 1984b: 13) or in situations where a household belonged to an 'inferior' group not privileged by traditional land tenure. Second, it was the intention of the South African government to send workers back to their origins after supplying labor to the mines. Third, the mine companies deliberately kept wages low to maintain profits while the South African government did not supply welfare to migrants in order to reduce the economic costs of hosting them. This necessitated the male laborers to return home, where their assets and social networks remained (Baker and Aida, 1995: 91; Parson, 1984b: 13-14; Picard, 1985: 51).

Conclusion

This section discussed the precolonial Tswana states and the traditional characteristics of their societies which allowed them to consolidate power. It provided an overview of the colonial period in which Tswana chiefs maintained much of their political and symbolic influence, while making economic concessions to the colonists and the associated companies. In addition, it described the many contributing factors to the creation of the labor reserve that this study will argue has persisted into the post-independence era.

The result of these many factors has been the creation of a new class: the peasantariat. This term, coined by Picard (1985), illustrates the necessity of the Tswana to engage in subsistence agriculture, and employment in wage labor, while neither activity provides a substantial livelihood on its own. The expansion of the global capitalist system to Southern Africa in the 19th century materialized in the accumulation of mining capital in South Africa. This capital required large amounts of cheap labor, and institutional transformations took place to ensure the creation of the labor reserve. By the time Botswana achieved Independence in 1966, about 30% of Tswana males between the ages of 20 and 40 years were employed in the industrial sectors of South Africa (Mogalakwe, 1997: 28).

Chapter 4

The Diamond Industry and Migration in Botswana and its Impact

Introduction

This chapter discusses the various impacts of the diamond mining industry on the rural communities in Botswana. Specifically, it examines the impact of reduced labor supply, low relative wages, income inequality, health, economic dependence on mineral extraction, the Botswana government's relationship with De Beers, the redistribution policies aimed at rural development, and the experiences of Tswana females. Finally, it provides an overview of the current state of the Botswana economy and policy goals in relation to the diamond industry.

The Diamond Industry and the Reduction of Male Labor Supply

Between 1964 and 1971, only 20% of the economically active population, defined as individuals over 10 years old, actually remained in their rural hometown. Of the absent 80%, 30% migrated abroad and the other 50% went to urban areas within Botswana. These migrants comprised mainly young males. For example, 44% of absentees were males between 20 and 30 years old (Cliffe and Moorsom, 1979: 43). The absence of young, economically active males impacted production, innovation, their families' access to land, and dependency ratios in rural villages.

According to Hillbom (2008), the creation of the mining labor reserve and the subsequent migration severely impacted agricultural production negatively. Conversely, Elkan (1980) argues that if the agricultural marginal product of labor (MPL) is zero, meaning that an additional unit of labor in the agricultural sector yields no additional output, then out-migration may actually help by relieving pressure on overcrowded lands and reducing the population so that there is more food for everyone. On the other hand, even if migration acts as a “safety valve,” the area may still experience a drain on people who would have otherwise been innovators for their agricultural community. The migration of innovative individuals from rural communities can be illustrated by Lucas’ (1985: 377) finding that higher levels of education are associated with a higher likelihood of internally migrating within Botswana. The cyclical migration that Tswana men practice is strategic in that they are absent for lulls in the agricultural cycle and return upon harvest. This could potentially mean that men are indeed present when their labor is needed most. The men, even while absent, are still the typical main decision-makers in terms of agricultural techniques. Elkan (1980) observes that during their absence, agricultural extension officials have a harder time convincing farmers (and their families left behind) to implement more efficient and innovative techniques (592). These combined factors have stifled the rural innovative strategies that the Botswana government has tried to implement through social spending.

Secondly, because traditional Tswana land tenure is tied to males within a family, the absence of men deprived their families and parts of the community of land access. This helped contribute to the concentration of land wealth among Tswana elites. Those who were privileged in Tswana society were able to accumulate capital from this land wealth, allowing them to use ox-drawn ploughs and boreholes. The marginalized were deprived of land use when the labor reserve was created and subsistence farming families’ food production suffered (Cliffe and Moorsom, 1979: 37).

Lastly, the migration of young males raised the proportion of elderly people living in rural communities. Since the elderly are inherently less productive and need to be cared for, the burden of care and agricultural production falls on the labor of those who remain (Cliffe and Moorsom, 1979: 44). The dependency ratio is compounded especially when young people, who migrate to work, return to their rural origin upon retiring. In addition to the elderly, the rural community raises children, a task which has no economic return to agriculture if the young people they raised allocate their labor to urban industries, such as diamond mining.

Health Implications

Upon returning from a period of mine labor, many men become physically ill. The illnesses contracted during mine work hinder production in rural areas in terms of agriculture and animal husbandry (Griffiths, 2008: 119). As a side note, even those males who return healthy, especially those of the current older generations in Tswana society, lost the opportunity to go to school by migrating to work in diamond mines. Therefore, their options for higher income have been severely constrained (Griffiths, 2008). This aspect of Tswana society has since improved since the advent of government investment in the development of human capital and the education system.

HIV prevalence also factors highly among migrants in Botswana. Migrants are more likely to test positive for HIV due to their social marginalization, vulnerability to sexual violence, and lack of access to preventative information and health care. Particularly for the Tswana, the migrant labor system has disrupted family ties and marriages. As a result, sexual partners are more likely to change periodically for migrants relative to non-migrants, making

Tswana migrants particularly vulnerable to HIV (Agadjanian, 2008: 416). The negative health implications associated with migration have decreased the productive capacity and life span of Tswana males, thus negatively impacting their ability to assist their families at home, and placing the burden of labor on fewer individuals.

Impact of Migration on Women

The frequent and periodic migration of males exacerbated the incidence of poverty among women, placed disproportionate labor burdens upon them, and prevented them from making migration-related economic decisions of their own.

First, labor migration (and the subsequent absence of males) postpones marriages. As a result, there are many unmarried women in Botswana with children. These women must remain in their parent's household for prolonged periods of time, and it is this group of women that poverty affects most severely (Griffiths, 2008: 123). Additionally, the increasing number of children within a household puts additional pressure on a particular area of land. Fortunately, headmen relieve the pressures between siblings frustrated at household overpopulation, so traditional Tswana political structures help to alleviate this social frustration to an extent (Griffiths, 2008: 123).

Second, before the penetration of capitalism into Tswana society, the roles of men and women were about equally divided. As cattle ownership became more unequal and concentrated, men had fewer responsibilities in terms of cattle. Around the same time, the introduction of plows allowed women to engage more heavily in land preparation. In terms of responsibility in the rural community, men's responsibilities were declining while women's were increasing or remaining constant. This was compounded by the absence of males, resulting in the woman's taking care of children, dependents, agriculture, and cattle (Cliffe and Moorsom, 1979: 44-45), which has placed a serious toll on female labor in Tswana society. In some cases, the absence of males created many female-headed households in Botswana. These households are more likely to hold less cattle and to lack adequate resources to plow their land. The load of responsibilities bestowed upon women, combined with limited access to capital, is what Cliffe and Moorsom (1979) referred to as the "classical road to the rural slum."

A seldom discussed topic is the migration of females. Prior to the 19th century, many women migrated in similar magnitudes as males. They went to work on farms in South Africa, or migrated just out of curiosity. Cockerton (2002), uses the term 'escape' to refer to women's migration in several cases. The restriction of female migration began occurring in the late 19th century, when traditional leaders gave women more rights in the community in hopes of tying them to the land where their reproductive and agricultural labor could be utilized in the absence of males. Men had a vested interest in keeping Tswana women on the land because they not only provided children and labor, but because their presence also upheld the institution of bride wealth. More importantly, the presence of the women on the land maintained the husband's rights to the land (if they were both gone the family would lose the land), and again because the female was the link between the man's remittances and the chief. Without the female, families would lose their land, the chief would lose his cut of the tax revenue, and there would be no bride wealth with which fathers could secure wives for their sons. Until the 1920s, there was hardly any noticeable response to migrating women, though migration had been a normal part of Tswana culture. However, from the 1920s, fathers, brothers, and husbands utilized their traditional networks to control "immoral" women. After the 1950s, traditional Tswana hierarchies allied with the colonial state to control women. Their migration was punished using unspeakable tactics (Cockerton, 2002). The restriction of female mobility contributed to the crystallization of women's duties in rural communities.

Remittances

This chapter thus far has discussed the ways in which migration negatively impacts the rural economic activities of Tswana communities, however, it is equally important to note that migration is considered a strategic decision for families to diversify their income and avoid risks. The mechanism through which migrants support their families and maintain kinship ties is through remittances, the money they send or bring back to the origin after working in urban sectors. A survey conducted by Campbell (2008) concluded that households containing at least one migrant derived 71% of their income from wages, 18% from remittances, and the remainder from sources such as agriculture, and that those migrating from rural areas were more likely to remit. This illustrates the clear importance of income diversification among Tswana families.

First, remittances are received by the migrant's household, and not by society at large. Therefore, remittances do not directly contribute to rural development, but can drastically improve health, education, and housing, which in turn contributes to the welfare in rural areas. However, these improvements can only occur in cases in which remittances create an income surplus. Often times, remittances are used for immediate expenses and there is no leftover income for savings. In this respect, remittances don't contribute to development per say, but they do provide necessary items to families (Campbell, 2008).

To illustrate this point further, when controlling for education, no significant relationship between remittances and poverty was found, but households with a seasonal migrant were in fact less likely to be poor (Campbell, 2008). In this case, poverty was measured by access to fuel, water, food, medicine, electricity, and cash. Remittances are usually in the form of basic subsistence goods such as clothes, processed foods, and school fees. There is typically extra cash only for well-off urban migrants whose families in the rural origin are already well-off (Cliffe and Moorsom, 1979: 43). At times, remittances must be used to pay for substitute labor in agriculture or herding. Typically, these tasks would be taken on by family members, but the advent of modern technology and the subsequent erosion of kindship ties makes hiring labor on the farms necessary (Griffiths, 2014). These results demonstrate that although remittances cover basic needs, they are not always an instrument for exiting poverty.

Mhone (1996) goes so far as to say remittances have reinforced rural underdevelopment. This is because earnings spent on consumption have largely supported Botswana citizens' dependency on imports from South Africa. Additionally, earnings from migrant labor, although not substantial according to many arguments, far surpass the earnings from other economic ventures, undermining the need for households to focus on improving sustainable agriculture techniques (Mhone, 1996: 95).

Relatively Low Wages in Botswana

Perhaps the reason that remittances and wage labor in general have not played a significant role in rural development is because the wages earned in Botswana's diamond sector have been kept intentionally low. Mining wages were fixed to the average wage of a farm employee in order to ensure high profits in the mining sector and to contribute to the development of Botswana's massive public sector (Parson, 1981). This artificial depression of wages supports the dual economy theory in which workers are deliberately kept dependent upon low-skilled wage positions.

On multiple occasions, Seretse Khama addressed mine workers concerning their low wages. He stated that in order to sustain development and to continue attracting international investment, mine workers had to restrain their social unrest and anger at low wages (Mogalakwe, 1997: 75). He stressed that restrained wages and laborers' compliance were both necessary for national development. In exchange for leaving their rural communities, men were to sell their labor "at rates of pay or under social conditions which preclude any substantial material returns to subsistence agriculture" (Cliffe and Moorsom, 1979: 43). Furthermore, since cyclical labor responded to business cycle fluctuations of the mineral market, mining wages were associated with instability (Griffiths, 2014: 119). In addition to low wages, those that migrated to urban areas also faced unemployment. In light of the Todaro Model, in which expected earnings affect one's propensity to migrate, Lucas (1985: 377) found that one additional urban job created more than one migrant. Those migrants unable to find employment were especially constrained in supporting their families at home.

Wealth Inequality

Wealth in traditional, pre-colonial Tswana society was unequally distributed due to the clientelist nature of cattle distribution; however, this inequality was modest in relation to the income inequality that resulted from the development of the cattle export industry. In the 1930s, the commodification of cattle and the emerging beef export sector allowed cattle-owners to transform their cattle wealth into capital and income (Bolt and Hillbom, 2016).

The concentration of wealth that occurred during this period precipitated the income inequality that still moors Botswana's economy today. As of 1984, only 15% of firms in Botswana were owned by indigenous Batswana, and this figure was in decline from 1979 (Jones-Dube, 1991: 28). Those that were owned by Batswana were centered around cattle, bottle shops, and oil stations, while Asian and European businesses dominated most of the medium and large-size enterprises. The Batswana businesses, as of 1991, were much smaller, made fewer profits, and had fewer opportunities to expand (Jones-Dube, 1991: 25). Around the same time, about 5% of Botswana's population owned 50% of the national cattle herd. Scholars agree that current wealth inequality in the country, in terms of cattle, is largely the result of both pre-colonial and colonial arrangements that allowed elite Tswana to amass wealth relative to 'commoner' Tswana. (Hillbom, 2014: 171).

In addition to having access to capital and entrepreneurial opportunities, cattle-owning families were much less likely to need migration as an economic risk-aversion tactic. Even during economic downturns, cattle can still be sold to get an education or start businesses (Griffiths, 2014: 125). For example, a family interviewed by Griffiths (2014) had a close relationship with Chief Sechele II. It is possible that through this relationship, the family was able to acquire cattle and so they experienced many fewer economic hardships in life. Even the females in this privileged family did not experience the poverty typical of female-headed households in Botswana. The particular females in this case study were employed as court clerks and even an executive at Barclays Bank.

In sum, the rural institutions maintain the unequal economic structure. The ability of elite Tswana to monopolize land and water restricts opportunity for non-elite Tswana to participate in traditional economic ventures. This issue is compounded by the fact that the diamond industry, which is capital-intensive in nature, excludes economic participation. For several decades, Botswana's Gini coefficient has hovered above 0.5, meaning Botswana is one of the world's most economically unequal countries (Hillbom, 2014).

Lack of Economic Diversification

Another issue that arose from the massive expansion of the mining sector was the lack of diversification within the country's economy. In 1977, the government came out with a report which listed the following as being the critical concerns within the economy: 1) export sector domination by diamond and cattle industries; 2) a large rural population with extremely low income excluded from participation in the formal economy; and 3) a shortage of skilled labor (Jones-Dube, 1991: 16). It was fully understood that mining, being a capital-intensive industry, and livestock export, being a land-intensive industry, had little effect on employment (Mhone, 1996: 90).

The diamond operation had very few linkages with the rest of the economy. The capital-intensive nature of mining made state ownership rational and efficient, making labor force participation exclusion easy (Hillbom, 2014: 170). De Beers, which established a joint-venture with the Botswana government in order to extract minerals, contributed to this issue. For many years, De Beers opposed the downstream production of diamonds and the general economic diversification in Botswana, leading Gapa (2016) to deem the company a "shot caller" instead of a mere strategic partner. Before 2011, the diamond industry in Botswana was constrained to mere mineral extraction, and could not engage in the value-added production process (Gapa, 2016). The agreement reached in 2011 between the government and De Beers moved the company headquarters from London to Gaborone, moving its supply chains with it. De Beers' massive campaign donations to the BDP may have played a part in the company's ability to constrain the government's economic policy choices for so long. (Gapa, 2016)

Despite the government's recognition of diversification problems, the massive and rapid expansion of the mining industry took precedence over the other sectors within the economy. For example, the share of revenue going into agriculture shrunk from 40% to 20% between 1980 and 1990. During this same period, loans to the agricultural sector decreased from 13% to 4%, despite 70% of Batswana being employed primarily in agriculture (Mhone, 1996). Due to increase in foreign demand for Botswana's diamonds, foreign assets increased by 2000%, and the currency appreciated. This meant that imports were much cheaper, and so there was little incentive to produce easily importable goods, dwarfing what could have been an expanding manufacturing sector. According to Mhone (1996), the mining sector "soured [Botswana's] machines, equipment, and highly skilled labor."

Lastly, it has been found that Botswana has sustained economic growth, but not necessarily economic development. According to Hillbom (2014), this is because other sectors of the economy have stagnated. For example, the cattle off-take (slaughter) rate in Botswana has remained at the colonial levels of 17%, while high-performing cattle-exporting countries have off-takes rates double this. To compound this issue, the population of cattle still remains high because of its significance for livelihoods in rural areas. This continues to put pressure on land and water as of 2014 (Hillbom, 2014: 171). Overall, the expansion of the mining industry (and therefore the public sector) weakened the development of the private sector in which more Batswana may have been able to participate (Bolt and Hillbom, 2016).

Redistribution Policies and Rural Development

In order to combat the rural poverty and lack of diversification, the government of Botswana developed a series of redistribution policies to compensate rural residents as well as to develop the national economy beyond the mining sector. For example, diamond mining made infrastructural development possible in the country (Jones-Dube, 1991: 12) and essentially pulled the country out of the seemingly hopeless poverty it was experiencing at the time of Independence.

About 40% of GDP (which is mostly derived from the mining sector) is invested in human capital and infrastructure. The country has relatively high rates of literacy (83%), secondary school enrollment (85%), and access to clean water (92%). Botswana has extensive mobile phone and internet networks as well as 8,200 kilometers of paved roads and over 70 airports. (Hillborn, 2014: 171).

A massive amount of revenue is redistributed toward rural communities and their development. These income transfers ensure that peasants remain peaceful and continue to provide the essential support to the BDP that keeps them elected (rural areas have overwhelmingly supported the BDP). Cliffe and Moorsom (1979) have referred to this system of compensation as a "patronage network." Osei-Hwedie (1998) claims that the agricultural subsidies, the land grazing policies, and development programs aimed at establishing equality in rural areas, have largely benefitted those that were already relatively more powerful and wealthy than the poorest citizens. These beneficiaries include large-scale commercial farmers and large cattle herd owners. Taking a more optimistic approach, Jones-Dube (1991) argues that recent Financial Assistance Programs may improve incentive structures, accelerating entrepreneurial activity to achieve rural development and stem the flow of migration to urban centers.

Recent Developments

Botswana, with one of the highest GDP growth rates in the world, has experienced rapid urbanization, which has strained the environment as well as "urban areas' capacity to provide jobs, infrastructure and other essential amenities" (African Development Bank, 2016b: 271). Rural poverty constitutes a disproportionate share of Botswana's poor, and this figure seems to be increasing (Raditloaneng, 2009: 82). The rural poor have identified the following structural factors as explanations for their poverty: the lack of improvement in the agricultural sector, the lack of opportunity in other sectors of the job market, the over-dependence on government welfare and the subsequent lack of motivation, and limited access to healthcare and basic food needs (Raditloaneng, 2009: 85).

Although migrant labor to mines in Botswana has been tapering off in recent years, there is an expanding value-added supply chain for diamond production that is bringing even more opportunities to urban centers, especially Gaborone. Migration is still very much an option for young people to earn income in recent years. In a survey of students in Botswana, about 78% of them considered emigration, and a quarter of them intended to move to places like Europe, North America, and South Africa within six months after graduation. Their reasons for wanting to leave included the cost of living, their expected earnings, the ability to find a job, and prospects for professional development (Campbell, 2012).

On the other hand, there is a growing middle class that does not engage in subsistence agriculture or insecure migrant labor (Griffiths, 2014: 117). The government is aware that mineral reserves do not last forever. There is a new program for diversification called the Economic Diversification Drive (EDD), which has two components. The first is an operation to use government revenue to procure manufactured goods from local producers. In this way, the government hopes to stimulate local economies and businesses. The second component comprises the hopes to achieve medium- to long-term goals: expanding “exports and export markers through a vibrant and globally competitive private sector; to develop competitive goods and services that comply with local and international standards; and to develop an entrepreneurship culture for business growth and enhanced citizen participation in the economy” (Myabi, 2016: 324). In line with these goals, service exports doubled from 2009 to 2013, comprising about 8% of exports currently (Myabi, 2016: 325).

Currently, Botswana is trying to develop beneficiation, which is the downstream components of diamond production. They have been developing the diamond-cutting and polishing industry to offset the transition from a solely extractive economy to one that is more inclusive and labor-intensive. There is uncertainty about whether this is sound economic policy and will contribute to more inclusive development (Myabi, 2016: 327)

Although growth declined in Botswana in 2015 due to falling commodity prices and persistent reliance on mineral exports, the government is still experiencing budget surpluses in 2015 and there is expected to be increased investment in manufacturing in Botswana in 2016-2017 (African Development Bank, 2016b). There has been about an 8% increase in employment in trade and services sectors in 2015, however, there has been nearly 0% increase in labor productivity between 2000-2010. Despite its status as the richest country in the Southern African bloc, Botswana is still classified as a natural resource based economy (African Development Bank, 2016b). In 2010, the Gini coefficient was above 0.6, unemployment was around 20%, and the poverty rate was 19%. These figures are disappointingly high for an upper-middle income country (Myabi, 2016: 303).

Conclusion

The reduction of the male labor supply due to migration had long-lasting implications for rural development and economic security in Botswana. Although the number of Batswana mine workers in South Africa peaked at about 18,000 in 1985, and declined to about 6,500 by the year 2000 (Campbell, 2008: 110), internal migration in Botswana supplemented and replaced migration abroad, generating many of the same results in terms of absentee family members, especially because internal migration in Botswana was often long-term compared to migration to South Africa, due to fewer legal barriers and better safety standards (Cliffe and Moorsom, 1979: 43).

Botswana has experienced tremendous economic growth due to the government's prudent management of its diamond natural resource endowment. However, this growth has occurred without the development of other sectors of the economy as well as lack of economic opportunities for the Tswana residing in the rural areas. The migrant labor system that has persisted into the late 20th and early 21st centuries has had the following impacts on the Tswana: a reduction of the male labor supply, negative health implications for migrants and mine workers, disproportionate labor burdens on women, and an ineffective remittance system. It has also created below-market wages, unequal wealth distribution, lack of development of other sectors of the economy, the reduction of employment and entrepreneurial activities for the Tswana, and well-intentioned but ineffective rural development government policies.

The reasons for migration have transformed over time and the importance of migration as a risk-aversion technique has declined. However, the systems put in place as a result of the migrant labor system, as well as the dependence on the country's diamond wealth have long-lasting implications for rural welfare and development. The government hopes to correct these issues with the development of beneficiation and diversification initiatives.

Chapter 5

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Summary

The purpose of the study was to examine the impact of labor migration on national economies. Specifically, it focused on the periodic male labor migration from traditional Tswana communities to the diamond mining sector of the country's economy.

The objective was to investigate the relationship, if any, between periodic male labor migration and rural development in Botswana and to assist in designing strategies for effecting economic development at the local community level.

The study was conducted to fill the gap in the research regarding the economic impact of Tswana male labor migration on rural communities in Botswana.

The findings confirmed the original hypothesis that migration to the national diamond sector negatively impacted economic development in rural Tswana communities.

Data collection for the study employed library resources, such as books, journal articles, statistical reports, and demographic surveys.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn from the findings of the study:

a. The conflicting migration theories offer little clarity as to whether or not migration facilitates or prevents development, and whether it equalizes or diverges factor prices such as wages.

b. The case of artificially low migrant wages in South Africa and Botswana supported the basic theoretical premise of the Segmented and World Systems theories as discussed in chapter 2. In support of the Segmented Labor Market and World Systems theory, wages for migrants were kept artificially low in both South Africa and Botswana.

c. Capitalist expansion into Tswana society in the form of resource extraction consolidated land ownership, disrupted traditional land-tenure systems and social ties to agrarian communities. It also created supply of surplus labor that had previously engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. The resource-extraction industries provided economic opportunity for the economically displaced persons of Botswana. This displacement caused migration and has contributed to the underdevelopment and wealth inequality evident in Tswana communities. This situation confirms the supposition of the World Systems theory of migration.

d. Tswana male migrants respond to fluctuations in the business cycle and therefore experience insecure employment.

e. Tswana males migrate in order to diversify and increase their income as posited by the Neoclassical Economics theory. Additionally, migrants travel to urban areas in anticipation of higher earnings, which can partially explain the vast urban unemployment in Botswana as explained by the microeconomic theory's viewpoint on migration.

f. The deliberate creation and maintenance of the labor reserve by both the South African and Batswana colonial governments played an extremely important role in Tswana males' propensity to migrate, a factor neglected by the three migration theories discussed.

1. The precolonial Tswana political structure, although argued by many to have contributed to the sustained economic growth of Botswana after Independence, also contributed to the consolidation of land and cattle ownership. This concentration of wealth excluded commoner Tswana from participating in rural economic activities, and thus necessitated migration in order to diversify income sources.
2. The expansion of the global capitalist economic structure into Southern Africa created a labor reserve, which has persisted and been maintained into the post-independence era. It has resulted in the emergence of an entirely new class of people dependent upon both subsistence agriculture and migrant wages, with neither source providing enough income to universally provide basic necessities or to contribute to rural development in the region.
3. It was unclear whether the absence of males in Tswana communities caused agricultural production to decline; however, male migration may have also served to relieve pressure from overcrowded lands.
4. The absence of males from the Tswana communities due to the seasonal migration reinforced inequality linked to land tenure, and stifled innovation and modernization of farming techniques. It also allocated labor disproportionately upon those who remained on rural lands, especially women.

5. Male migration compounded poverty incidence among women and reinforced patriarchal systems that involuntarily bound women to rural land.
6. Migration affected health negatively among the Tswana, decreasing the ability of migrants to participate in economic activities and to assist their families.
7. Migrant remittances were essential to satisfying basic needs of their families, but failed to suffice in pulling a significant number of households out of poverty or contributing to rural development projects.
8. The diamond mining sector has reinforced wealth inequality and prevented economic diversification in Botswana, thus preventing mass Tswana participation in economic activity.
9. The resource redistribution policies implemented by the Botswanan government aimed at rural development and agricultural production have largely benefitted the relatively privileged within Tswana society.
10. There is uncertainty concerning the achievement of the projected goals of the current economic policies advanced by the Botswana government aimed at developing the diverse domestic sectors of the national economy in its efforts to increase the rate of participation in diamond production, large-scale economic inclusion, and the eradication of rural poverty.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were drawn to assist the Botswana government and interested parties in the pursuit of balanced economic development in Botswana:

1. The government of Botswana must ensure that wages in all sectors of the economy are substantial for satisfying basic needs of its low-income citizens
2. The government should establish a system that ensures rural citizens' access to agricultural inputs, innovative farming techniques, grazing water, and capital markets.
3. The government should enhance its incentive structure to encourage small- and medium- scale entrepreneurs to provide employment to people in remote areas of the country.
4. Capital investments from inside and outside Botswana should be channeled into the development and expansion of small- and medium- size enterprises in rural areas and to non-resource dependent enterprises in urban areas.
5. In the development of its beneficiation industry, the government of Botswana should establish regional centers of production in order to stem the flow of migration to congested urban areas and to provide economic opportunity to the Batswana in the remote areas.

Implications for Further Study

1. The problem of HIV/AIDS among Botswana migrants
2. The causes and effects of migration on Botswana female migrants

3. The relationship between the Botswana government and the De Beers Diamond Company and its impact on the politics of Botswana

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ACADEMIC VITA: ISABELLE A. HELMICH

EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University **University Park, PA**
College of The Liberal Arts | *B.A. International Political Economy, African Studies*
College of The Liberal Arts | *Minor in Spanish*
Schreyer Honors College | Paterno Fellows Program

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2000 Degrees | Paint-your-own Pottery Studio **State College, PA**
Sales Associate *September 2014 – Present*
- Provide exceptional customer service, maintain inventory, and open and close the store
- Work 20 hours per week to independently finance education and expenses

Penn State Extension | Teens4Good **Philadelphia, PA**
Community Engagement and Farm Management Intern *May – August 2016*
- Collaborated with peers, youth, and agricultural experts to address food access and poverty

Camp Onas | A Non-profit Quaker Camp **Ottsville, PA**
Director's Assistant (2015) *June 2010 – August 2015*
- Supervised and trained 60 staff members in leadership and problem-solving

Outdoor Maintenance Director, Counselor (2012-2014)
- Provided leadership, guidance, and care to all staff and campers under my supervision
- Guided 16 staff members at a time in completing difficult maintenance tasks

LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE

Model African Union Conference **Washington, DC**
Delegate on the Technical Committee on Economic Affairs *February 2016 and 2017*
- Deliberated with peers to devise inclusive and equitable economic resolutions

Kalliope Undergraduate Literary Magazine **University Park, PA**
Managing Editor (2016 – Present) *September 2014 – Present*
- Coordinate operations, provide guidance, and foster community within magazine staff

Lead the copy-editing and production processes
Art Coordinator (2014-2016)
- Bolstered the quantity of art submissions from 30 to over 100 in 2015 and 2016
- Facilitated open-minded and creative discussion

Stand for State **University Park, PA**
Ambassador *September 2014 – Present*
- Engaged in a voluntary bystander intervention workshop to reduce violent acts on campus

AWARDS AND SKILLS

- 2017 Spring Commencement Interdisciplinary Student Marshal
- The Ellis Foundation Scholarship *– Fall 2013 – Present*
- College of the Liberal Arts Undergraduate Scholarship *– Fall 2013 – Present*
- The Dean's List *Fall 2013 – Present*
- Working knowledge of R and Stata statistical analysis software
- Proficiency in Adobe InDesign and Photoshop
- Proficiency in Spanish language (10 years of classroom instruction)
- Thorough knowledge of social media and blogging platforms