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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN A TSWANA VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a descriptive study of Bokaa, a village of 1976 inhabitants situated in the Kgatleng district of Botswana. Bokaa was selected for an analysis and description of social and economic change since relatively much is known of the Kgatleng thirty to forty years ago through the justly famous writings of Isaac Schapera and since the village has had relatively much contact with modernizing influences. It was not intended to present a static picture of a 'before' and an 'after' but rather to isolate the processes of change which have led to the present social structure. By means of historical records, oral tradition and life-histories it was possible to analyze the major historical processes which have taken place since the late the village was founded. The social and economic structure of Bokaa is by way of study by means of participant observation, interviewing, the collection of case-histories and genealogies, and the analysis of the relevant literature.

The main conclusion of this study is that the principle structure of the traditional social structure are broken down and that the structure of individualism has become a characteristic feature of the society. In economic activities this is related to a change from communal to largely disappeared and individual ones. Most developments with the aim of retaining the greatest possible independence in the social realm it is noticeable that the private units of the ward, family-group and kinship groups are more and more individualistic and increasingly seek to manipulate their social relations to their own advantage. But in the process all of the traditional structure has disintegrated and another theme of the study is to point out where tradition or remnants of the tradition have held out against the forces of modernization. This is particularly true in the political sphere where the chieftainship continues to be a major force to be reckoned with. Another main finding is that there is a change taking place in the settlement pattern. Traditionally the village was the focus of tribal life although people lived at the agricultural areas during the agricultural season they had to return immediately after the harvest to the village and all social, political and religious activities took place there. Today, a large proportion of the population has begun to live semi-permanently or even permantly at the agricultural areas and this has widespread consequences on social and political life.

Though it is of course not possible to make reliable generalizations about Tswana society at large from the study of one village, it is hoped that this in-depth analysis will make a contribution towards this end by isolating certain factors which can then be tested elsewhere or compared with other findings. Bokaa in some respects is a unique village but in many others it is part of a wider society and subject to the tensions and processes within that larger system.

PREFACE

During the various stages of this study my life has taken a few dramatically new directions and the emotional and intellectual upheavals which accompanied these did not facilitate the writing of this book. It is to a large extent due to the encouragement, support and challenge of several people that this objective was ultimately realised, and therefore this customary word of thanks has much added meaning to me.

A grant from the University of Witwatersrand enabled me to live in Bokaa from May 1971 until December 1971 and from June 1972 until December 1972. In 1973 a grant from the Institute of Race Relations supported me for a few months while I was analyzing and writing up my fieldwork notes. For the guidance in the phase of fieldwork and the earlier phase of preparation I am most indepted to my supervisor, professor D. Hammond-Tooke of the Dept. of Social Anthropology of the University of Witwatersrand. As a 23 year old girl about to live in the bush I was in need of advice which extended beyond purely academic supervision and he also provided this with warmth and patience. Later when I had moved to Holland our contact out of necessity had to be limited but he continued to encourage me and to comment on my work by mail.

For a large part of the time while I lived in Bokaa I stayed with a family whose members have become my second parents, brothers and sisters. The love and friendship which Jesa and Angelina Rampa and their children have given me, I will never forget. Also invaluable was the highly intelligent and skilled assistance which I was given mr. John Mosweu, my interpreter, assistant and friend. For shorter periods of time miss Gadifele Molefe and mrs. Rachel Mphelele have assisted me ably and diligently.

I can extend my gratitude to virtually all the people of Bokaa because everyone I met has treated me with courtesy and kindness. It has been an unforgettable experience for me to see how the people of Bokaa were willing and able to lay aside their suspicions of 'whites' and treat me as an individual who was welcome in their community.

Chief Linchwe of the Kgatla has given me warm support and advice. Likewise Simon Gillett as District Commissioner of Kgatleng helped me with his comments and his friendship.

My visits to Gaborone were made pleasurable through the hospitality of David and Sarah Crowley. It was at their house that I met dr. Michael Young whose interest in my work and kind encouragement have meant a great deal to me.

After completing my fieldwork I stayed for nine months in Johannesburg and then left to live in Holland. I was temporarily employed by the Afrika-Studiecentrum at Leiden and am most indebted to the general secretary mr. G.Grootenhuis for the understanding he showed me in those difficult years. I also want to express my deepest gratitute to dr. M. Schlemper who helped to bring me back to health after a serious illness and continued to encourage me to finish this study.

Prof. Adam Kuper came to Leiden in 1976 and from that moment onwards helped me with his support, constructive criticism and vital enthusiasm. He has been an invaluable source of inspiration.

In 1977 I returned to Botswana and Bokaa for a period of four months in the employment of the Botswana Extension College. While I decided not to fundamentally alter or add to what I had written, this visit helped me to clarify some points, check some of my assumptions and correct them if necessary.

The administrative staff of the Afrika-Studiecentrum ably did the typing and stencilling of the completed version and my friend Coen van de Ende was so kind to draw the maps.

Finally, I would like to deeply thank my parents who have given me constant support throughout these years. Despite the fact that my mother has been seriously ill, they have always been ready to assist me when necessary and always willing to give without expecting a return.

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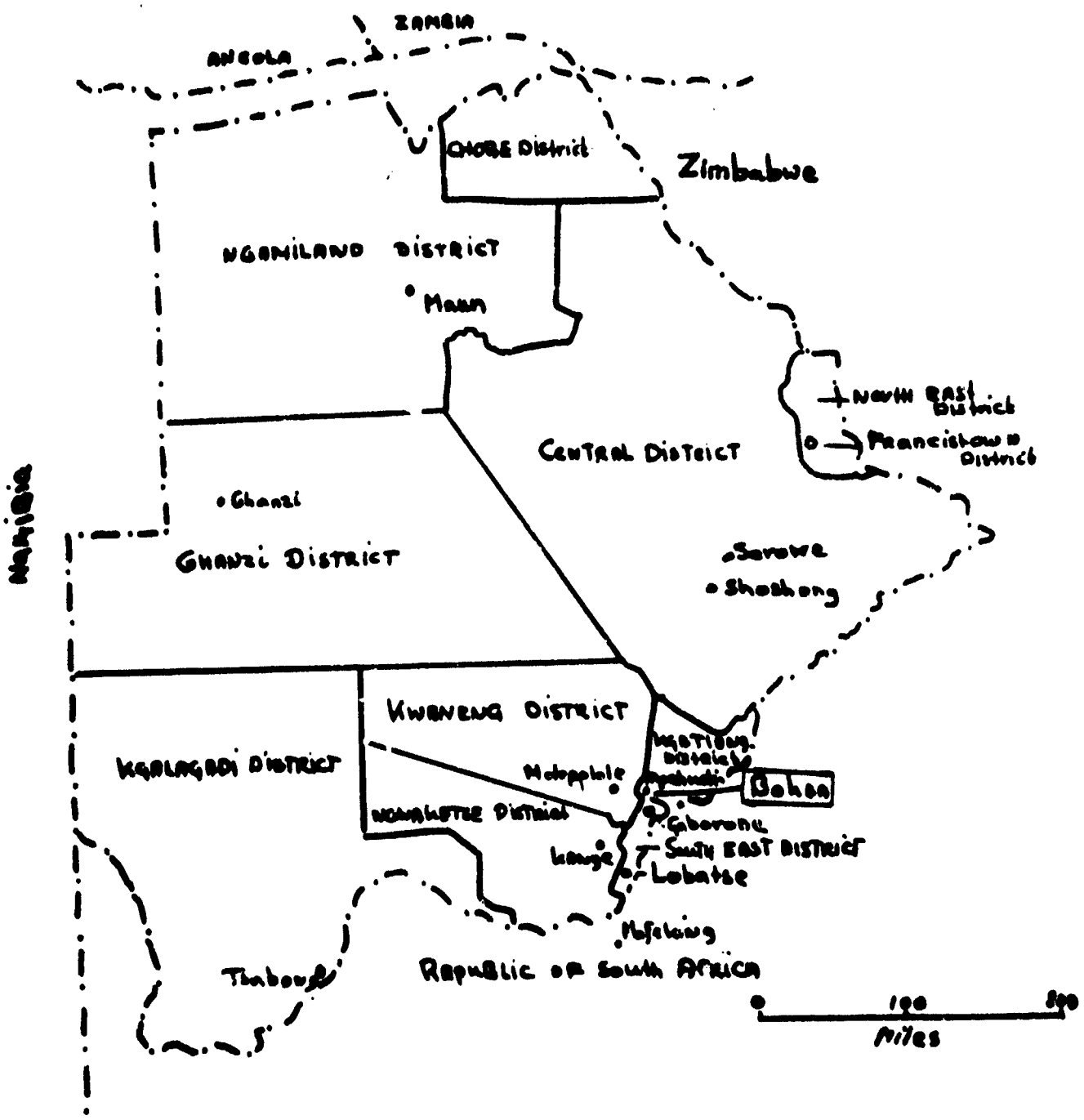
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Map I. The administrative districts of Botswana.

CHAPTER I: HISTORY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Despite their limited numbers and present low political status the Kaa, unlike many other subject Tswana communities (1), have been of interest to both western researchers and tribal 'historians' alike. Schapera devoted a whole article to their history (2), and tales of Kaa courage and endurance in former times continue to be rendered by the elders of various tribes (3). This interest was aroused for several reasons:

a) the Kaa were the first Tswana to enter the territory which is now Botswana.

b) they were witness to and often participated in virtually all the major events which have taken place in this territory.

c) their history exemplifies the processes of fission and fusion which characterizes all Tswana history (4).

d) they lost their independence and subsequently disintegrated under circumstances 'which illustrate admirably certain features of tribal politics and laws of succession' (5).

Such approaches to the events which shaped their history have little relevance to the Kaa themselves. To them the tales of their past serve to establish their present identity and provide a charter for the social relationships in which they are engaged, and they consider the most dramatic event in their history to be the loss of their autonomy. Viewed within the modern context, this is true in the sense that they have become members of a modern nation, i.e. Botswana, but in addition, already before the impact of colonialism was beginning to be felt, they had lost their tribal autonomy in a dramatic manner. Since 1893 they have been subjects of the Ngatla and prior to this they were subjects of the Kwena from 1848-1893, but before 1848 they were a free and powerful tribe which itself conquered and absorbed 'foreigners' (bafaladi). It was not an easy adjustment to become the vassal of a former equal and six generations after they lost their autonomy their former status continues to colour their outlook on the world. As can be inferred from the foregoing, a Tswana tribe is not a closed group, membership of which is permanently fixed by birth, but rather an association into which people may be born, absorbed by conquest or enter of their own

accord and from which they may depart voluntarily or be expelled (6). Officially and normatively they Kaa are Kgatla; no more than a relatively insignificant sub-group of ± 2000 people of a tribe which numbers ± 30.000 (7). Nevertheless they prefer to introduce themselves as Kaa rather than Kgatla and on many occasions (i.e. their village meetings) refer to themselves as 'tribe' (morafe). This is no act of rebellion against Kgatla dominance but merely a proud assertment of their own distinct identity and former high status.

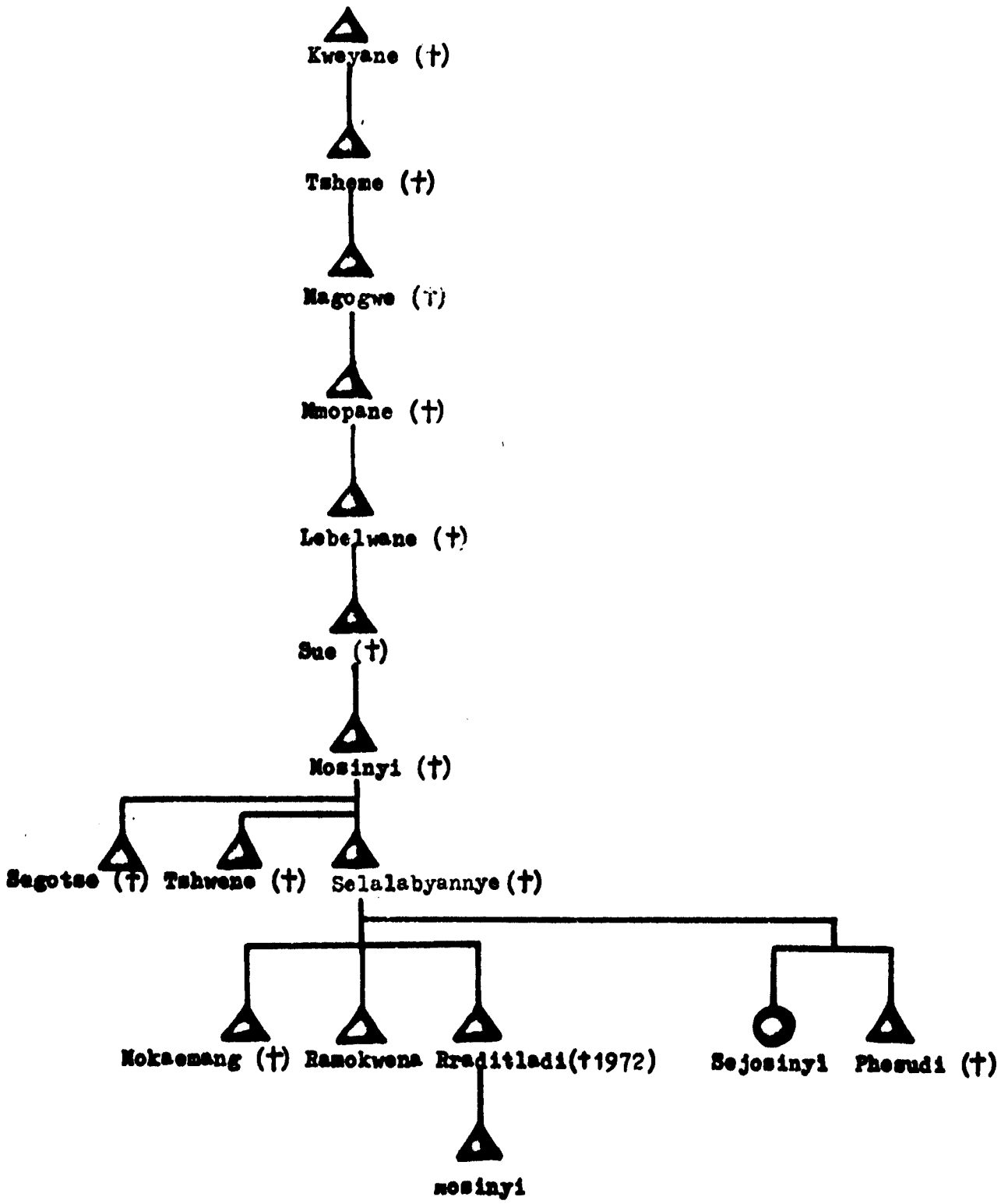
In the modern era the Kaa continue to be of interest to outside observers since their village Bokaa served as a model for the establishment of a community development programme in Botswana. As a result of a number of factors, prominent among which are a progressive cheftainship and close proximity to the urban centres of South Africa, the national capital Gaborone and the railway line, Bokaa can be regarded as one of the most advanced 'smaller' villages in Botswana. Here, perhaps more than elsewhere the reasons for the success and failures of the agents of modernization in Botswana can be examined.

Early history

The Kaa are an early offshoot of the central Rolong tribe (8). Though their totem (9) on first impression appears to differ from that of the Rolong, i.e. tlou (elephant) against tshipi (iron), it is in actual fact similar. According to Kaa tradition tlou originated out of the mispronounciation of tou, the sound of iron struck by a hammer, and many Kaa mention the hammer (noto) as an alternative totem.

They reputedly derive the name 'Kaa" from the exclamation made by the Rolong chief Tseme when informed of the departure of his son Magogwe with a following (10), i.e. 'Ba ka ya' (they can go). The place of secession was nearby the present Mafeking and though the exact date of this event is impossible to ascertain, it is evident that it occurred before the 18th century. Schapera is cautious and suggests that in all likelihood the event took place at the turn of the 17th century (11) but another authority implies that they were resident in Botswana several hundred years before the first large waves of other Tswana settled on the Crocodile river at ± 1700 A.D. (12). Be that as it may, certain is that the Kaa resided at Mopane hill (after which Magogwe's son was named), not far from the present Bokaa, at the time that the Kwena, who

The Kaa Royal Line



had previously been living in the western Transvaal, entered Botswana. In alliance with the Kwena they expelled the Kgwathleng-Kgalagadi from the area around the present Molepolole and then moved northwards, following the course of the Crocodile river until they reached a more permanent halt in the Shoshong hills (13).

The Shoshong hills were inhabited by Khurutshe and for three years the Kaa acknowledged Khurutshe overlordship and brought them tribute. Those three years were years of famine and the Khurutshe in particular suffered greatly. According to the Kaa this was no coincidence and they claim that it was their magic which brought extreme hardship upon the Khurutshe while they themselves remained relatively unscathed. The tragedy ended by the departure of many Khurutshe and a subsequent uprising of the Kaa who subjugated the remainder of their former masters (14). They were now the undisputed owners of the Shoshong territory. Under the rule of chief Mmopane, who had led them to Shoshong the Kaa were joined by tributary Phaleng-Kgalagadi and Talaote-Kalanga and during the reign of Mothlabane, Mmopane's son, by the Ngwato who had recently seceded from the Kwena (c. 1770). 'At the dawn of the 19th century the geo-political picture of the Central District was one of small highly mobile clans in a large and poorly watered territory under no effective paramountcy. Only in the Shoshong hills did communities including the Ngwato probably plough for and pay tribute to the Kaa' (15).

This picture of many small chiefdoms, linked to each other by an elementary patron-client relationship, if linked at all, was the general rule throughout the area occupied by Sotho-Tswana speakers in the early years of the nineteenth century (16). But then followed between 1810-1840 the period of chaos, internecine wars and external aggression known as the Difaqane (17). In order to escape the ferocious Zulu warriors of Chaka, many tribes became fugitives who in their turn despoiled the tribes in their path and thereby set up a general movement of destructive migration (18). For twenty years life in the entire Transvaal and Botswana area was totally disrupted, and pillage and bloodshed were the order of the day. The Kaa, Ngwato and others in the Shoshong hills were an easy prey to the hordes of the Kololo under Sebetwane (19) and the Matabele under Moselekatse (20), all the more so since they failed to stand together against their common enemy. In fact, they also frequently

fought and raided each other, each tribe trying to enrich itself, or rather to relieve its dire poverty, at the cost of the others (21). One of the Matabele raids on the Kaa is mentioned by the famous Ngwato chief Kgama III in his short orally rendered autobiography: 'the whole of the BaKaa hid in a single cave, and the Matabele could not kill a single one of them' (22).

In addition to these intertribal wars and continuous raiding parties which reduced all Tswana tribes to poverty and constant fear, the impact of the newly arrived Voortrekkers was beginning to be felt. The landhungry Boers with their guns, horses and racial pride were a threat of the first order to both Tswana and Matabele. In 1837 the Boers defeated Moselekatse so resoundingly that he fled northwards to the presentday Matabeleland in Rhodesia (23). From there he continued to raid the northern Tswana (24), but after he had endured several minor defeats from chief Sekgoma of the Ngwato, these forays became less frequent. The Kololo, after harassing the northern Tswana chiefdoms for several years, had already in 1831 swept northwards towards the Zambezi valley.

It was Sekgoma who in 1847 expelled the Kaa from the Shoshong area. Acting on the information divulged by a Kaa traitor, the Ngwato attacked a Kaa initiation school and killed all the young men (25). This disaster spelled the end of Kaa grandeur and autonomy. It was believed that the traitor was Mosinyi the son of chief Sue (died c. 1855). Sue cursed his son and declared that Mosinyi's ambitions would never be fully realised since the Kaa from that date onwards would always be the vassals of mightier chiefs. She was not only motivated by anger at his son, for with the loss of all its young men the tribe was in no position to defend itself against the attacks of marauders and hostile neighbours.

Rather than subdue his people to their Ngwato enemy, Sue intended to return to the Rolong and place himself and the tribe under their rule again (26). But matters fared differently. On their journey south they were approached by the Kwena chief Sechele for assistance in his war with some Kgalagadi groups, and after the victory they decided to remain with the Kwena. In 1848 the Kaa settled at Kolobeng. Livingstone who had been living among the Kwena since 1845 (27) mentions the arrival of the Kaa and made a census of the total population of Kolobeng arriving at a figure of 1236 Kaa against 2.384 Kwena (28).

As members of the Kwena tribe the Kaa were involved in two wars. Following Moselekatse's removal to the north, the Transvaal Afrikaners gradually extended their influence over the Tswana until by 1852 they received 'tribute' in the form of free labour (29) as far west as Mabotsa, the residence of the Manaana-Kgatla, just south-east of the Kwena. In fact, 'they saw themselves as having acquired by conquest the succession to Moselekatse's entire Transvaal empire, which they construed in the widest terms as embracing everything between the Vaal and the Limpopo and between the Kalahari desert and the Drakensberg escarpment' (30). The Transvaalers were determined to subject chiefdoms such as the Kwena because traders, hunters and missionaries were supplying the Africans with firearms and using their territories as a route to the north. At first the Kwena chief, Sechele tried to placate the 'invincible' Afrikaners, but in 1852 encouraged by Livingstone's presence, he refused to recognise Afrikaner overlordship. In the ensuing battle with a Boer commando the Kwena incurred heavy losses but managed to defend their independence and the Boers had to retreat with their booty (31). This Dimawe-Kolobeng raid was a turningpoint since it signalised the failure of the Boers to extend their control over what is now Botswana.

In the Transvaal, however, the oppressive policy of the Boers towards the African tribes continued to operate in full force (32). As a result, several tribes or sections of tribes migrated into Botswana. For the Kgafela-Kgatla, resident in the western Transvaal, the climax to their discontent came in 1869 when their chief Kgamanyane (ruled 1848-74) was publicly thrashed by a Boer field cornet (reputedly Paul Kruger himself) for refusing to provide labour. This incident was the immediate cause for the migration of the main body of Kgatla into Botswana. Another large section remained behind in the Pilanesberg district of the western Transvaal, where they are still found today (33). The migrants took up residence at Mochudi in the territory of the Kwena chief Sechele who had offered to resettle refugees from Boer rule. Originally they could only have numbered between three and four thousand people, but later their numbers were increased by further arrivals (34).

It did not take long for the friendship between the two tribes to turn sour. No sooner was Kgamanyane dead (1874) and had Lentshwe succeeded to the chieftainship (he ruled from 1875-1924) than Sechele claimed tribute from the Kgatla, alleging that they were his subjects. When they

refused to pay, he tried to expel them from Mochudi by force. His army was heavily defeated and the Kaa like the other Kwena tribesmen suffered heavy losses. The following lines in Lentshwe's praise proudly refer to the defeat of the Kaa, who had a reputation of being tough fighters:

> Mosenyi is a foolish youth.
> the son of Suwe Lebelwane,
> he took his children and cast them away,
> he gave them to the swarm at Phapane; (35)
> it seized upon them and stung them all (36).

For the next few years until 1883 there was much sporadic fighting between the two tribes, during the course of which each often raided the others cattleposts. During one such raid on Molepolole in 1876 the Kgatla confronted the Kaa again. This event is also mentioned in Lentshwe's praise:

> you see me, I am darkness, I'm coming,
> I am misery, and I am already close by,
> I am plodding up to the streets
> and to the gateways of Mosenyi's village (37).

The poem pointedly does not refer to the outcome of this skirmish for this time the Kgatla were defeated and all the cattle they had looted were captured by the Kaa.

Only in 1883 in response to the necessity to present a united front to the Boers, were the hostilities between the Kwena and Kgatla terminated (38). The outcome was that the Kgatla remained in secure possession of the territory they had occupied, while the Kwena refused to acknowledge their autonomy and ownership rights to the land. In 1885 the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland was established (39) and a new factor entered into the politics of the area. At first the British supported the Kwena point of view, but in 1889 despite protests from the Kwena they officially defined the territory claimed by Lentshwe as 'the Bakgatla Reserve'. Until this time Lentshwe himself had not acquiesced in British rule. He had refused to accept the imposition of a hut tax in 1899 and objected to the construction of a telegraph line through his territory and the building of a police camp at Gaborone (40). But during the 1890's their mutual opposition to the continuing expansion and growing might of the Boers drew the two parties together (41). In addition Lentshwe must have been aware that he was fighting a losing battle in resisting European influence. The British forces on their way to crush the Matabele kingdom has passed through his territory in 1893,

as had the pioneer column of European settlers bound for Rhodesia in 1890 (42). The latter event was the direct consequence of the cession of the territory to the British South Africa Company, a fate which threatened Bechuanaland as well (43). Lentshwe's only hope of averting British or Boer settlement in his territory was to acknowledge British protection and take a strong stand together with the other chiefs that Bechuanaland should indeed remain a Protectorate and not be handed over to either the Boers or the British South Africa Company (44). In 1896-7 Lentshwe accepted the construction of the railway north through his country and on the eve of the Anglo-Boer war the establishment of the Kgatla Tribal Reserve and imposition of the hut tax (45).

By this time a group of Kaa had already been incorporated into the Kgatla chiefdom. 45 years after the loss of their independence the 'tribe' had endured another major setback when in 1892 a dispute broke it into two factions. Shortly afterwards another dispute halved one of these factions again and by 1896 there were four separate Kaa communities living in different territories.

The first dispute was in connection with the succession to the chieftainship after Mosinyi's death (46). There were two contenders i.e. Segotso and Selalabyannye. Selalabyannye, the son of Mosinyi's first wife was the 'lawful' heir, but a complication was created by the fact that Mosinyi was not his genitor. Mosinyi had neglected but not divorced his first wife and when she bore a son by a Kwena commoner he had claimed this child as his own. Nevertheless, after Mosinyi's death Segotso, the son from the second house, disputed Selalabyannye's right of succession. The Kwena chief Sebele interfered in the ensuing dispute by recognising Segotso (his brother-in-law) as head of the Kaa. Instead of resolving the tension this action only added to it and when Sebele seized cattle from Selalabyannye's party and gave them to Segotso, friction was brought to a head. Selalabyannye together with the majority of the Kaa left the Kwena and asked for asylum among the Kgatla. This being granted, they settled at a site with an abundant watersupply (47) and founded Bokaa village.

Soon afterwards in 1895, another conflict and another division occurred. In all the above mentioned events the young Selalabyannye

and his people had been guided by his elder half-brother Tshwene, who as a mature man had been more able to make the necessary decisions. But once they were settled among the Kgatla it became apparent that Tshwene himself was not devoid of ambition either. He declared that he no longer intended to relinquish the position of authority and in addition proposed that the tribe should move again to their former place of residence, Shoshong. Selalabyannye opposed this suggestion since it implied that his tribe would be placed under the rule of the Ngwato chief Kgama III, the father-in-law of Tshwene. When Tshwene continued to prepare for the departure, Selalabyannye stated that he would remain with the Kgatla and demanded to be given his share of Mosinyi's estate (which had not yet been divided between the brothers). Though the case was brought to the Resident Commissioner, Tshwene did not acceed to Selalabyannye's claims and he departed for Shoshong with most of the cattle and people (48). According to an old informat only 45 male household heads were left behind in Bokaa. In later years some of Tshwene's followers returned to Bokaa, but by the time of the 1937 census the Shoshong Kaa still numbered twice as many, i.e. 1650 against 800 (49).

Those Kaa who had remained behind in Kwena territory also went north after having a dispute with the Kwena. In 1896-7 they settled near Shoshong at Kalamare. This group numbered 950 in 1936 while another 200 Kaa remained in Molepolole, the Kwena capital. Today the only bonds uniting these four Kaa communities are those of distant kinsmen (50).

The Kaa under Kgatla rule

From 1892 until the present the history of the Kaa has been less characterised by internally generated upheavals as by adaptation to and integration into the changing cultural, political and economic environment of the larger society of Botswana and Southern Africa. There are however, many stages in the transformation from a Kaa 'tribesman' to a citizen of this larger society and by no means all of them have been fully accomplished. Of all the extensions of identity which the 'tribesman' has been asked to make, the first, i.e. the incorporation into the Kgatla chiefdom, was the simplest to achieve. The pattern was familiar; when still independent the Kaa had frequently incorporated 'foreigners' (51) and now they themselves were such 'foreigners' within a larger

tribe. Except for a loss of pride, the emotional significance of which must not be underestimated, they were not expected to adapt to new values and institutions. Of course in a later phase innovations and novel ideas reached the Kaa via the tribal capital Mochudi but this was the outcome of a different process. The colonial and later the independent national government, as well as other agents of change, used an existing structural framework, i.e. the traditional one, to penetrate the more remote rural areas. But first of all, the Kaa had to become Kgatla citizens. Despite a very short interval of rebellion against Kgatla authority (see page 14) this was accomplished smoothly.

This is not to say that the Kaa lost all of their autonomy with their incorporation into the Kgatla chiefdom, for in respect of the fact that they were once an independent tribe they were accorded a relatively high degree of independence. Though at the time of their arrival all Kgatla lived concentrated in the tribal capital, the Kaa were allocated their own area, marked off by the boundary with the Kwena territory, the railway line (built 1896-7) and the Boswelakgosi range of hills. Strategic considerations played a role in this allocation since a Kwena invading force would have to reckon first with the Kaa on their borders before being able to reach the vital centre of the chiefdom. This factor does not defract however, from the genuineness of the Kgatla intention to grant the Kaa chief considerable authority within this area. He was granted control over the allocation of land, was allowed to exact the usual chiefly tribute from his subjects and during chief Lentshwe's reign held his own initiation, rainmaking and first fruit ceremonies.

This latter privilege was withdrawn by chief-regent Isang (ruled 1920-29) but a differentiation between Bokaa and other tributary villages of Mochudi continued to exist. Its head is officially not a headman but a sub-chief (52) (also referred to as kgosi) and in recognition of this higher status he formerly was entitled to tribute in the form of agricultural produce and the exacting of tribal labour. In contrast, the other outlying villages had to give tribute to and plough a field for the Kgatla chief. Today tribute is no longer rendered but the Kaa sub-chief is accorded a higher salary than a headman. Courtfines had to be passed on to Mochudi but it was tacitly understood that the Kaa chief would reserve a certain proportion to himself. In theory the Kaa also retained the right to leave the Kgatla should they wish to do so, al-

though it remains an open question whether such an action would indeed have been placidly agreed to.

On the other hand, though the Kgatla chief accorded the Kaa these privileges, he certainly did not relinguish control over the village. Together with the other outlying villages Bokaa was fitted into an administrative framework which to some extent counteracted the political consequences of decentralization. The Kgatla tribe is divided into five sections: Kgosing, Morena, Tshukudu, Mmabodisa and Mmanamakgote; each comprised of many wards and headed by the headman of the most senior ward. These sections are not clearly defined territorial units dividing the chiefdom into districts, for their headquarters are found in Mochudi itself and the outlying villages are allied to these. It is the usual policy to assign a foreigner or foreign group such as the Kaa to Kgosing, the section headed by the Kgatla royal house, for this gives the chief direct control over foreigners while it also ensures that his section is more numerous than others (53).

As a result of this structure there was no intermediate authority between the Kaa chief and the Kgatla chief. The former was responsible only to the latter and cases on appeal from his court could only go to the main kgotla (viz. both the councilplace and the people gathered there) in Mochudi. Though the Kaa chief was granted almost autonomous powers in the government of his village, the Kgatla chief retained the prerogative to depose him should he prove an unsatisfactory ruler and/or disloyal subject. He had to attend the regular meetings of headmen in Mochudi while on special occasions the whole village was called to attend a general tribal meeting (phutego). A ward by the name of BaRakgole had the duty to provide the Kaa with food and accomodation on such occasions and acted as an intermediary in their dealings with the Kgatla chief. The headman of this ward was expected to remain informed about all events concerning Bokaa and report these to the Kgatla chief and to notify the Kaa of all events and meetings in Mochudi.

Among the most important factors promoting the integration of the Kaa into the Kgatla tribe were the regimental system and the rainmaking powers of the Kgatla chief (54). Both created a sense of loyalty and dependence which went beyond mere adherence to a political authority. Although the Kaa were allowed to conduct their own rainmaking ceremonies during the reign of chief Lenthswe they nevertheless believed that the

rituals performed by the 'owner of the land', i.e. the Kgatla chief, were more effective. It was on him and his successors that they felt dependent for their welfare, and the strength of this feeling can hardly be overestimated in a country where it is so difficult to eke out a living from a poor soil under adverse climatic conditions. The moral of the following story needs no further comment. In approximately the year 1930 both the people of Bokaa and the neighbouring village Morwa were called to Mochudi to help in building a bridge. The Morwa people (who are the descendants of a party of Kgatla commoners who arrived long after the initial Kgatla settlers) did their very best to avoid this irksome duty but the Kaa obediently complied. For this the latter were rewarded in the rainy season by an abundant rainfall while Morwa village, only a few miles away, suffered under a severe drought.

At regular intervals age-regiments for men and women were created (55). Until 1902 the formation of a new regiment was preceded by lengthy initiation ceremonies (termed bogwera and bojale for men and women respectively), which for the men included circumcision. Pressured by Christian missionaries Chief Lentshwe abolished these ceremonies in the afore-mentioned year (56). This was certainly not an act of legislation which had public approval and for . / years groups of Kaa went to be circumcised among the Kwena who at that time had revived these practices. Chief-regent Isang (57) put an end to such subterfuges by imposing heavy penalties on those who attempted to circumvent tribal legislation in this manner. Since 1902 Kgatla regiments have been formed with relatively little ceremony; an initiation period of a few weeks without circumcision replaced the former elaborate rites and lenghty instructions (58). Nevertheless until recent years the institution did continue to figure prominently in tribal life.

A regiment was internally divided in accordance with the general tribal structure into sections, villages, wards etc. but at the same time it created a sense of pride and identification which went beyond these internal divisions. It was a tribal grouping, which met regularly for corporate actions and which was an important means of classification. Even today an individual will often mention his regimental name when introducing himself, and the ranking order based on the seniority of regiments can be seen to operate on many public occasions. At any time the chief could call upon one or more regiments to work for him per-

sonally or for the common good. They performed tasks such as the rounding up of stray cattle, searching for lost children etc. and were a work force for the development of the infrastructure and facilities of the village. Bridges, schools, roads etc. were built in this manner and occasionally it even happened that regiments were sent to work in the mines with the instruction to bring back a specified sum of money. During the 1880's Lentshwe sent regiments to the Kimberley mines and taxed them on their return in order to provide the tribe with the required firearms against their actual and potential enemies, i.e. Kwena, Boer and British. Chief Isang called upon his own regiment "Machechele' and the members of 'Mafatshwane' to contribute £5 and £4 respectively towards the cost of building the BaKgatla National School. As they were told to earn this money with their own hands and were not permitted to sell their cattle for the purpose, virtually all these men, were forced to go to the Witwatersrand gold mines (59). In the actual building the heavy unskilled work was also done by tribal regiments: 'The mephato (regiments) who had been left at home had been making bricks and slaking lime... The bricks were passed up the hill by a long line of men and women each carrying three bricks, you could find half a mile of them in several directions from the brick fields. Women carried water to the builders'. (60) As members of the tribal regiments the Kaa were involved in all such activites. They were expected to contribute the same amount of labour as any true Kgatla living in Mochudi. That this aroused Kaa resentment was not so much due to these requirements themselves, but rather to the lack of reciprocity as regards the provision of services for their own village. Full tribal regiments were called to work in Mochudi but were never ordered to do any such work in the outlying villages. For the public works within their own village the Kaa had to rely on themselves alone. The Kaa chief did call out the local branches of the tribal regiments but needless to say such major tasks as were performed in Mochudi could not be achieved with a limited number of men and women. Although they felt resentment, the Kaa feared the consequences of ignoring the Kgatla chief's calls to duty too much to demur openly.

Nevertheless, few demands were made upon the Kaa in their new role of Kgatla subjects. But the adjustment to their change of identity was not easy and nostalgic reminiscences about their more glorious past

remain until today. This was fostered to no small degree by the manner in which they were regarded by the Kgatla proper. Their status was ambivalent. On the one hand they were recognised as a formerly independent tribe whose chief at one tir would have been the equal of the Kgatla chief, and thus accorded a higher status and special privileges. On the other hand, they were 'foreigners' (bafaladi) and thus third rate citizens. Traditional Tswana social structure is characterised by a division into four strata, viz. nobles, commoners, foreigners and serfs. While it is difficult to use the concept 'class' in this context, considerable social distance did exist between these strata. The Kaa as 'foreigners' were despised; intermarriage between a Kaa and Kgatla commoner, let alone a noble, was disapproved of and in personal contacts they were often subjected to derogatory demarks. This situation no longer pertains today, but the feeling of humiliation which it engendered is still referred to. It no doubt contributed to the ambitious efforts of one Kaa chief to seek secession from the Kgatla.

In 1910 chief Selalabyannye died. Once again problems arose over the succession. The heir, Phesudi, was still a youth and it proved no easy matter to find a regent. All the high ranking nobles had left with Tshwene for Shoshong and the on ning candidate of high rank was deemed unsuitable. This man, M , head of Maalatwsana ward was the descendant of a certain Modiko. Modiko had abused his powers when acting as regent for chief Sue and the fear of history repeating itself was openly stated by the village elders. Morwagole in a fury left the village and Siamangwe, a commoner but loyal retainer and office bearer of Selalabyannye, took on the regentship. In 1927 Phesudi came of age and was installed.

It was soon apparent that the young man was not satisfied with being a mere sub-chief. Before his installation he had already indulged in such ostentatious displays as the possession of a motor car, European clothes etc., and these first signs of a high ambition were confirmed when he took office. At his installation ceremony he wore a leopard skin, the prerogative of a true chief, and soon afterwards his aim was publicly stated. He wanted full independence from the Kgatla and claimed the territory which the Kgatla had given the Kaa in usufruct as his own. He commenced the building of a tribal office in Bokaa for the collection of taxes and had gone already as far as procuring his own stamp (pic-

turing an elephant) with which the travel permits of Kaa migrants were to be stamped. Then suddenly he died, one year after taking office. Anyone acquainted with traditional African ways of thought can understand the effect this had on the Kaa. As a matter of fact witchcraft was accepted as the cause of death of such a young man, but the usual dark rumours hinted this time at a political intrigue and even at the personal involvement of the Kgatla chief. To the Kaa it was a stern warning that they were to obey Kgatla authority or otherwise suffer the consequences of dire misfortune. It was established once and for all that the powers of the Kgatla chief far exceeded those of the Kaa chief and that the only reasonable course of action was to acquiesce in his rule.

The twentieth century

In the course of the twentieth century the tribe was ever increasingly absorbed into a large scale society (61). They became linked to a national political centre; the South African economic centre; and the imperialist centre in Europe, i.e. Britain. In the gradual adaptation to new values and structures the fabric of traditional society was slowly corroded until today only the vestiges of 'traditional' Tswana society and culture remain.

From about 1830 onwards the Tswana tribes were visited by traders, hunters and explorers. Towards the end of the 19th century trading stores, mission stations and schools had been established in all tribal capitals and many men were going to work in the South African mines. The Europeans had created a new political and economic system, introduced new means of travel and communication and brought a new religion. As they came from abroad, they extended the range and diversity of Tswana social contacts, and developments in the tribal areas came to be affected by events and decisions in other parts of the world. Thus Tswana men became involved in both world wars as noncombatant auxiliaries to the British forces. In Bokaa, stories about service in places as far as Italy, Egypt and the Lebanon are still commonly heard.

Colonial rule initially altered relatively little to the structure of traditional society (62). The British had deprived the chief of some

executive and judicial powers (1891) imposed an annual hut tax (1899) demarcated tribal reserves (1899) and stationed police and district commissioners in each tribal capital, but until 1934 the order-in-council which provided that the Resident Commissioner should respect native law and custom remained operative and interference in tribal affairs negligible. The crux of the matter was British policy regarding the chieftainship. The chief was the focus of tribal life and its main stay, and therefore as long as his position remained untouched, no major structural changes could take place. The British aimed at minimal interference in the existing authority hierarchy and made little efforts at modernising the country. Elementary veterinary, agricultural and medical services were introduced but little else was done.

In 1934 the Native Administration and Native Tribunal Proclamations appeared and for the first time the power of the chiefs was considerably interfered with. Chiefs were legally obliged to obey the instructions of the Resident Commissioner and become responsible for promoting the social and economic welfare of the people as directed by the administration. In 1938 local Tribal Treasuries were set up and a finance committee chaired by the chief became responsible for the development of education and agriculture. Despite such changes tribal structure remained basically intact and the system of Indirect Rule continued to function.

Only with the advent and attainment of Independence was this picture substantially altered. The new politicians seek modernization of the country, the establishment of a sense of nationhood and the legitimization of their position. To realise these ends the old institutions on which traditional Tswana society was based had to be altered and new ones which are better geared towards the attainment of the above goals created. In a following chapter the new legislation and the processes which it generated, will be discussed in more detail; here it suffices to spell out the immediate effects on Bokaa village internally and on its relations with the tribal capital.

The traditional political structure which effected the integration of the Kaa into the Kgatla tribe has been disrupted quite decisively. The Kaa no longer attend political meetings in Mochudi, contacts with the Kgatla chief are infrequent and the various rituals and ceremonies which were strong supports of the chieftainship and tribal unity have been abolished. This is not to say that the links with Mochudi have been

totally severed, but rather that these now have to be sought within a different framework. It is the modern rather than the traditional institutions which link the Kaa to the centre of the chiefdom. For the chiefdom today has become an administrative district and its capital the seat of the technical officers, officials and councils which have become responsible for the running of the district. Once every five years the Kaa elect a councillor who sits on the District Council and who is expected to act as a communication channel between the village and the council. Matters such as education, sanitation, road maintenance, water supply, health services etc. are no longer in the hands of the chief but concern the District Council. In addition the governmental extension services are also stationed in the tribal capital and its officers in the outlying villages. In 1972 there resided in Bokaa an agricultural extension officer, a community development assistant, six school-teachers, a policeman, a court clerk, a tax collector and a nurse who was aligned with the Dutch Reformed Mission Hospital in Mochudi.

Besides furthering modernization these new personalities and institutions are intended to stimulate a sense of nationhood which surpasses the former tribalism. In advance of the more thorough analysis which will follow later it can be mentioned here that this objective has only been partially realised. A paradoxical situation holds at present. While of necessity the people are drawn into the framework of the newly created structures, as they have to pay taxes, elect parliamentary and district council candidates, obey police officials, have their cattle vaccinated etc., many appear to have greater difficulty in conceptusing the modern system in its totality, in other words beyond the single manifestations which affect their lives, than the old one which at present hardly functions. Old conceptions die slowly and though at present it is convenient for most tribesmen to let the old order slowly slide into ruin, it is another matter altogether to deny its legitimacy. In this respect one notices a significant difference between the older and the younger generation. While the older generation, especially the illiterate older men, continues to cling to the past, the younger people are much more aware and more favorably disposed towards the modern system. But even they continue to respect traditional authority. Most Kaa still acknowledge the Kgatla hegemony, and in fact most people hold the Kgatla chief in higher esteem than the senior civil servants and

[illegible]ians, although in practice they exhibit very little active [illegible]rest in 'tribe', 'chiefdom' and 'chief'. Their world view is at va[illegible]ce with the practical activities and concerns of their daily lives. It remains one of the major tasks of the national government to build a sense of national rather than tribal identity and explain the functioning of the new machinery to the rural man.

Bokaa has a rather interesting position as regards these issues. It has served as an example of village development to the rest of rural Botswana. In 1965 it was selected as a model for village development achieved through the work of a community development assistant (C.D.A.) The reasons given for its selection were:

a) it lay in a district which was a fairly compact entity, neither extremely large nor one of the smallest in the country, i.e. it was a medium example;
b) the district had a well-organised tribal administration;
c) the chief (i.e. the Kgatla chief) and the tribal councillors of the district were keen on attempting this kind of development, as indeed was the district commissioner;
d) the local (viz. district) leaders considered that Bokaa was extremely suitable and it was a clearly identifiable village community with a population of about 1700;
e) it had a headman, fairly elderly and held in considerable respect by his people, who was well disposed toward the idea of change and improvement in the village;
f) it was within easy travelling distance for both the district and national capitals (Mochudi and Gaborone respectively) and hence more convenient for supervision (63).

Here it may be added that it was not only that the chief was favourably disposed to progress, but that he had in fact initiated various projects himself. Bokaa occupies an outstanding position in the District by having built its own school. In 1952 chief Rraditladi ordered all to contribute money and labour towards the building of a primary school. Other smaller projects followed. Rraditladi's ambition was realised in such manner. While fearful of the path to glory which his deceased half-brother had sought, he thus re-established a name for his people and their ruler which was in accordance with their former status.

The project was initially successful (64) but then the response petered out. To no small extent this was due to the absence of a strong leader backed by authority. The chief no longer had the power to act in his formely autocratic manner and he had become embittered and despondent at his changed status. Officially his tasks were now limited to chair

the general village meetings, (usually referred to as kgotla meetings), ex officio membership of the various committees which presently run village affairs and a judicial function. The new officials and committees did not gain the same influence the chief had possessed and when internal political conflicts obfuscated the goals, all enthusiasm appeared to be lost. Another major reason why people refused to contribute their labour was that they had come to expect payment for any work rendered. The idea of 'free labour' even as 'self-help', had become repugnant to them.

Nevertheless the results of the efforts to build an infrastructure in accordance with the needs of modernization are visible in the village. A clinic, a Red Cross dispensary, a community centre and a church distinguish this village from others. In addition two boreholes, two dams, three shops and a few brick houses testify to 'progress'. Village life today is to a large degree centred around these buildings and the institutions which they represent. The 'stuff of politics' (65) concerns the maintenance of boreholes, conflicts within the Parents Teachers Association, the embezzlement of money from the treasury of the Community Centre Committee, the election of Village Development Committee members and most important of all, the 'self-help' which ought to be engaged in. It is a far cry from the days when the chief was all-powerful and warfare and internal disputes were the major political issues. Only the hardship involved in securing economic survival has remained the same.

Today, however, economic survival signifies more than it did some generations ago. The need for consumer items is firmly established and has to be calculated into an appreciation of poverty. Traders have been visiting the tribe since the beginning of the 19th century, but with the growing demand for their products they settled in the tribal areas. Bokaa has had a trading store since 1949. Its presence stimulated the desire for trade goods and this in turn led to the decay of traditional arts and crafts. To satisfy their new needs men became migrant labourers and sold their corn and cattle to the traders. From 1870 Tswana migrants have been working in the South African mines, at first in Kimberley but after the discovery of gold in 1886 the Witwatersrand became the major employment centre. The great droughts of 1894, 1913 and 1932 and the rinderpest epidemic of 1896 increased the flow of labour to the cities and as a result the village became ever-increasingly integrated into the

market economy and correspondingly into the web of the South African economy. Clothes, sugar, tea, maize meal have become standard requirements, and in addition luxury items such as bicycles and radios are desired. The values of a consumer society which promotes a pre-occupation with external appearances and the consumption of luxuries, have penetrated even such rural backwaters as Bokaa. The three shops, which the village possesses today, are well stocked with skin lighteners, lacy petticoats, nylon stockings, tobacco, sweets and cool drinks, although essentials such as nutritious food may be lacking to those who purchase these goods. The villager is subjected to the sophisticated advertising campaigns in glossy magazines, radio broadcasts and mail order catalogues from South Africa and it is not surprising that he has come to covet the material goods which have become the symbols of the 'good life' and a high status. Most of the products come from South Africa, for the protection offered to South African products as a result of the Customs Unions between South Africa and the Protectorates has allowed them to assume a dominant position. With the cash obtained from migrant labour the villager buys goods from South Africa and thus the money returns where it came from with minimal benefits to the village economy itself. Furthermore the price which the Tswana receive for their livestock is to a large extent determined by the fluctuations in the South African market. This latter dependency was broken to some extent by the establishment of the abattoir in Lobatse in 1952 which after 1900 made it possible to reach the world market more directly.

Besides the obvious political consequences of this tight-knit relationship with South Africa, the economic ones have been a mixed blessing as well. On the one hand many have been saved from hardship, even starvation, by the cash earned in the mines and from the sale of cattle but on the other relatively superfluous needs have been created and there is a streng tendency to neglect the economic assets within the village itself in favour of cash employment. Most men become migrant labourers but few care to engage in the progressive agricultural and animal husbandry practices promoted by the government. Initially men were encouraged, at times almost forced, to work in the mines, but the time may come when mechanisation and an increased employment rate of local labour may change South African labour policy towards Botswana. As

migrant labour in the form in which it exists today is not sufficiently rewarding to permit of any real investment and subsequent development of the rural economy, such an event might well spell catastrophe. Luckily the large mining deposits found in Botswana itself will provide an alternative means of cash income, but with a population growth of 3½ % per annum it is clear that this alone will not be sufficient. 'The labour force grows at between 2% and 3% each year, and of this increase modern sector employment can rarely absorb more than half' (66). The future of rural Botswana will depend on the success in reforming agriculture and animal husbandry. Today the central issues and tensions of village life revolve around poverty and dissatisfaction on the one hand and the pull between the city and the concerted drive to promote rural development on the other. The villager himself is hardly aware as yet of all that is at stake but the tensions are unmistakably present and the effects are visible to an outside observer in all spheres of social and economic life. At best the full transition from a traditional selfreliant society to a modernised nation is a slow and painful process, at worst it will entail the sacrifice of many in order to attain a new standard of living for the remainder.

Notes:

1) Legassick, M.-1969. 'The Sotho-Tswana peoples before 1800'. In Thompson, L. (ed.), African Societies in southern Africa. London: Heinemann, p. 100.

2) Schapera, I.-1945. 'Notes on the history of the Kaa'. African Studies, 4, pp. 109-21.

3) In particular I would like to thank Mr Amos Kgamanyane Pilane of the Kgatla tribe and the late chief Rraditladi of the Kaa for the wealth of information which they imparted to me.

4) Schapera, I.-1953. The Tswana. London: International African Institute; Ethnographic Survey of Africa (ed. D. Forde), p. 35.
Legassick, M.-op. cit. (1969), p. 86-125.

5) Schapera, I. op. cit. (1945), p. 109.

6) Schapera, I. op. cit. (1953), p. 35.

7) Report on the Population Census-1971. Gaborone: Government Printer.

8) The ruler list of the Rolong goes back fourteen generations before their famous chief Tau (c. 1700-1760) to the two mythical ancestors Morolong and Noto who might therefore have lived about 1300 to 1400.

9) The totem is an emblem which is usually but not always an animal. It has little or no significance besides prescribing certain ritual avoidances and categorising people. There are no marriage restrictions or prescriptions for behaviour within such a category.

10) Besides Rolong proper, Magogwe took with him some Taung, (totem tau-lion) a subject group of the Rolong. Descendants of these Taung are still found in Bokaa today and until recently they had retained their low status as servants of the chief.

11) Schapera, I. op. cit. (1945), pp. 109.

12) Campbell, A. and Child, G.-1971. 'The impact of man on the environment of Botswana'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 3, p. 96.

13) The main body of Kaa went to Shoshong, but another section under Motswaila trekked north to VuKalanga becoming the Sebina people.

14) The descendants of these Khurutshe are still found among the Kaa today.

15) Parsons, Q. - 1973. 'On the origins of the baMaNgwato'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 96.

16) Lye, W.-1969. 'The distribution of the Sotho peoples after the Difaqane'. In Thompson, L. (ed.), African Societies in southern Africa. London: Heinemann, p. 191.

17) Difaqane translates as 'forced migration'.

18) For accounts of the Difaqane and its impact on the Tswana, see for example:

Wilson, M. and Thompson, L. (eds.)-1969. The Oxford History of Africa. Vol. I. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, pp. 390-405.

Parsons, Q.N. op. cit. (1973).

Lye, W. op. cit. (1969).

Northcott, C.-1961. Robert Moffat: Pioneer in Africa. London: Lutterworth Press, pp. 87-107.

19) Andrew Smith mentions that the Kaa were attacked successively by the Kololo leaders Rramabusetse and Sebetwana who deprived them of all their cattle.

Kirby, P.R. (ed.)-1940. The diary of Andrew Smith, 1834-1836. Vol. II. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society; Publications no.'s 20, 21, p. 196.

20) Schapera states 'The Kaa (although their own traditions are silent on the subject) seem to have been conquered about 1830, and thereafter, like other subjected tribes, they were compelled to herd the cattle of the Tebele'. Schapera, I. op. cit. (1945), p. 113, but he does not mention the sources from which he gained this information. As Matabele raids continued and as the Kaa lived too far from the Matabele homeland to make control over such cattle herds possible, it can be questioned whether Schapera is correct in this statement.

21) See for example:

Parsons, Q.N. (ed.)-1972. 'Khama's account of himself'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 4, pp. 137-145.

Kirby, P.R. (ed.) op.cit. (1972), p. 217.

22) Parsons, Q.N. (ed.) op. cit. (1972), p. 142.

23) See Northcott, C. op.cit. (1961), pp. 163-164.

24) Ibid., p. 262.

25) For a more detailed account of this event see Schapera, I. op. cit. (1945).

26) Schapera states that the Kaa intended to go to the Kgatla chief Pilane in the Transvaal, but Kaa informants did not agree with this contention.

27) Okhiro, G.Y.-1973. 'Resistance and accomodation: Bakwena-bagaSechele 1842-52.' Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 107 et al.

28) Chamberlin, D. (ed.)-1940. Some Letters from Livingstone, 1840-72. London: Oxford University Press, p. 129.

29) Livingstone commented that Moselekatse 'while cruel to his enemies' was 'kind to those he conquered, but the Boers destroyed their enemies and made slaves of their friends'.
See also Northcott, C. op.cit. (1961), pp. 182; 192-4; 201-2.

30) Wilson, M.-1969. 'Afrikaner Republics and African States'. In Wilson, M. and L. Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa, vol II. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, p. 438.

31) Northcott, C. op. cit. (1961), pp. 194-6.

32) See for example:
Feddema, H.-1972 Transvaal-Botswana Kiezen voor de Moderne Wereld. Baarn: Wereldvenster, pp. 29-31.
Thompson, L.-1969. 'Cooperation and conflict in the Highveld' In Wilson, M. and Thompson, L. (eds.) op. cit. (1969), pp. 436-37.

33) In 1902 the Kgatla chief Lentshwe, resident in the Protectorate, asked the Transvaal government authorities (British at the time) to recognise him as chief of all the Kgatla living in the Transvaal. This would imply an incorporation of the land on which these Kgatla lived and not surprisingly his request was refused. He was, however, allowed to nominate a deputy to act for him at Saulspoort (Transvaal). In 1903 he nominated his full brother Ramono as chief of the Transvaal. Until very recently the Kgatla chief continued to receive tribute from the Saulspoort branch. Only in the 1960's as a result of South African politics (i.e. the creation of Bantustans) was this relationship ended.

34) Grant, S.-1973. 'Mochudi-the transition from village to town'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 2.

35) Phapane is a hill a little west from central Mochudi. The Kgatla probably lived on top of this hill and the range behind it during the war with the Kwena.

36) Schapera, I.-1965. Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, p. 90.

37) Ibid., p. 92.

38) The Rolong ruler Montshiwa visited the Tswana chiefs in order to urge them to present a united front against the spread of Boer setlers into Botswana.
Truschel, L.W.-1972. 'Nation-building and the Kgatla: the role of the Anglo-Boer War'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 4. p. 185.

39) Since that date Bechuanaland came to consist of two distinct political entities. First there was the Bechuanaland Protectorate which in 1966 became the Republic of Botswana. Secondly there is the region south of the Molopo (the river which forms the southern border of Botswana) which became British Bechuanaland and later part of Cape Colony and thus presently is part of the Republic of South Africa.

40) Truschel, L.W. op. cit. (1972), p. 185.

41) Ibid., pp. 185-193.

42) Ibid., pp. 187.

43) In 1895 British Bechuanaland was annexed to the Cape Colony. It was the intention to transfer the region north of the Molopo river (i.e. what is now Botswana) to Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company.

44) In 1895 the chiefs of the largest tribes, i.e. Ngwato, Ngwaketse, Kwena, went to England to protest the British intentions mentioned in the previous note. There was an upsurge of public opinion in favour of the Tswana and it was agreed that the territory would remain directly under the Crown.

45) During the Boer war the Kgatla on two occasions fought the Boers. For the rest of the war they looted cattle from farms and tribesmen in the Transvaal.

46) For a more detailed account see Schapera, I. op. cit. (1945).

47) According to very old informants the river Thlakgamane, a tributary to the Metsemotlaba, held water vitually all year in those days. Today both rivers hold water only after heavy rains. Although there is the common tendency to idealise the past, the disastrous impact that man has had on Botswaana's delicate environment has been too well proven to doubt that the surface water supply has indeed dwindled dramatically.

48) Old informants tell me that this occasion was the first time they experienced the procedure of 'voting'. Each person was asked to publicly state his preference for either Selalabyannye or Tshwene. Since Tshwene had most of the wardheads on his hand he easily secured the majority.

49) Mentioned in Schapera, I. op. cit. (1945), p. 118.

50) Many people in Bokaa still keep contact with their relatives in Shoshong. For example, at the burial of chief Kgaditladi in 1972 his fathers brothers, the heads of the other Kaa communities, played an important role in the funeral ceremonies.

51) At present Bokaa counts 11 wards and/or subwards with totems different from the Kaa proper. This implies that these are foreigners absorbed into the tribe. Of some groups the history is known, of others it has been lost or deliberatley forgotten because of the humiliations of a low status. There are, for example, Talaote-Kalanga, Khurutse, Kwena, Taung, Kgalagadi, Malete.

52) For that reason I will continue to refer to him as 'chief' and explicitly refer to his overlord as the 'Kgatla chief'.

53) This principle operates at lower structural levels of the traditional society as well. Thus, foreigners in Bokaa were assigned to the ward of the chief, which was also termed 'Kgosing'. I, myself became a member of Kgosing in this manner.

54) 'It was Modimo (God) who sent rain and the chief's role was essentially that of an intermediary seeking rain from him on behalf of the tribe. But Modimo was too remote to be reached by the pleas of living men... He could be approached only through the spirits of the dead (Badimo) and the chief's task was to pray to his own ancestors asking them to intercede with Modimo'.
Schapera, I.-1971. Rainmaking Rites of Tswana Tribes. Leiden: Afrika Studiecentrum-African Social Research Documents, vol. 3, p. 16.

55) For further information see: Schapera, I.-1938. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., pp. 104-117; 317.

56) Lentshwe was converted to Christianity in 1892 by Dutch Reformed missionaries. Besides abolishing circumcision ceremonies he also introduced laws which enforced monogamy, the abolition of work on Sundays and replaced the rituals concerned with agriculture by Christian services.

57) Isang was Lentshwe's second son by the first wife. His elder brother Kgafela died a young men in 1914 and when Lentshwe became too ill to attend to tribal affairs Isang was made acting chief on behalf of Kgafela's son Molefe.

58) In 1975, two years after I had left the field, chief Linchwe reinstituted initiation and circumcision. The operation was performed by a western doctor.

59) Pilane, Amos, Kgamanyane-1973. 'Notes on early educational efforts among the BaKgatla'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 121.

60) Ibid.

61) For the concepts 'large scale' and 'small scale' societies see: Wilson, G. and Wilson, M.-1968. The Analysis of Social Change. Cambridge: University Press, pp. 24-

62) See, among others:

Stevens, R.P.-1967. Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. The Former High Commission Territories in Southern Africa. London: Pall Ma[illegible]ress, p. 124 et al.

Sillery, A.-1952. The Bechuanaland Protectorate. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Schapera, I.-1970. Tribal Innovators. Tswana Chiefs and Social Change 1795-1940. London: Athlone Press, pp. 51-67.

63) Wass, P.-1972. 'The history of Community Development in Botswana in the 1960's'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 4, p. 87.

64) Ibid.

65) See Kuper, A.-1970. Kalahari Village Politics. Cambridge: University Press, pp. 93-109.

66) Van Rensburg, P.-1973. 'Boiteko'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 12.

CHAPTER II: THE CHIEFTAINCY IN CHANGE

The brief historical outline in chapter I indicated how the powerful hereditary chiefs have shaped or played an active part in shaping the events and processes which have beset the peoples of Botswana. Though the chief's influence has dwindled dramatically in the post-independence years, one must not hasten to think that they have quitted the scene of power altogether. Indeed, it is generally recognised that the traditional authorities continue to be a force to be .oned with at the national level (1) and even more so at the local level. For many of the aims of rural development the active co-operation of the chiefs or headmen is essential, as they are still able to mould tribal opinion to a large degree.

Nevertheless, the observer is first and foremost struck by the relative powerlessness of these former 'giants'. Against the many vivid written and oral accounts of the past, the present situation is indeed little more than a meagre display of frustrated power. The significance of this change can only be grasped within the total context of Tswana culture. As has been emphasized time and again by various authors, the chief was the central figure round whom tribal life revolved and through whom the activities of the tribe were ordered and controlled (12). The past in which these statements held true is not too far distant. Though colonial rule did alter much in the content of chiefly rule, a fundamental power monopoly remained in his hands. No more than a gradual process of change occurred in the period 1885-1965, but after 1965 the change was sharp and dramatic. In an assessment of the changes in the powerstructure it is more correct to contrast pre-Independence and post-Independence than to compare the present to a hypothetical stage before the coming of the Europeans. This follows the conceptual distinction made by the villagers themselves, as they refer to the years before Independence as the 'old times'.

In Bokaa the clash between traditionalist and modern forces was particularly manifest, since the 'old order' was powerfully represented in the person of its chief Rraditladi. It is probably true that in villages headed by weaker personalities the forces of modernization had already before Independence created deep inroads into the traditional

powerstructure. Not so in Bokaa, however. Chief Rraditladi was an intelligent and forceful man with enough realism and ambition to aim at the modernization of the village. Traditional and modern needs were to be satisfied by chiefly rule not in opposition to it. Though published at a much earlier date the numerous publications of Schapera on the political system of the Tswana are largely applicable to the Bokaa of the early 1960's (3). A brief analysis of chiefly rule in those days is essential for an understanding of presentday politics since all parties concerned continue to act in reference to it.

The traditional chieftainship

The chief was manifestedly the symbol of tribal unity and the focal point of all tribal activities. He was the executive and legislative head of government and the official representative of his people; he adjudicated over all serious crimes and civil disputes and was the final court of appeal from the verdicts of ward and village courts; he controlled the distribution of land, and regulated the sowing and harvesting of crops, the organisation of tribal hunts, trade relations with neighbouring tribes, and other economic activities; and he was responsible for the performance of the magical and religious ceremonies (such as rainmaking) upon which the welfare of his people was held to depend' (4). It is this concentration of all governmental functions in the hands of one person which more than anything else distinguished traditional Tswana government.

The chief was, however, more than a focus of power and authority. He was custodian of the land, arbitrator with the ancestors, provider of rain and the richest man of the society. 'Father' rather than simply ruler, he was responsible for the welfare of his subjects. Much of his time was therefore spend daily in his councilplace (kgotla) where he listened to news, petitions and complaints and gave orders for whatever actions he deemed necessary. He provided the needy with food and all with rain, land and protection from internal and external foes. His function as provider of social security was certainly not considered less important than his others. On the contrary, a chief's popularity was to a large extent based on his generosity and personal interest in

his subjects. For that reason tribute in the form of labour on the chiefs field, part of the harvest, hunting spoils etc. was considered his rightful share. In addition, the tribe cultivated a large field (leshotla), the produce of which was meant to be stored for redistribution to the tribe in times of famine or to particular individuals in need. In a sense the community looked after itself by means of this one man. It was important for a chief to be rich, not only for the high status associated with wealth (of cattle in particular) but also in order to aid those in need. As the Kaa chief Rraditladi remarked to me: "I am the chief... but should I be poor and my brother rich, the people will go to my brother". In fact Rraditladi had no cattle on his ascendancy to the chieftainship since he had been a child of the second house and his father's herd had passed to the children of the first house, i.e. the late Phesudi and his sister Sejosinyi, the present district councillor. Thirty years later due to the perks of chieftainship Rraditladi possessed 100 cattle, which made him the largest cattleowner of the village. Compared to the wealth of the Kgatla chief he was still a poor man, however. In 1932 the Kgatla chief owned 'about 5500 head of cattle, one seventh of the total holding' (5) and was also receiving annually 1200 bags of sorghum from his tribute fields, 30 heads of cattle in stray stock and from 20 to 40 head of cattle in court fines. Today grudges against the 'greediness' of chiefs are frequently expressed but it seems likely that this is to a large extent due to the change in the relationship between ruler and ruled. It appears that as long as the tribe continued to benefit from this wealth they did not question the amassing of wealth in the hands of one person too deeply.

Ultimately the chief was the only decisionmaker in the tribe. Once he publicly announced a decision there was no institutionalised way in which it could be repealed, and he could resort to force to ensure its adherence. Nevertheless, he was not supposed to go against the wishes of the people. According to the picture painted by the tribal elite itself, Tswana government was essentially democratic. Ideally there were various stages which had to be traversed before a decision was made. A chief was supposed to consult his advisors, the council of headmen, and finally the tribe itself at a tribal meeting (phutego) and make his decision according to the majority view. In practice this system, even if it were follo[illegible]was less efficient in ensuring that the wishes of the majority

prevailed than might appear. Moreover, the voice of the assembly was not always listened to nor always consulted. 'Whether its (the assembly's) approval was sought, and considered essential, depends partly upon the law proposed and partly upon the chief's regard for what his people thought' (6). To the foreign bureaucracy which adhered to a different valuesytem, such procedures were dangerous to say the least. The Pim Report warned in 1933 that the Tswana chiefs had come to use the colonial government as a shield behind which to exceed their already considerable powers (7). Many other administrative officials of those days were given to this opinion and several went as far as to accuse the chiefs outrightly of autocratic rule, corruption and abuse. In the years that followed, such sentiments were oft repeated by both civil servants and politicians (8). Typically such abuses are attributed to British interference: 'the whole 80 years of British rule up to 1965 can therefore be regarded as a period of chiefly autocracy intensified and corrupted by British overrule' (9).

The truth probably lay at neither extremity of opinion. Tribal government varied from tribe to tribe, village to village and occasion to occasion in the degree of its autocracy. It was certainly not as democratic as its apologists would like to make out and it does appear that more power was concentrated in the hands of the chief than is usual among Bantu tribes. Whether this is solely attributable to British Protection or whether it was a feature of the original tribal system as well is not certain. It is true that some of the major checks on autocratic rule had been removed by the British But on the other hand other sanctions remained and the new conditions brought about by the process of social change gradually weakened the machinery through which decisions had to be implemented. To support these contentions the weaknesses and strengths of the 'traditional' system will be examined in the following paragraphs. The last statement will come to the fore in the next section.

The chief chose his advisors personally and could vary them as he wished. It was not an ascriptive status and he naturally selected people who in addition to an expertise in law and custom were characterised by their personal loyalty to him. This did not necessarily mean that they would slavishly agree with him on every issue, but their strong personal attachment could not but influence their opinions. The crucial factor was however that while these men like the chief himself, should be,

and usually were concerned with the welfare of the tribe, their conception of desirable goals did by no means always accord with the views and interests of the common people themselves. The abolition of circumcision schools and rainmaking ceremonies etc. provides ample proof of this contention. At best, these men had an essentially paternalistic attitude to their subjects.

A chief's toughest opposition lay most likely in the council of headmen (as these meetings are highly secret it is not possible to make a more definite statement). The headmen were supposed to act as representatives of their subjects with whom they interacted daily and were connected by kinship. But at the same time they were dependent on the chief on whose favour they depended for much of their power and even wealth. The intercalary position which has been emphasized with regard to the position of the chief in the colonial system of indirect rule (10), existed within the tribal structure for the wardhead. Moreover, since this position was acquired by birth, the eldest son succeeding his father, and not on merit, many wardheads were far from the most effective representatives of their people and were easily overawed by their respect and fear of the chief. As the meetings were secret, wardmembers had no foolproof way of ascertaining the stance of their representatives.

Once a decision had been reached in the council of headmen, it was virtually certain that it would be accepted by the tribe. Not only did the common man fear to oppose the chief because of possible repercussions, but the attitudes installed by a childhood upbringing which placed an emphasis on rank and stressed obedience to any senior whether it be father, older brother, elder or political functionary made disagreement with a chief a virtually inconceivable matter to the ordinary man. Respect for and loyalty to the chief were highly stressed virtues. 'He thus becomes the focus of attitudes and values that in the long run contribute to his control of the tribe as much as does the coercive power that he can exercise" (11). Clearly a relationship of mutual benefit existed with an exchange of tribute and loyalty for protection, land, justice in court, provision for the needy and an occasional feast of meat and beer. Most important of all was probably the fact that tribal welfare was held to be dependent on the disposition and actions of the chief. 'If his subjects obey him, so it is held, they and the land will be blessed, if they trouble him unreasonably, their welfare

will suffer..... any misfortune may be attributed to the 'sore hearts' of him and his ancestors angered or aggrieved by disloyalty and disobedience' (12). The second major factor was probably the material benefits that could be derived from a chief's favour. Before the widespread desire for European commodities and luxury items, the handing out of food and gifts was not a distasteful obligation to the chief. Where there are few material goods the social prestige and influence that can be won by generosity counts heavy compared to the advantages to be derived from the accumulation of possessions. Thus both giver and recipient benefited. For the peasant the chief was the ultimate source of his livelihood and the giver of more immediate material gifts while the chief was dependent on the loyalty and obedience of his followers.

Nevertheless an asymmetry did exist. Though the chief was dependent on the support of his people for his power, prestige and wealth, this was not a dependence directed towards particular individuals, while on the other hand no one but he could perform his specific duties. He could well afford to ignore or disrupt his relationship with a particular individual, while this was definitely not so vice versa. The average tribesman was acutely aware of his dependency. To him the institution of the chieftaincy was representative of a hierarchical universal order and its incumbent the only link between himself and the dead and the forces ruling nature. It would require more than a slight or occasional dissatisfaction before an ordinary tribesman would openly question the authority of the chief.

It was only when the common people were particularly outraged and knew they had the support of others, that they had the courage to speak out openly against a chief and his advisors. Within broad limits the chief could direct the decisionmaking process, but once he transgressed these he could expect a reaction. For the Kaa it was possible to complain to the Kgatla chief and the District Commissioner. It has happened that Chief Rraditladi was taken to court in Mochudi by one of his subjects. Earlier, in 1904, the people of Rasesa ward, people of low social status and traditionally the 'servants' of the Kaa chief, complained to the Kgatla chief that they were maltreated by the Kaa and asked for the right of secession. This was granted and they founded their own village Rasesa. There were no other formal sanctions, however, through which the chief could be forced to pay attention to grievances. The power of the

common people mainly lay in what Kuper has termed 'passive non-cooperation' (13). As the chief and all his functionaries are powerless without the support of their subjects, the simplest means to resist unpopular measures was simply to ignore them. If feelings ran high to the extent that wardheads were unable or unwilling to discipline their followers there was nothing a chief could do.

Before the establishment of the British Protectorate the chiefs powers were primarily curtailed by the threat of rebellion or secession. But after colonial rule was established such checks on his authority disappeared, for the administration was loath to encourage instability and generally supported the chief in times of trouble. On the other hand no more than a policy of very loose indirect rule pertained in the early days of colonial administration (14). There was a minimum of interference with the local administration of the country as the British were only concerned with the maintenance of the order required to protect commercial interests such as the railway and the European residents of the territory, and were reluctant to interfere in tribal matters. So, while they had weakened the old tribal checks against chiefly autocratic rule, they had not substituted these with efficient sanctions of their own. Those chiefs who wished to abuse their powers were more able to do so than in the past. For instance, it took the administration thirteen years to act against the Kwena chief Sebele (ruled 1918-31), though many complaints about flagrant misconduct were lodged by his subjects. Violent accusations have been made against the British and chiefly rule by modern politicians (15) as a result of the situation which pertained in those days. The fact that the chiefs resisted any attempt to submit their sovereignty to British supervision may have supported such viewpoints. The chiefs were willing to perform bureaucratic functions such as tax collection and the maintenance of order for the colonial regime but they were outraged when in 1934 legislation was passed which made them responsible to the administration for their actions. It must however be remembered that the threat of incorporation by the Union of South Africa was at all times a very real one (16) and the chiefs were very fearful of any white interference which might be a step towards white domination. While abuses did occur it must in all fairness be pointed out that they were the exception rather than the rule. Most

chiefs remained interested in the welfare of their people and were concerned least their actions should arouse such resentment and opposition that the future co-operation of the people would be difficult to secure.

But what can be considered 'abuse'? Actions and decisions which were autocratic and against the wishes of the majority, but nevertheless motivated by a concern for the welfare of the tribe cannot be classified together with straightforward exploitation. A chief who was respected for the strength of his character, his generosity and obvious concern for his people could afford to push his people on a road they might have

Chief-Regent Isang was such a man, albeit that he was considered too harsh (16), and the Kaa chief Rraditladi another. Deeply respected by his people, Rraditladi was a wise and progressive minded ruler. During his rule many 'developments' occurred in the village. People were told to contribute their labour and money to various projects, and did so. The esteem in which Rraditladi was held was obvious from the fact that until the day of his death in 1972 no one dared to attack his views openly in the councilplace (kgotla). Sometimes people very politely objected to proposed actions or regulations but an outright attack was not dreamt of. The following statement by an informant about the chief in his judicial capacity neatly sums up a common attitude towards chiefly decisions. 'If the chief gives a judgement and we feel that he is misguided in giving so high a fine we will plead with him to reduce the fine and he will usually listen to us. If we realise, however, that he is imposing such a high fine for reasons of his own and is not misguided we will not dare to say anything.' I did in fact see this happen on one occasion. Though the people were shocked at the high fine given for a minor transgression they did not dare to oppose the chiefs verdict openly. Government in Bokaa was not characterised by a chiefly abuse of powers for personal gain and was directed towards the welfare of the village, but true democracy cannot be said to have existed. The chief could be likened to a benevolent patriarch who would resort to autocratic behaviour should he deem this necessary. People respected this very forcefulness and even seemed to expect it of a good chief. It is important to realise that to people moulded in such a system it is difficult to understand and value democratic proceedings and institutions. At best it will take some time before such institutions will be able to

function properly, at worst active, but more likely passive, resistance will render them ineffective for a long time to come.

The decline

The Europeans may not have ended the power of the chiefs but they and their culture certainly altered its content and set the stage for a rapid demise. Christianity, the cash economy and the colonial administration were the major forces corroding the traditional powerstructure until the forces of modern nationalism took over.

In 1819 the first Christian mission was established among the Tswana(18). Since that date the Christian influence has spread slowly but surely until today virtually all Tswana profess Christianity, though the majority are not church-goers. The chiefs played an important role in furthering the acceptance of the Christian religion for by their support or conversion they influenced and at times even determined tribal attitudes. While at first they may have strengthened their position by their alliance with the Christian missionaries, in the long run they also came to lose much power. The missionaries played an important role in fending off the onslaughts of the Boers and the establishment of the Protectorate, but the abolition of many customary practices which resulted from their influence and religion fundamentally undermined the chief's hold over his subjects.

The Dutch Reformed Church missionaries have been active among the Kgatla since 1864. In 1931 one fifth of the adults were either church-members or catechumens (19) and according to the 1946 census 65% of the population were Christian by that date (20). The Kgatla chief Lentswe was baptised in 1892. Stirred by the missionaries he abolished initiation ceremonies and enforced observance of the Sabbath in 1902 and attempted to abolish the brideprice (bogadi) in 1923. The latter measure was so unpopular that it had to be repealed. It went likewise with the law passed in 1924 which prohibited the drinking of beer at night. After this baptism Lentshwe had ostensibly abandoned the traditional rain-making ceremonies and replaced them with prayermeetings to God, but in practice he continued quite openly with the ancient rituals until the death of his heir Kgafela in 1914. Isang revived some of the traditional

rites and his successor, who did not know the art of rainmaking himself, worked for several years with the aid of professional rainmakers (21). Schapera tells us that 'the people (meaning the Kgatla) in 1929-34 still expected the chief to give them rain, and did not hesitate to hold him responsible if there was a drought' (22). Today many people still believe that the chiefs have the power to make rain. That he no longer does so is attributed to his negligence and disinterest in the welfare of his subjects. Christian services also replaced the great ceremonies associated with agriculture, i.e. the inauguration of seed-time (letsema), the first fruit ceremonies (molomo) and harvest thanksgiving (dikgafela). The chief continued to play an important part in these for they were organised jointly by the missionary and him (in Bokaa a church elder instead of a missionary). The services were held in the kgotla and the chief led the people into prayer. Nevertheless the changes were not popular and misfortunes have often been attributed to these innovations, while the attitudes of respect and loyalty which were fostered by the former rituals have necessarily been weakened.

Up to 1896 traders had usually bartered their goods, but during the first twenty-five years of British rule the cash economy developed slowly but steadily until it affected the lives and values of all (23). After the introduction of the cash economy privilege tended to become a source of personal gain. Cattle and crops came to be considered as assets which could be converted into cash, and cash was required to buy all the material goods which according to western values are imperative for a person of high status. The acquisition of many varied possessions rather than munificence has become the mark of high status. The Kgatla chief Molefi (ruled 1929-1956, with an interruption from 1936-45 when he was suspended from office by the Protectorate Administration) possessed five motorcars and the Kaa chief Phesudi one. Rraditladi, who was much poorer, was unable and unwilling to engage in such ostentatious displays but towards the end of his life he invested money in a shop, a tractor and expensive agricultural equipment. Needless to say the people were disgruntled by the ending of the hand-outs of food and beer which had been customary. Even in Molefi's praise, composed by a tribesman, reference is made to his 'greediness', viz.:

He sends away the prime beasts,
the oxen with large hoofs,
with hoofs that fill the servants' bowls,
so that a servant may eat and leave some over,
Molefi doesn't slaughter big oxen,
he slaughters young ones and pregnant cows,
he slaughters animals in calf,
so that old men may eat the foetuses (24).

The implication is that Molefi sold to the traders animals in good conditior and slaughtered for the people only those that were of little market value (25). Soon they no longer were treated to even those. Long before the post-Independence government curtailed the privileges of the chief, complaints were made that instead of distributing the tributary grain chiefs sold it for their personal benefit. The other side of the story is that the people themselves were less willing to bring tribute and gifts to their chiefs or to help each other. As usual it were the very poor who came to lose most from this breakdown of the custom of food distribution by the chief (see page 234). But on the other hand the chief himself lost an important means of winning the favour and loyalty of his people.

In Bokaa the new valuesystem which emphasizes that any service should be rewarded in cash has also led to a decrease in the commitment of the wardheads and other political functionaries. Many wardheads abandoned their duties altogether, in order to become migrant labourers, while others lost all enthusiasm for and pride in their position. Moreover, since population growth has caused a scattering of wardmembers over large areas during the agricultural season, it has become an arduous, impossible task for a wardhead to maintain the necessary close contact with his subjects. As the chief reaches the populace through the wardheads and they are the enforcers of his rules and regulations, it is obvious that the chief's power has been much diminished as a result of the present malfunctioning.

The control of the Administration over the chiefs had been very slight initially but it gradually increased and culminated in the period 1934-8 in significant reforms. In 1934 after the Pim Report had warned that chiefs had achieved a practical autocracy and did frequently resort to abuse, the Native Administration and Native Tribunal Proclamation were issued. These proclamations allowed for the removal of a chief by the colonial government, recognised the necessity of appointing a formal

body, i.e. a Tribal Council, to assist the chief and regulated the composition and procedure of Tribal courts. For certain purposes the chief was made a subordinate government officer. A furore set in over this proclamation and the chiefs contended that it was contrary to local law and custom and therefore illegal. Their appeal against the legislation went as far as the Privy Council, but in the end they lost their case. Thus 'the Administration ultimately replaced the chief as the supreme legislative authority in each tribe. Its own laws, where applicable, were binding on all tribesmen, it could disallow chief-made laws, and it could require chiefs to give orders in regard to specified matters. It reduced their judicial powers, and could quash or modify their decisions in the cases they still tried. It could also intervene if they took administrative action of which it did not approve' (26).

Opposition was, however, so strong that the British soon thought it wiser to backpedal. In 1938 the Tribal Treasury Proclamation authorised the establishment of Tribal Treasuries (27). Chiefs were given a fixed stipend and 35% of the tax collected was paid into Treasuries which from 1940 onward the chiefs were allowed to manage. They became responsible for education and agriculture through their new finance committees. In 1943 the kgotla (i.e. the tribe in council) was reinstated as the main consultative body and the Tribal Council disappeared from the scene. The chiefs had regained much of the power they appeared to have lost in 1934, albeit that their powers were differently defined and channeled.

Only in 1957 a renewed attempt to switch from chiefly rule to a more democratic structure took place. The African Local Council Proclamation authorised the setting up of Local Councils and an elected Executive Committee to assist the chiefs. However, this act was only gradually brought into force and before it became effective the constitutional changes which led to the first general election in 1965 and Independence in 1966 had overtaken its impetus. It can be concluded that during the eighty years of British rule important but not fundamental changes took place in the traditional political system.

The move towards and attainment of Independence in 1966 meant the end of the chief's former authority. Botswana is a democracy and to realise the ideals of this system of government; bring about rapid moderniza-

tion and rural development; and foster a national rather than a tribal consciousness Government passed one law after the other to curb the power of the chiefs.

A system has been created in which the chiefs are directly responsible to the administration. The Chieftainship Law of 1965 empowered the president to remove a chief and appoint his successor if complaints from his tribesmen had been received and these had been considered by a judicial commission. The Chieftainship (Amendment) Act of 1970 gave the President further control over chiefs by permitting him to remove a chief on his own responsibility without waiting for complaints from the tribe and without reference to a judicial commission. Thus, officially the chief today is little more than an ordinary civil servant.

The Districts Council's Law in 1966 transferred the chief's rights to regulate the tribe's social and economic life to democratically elected councils. Education, sanitation, maintenance of roads etc. were now the responsibility of the District Council. In addition the chief is prohibited from levying tribal labour without payment. This implies that he can no longer call up regiments to work. No one is obliged to contribute his labour no matter whether it is for the communal welfare or not. The use of tribal labour for the cultivation of the tribal field (leshotla) had already been prohibited in 1962. The right to levy taxes was transferred to the District Councils in 1966 by the Local Government Tax Law, and the right to collect and dispose of stray livestock by the Matimela Act of 1968. Finally, the Tribal Land Acts of 1968-70 vests the chief's power to grant land in Land Boards appointed by the Minister of Local Government and representatives of the District Council. These Acts in particular have aroused much opposition. They were given by chief Bathoen as the most important reason for surrendering his chieftaincy and entering party politics (28). All that remains for the chief is a judicial function (29); to convene tribal meetings; and ex officio membership of the committees in the village such as the Village Development Committee and the Parent-Teacher's Association.

Politics in Bokaa today

Politics in Bokaa still revolves around the person of the chief. All that happens is with him or in relation to him. Matters in which he is ostensibly left out are furtively referred to because of this very

fact. Nevertheless his presence is very different from what it used to be. He has to share the stage with various other personalities, notably the district councillor and the modern educated elite and this was hard to stomach for a man who for most of his life was able to rule the roost without a question in anyone's mind as to his right to do so.

The election of the district councillor in 1965 illustrates the incomprehension and frustration of the chief, an old man who for nearly 40 years had been the sole power in the village. In the opinion that the election provided merely a new variation on an old pattern, he decided to stand himself as the candidate for the Botswana's People's Party against his half sister Sejosinyi for the Botswana Democratic Party (the party which came into power) and the village nurse as an independent candidate. In fact the chief was officially not permitted to stand, but he was only informed of this regulation at the very last moment. His sister won the election with a slight majority over the nurse. The vote was obviously influenced by a respect for the chieftaincy, for Sejosinyi has little other qualification than that she is the daughter of Selalabyannye's first wife. This consideration was however no consolation to the chief, for the relationship between him and his half-sister has always been problematic, and he was deeply hurt. It was difficult for him to accept that after forty years of devoted duty, he now was forced to share his powers with another. He withdrew himself to his farm-homestead and refused to resume his duties. A close personal friend finally managed to convince him that though time had changed, a chief is god-chosen and therefore should not desert his people. On the force of this argument he returned, albeit with bitterness in his heart. Relations between him and his sister did not improve. Though he on the whole managed to keep the balance of power in his favour, this was not always so, however, and in addition she managed to antagonise him in various small ways, i.e. by publicly referring to the fact that she unlike him was a child of the senior house of Selalabyannye.

Their rivalry provided the setting for much of the political infighting in the village. If one can speak of 'factions' at all, it would be a pro-chief and a pro-district councillor faction. These are however not structured clearly enough to enable one to base a thorough-going

analysis on them. The interest in village politics is generally low and virtually no one would be prepared to commit himself to a full-scale battle in the political arena. What is more likely to happen is that individuals in furthering their private ends will enter into an alliance with the one in order to outwit the other.

Case I. The settlement of a dispute about a foodticket.

When Botswana experienced severe droughts and resultant crop failures in the middle and late sixties, the World Food Programme (30) and others (F.A.O.) organised a comprehensive famine relief programme. People receiving famine relief were expected to work four hours a day for four days a week on self-help projects. But not everyone in the village had a right to the rations; only the holders of a ticket were supplied, and a limited number of tickets were issued per village. To organise the distribution of these tickets and supervise the projects a committee which was responsible to the V.D.C. was created. The C.D.A. (community development assistant) was responsible for the general promotion and supervision of the projects.

The dispute in question arose because the project leader, a woman named Fagare, transferred Molefe's ticket to Kaukau. Objectively seen this was understandable since Molefe is a young man who could attempt to earn money in other ways, while Kaukau is an aged widower without children. According to Molefe, however, there were ulterior motives involved. He alleged that Fagare was taking her revenge for an incident which had happened not long before. Molefe and Fagare belong to two wards which stand in a joking relationship to each other. On this occasion Fagare and Molefe were insulting and laughing at each other as usual and made many references to each other's sexual endowments and activities. This time, however Molefe went too far and made boisterous references to the impotence of Fagare's husband. Although Fagare pretended to laugh, several people observed that she was hurt and angry. When she later transferred Molefe's ticket to Kaukau he immediately assumed that this incident was the true reason. He angrily demanded to be told the reasons for her action and after she refused to offer an explanation he expropriated the book in which the names of the people working for the Food for Work programme were listed and brought it to the chairman of the V.D.C. (he himself was secretary of the V.D.C. at the time). Fagare went straight to the chief. The chief ordered Molefe to bring back the book but Molefe refused to do so, until the V.D.C. had discussed the issue.

Early next morning the chief arrived at Molefe's house and ordered him to come to the kgotla. He was very angry because of Molefe's action and refusal to obey his order. At the kgotla Molefe was questioned at length but he refused to acknowledge the chief's authority in this matter and kept insisting on it being referred to the V.D.C. In the end the chief became so angry that he called for a lash and ordered Molefe to lie down to receive a thrashing. Molefe was frightened but decided to brazen it out and refused to lie down. The chief was in a quandary. It was difficult to ignore

such blatant disrespect but on the other hand he knew that he no longer had the authority to have Molefe thrashed. Recent legislation prohibited corporal punishment, except for certain circumscribed crimes and then only after a proper courtcase. After a long and fierce argument the chief decided to forego the thrashing but again ordered Molefe to return the book. And again Molefe replied that he wanted his ticket. They agreed that the matter should be referred to the community development assistant and Molefe returned the book. The chief went to the community development assistant (C.D.A.) and talked to him about the matter. Afterwards Molefe was called over to the C.D.A.'s house and was told that he was to blame for taking the book in such a highhanded fashion and that the C.D.A. agreed with Fagare that Molefe's ticket should be transferred. At this Molefe went to the district councillor. She and Molefe are usually not the greatest of friends but on this occasion she agreed to support him. Molefe told her he wanted to make it a courtcase so that he would be able to appeal to Mochudi (the chief being the local judge he obviously would lose the case in Bokaa) but she thought it wiser to let her handle the situation for the time being in her own fashion. She went to the C.D.A. and pointed out that Fagare had acted without consulting anyone else and that by sanctioning her action this time a precedent would be set. She might continue to transfer tickets on her own initiative and then there would be no end to the quarrels. The C.D.A. reluctantly admitted that she was right and Molefe remained in the possession of his ticket.

Comments:

Molefe is a young man who is well acquainted with the new legislation which has been passed. While he acknowledged the chief's judicompetence, he was well aware of the regulations which restrict that authority and did not hesitate to remind the chief of these. In consequence the chief was publicly humiliated. When the chief attempted to save face by enlisting the support of a government official, Molefe again outmanoeuvred him by enlisting the support of the district councillor. She, by referring to the democratic ideals which the C.D.A. is supposed to support, managed to deal a further blow to the chief.

From this case it is clear where the power struggle in the village lies, i.e. between chief, district councillor and the modern educated elite. It is striking that the chairman of the V.D.C. did not dare to enter the arena. Despite the appeal Molefe made to him he preferred to remain uninvolved. This is representative of the usual attitude of the V.D.C. leadership, although in theory they ought to be on a par with the chief and district councillor. Their task is to identify local needs,

formulate development plans for the village and encourage their realization, and thus they ought to play a significant role in village life. But in practice they are accorded a relatively low status by the villagers and they generally feel that they need the support of the other village leaders in order to function. Only once did they seek a confrontation with the chief and on that occasion they were resoundingly defeated.

Case II. A confrontation between the chief and the V.D.C.

In 1966, 1967 Bokaa had an extremely able C.D.A., who managed to bring chief, district councillor and V.D.C. to work together for the common good. One of her suggestions, which had been accepted by the committee, was the cultivation of a communal field. This field would be cultivated by the tribe in the same manner as they had cultivated a field for the chief in the past, but the money earned by selling the produce would now go to the treasury of the V.D.C. The villagers were requested by the chief to contribute voluntary labour. By no means all turned up, but enough men presented themselves to make the project successful for two years. In 1968 the C.D.A. was transferred and a rift between the chief and the V.D.C. started to widen. That year the V.D.C. made a bid for power. Without notifying the chief they decided to hire a tractor rather than use tribal labour. This action of course infuriated the chief, who besides feeling humiliated also regarded it a waste of money to hire a tractor.

In 1969 the move was to the chief. He called out the village to plough the field without discussing the matter with the V.D.C. When the work had commenced he called those present together and asked them whether they wanted the project to be organised by the V.D.C. or by himself. Should they choose the V.D.C. the V.D.C. would have to hire a few people and a tractor to do the work, because only he the chief had the right to request unpaid labour. Though most people would have preferred to be released of the burden of unpaid work they feared to state this openly and they agreed that the chief should be in charge of the project. The chief did not pursue his involvement further, however, and for a few years the field was not cultivated. In 1971 the V.D.C. with the permission of the chief took over again and hired a tractor.

Comments:

The chief highly offended by the blatant disregard the V.D.C. displayed for him, felt forced to make a show of power. The events show that he still possessed this, but he himself was probably aware that this power did not amount to much. Although people would obey him in such an open confrontation, they were reluctant to work without pay. It was easy to foresee that in the long run the management of the field would have become an impossible venture since fewer and fewer people would be prepared to do the work. The chief's argument that only he can

call up the people for voluntary labour is telling. It is without doubt that the villagers still acknowledge the chief's right to demand voluntary labour and will never dare to question it, but all the same, they may absent themselves on the appointed day. The V.D.C. or the district councillor are granted no such authority and any call they would make for voluntary labour would be openly laughed at. The chieftainship may have dwindled but there is no new power which has usurped its prerogatives.

Few people in the village dare to oppose the chief openly. Molefe's behaviour in case I was quite exceptional. People know that the chief no longer has his former authority but the ingrained respect they have for him and an uncertainty as to the present extent of his powers makes them adopt a cautious attitude. Of course this very attitude is what gives the chief the powers he still possesses at present. At kgotla meetings people still agree with the chief, though they may privately express dissatisfaction. Yet this public support means little when it has to be translated into action. The decline of the chieftainship enables people to employ more effectively than in the past, the tactics of refraining to carry out the decisions which have been reached. Furthermore, kgotla meeting attendance has become so low that it can never be said that the village as a whole agreed to do something and this argument can also be used to avoid irksome duties.

Case III. A kgotla meeting about a self-help project.

Preliminary remarks

For years the V.D.C. and the chief wished to have new houses built for the teachers of the primary school in Bokaa. The houses the teachers were occupying were dilapidated and were alleged to be one of the reasons why the school had difficulty in attracting qualified teachers. The chief and the V.D.C. appealed time and again to the villagers to contribute money and provide their labour, but people ignored their pleas. Once again a kgotla meeting at which the matter was to be discussed was convened. Before the meeting, I attended a beerdrink where people were commenting with much feeling on the proposed project. The general sentiment was that they were not going to work for those teachers without pay. The most vehement was a man whom I will refer to as D. At the kgotla meeting the following discussion took place:
Matlantlana (chairman of the V.D.C.): We Kaa must work hard.
Serebolo (ntona. i.e. chief councillor): The work will not be completed if the chief just calls the people. He must call them up according to regiments or wards.

Mosone (wardhead and monna wa kgotla i.e. councillor): I thank the government for taking the food away (he is referring to the fact that the Food for Work programma had been ended. This was announced just before this discussion took place) because some of the people depend only on this famine relief and do not go to the the lands to plough.
Basoma (acting wardhead and councillor): Ipelegeng (viz. the Food for Work project) has delayed the people. We have built many buildings before Ipelegeng started and now we will carry on just as in those times.
D. (the man I heard fulminating against unpaid labour at the beerdrink): People must be forced to work. It is not enough for the chief to plead because the people living at the lands at the moment will notcome, so that the work will have to be done by the people in the village (i.e. himself, since he is too lazy to practice agriculture). And the people in the village will not do it either, because they see that people at the lands are not doing it. We must use force, we must use regiments or wards for the work.
Matlantlana (V.D.C. chairman): People should be called up according to regiments, for otherwise some will not come. If it is done by regiments the regimental heads will report to the chief if someone is absent. It should not be done by wards because wardheads are afraid of their people.
Mokaotsile (younger brother of Matlantlana): Force should not be used; when the chief says 'do this' people must do it. The work of the chief is to command his people to do something and the people must not refuse.
Ratsebe (relative and close friend of the chief): I oppose what Mokaotsile has said. People are like donkeys: if they are not forced to do something they will not do it.
D.: He who said that people must not be forced is wrong. If a child is left to work alone without supervision by his seniors, he will leave the work to go and play.
Chief: I am not going to force anyone. If you people do not want to work, who will work for you? Perhaps you people think that the Government has stopped the chief from calling people to work, but this is not true. The chief's duty is to call people to work for the benefit of the village not for that of his own. If you do not work the people of other countries will laugh at you, because they will say you were working when you were given food by the government (the Food for Work programme) and now because there is no food, you do not work.

The aftermath

Despite the lofty phrases at the meeting, people had no intention of contributing voluntary labour and nothing was done about the proposed project. A year later a few builders were employed by the V.D.C. to repair the huts, but there was not enough money available to have new ones built.

Comments:

The people had no intention of building the houses but kept quiet at the meeting or even pretended to favour the idea. Most of the talking

was done by loyal supporters of the chief, who wanted to state their allegiance to and belief in the continuing validity of the traditional system. The chief himself was of course well aware of the resistance to his plans, but could do no better than urge his people to comply for their own good.

He pinpoints a major problem when he refers to the fact that labour was given only when people were rewarded with food. The wardheads knew equally well that no force could be used and that their subjects were reluctant to work. D. was advancing his arguments in favour of the use of force, secure in the knowledge that it could no longer be resorted to, and in doing so he gave reasons which he could later use to justify his own inactivity. His argument that the people at the lands would not do their share of work is telling. It is one of the major problems of community work and administration in general that most of the people are living at the lands for the largest part of the year. Few people are present in the village at any particular time and absence at the lands is a convenient way of avoiding unwelcome duties.

The processes which have caused people to remain for an ever-increasing length of time at the lands will be analysed in detail in a following chapter, but it is necessary to make mention of one factor relevant to this chapter. Economic necessity may be the major cause of the changing residence pattern, but avoidance of authority is a contributing factor for some people. Residence at the agricultural areas implies freedom from political control. Since the fields stretch from one to fifteen miles from the village, the distances are too great to permit an effective functioning of the political system. Residence at the lands has the further consequence that people are progressively loosing their interest in village affairs. For these reasons it used to be a law that people must return to the village after the harvest and remain there until the next ploughing season. Those who did not comply were brought to the village by force. Today, of course, no such force can be used while the respect and fear for the chief has declined to such an extent that the people will ignore his wishes if they conflict with their own. The system of traditional authority has been irretrievably weakened by these trends. Since wardmembers live scattered over a large area, wardheads can no longer reach their subjects. People will still go to their wardhead if they require him for a court case or

such like, but no wardhead can compel his subjects to come to him. Contrary to all customary legal proceedings and regulations some court cases are presently dealt with at the lands by neighbourhood moots. Some wardheads themselves make use of the fact that they are living for longer periods of time at the lands to avoid irksome duties. The present apathy is strikingly manifested in kgotla-meetings. During my stay in Bokaa the average attendance per meeting was 30-70 men and seldom more than 10 women, and even many wardheards absented themselves from these meetings. After Rraditladi's death in 1972 this picture changed somewhat. The young chief Mosinyi commenced his tasks with enthusiasm and a determination to regain some of the control his father had lost. He tried to achieve this end by forceful behaviour, eg. by refusing to address badly attended kgotla meetings, threatening people vaguely if they did not attend meetings or did not pay their subscriptions to community development projects etc. The following summary of a meeting at Mogadingwana ward may serve as an illustration of his policy and the problems it encountered.

Case IV. Meeting at Mogadingwana ward.

Chief Mosinyi had pledged to build the church which his father had intended to have built for many years, but had not succeeded in securing enough support to do so. Some people believed that Rraditladi had died as a direct result of his failure to 'please God' and perhaps it was this consideration which fanned Mosinyi's determination to bring the wish of his father into fulfillment. He demanded a levy of 50 c per adult and when the response was not satisfactory he went as far as to go to each ward separately to admonish its members.
The chief opened the meeting with an angry question: Why were there so few people (12 men and 4 women) and where was the remainder? After he was assured that the absentees would be informed of all that transpired he reluctantly agreed to proceed.
Chief Mosinyi: Why don't you people co-operate in the development of our village?
Remantsuru (brother of wardhead): The major obstacle is our lack of money and also the lack of mutual agreement. People don't listen to the wardhead; they say 'yes' but do not do anything and do not come to meetings.
Kamitla (woman): That is not the main reason. We are scared to give money, for the chief and his wardheads always benefit from it. We give money and thereafter we are not told how much money has been collected and we have no control over the way in which it is spent. Men use the money for the project and give the balance to the chief and wardheads and they use it for their private purposes.
Modidi (an influential Christian): People may be poor, but even

poor people are able to pool their resources and work for the development of their countries.
Chief Mosinyi to (acting) Wardhead: Do you people ever meet together as a ward and discuss these problems?
Wardhead: No.
Chief: I remember that my father used to say to me: Mosinyi, beware, for when a man of Bokaa says 'yes' (referring to the promise to pay the levy at the former meeting) his 'yes' is as good as a 'no' and his 'no' is as good as a 'yes'.
He concluded the meeting by urging everyone once again to bring tax for the church, and also told them to fence their kraals and courtyards.

Comments:

This issue is a clearcut example of a divergence of interests between ruler and ruled. Except for a few devout Christians few people set store by the church. Church attendance is strikingly low (the services I attended held no more than ten people) while in addition people saw no need to change from the community centre which had been used as 'church' before. The Christians of course hoped for an increase in attendance once a 'house of God' was built. To Mosinyi the high status of a village with many modern amenities must also have been an important consideration.

No one dared openly to question the aims of the chief and instead only secondary, albeit important, reasons were voiced, poverty and distrust of the authorities and men in general. The voice of modernization spoke through Modidi who indeed as prominent advisor of the chief had been one of those responsible for the project.

People were very intimidated by this direct personal confrontation with their new chief and in the end duly paid their 50c. The church was built in 1973.

As a result of Mosinyi's tactics the attendance at kgotla meetings increased threefold (with a majority of women). Yet these successes can only be temporary. Rraditladi had been highly respected because of his personal qualities as well as his position. Mosinyi, a young man, is not likely to succeed where his father came to fail. As one informant put it 'people are just obeying him because they want to understand him. Once they know him and see that most of his forceful behaviour is bluff, they will not listen'. The widespread opinion was that by pressuring people

he would only alienate them further in the long run. Despite the apparent revival it still seems warranted to draw the conclusion that the chieftainship is doomed as a potent political force in Bokaa.

The chieftaincy today

The above account of the changes which have taken place in Bokaa is in line with what appears to be the general trend throughout the country and obviously accords with the wishes of the government. Government policy is clearly geared to break the backbone of the tribal system, i.e. the chieftainship. In the long run chiefs can only be considered as retarding factors in the development of the country. Institutions which foster a national rather than a tribal consciousness and commitment to the aims of modernization will have to replace traditional institutions. Although tribalism in the sense of ethnic hostility is not a major problem in Botswana, it certainly is a threat of a different order. 'Tribalism is a potent force, if less violent because of the ethni closeness of the Bechuana tribes; the apparent reluctance of some tribal groupings and some chiefs to pool resources in the national interest could however be critical. If they do not sink their differences they will sink the country' (31). While this is a rather extreme opinion, traditional authority is certainly perceived as a threat to and as inconsistent with the developmental goals of the ruling party viz. the B.D.P. (Botswana Democratic Party). The dilemna which faces the party is that its leader, Seretse Khama, himself depends to a large extent on the appeal of the chieftainship for his political support and is aware that total destruction of traditional ties would weaken his hold on the rural masses which are the great majority of the electorate (of the 31 elected members of the National Assembly only four represented urban areas). Probably even more serious is the consideration that any further alienation of the chiefs could lead to their entry into active opposition politics. And the outcome of such occurrences have been too dramatic to allow anyone any doubt of the very real threat to the government. The chiefs still wield enormous electoral and general influence. This became apparent in the 1965 elections in Mochudi when the BPP (Botswana People's Party) victory was attributed to chief Linchwe's tacit opposition to the BDP, but even more so in the Ngwaketse in 1969. Chief Bathoen had formally

resigned his office before the elections in order to stand as a BNF (Botswana National Front) candidate. His hold on the tribe proved to be so great that the other candidate, the very able Vice-President Quett Masire was resoundingly defeated. The chiefs continue to command a considerable degree of tribal loyalty simply through the prestige which adheres to the chieftainship but in addition they have survived politically because of their control of the major political body in the village, viz. the kgotla. Both the traditional and the modern political organisation function by means of the kgotla in which decisions are reached, new laws and regulations are announced and new ideas introduced. Only a chief (or village headman) can legitimately call a kgotla meeting and only he can chair it. In this respect the new elite remains dependent on the traditional one, for the kgotla remains the major communication channel with the rural population. Chief Rraditladi on one occasion tried to exploit this power when the M.P. for the constituency came to speak in the village on behalf of the candidatures of the chief's sister in the 1968 district council elections. When the M.P. arrived the chief was not to be found and only much later, he arrived from his cattlepost. Unfortunately for him, the M.P. was accompanied by the Kgatla deputy chief and people had gathered at the meeting to the latters call. While this incident represents an extreme manoeuvre of the chief, it stands to reason that he is able to exercise considerable control over the information which is disseminated through the kgotla. The new leaders have to secure the co-operation of the traditional authorities if they want to reach the rural populace effectively. Nevertheless, though the chiefs continue to influence political affairs to a large degree it would be a mistake to equate the loyalty which they continue to command with the ability to extract any active engagement from the villagers. In the attempts to secure the active co-operation which is necessary to the country's development, they fail.

The tragedy of the period of transition is that the new institutions do not function effectively either as yet. The old system may have been weakened but the new has not taken its place in the allegiance of the people Democracy is a concept which means little to the average villager who has been socialised in a system of inherited authority and a culture which constantly emphasizes respect for seniority. The chiefs

continue to have a high standing with the majority of tribesmen. The electoral victory of the chief's sister in the district council elections proved that royal blood continues to hold a more powerful appeal than education and ability, which were represented in the person of mrs. Rampa the other candidate. Even the district councillor her elf phrased her victory in terms of her royal blood. Similarly, in the V.D.C. elections popularity and kinship connections continue to play a more dominant role than ought to be the case. More serious is the fact that many do not view the new institutions as a legitimate alternative to chiefly rule, and certainly not as having the right to request their active co-operation. Only the chief is considered to have the right to request such labour or other services, although they will not necessarily obey him any longer. For Bokaa it is true to say that without the chief's support there would be virtually no active participation at all, but even with all his energies directed to such an end the response remains meagre and generally unenthusiastic. In the period I spend in Bokaa the only public works done voluntarily (though never more than thirty men took part) were instigated by the chief, though officially he lacks the power to initiate and promote new projects by himself. He ordered regiments to repair a road and to fence the dam and the clinic. The chief still has enough followers to organise labour for such collective enterprises, while neither the V.D.C. nor the district councillor could hope to achieve this without his involvement. Consequently the V.D.C. will tend to wait for the chief's approval before commencing on a project which requires public labour and/or donations although this is completely against the intentions of the government. Likewise the major agent for change in the village, the nurse mrs. Rampa, always mobilises the chief for her plans because she realises the crucial importance of his co-operation. The chief's influence in these matters is largely limited to the older generation, however. Young men are usually away on migrant labour and when in the village they refuse to work without pay. The Kgatla chief was painfully acquainted with the extent of the unwillingness to work without pay when he ordered a group of young men in Mochudi to fight a huge bush fire which was destroying the grazing areas of Mochudi. The young Kgatla refused to do so unless they were paid! Such an incident is a clear indication of the direction in which attitudes are changing.

These issues are more serious than might appear at first hand, for they are the crux of the problem of rural development in Botswana today. Rural development should proceed on the principles of 'democracy, development and self-reliance' (33). There is not sufficient government funds available to provide the necessary infrastructure and services and the acquisition of new skills and thus it is the policy to mobilise the rural population. Furthermore any 'real' development which extends beyond infrastructural needs to economic requirements will require much local initiative and hard work. As an alternative to chiefly rule the rural population must learn to identify their own needs and to make the right effort to satisfy these needs. Work carried out unenthusiastically in response to a directive from a chief or other official is not very useful in this respect, since it encourages a passivity on the part of the rural man. This has the danger that once the directives are no longer forthcoming or followed, no enthusiasm and/or an ability to plan remains. Furthermore, such allegiance and obedience expects a return. Traditionally a chief was expected to reward his subjects with rain and food for their services and loyalty.

Dependence on the chief no longer brings those rewards and naturally the ties of allegiance have weakened as a result. But the same needs continue to exist. Many people tend to transfer the same complex of expectations and beliefs to 'government' only to find that their hopes are disappointed. Different rules should guide this new relationship but these rules appear obscure. 'What is this government; a man born as government or what?' was a repeated question to me. Government like the chiefs should look after the people's welfare for do they not pay tribute, i.e. taxes? That social services are a fair return for their tax money is not acknowledged by many, especially not those who do not benefit directly themselves. It is even less granted that their money should be spent on national services and development projects. A tarred road from Gaborone to Francistown does not impress a hungry villager! As in the past they expect concrete returns, i.e. food and water, even money. Since it cannot make rain the government should give boreholes to its subjects, for that is the modern way of providing water. A painful gap between the politicians and the villagers was apparent on the visit of a State minister to Bokaa. His speech was a political one while the villagers were only interested in pressing their demands for an improved

water supply. Despite the fact that it was the Minister of Water Affairs who was speaking they received no satisfactory reply and the general mood after the meeting was one of bitterness. Far from promoting local inititative the 'self-help' efforts instigated by the Food for Work programme resulted in strengthening the irrealistic expectations of the villagers. Though the scheme was succesful in its short term objectives and in Bokaa a clinic, classrooms and a community centre were built, many if not most people regarded this as wage labour for the government and not as 'self-help'. As soon as the food distribution ended so did the work, The catastrophic droughts themselves are typically ascribed to the negligence of the chiefs to make rain by the older people.

To the older generation the fact that the chieftainship has been crushed, has meanings which far extend beyond the disappearance of a political authority. It involves the disturbance of a world view. The chief was the living apex of a hierarchical world order in which age, sex and descent determined one's place. That a chief should lose his rank and powers and 'lesser beings' rise to positions of eminence is utterly baffling to the old people. In such a topsy-turvy world it is no longer surprising that women should resist their husbands and fathers, young men ignore their elders and blight set upon the land. The following words of an old informant are illustrative of these sentiments:

> Life used to go according to the laws of the chiefs, because the land belonged to the chiefs. If you could be found weeding before the chief gave permission you would be arrested. By doing this you would spoil the rains, the rains would not come. I cannot explain why the rains would not come but the rains in the past were made by the chiefs. Nowadays the land does not belong to the Tswana anymore, it belongs to the whites. It is the government now, no longer the chiefs. Government may seem black, but Gaborone is a white place and the peoples are black white-men.
>
> Today rain is not made with medicines but from God and therefore I as well can weed early. There used to be more rain in the past. When I was young the land was wet and fertile. Sometimes there was a drought year but the chiefs wanted it so, because the people would eat the surpluses from the former year.
>
> The present rain is money. Life is only made for money. The chiefs instead of making rain just ask for subscriptions. The past chiefs knew that their power was with their people, if people starved they would lose their powers and so they would make rain.

> The land has died with the former owners. It has absolutely changed with the lack of rain. [illegible]esent it is just a ruined thing. In the past the land w[illegible]le but at present it is male (i.e. it does not produ[illegible]hing).
>
> We first observed that the land was being spoilt at the time the railway was built (i.e. the coming of the whites). A horrible disease came and from this we could see that the land was going bad. And after all these deaths of this disease, there was starvation and later again there was drietag (influenza epidemic in 1918). All this happened when Rhodes went to Bulawayo; he made these diseases. As we were rich people, Europeans made us into poor ones. They made diseases so that people and cattle would die and people would have to go and work for the Europeans. The land started to belong to the Europeans. But at that time there were still good rains because some of the good chiefs still existed. Today this is no longer so.

The younger generation feels differently. They are proud of the fact that Tswana people are emulating whites, are impressed by the fact that Gaborone is becoming 'like Johannesburg' and admire their new educated leaders. This admiration is not extended to an active participation in village politics, however. The most conspicuous element of village politics is the lack of interest and participation by the people (in this connection it must be remembered that most young men are absent on migrant labour). The district councillor and the V.D.C., like the chief, are hampered in the execution of their duties because few people attend kgotla meetings. The V.D.C. itself can hardly function effectively because so few of its members attend the meeting. Many people only want to perform such duties as sitting on a committee if they are paid for it. Furthermore, people live at the agricultural areas for most of the year and are little motivated to walk the many miles to the village. In 1971 even the chairman of the V.D.C. never attended the meetings and the chairman of the previous year (who had not been re-elected) presided over meetings which were seldom attended by more than five persons.

Depite all these problems experienced by the new authorities the future lies with them. The decline of the chieftainship will proceed ever more rapidly as the older generation dies. The young no longer can respect the chief, whose authority is shown time and again to be limited, to the extent their parents did, while their conceptions of the nature of authority are likely to differ radically from that represented by the traditional system. Two structures representing two different conceptual systems exist alongside each other at present and neither is functioning

effectively. With school attendance increasing rapidly, more people are taught western values and the rewards and prestige of education. This already has had the effect that the educated express contempt for the 'ignorance' of their elders and are becoming more and more reluctant to accept the leadership of people who they feel are not in touch with the modern world. Young migrant labourers urged Mosinyi on the occasion of his ascendancy to the chieftainship not to listen to the old men only, but also to consult young men 'for there are many things the old people do not know'. If one considers that the father of this young speaker is still likely to act submissively to one older than himself, the outright rebelliousness of his public statement can be appreciated. Not surprisingly the elders are very angry with the young generation and complain bitterly about the lack of respect. The following conversation between an old and a young man can serve as an illustration;

Case V. A conversation between an old and a young man.

As Ramantshu, an old man, entered, John jumped up to offer him a seat and asked him: mr Modidi, please sit down and tell us some stories.
Ramantshu sat down but answered gruffly: Why should I tell you tales, you are not really interested, you have neglected Lowe's rules and regulations (Lowe is the mythical ancestor of the Tswana and the creator of Tswana culture. When people refer to tradition they personalise it as Lowe).
John: These regulations were not dropped by us but by our parents. We are not the sons of Lowe himself but the sons of his sons. My father used to tell me stories about some of the rules and about Lowe's cruelty and strictness, but my father never made me do any of these harsh rules.
Ramantshu: You see, you have been told and never kept the orders. You young men are guilty because you were told but never obeyed.
John: We were not told to do it, but to know it. Lowe had his schools (initiations) but all these laws of Lowe were neglected by our parents because they were taught in these schools, but they send me to a completely different school.
Ramantshu: You are strange. Always when told to do something you say it is because old people are blind and ignorant, all that they say is just the same as Adam in the land of Eden and you say we are not in the land of Eden but coming from school. But I tell you that you are going to meet misfortune in the days of your lives.

The fact that until recently very few men received education, as a result of the fact that they were expected to help their fathers with the herding of cattle and goats, makes the contrast between the very

young and the others all the more marked. It has had the added consequence that the power and influence of women has risen spectacularly in the past decade, for they were the ones that were permitted to attend school while their brothers were living and working at the cattlepost. Politics used to be exclusively the domain of men. Before Independence no woman was allowed to enter the kgotla on her own accord. The affairs of women could only be dealt with in the kgotla as far as the rights of men as husbands, fathers or brothers were involved. As a rule only a man could initiate a political or legal case, although he could do so on behalf of a woman under his care. To a large extent this is still true today, but with the difference that it is acknowledged that the woman has the right to initiate legal proceedings should she wish to do so. More striking has been the change in their political powers. While they used to be completely excluded from the political scene, today they play a prominent part. Their influence is limited to the 'modern' sphere, however. Traditional institutions remain as barred to them as they have always been. The District Council elections clearly illustrate the inroads which are being made in a male-dominated setting. In 1964 there were three candidates: mrs. Sejosinyi Kgari, (half-sister of the chief), Mrs. Angelina Rampa (the nurse) and mr. Pako Nyokane (appointed by the chief when he discovered at the last moment that he himself was not permitted to stand). Sejosinyi Kgari won the elections with a slight margin over mrs. Rampa. In 1969 mrs. Kgari stood against John Mosweu and mrs. Bennie Medupe. She won again (33). In 1972 the V.D.C. chairman was a woman and half the committee members were women. The men in the village did not aprove and attributed this state of affairs to the fact that women voted for each other and that there were many more women in the village than men. This assessment is probably correct, for many women express resentment at men's behaviour in general and male attitudes towards women in particular, while they also consider themselves more capable as a result of their education. Men grudgingly had to admit that some women are cleverer than men, although opinions such as 'women are the heart and men the head, a body cannot have two heads or two hearts' are still common even among young men. But the facts are too clearly at variance with such attitudes for them to survive. In 1972 the Community Development Assistant and the acting headmaster of the school were

women, the majority of teachers were women and many of the small committees in the village were headed by women. For many years one of the major powers in the village has been the nurse, who not only occupies official positions such as chairman of the Parent-Teacher Association and ex officio member of the V.D.C. but is also a major influence on the chief and a sequence of V.D.C. chairmen, who continually request her advice on matters concerning 'development'.

Today the number of young men at school virtually equals that of girls. It will be difficult for the chief to hold his own against these confident young educated men of the future, whose values will increasingly be oriented towards leadership through merit (this nebulous concept being of course defined in their terms) rather than birth. Unfortunately prestige and power based on education will be just as exclusive in the present Botswana as prestige and power based on birth. If the educated come to monopolise authority and power, true democracy may be as far removed from the reality of village life as it has been in the past.

Notes:

1) Gillett, S. - 1973. 'The survival of chieftainship in Botswana'. African Affairs, vol. 72, no. 287, pp. 179-185.
2) Schapera, I. - 1938. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., p. 62.
3) See for instance:
   Schapera, I. - 1938, op cit.
   - 1940. 'The political organisation of the Ngwato in the Bechuanaland Protectorate'. Fortes, M. and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, (eds.) African Political Systems. London: International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, pp. 36-82.
   - 1943. Tribal Legislation among the Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. London School of Economics: Monographs on Social Anthropology, no. 9.
   - 1947. The Political Annals of a Tswana Tribe. University of Cape Town, School of African Studies: Communications n.s., no. 18.
   - 1956. Government and Politics in Tribal Societies. London: Watts.
   1970. Tribal Innovators. Tswana Chiefs and Social Change. London: Athlone Press.
4) Schapera, I. - 1947, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
5) Schapers, I. - 1956, op. cit., pp. 101-2.
6) Schapera, I. - 1970, op. cit., p. 25.
7) Pim, Sir Alan - 1933. Financial and Economic Position of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. London: H.M.S.O.
8) See for instance (unpublished) B.N.F. manifestoes.
9) Gillett, S. - 1973, op. cit., p. 18.
10) Gluckman, M., J.C. Mitchell and J.A. Barnes - 1949. 'The village headman in British Central Africa.' Africa, vol. XIX, pp. 89-106.
11) Schapera, I. - 1956, op. cit., p. 106.
12) Ibid.
13) Kuper, A. - 1970. Kalahari Village Politics. An African Democracy. Cambridge: University Press, p. 73.

14) See:

Stevens, R. - 1967. Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. The Former High Commission Territories in Southern Africa. London: Pall Mall Press, pp. 124-130.

Harlech, Lord - 1945. 'The British Protectorates in South Africa'. African Studies, vol. 4, 1945, pp. 128-134.

15) An unpublished political manifesto 'The Botswana National Front, its Character and Tasks' states:

> They (the chiefs) became despotic tyrants who could banish anybody at the dictates of their whims. There began a reign of terror. The chief became the tool of the colonialists and the missionaries for the oppression of the people.

16) From the establishment of the Union onwards the South Africans have made determined efforts to effect the handing over of the Protectorates to their territory. The British were largely favorably disposed towards this possibility until the Nationalists came to power in 1948.

17. Public feelings about Isang are ambivalent. He is admired for the energy and dedication with which he worked for the advancement of the Kgatla but at the same time remembered with fear for the harshness with which he had his plans executed. That his severity was considered to be a negative force, is apparent from the following statement quoted in Schapera's book Rainmaking Rites of Tswana Tribes, 1971, Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum - African Social Research Documents, vol. 3, p. 29:

> (Isang) also knows rain, though whenever he makes it there is plenty of lightning. This is not due to ignorance, but because he neglects the law. The great law is that one must be kind and fond of people and not quick to thrash them.

The close connection which traditional belief postulates to exist between the disposition of a chief and the fortunes of a tribe is obvious from this example.

18) See Schapera, I. - 1970, op. cit., pp. 119 et al.

19) Schapera, I. - 1971, op. cit., p. 4.

20) Schapera, I. - 1970, op. cit., p. 129.

21) Ibid. p. 125.

22) Schapera, I. - 1971, op. cit., p. 24.

23) Griffiths, J. - 1970. 'A note on local government in Botswana' Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 2, p. 65.

24) Schapera, I. - 1965. Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, p. 116.

25) Ibid.

26) Schapera, I. - 1970, op. cit., p. 64.

27) Griffiths, J. - 1970, op. cit., pp. 66 et al.

28) In 1967 chief Bathoen of the Ngwaketse tribe announced his decision to enter party politics. He stood as a B.N.F. candidate in the 1968 elections and won with a large majority from the other candidate, the Vice President.

29) Even in the judicial sphere the chiefs and headmen are more closely controlled. Though a dual system of customary and statute law has been maintained, definite procedural rules have been prescribed for the customary courts.

30) Famine Relief was provided over large areas of Botswana for much of the period 1965-70 at a total cost to the World Food Programme of some $ 10 million.

31) Munger, E.S. - 1965. Bechuanaland. Pan-African Outpost or Bantu Homeland. London: Oxford University Press, p. 112.

32) National Development Plan 1970-1975. Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 18.

33) In that year Bokaa counted 606 registerd voters of which 55.8% actually did go to the polls. Mrs. Kgari obtained 180 votes, J. Mosweu 102 votes and Mrs. Medupe 56 votes. Report on the General Election 1969-1970. Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 69.

CHAPTER III: ECONOMIC CHANGE, SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Even a casual observer is struck by the rapidity with which Tswana culture and society have changed during this century and particularly this last decade. But the changes extend in Bokaa beyond the more immediately visible manifestations and it is my contention that at present a change in the fundamental structural rules and institutions is taking place, which will result in a few years time in a very different social structure. One can rightly speak of a society in transition when describing the present. Though it has been only over the past decade that this fundamental attack on the old structure has become manifest, it is no more than an acceleration of processes which have been at work since at least the beginning of this century.

The fundamental structural changes are taking place in connection with the residence pattern of the Tswana. In the past people typically possessed three dwellings, viz. cattlepost, farm dwelling and village dwelling. Recently a rapidly growing tendency towards permanent or semi-permanent residence at the agricultural areas can be noticed. Should this trend continue, the consequences on social life will be that far-reaching that the social structure may be unrecognizably altered. The residential pattern of Bokaa and the forces which have been altering it will be outlined by an historical analysis of the social-economic structure of the village from 1892 to the present. But first, in order to understand how a change in residence pattern can have such a drastic impact on the social structure, the function of the village in traditional Tswana society has to be discussed.

The village in traditional society

Throughout the known history of the Tswana, large villages have been a characteristic feature of their culture (1). The initial reasons for the concentration of all or most of the tribe in one large settlement can no longer be ascertained and though various hypotheses have been formulated, none as yet gives a wholy satisfactory explanation. One explanation focuses on the political system (2), but the high degree of centralization could as easily be a result as a cause of the settlement pattern. In other words, while it is without doubt that the Tswana chiefs consciously prevented a fragmentation of their following by

forcing people to live in the villages, it remains an open question whether the powerful position of the chief was not due to the concentration of the population in the village. Monica Wilson favoured the argument that it was the wealth of a chief which held a people together: his poverty, stinginess or weakness which caused them to scatter' (3). She arrived at this opinion largely on the basis of Casalis' writing in 1835 that: 'As the people live almost exclusively on the milk of their chief's cows the population of the town increased at the same rate as the number of cattle which the chief has at his disposal' (4). But obviously a chief's wealth also increases proportionately to the number of people living at close range and bringing him tribute, and the circumstances of those days were a result of the general warfare, chaos and famine. Schapera's suggestions that the villages might be due originally to 'concentration for purposes of defence or to the scarcity of surface water' (5). are not convincing either. In many tribes, i.e. the South Sotho, warfare and the need for effective defence in the face of a particularly powerful foe led to the creation of large villages, but after the danger had subsided the population would disperse again. The example of the South Sotho could be interpreted as proof that the scarcity of surface water was a major factor leading to the establishment of large villages, since the most obvious difference between the Tswana and the South Sotho, who originate from the same cultural stock, but have no such large villages, is the environment in which they live. Yet it must be remembered that the present lack of surface water in Botswana is to a large degree due to the destruction of the environment by man and his domestic animals (6). Even within living memory the drying up of former water supplies can be recalled and the accounts of early travellers testify that a century ago surface water was not nearly as scarce as it is today. Nevertheless, of all the hypotheses put forward this latter still seems the most plausible to me. With the varying rainfall and frequent droughts a reliable source of water must have been a most important consideration. We may note that the same reason motivated Robert Moffat, the first missionary among the Tswana to settle at Kuruman.

Whatever the original causes of the Tswana settlement pattern may be, large villages have been an established fact of Tswana life for at least a thousand years and Tswana culture and social structure reflect

their significance. Separate dwellings at the agricultural and pastoral areas are not as self-evidently fundamental to Tswana culture as the village is. Since fields were originally always cleared close to the village (7), the necessity to establish a farmdwelling arises only when population growth and/or the abandonment of the first fields, forces a people to practise their agriculture at large distances from the village. Nevertheless, the maintenance of several homesteads and residence outside the village for many months of the year has certainly been the pattern since the beginning of this century. This stands to reason, as with the establishment of the British Protectorate restrictions were placed on the movement of tribes, warfare ceased and populations increased rapidly. With larger and settled populations and a decreased fertility of the soil near the village, people had to start farming at ever greater distances from the village and thus were no longer able to travel daily to and fro. The point which has to be emphasized, however, is that the village until recently never lost its central significance. All major political, social and ritual activities had to take place in the village and should they occur during the agricultural season, all, or only the relevant persons had to return to the village. Generally, however, such events were scheduled for the months between harvesting and ploughing when all would live in the village. Since the chief was fully aware of the integrative role of the village and of the fact that the efficient working of the political system depended on regular contact between those in authority and their subjects, he did not hesitate to use force to compel his subjects to return to the village after the harvest. The following statement of the Ngwaketse chief Bathoen II quoted by Schapera outlines the attitude of the chief succinctly:

> It is the desire of the chief and tribe to have permanent villages, where people can make good homes and improve their individual dwellings and the surroundings of the whole village. It is not permissible for any man to let his home fall to pieces while he lives at his lands or cattleposts. Everybody is allowed and expected to go out to plough, weed and reap his land just as he is expected to attend to his cattle, but he should never neglect his home.
>
> I have found the system of people living in big villages advantageous in all respects for the sake of administration of the people themselves. From my own experience, people who leave the main village and live at their lands or cattleposts soon become lawless, they have no pride of house and lose interest in tribal activities and political matters. Their minds and thoughts

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> remain stagnant since they have cut themselves off from knowing what is happening in the outside world. It is a tragedy for children to grow up in that very poor environment (underlining is mine) (8).

It was thus the chief's policy to foster adherence to village life because this promoted respect for tribal authority. The yearly period of residence at the agricultural areas was more or less regarded as a necessary evil. But not only did the chief personally attempt to create (or force) loyalty to the village, the whole culture is oriented towards this end. As mentioned already, all occasions of social significance, i.e. rituals, courtcases, kgotla meetings etc. take place in the village and all amenities, traditional as well as modern are found there. Beliefs emphasize that the bush is the abode of wild animals and that any decent human being, respected by his kinsmen, is buried in the village.

Only in the village can frequent interaction between the members of the social groups take place. Though wards were originally localised at the agricultural areas as well as in the village, with population growth and the abandonment of no longer fertile fields wardmembers, and thus agnatic kinsmen, became scattered. Since that time regular social contact between members of the basic social groups, i.e. wards and familygroups, has only been possible during the yearly five month stay in the village and only then could their unity be expressed in corporate action. Since a wardhead requires the proximity of the majority of his subjects in order to perform his duties satisfactorily, he as well could only operate with efficiency in the village.

The village represents tribal unity. It is in the village that people who otherwise would live large distances away from each other are able to interact daily. Constant interaction and the notion that they belong to the same village is obviously a more powerful integrative force than mere adherence to the same chief could be. It follows that all those customs and institutions which foster tribal integration also work towards strengthening village unity and vice versa. At the danger of exposing myself to the criticism of adopting the structural-functional overemphasis on unity and underemphasis on divisions and conflicts, I want to stress that the social structure was very much directed towards integration of the largest social group, i.e. the village. While many structural sub-divisions of the village exist and had to exist considering

its size, these were discouraged from placing an undue emphasis on their own distinctive identities by the many structural links which connect them to similar or larger units.

The political system was characterised by a centralised authority while the political autonomy of the smaller units was limited. Although the chief was dependent on his wardheads for effecting efficient government, he made sure that their ambitions and activities were tightly controlled. A wardhead remained at all times responsible to the chief for his actions. The villagers themselves were kept in close contact with the ruling elite by the regular and in the past daily gatherings in the chief's councilplace.

Though little is known of the traditional religion before it was subjected to Christian influences (9), it is nevertheless significant that the important tribal rituals continued to be performed (albeit with certain Christian adaptations) until recently, while rituals which emphasize the unity of smaller groups such as ancestral sacrifices have been of little significance during this century (10). This seems to imply that even in the distant past these latter rituals were not culturally emphasized (11). On the few occasions that they are performed the attendance is not limited to a few kinsmen but the whole village is invited. Similarly, attendance at burials and marriages is never limited to the kinsmen or wardmembers of the individuals concerned but all who desire to attend are present. The acceptance of Christianity likewise reflects a strong tribal cohesiveness:

> Tswana social structure has been favorable to the formation of tribal churches. Concentration of the population in large towns, a centralized form of government and strong tribal solidarity did not favour the entry of multiple religious agencies... The same factors have also contributed to the acceptance of Christianity by whole tribes... Among the Thlaping as the typically Tswana pattern of centralization made way for decentralization the number of religious agencies increased (12).

In the absence of clans the kinship system cannot contribute towards tribal unity by incorporating all tribesmen within one large kingroup. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the kinship system furthers tribal integration indirectly since it discourages the growth of strong loyalties to exclusive kingroups (see ch. IV). The relative weakness of the lineage as compared to the ward and the structurally emphasized cross-cutting allegiances to maternal and affinal kinsmen and even neighbours

limits potentially divisive lineage solidarity.

The culture and social structure promoted the integration of the village and furthermore the social structure was defined virtually entirely in terms of village life (13). But in opposition to this force is the centrifugal force away from the village generated by the necessity to obtain a livelihood by means of agriculture and animal husbandry. In the past these two conflicting forces were reconciled in favour of the village.

It was a logical consequence of a situation in which a large population tried to exploit land within walking distance from a village, that arable land was separated from pasturage. Such a separation does permit of greater economy in the use of land since grazing land can be rockier and more irregular in relief than agricultural land, while it also diminishes the danger of crop destruction by cattle (14). In addition it enables people to live as near the village as possible. Grazing land is necessarily extensive and if each homestead had to farm and keep cattle on one large plot, the population would be too widely dispersed for all to remain in regular contact with the village. With the agricultural areas near the village and the task of herding allocated to young men and boys, adult men and women can visit regularly or even live permanently in the village. From historical records (15) it is clear that initially most adults and girls lived in the village itself, travelling daily to their fields in the agricultural season. In time with population growth and the abandonment of old fields, the fields moved out too far to make this feasible and a pattern of three homesteads was established (16).

Division of labour within the household and co-operation with other households solved the problem of managing such spatially separated resources. Kinship co-operation created a labourpool of young men and boys which was large enough to safeguard the household head against a shortage of herdboys etc. It was seldom necessary for the household head to be engaged in herding himself and he was mainly concerned with the supervision of the young boys and men. In arable agriculture women were responsible for most of the activities such as hoeing, weeding, bird scaring and harvesting while the adult men did the heavy work, i.e. the clearing of fields, and the work which involved the handling of cattle, i.e. ploughing. After completing these few tasks the men were free to

move to whichever of their homes they wished to go. Once the harvesting and threshing had been completed, all except the herdboys had to move back to the village and as a result approximately seven months of the year were spent at the agricultural areas and five in the village. People were not only willing to return to the village since they enjoyed its social life but were in fact forced to do so by chiefly order.

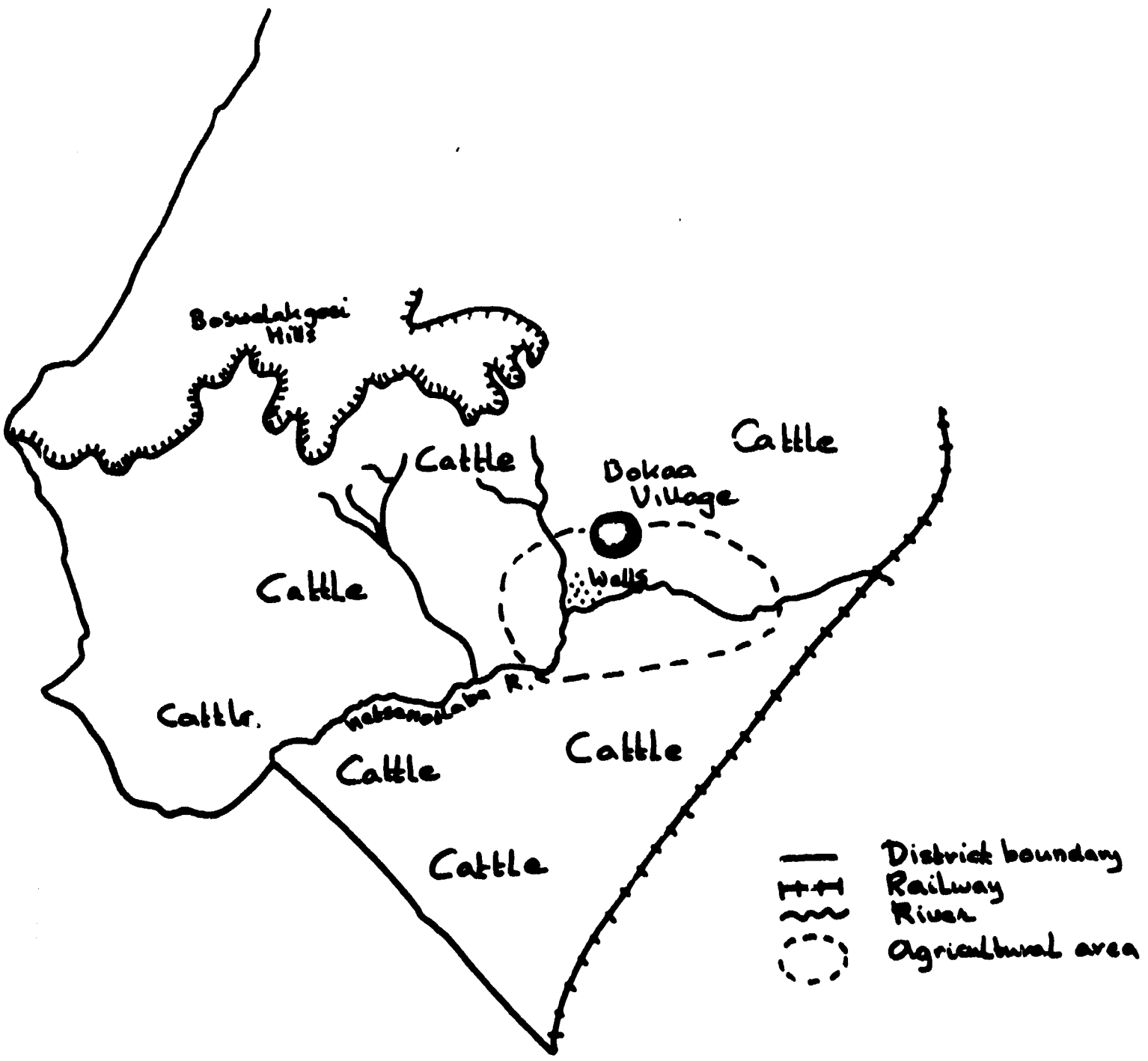
The residence pattern was based on an economic organisation dependent on a carefully allocated and plentiful labour supply, a relatively fertile environment and a strong political system. With a change in some of these conditions not only the economic and political system had to alter but settlement patterns and the social system as well. The process of change will be described by means of three phases in the history of Bokaa village (17).

Phase I 1892 - ± 1920

Bokaa was founded in 1893. The village was built near the Metsemotlaba river on the only place where it was possible to sink wells (both open and bucket wells) (18), but in 1896 after an small-pox (19) and rinderpest epidemic it was moved half a mile north from the original site.

Arable land adjoined the village and was allocated on a wardbasis, for at that time wards and sub-wards were localised at the lands as well as in the village. Since the fields were near the village, few people had farm dwellings and most people travelled daily to and fro. Pastoral land was not similarly held by a social group but was free for all to choose according to preference. A lineage segment (a man with his adult sons and possibly but not necessarily his adult brother(s) with their sons) usually shared a cattlepost, but the grazing area surrounding the cattlepost was not reserved exclusively for the groupmembers. The cattleposts and grazing land stretched in a broad belt beyond and next to the fields (see map II).

Agricultural production was much as it is today, deficient in fruit and vegetables, but including various sorghums (mabele), millet (lebelebele), beans (dimawa), concurbits (eg, lephutsepumpkin), melons (magapu), sweet reed (ntshe) and green vegetables akin to spinach (morogo). In addition wild fruits, roots, herbs, honey and caterpillars were gathered.



Map II. Bokaa area ca. 1900

Even at this early stage people were already using ox-drawn wooden ploughs. The plough was in general use among Tswana long before it was adopted by most other African people (20), which could be an indication that poor harvests were not infrequent in those days either. With poor soils and a dry climate resulting in a low yield per acre it is advantageous to cultivate larger fields than can be done by hoe alone. Yet, the hoe was also in use, since these wooden ploughs broke easily on fields which were not destumped. Typically, the women hoed half a field in September and the other half was ploughed after the first rains had fallen in November or December. Since hoeing is a slow and laborious task, fields were much smaller than they are today, which in turn implied that men were not required to assist in weeding and harvesting to the extent that they are today. No figures for crop production are available to provide a comparison with presentday yields, but it is likely that despite the fact that fields were smaller, yields were no less, perhaps even higher than at present. The soil had not deteriorated as yet through prolonged use and the part of the field which was hoed in September could have the maximum benefit of the first rains. Furthermore the risk of total crop failure must have been diminished by the fact that there were two separate plantings.

Cattle figured prominently in village life although the herds were small as a result of the catastrophic rinderpest epidemic. Sons lived at the cattleposts, some distance from the fields. There was no shortage of labour and usually several herdboys looked after a herd. The older boys and unmarried men herded the fullgrown cattle and supervised the activities of the younger boys who were responsible for the calves (21). The milk was made into mmadila, a type of sour curds, and was taken every few weeks to the women at the fields. The adult men often spent a large part of the year at the cattlepost to ensure good management of their cattle and simply because they loved being with the animals.

Kinship cooperation was the norm. It was expected especially between brothers, but if a man had no or few brothers he could ask other relatives or even neighbours for assistance. The cattle were kept in one kraal and the sons of the cooperating men herded together. At ploughing time the plough or ploughs (depending on the wealth of the group) ploughed the fields of each member of the cooperating group in turn (22). Each

year they would start on a different field so that each men in turn had the advantage of early ploughing. If the rains were scarce, only a section of each field was ploughed the first time and the men would return to plough the remainder later etc. Besides emphasizing kinship bonds in this manner, a system of mutual benefit was created. If, for example, A does not have enough sons of the right age for herding, B's sons will help him. B in turn knows that when his sons have married, A's sons will help him. Furthermore, by cooperating they would experience no difficulty in finding cattle and or ploughs for ploughing. More importantly, those who had no cattle of their own were also provided for. By partaking in the duties of herding they had equal access to the milk and would always be assured of cattle for ploughing. They would not be discriminated against as far as ploughing was concerned; like everyone else they had the right to have their field(s) ploughed first once every few years (depending on the number of cooperating relatives). Of course this was an ideal and undoubtedly conflicts arose, but it still seems safe to say that although inequality in cattle ownership has always existed, in the past there was a more equal access to cattle.

Ever since in 1870 diamonds were discovered at Kimberley and in 1884 gold was found on the Witwatersrand, considerable numbers of Tswana men (including some Kaa) had flocked to South Africa to work as migrant labourers (23). The hut tax instituted in 1899 forced many more to do so (24), but as yet, besides the need to pay taxes and the desire for a few clothes and blankets, there was little incentive to leave the village. Migrant labour was only to become such a virtually universal phenomenon among villagers a much later date, i.e. after 1930-40, when the value of money came to be more appreciated.

Phase II 1920-1952

British rule had ended the inter-tribal conflicts and the large-scale shifting of populations which were characteristic for most of the 19th century and this new stability coupled with modern medical services allowed the human population to increase rapidly. Population growth necessarily resulted in spatial expansion. In the village, ward sites were no longer clearly demarcated. Some people moved from the original

ward site to another part of the village. This did not mean that they lost their original ward membership but obviously ward solidarity was weakened by their relationships with the new neighbours. It was, however, in the agricultural sphere that the process of expansion was most dramatic. Newly married men had to move further and further out to clear new fields, thereby leaving their agnatic kin. Such moves away from the original agricultural areas were facilitated by the decree of Chief Isang in 1926 which allowed people to plough in grazing areas provided they fenced in their fields (25).

Population growth was not the only reason for the cultivation of areas further away from the village. The fields near the village were slowly deserted and became grazing areas for cattle and goats (26). One reason for this move is obvious, i.e. the declining fertility of the soil. Fields had been in use for at least thirty years and of course yields became low. Yet the Kaa themselves do not explain the desertion of old fields in terms of declining fertility. They have never been good arable farmers and even basic knowledge of land use was absent. Since 1930 the Administration introduced better varieties of seed and tried to promote more efficient agricultural techniques, but the process of learning was slow (27). Even today, despite information dispersed by agricultural demonstrators, schoolteachers, the radio etc., many people still refuse to believe that soil can deteriorate in quality. And for many among those who do acknowledge this fact, it is little more than a vague notion, insufficiently grasped and not taken account of in their agricultural practices (28). It was not an awareness that fields should be abandoned once their fertility had been exhausted which caused people to move, but they were, of course, well aware that where they first had good crops they now had barely enough or nothing. The reasons given were often of a mystical nature: witchcraft, or pollution by 'hot' people (29) such as widows or women who had recently miscarried. Others on realising that those who had fields further away had higher yields, simply believed that the soil was intrinsically better elsewhere and moved. Cattle entering fields too frequently was given as another reason. As can be seen from map II the wells and the river were right in the centre of the original agricultural areas so that cattle had to pass fields to be watered. This became a particularly urgent problem after most people

had left already and cattle were grazing on the deserted fields which had reverted to bush.

Another major factor was the introduction of the iron plough. From ± 1920 onwards (30) increasing numbers of people began to buy iron ploughs until around 1950 it was used by all. Iron ploughs were unbreakable and in this period (the thirties) people started to destump their fields which made it possible to plough large tracts of land. As soon as an iron plough was purchased women stopped hoeing and people aimed at cultivating much larger fields than formerly. Everyone wished to increase their acreage but in the original agricultural areas there was no more land for expansion. The fact that many fields had already been abandoned made no difference to those that remained, since ownership of land traditionally did not expire after a field was deserted (31), and consequently they as well had to go to new areas if they wanted larger fields.

This whole process must not be visualized as a sudden exodus within a few years. It took place gradually, one person after the other moving out, people dying and their children refraining from using their inherited fields etc. It was only in the late forties that all the areas of original agricultural settlement were abandoned. The process still continues today; those fields near the village, approximately four miles away, gradually being abandoned.

As the farms moved outwards and the number of fields increased, combined with the increase in population the cattleposts had to be moved. They were moved mainly to the south and this made it more difficult to water the cattle since they are dependant on the wells near the village in the dry season. This problem also applied to the human population who had to fetch their water over ever greater distances as they moved their fields further away from the village. In other parts of the district boreholes had been sunk already, but not so in Mochudi. Chief Isang had raised a tribal levy to drill several boreholes in and around Mochudi which were considered as tribal property, but needless to say these were of little use to the tributary villages. From 1934 onwards boreholes were put down by the administration at an average cost of £160 each. Small groups of men referred to as 'syndicates' raised the money together and shared in the use of the borehole and the payment of maintenance costs. But even with this cooperation it remained a feasible

proposition only for the relatively wealthy such as schoolteachers, shopkeepers, large cattle owners etc.

The social consequences of the fields moving out were considerable. As it became impossible to live in the village and commute daily, the characteristic pattern of seasonal migration between village and lands became firmly established. At the same time kinsmen and ward members were dispersed. Since no lineage segment left their old fields en masse, the end result was that brothers could have their fields and farm dwellings as much as 10 miles apart from each other. This was not difficult to prevent at first when there still were large areas of virgin bush, but when the new agricultural areas became fully settled, the chances of finding a suitable place close to an agnate were obviously diminished. Sometimes people bought a field in order to live next to a particular relative. Cleared land is and has been a commodity for sale among the Kgatla since the reign of Lentshwe, and I even came across the sale of uncleared land, although in theory this is not permitted. Generally however, relatives could not avoid their dispersal and subsequent estrangement. As evidence, a list of the households in one locally recognised geographical area, called Ditsetshwane will be listed and their ward and sub-ward membership mentioned. The area was chosen for its small size and limited number of households, but these characteristics do not defer from its representativeness for other areas.

Name of household head	Ward	Subward
1. Mmaitapiso Ditsele	Mogadingwana	Kgosing
2. Serobolo Kololo	Kgosing	Kgosing
3. Moalusi Moalusi	Mashabane	
4. John Mosweu	Kgosing	Motlana
5. Seboka Mosweu	Kgosing	Motlana
6. Molemi Machailo	Machailo	
7. Raseme Sesiane	Masusuopana	
8. Motsopho Ramphaleng	Kgosing	Rasesa
9. Kgabo Ramphaleng	Kgosing	Rasesa
10. Patrick Leburu	Machailo	
11. Raleluwela Sesiane	Masusuopana	
12. Kebinatshwere Modidi	Matebele	
13. Mpelele Leburu	Machailo	
14. Mokgosi Joseph	Kgosing	Rasesa
15. Mothlanka Ramadi	Kgosing	Kgosing

The dispersal of kinsmen hampered their cooperation in agriculture and herding; quarrels over the distribution of milk and ploughing arrangements obviously arise more easily between people living five miles or more apart. At the same time migrant labour which had become a firmly established custom (32) was giving rise to family conflicts. Men went to work at the mines for long periods of time, leaving their brothers with the family herd. Since relatives were not paid for the herding or other tasks they had to perform for the absentees, it was almost unavoidable that those who were left behind started to harbour resentment and feel exploited. This was particularly so, since the remaining men were also supposed to plough for the wives of the migrants. The use of the iron plough aggrevated these problems. Since larger tracts of land were ploughed it was more difficult to ensure that each man's field was ploughed in time.

The value of money was increasingly more appreciated. Ploughs, wagons, basic food items, pots, clothing and blankets were purchased and became essential requirements. There was not much scope for wage employment in Botswana; those who worked for others eg. as cattleherds or domestic servants were paid in kind. As a result many men went to work in South Africa. Schapera has given the following figures for the period 1910-1940:

1910	2266	Bechuanaland	Africans	working	in	South	Africa
1920	2578	"	"	"	"	"	"
1930	4712	"	"	"	"	"	"
1935	10314	"	"	"	"	"	" (33)
1940	18411	"	"	"	"	"	"

Since people moved freely without passes, particularly among the Kgatla, Malete, Tlokwa and Rolong, who live next to the border, the above figures are an index of the rate of migration rather than an accurate statement of numbers actually going abroad. It can be seen that between 1930 and 1940 the number of men going on migrant labour quadrupled. As much as 40% of the young men were estimated to be absent at any one time (34). In consequence the tasks of those remaining at home became heavier. At the same time the introduction of the iron plough required men to give their wives and daughters greater assistance with agricultural tasks. Not only did they plough more since the fields had become larger, but at the same time they had to partake in the tasks of weeding and harvesting as well. The traditional division of labour could no longer be main-

tained. Howver, besides the destumping of fields, new methods of agriculture, which also require additional labour, had not been adopted as yet. The first agricultural demonstrator came only to the village in 1948.

Cash was also acquired by the sale of crops, a practice which had many negative consequences. People tended to sell their crops recklessly after a good harvest and often were forced to buy back supplies for food and seed at prices three times as high as what they had been paid. In order to counteract this evil, chief Lentshwe had enforced a rule which prohibited the sale of crops to traders without his prior permission. In good years people were allowed to do so, but if the crops had been poor, the chief either limited the amount a particular person could sell or even refused permission altogether. However in time this regulation became impossible to enforce and in the end it was abandoned. Today it is a problem of great magnitude that in order to fulfill an immediate and urgent n people will sell too much of their grain or convert it into beer for sale.

Animal husbandry was also an important source of cash income. Already by 1890 livestock and their hides had replaced ivory and hunting spoils as the commodities most extensively bought by traders. The investment of wages in cattle has always been preferred to other forms of saving or investment, for this was a traditionally valued wealth and it offered a seemingly greater opportunity for increasing one's wealth. But droughts and epidemics put an end to many such high expectations and the prices paid for the cattle were not high either. Furthermore, between 1924 and 1941 South Africa subjected the cattle import from the Bechuanaland Protectorate to minimum weight restrictions which sharply reduced the exports (35). Only in 1941 as a result of World War II were the restrictions lifted and a dramatic rise in cattle exports took place. In Bokaa this rise became more manifest when in the late 1940's an agent started to frequent the village in order to buy livestock. Before this date they had to bring their cattle to the trading store in Mochudi.

The changes in social organisation were considerable but not yet dramatic in this period. Relatives were dispersed during the agricultural season but there were always the months after the harvest which were spent in the village and during which all structural relationships could function in their full force.

Phase III 1950 - to the present

The process of expansion has continued and land shortage is in sight. Boundaries of the area allocated to the Kaa have been reached and though not all the land is under cultivation as yet, much of the remainder is unsuitable for agriculture. There is still land available for occupation but the chief is aware that it will not be long before young people will have to leave the area and settle elsewhere. It is not unlikely, however, that before such measures will be resorted to, the fields will be subdivided. If such subdivisions were accompanied by the adoption of better agricultural methods this might actually prove beneficial, for it could be argued that the large size of the fields accompanied by relative labour shortage mitigates against improved agriculture, while the crops from smaller but better tended plots might increase. Should they however continue with their present methods of agriculture disaster is unavoidable. The problems of land shortage will at first be met by again utilising the areas near the village which were left by the former generations. Already some men have reclaimed the land their parents and grandparents abandoned. The main reason why the Land Board's statement that ownership rights over (unused) land have ceased, arouses vehement indignation among the villagers, is that the people are well aware that their children will want to make use of land they themselves no longer have a need for. But a return to former areas of cultivation will not solve the problem. Botswana's population is growing at 3½% per annum (36) and there is not much scope for employment in the foreseeable future. Nor are the South African mines likely to take much more labour.

Expansion of the land under cultivation implies less pasturage and at the same time the cattle population like the human one has grown. The application of veterinary science has largely eliminated epidemics and the cattle population has increased dramatically. I cannot prove this for the Bokaa area but H.A. Fosbrooke has given the figures for Botswana at large (37) and there appears to be no reason why Bokaa should differ sigrificantly from the national averages.

> In 1939 the national herd numbered 671.100 head, then a steady increase followed till 1957, by which time the national herd had almost doubled itself, being, 1,309,950. The rate of increase then flattened out for 7 years till 1964, when drought over the next two

> years brought a spectacular plunge to 916,229, a loss of 435,000 head, or a third of the total. Since then the increase has been equally spectacular, the national herd being now greater than ever before at nearly one and a half million cattle' (38).

More cattle and less grazing land obviously means an ever-increasing risk of overstocking and soil erosion. In drought years disasters can happen, as in 1965 when half the cattle population of Bokaa died. Cattle died not so much from a lack of water, for the wells could still supply them, but from a shortage of grazing. Only rich people (by village standards) can afford to remove their cattle from the village area to more favourable places in the district. Fees will have to be paid to the owners (the 'syndicate') of the borehole which will supply the herd with water and this is too costly for the poor. Of the 124 households to which I distributed a questionnaire on household economics in 1971 only 5 or 4% had cattle outside the village area at a borehole. I hypothesize that inequality of cattle ownership must have increased. H.A. Fosbrooke has shown that the average number of cattle per person has remained fairly stable over the past thirty years. In 1939 the figure was 2.4 per person and in 1969 2.3 (39). It seems to me that the larger cattleowners who send their cattle to new areas where they are supplied with water from a borehole, and who can afford to spend money on the improvement of their stock, must have increased their herds proportionately more rapidly than the poor man who bears the brunt of the frequent droughts and deteriorated grazing (40). It must be noted that although in 1971 the cattle population of Botswana was larger than ever before, none of the Bokaa cattle owners (even the richest of which are of insignificant wealth by national standards) on which I have figures had regained the number of cattle they possessed in 1964 (41). The danger of statistics aimed at the national average is that they do not disclose such discrepancies.

The traditional separation between agricultural and pastoral areas has broken down to a large degree within the Bokaa area. The reasons are threefold: the expansion of the land under cultivation; relative labour shortage; and the breakdown of kinship cooperation. The latter two reasons are integrally connected. Separate cattleposts could be maintained only by the division of labour within the household and by the fact that by cooperating with others a man was assured of herdboys, even when he himself were momentarily not able to herd. For this reason the

Tswana have long resisted education for their sons. Girls were allowed to attend school, but boys had to remain at the cattlepost. But such attitudes are the exception rather than the rule today. The forces of modernization have succeeded in this respect, and though there is still a smaller percentage of boys attending school than girls, the gap is closing. The 1971 census report gives the following figures for Kgatleng district.

Table I. Kgatleng district population by sex and school attendance.

SEX	Total		Never at school		at school		left school		not stated	
male	14237	100%	10529	74.0%	2300	16.2%	1375	9.7%	33	0.2%
female	16864	100%	895	5.3%	3220	19.1%	4607	27.3%	52	0.3%
total	31101	100%	19514	62.7%	5520	17.7%	5982	19.2%	85	0.3% (42)

Males also tended to drop out of primary school earlier then females.

Table II. Population who have left school by sex and education level.

Sex	Total	Std. 1	Std. 2	Std. 3	Std. 4	Std. 5	Std. 6	Std. 7
male	1375	100%	8.4%	14.6%	11.5%	12.4%	6.4%	11.8%	15.3%
female	4607	100%	10.6%	15.6%	16.1%	16.3%	9.4%	10.8%	12.7%
total	5982	100%	10.1%	15.4%	15.1%	15.4%	10.4%	11.0%	13.3% (43)

Today, however, people are motivated to send their sons to school in the hope that they will find employment. In consequence there are fewer herdboys available than in the past. In this connection it must be remembered that children go to school at a later age than European children.

Additionally, more young men are absent from the village. In addition to migrant labour, the establishment of Gaborone has drawn many young people away from the village, and those with education can only find employment outside the village. In 1971 46.000 Tswana were temporarily absent from Botswana (44), as compared with ± 18.411 in 1940 and even after accounting for total population growth this represents a significant increase. In that year the Kgatleng district (i.e. the Kgatla chiefdom) counted 31.101 people of which 4602 or 14.8% were

absent (45), working either in other parts of the country or in South Africa. In the 15-57 age group there were 4317 males in Kgatleng district and of these 2432 or 56.3% were absent from the district. Of the absentees 1062 or 43.6% worked in the South African mines, 195 or 82% worked on farms in South African and 1175 or 48.3% were classified as 'other', i.e. centres such as Gaborone, Francistown, Selebe Pikwe, Orapa etc. (46).

The only positive aspect for the village is the substantial inflow of cash. Otherwise the effect on village life has been detrimental not to say disastrous in some respects. It might become an even more serious matter now the new urban centres of Botswana are attracting so many of the economically active people. The majority of the migrants to South Africa have tended to return home, but it remains an open question whether this will be the case with those who have employment elsewhere in Botswana (45). The social problems of for instance broken homes, abandoned women and children, lack of involvement in kingroup and village affairs etc., are considerable (18), and the management of the economic affairs of the households remaining behind in the village are as great, and probably more extensive a problem. Since the vast majority of the absentees fall in the 15-35 age group it has become difficult for many household heads to find herdboys. The breakdown of kinship cooperation aggrevates the problem. While in the past it was the norm for brothers to keep their cattle together until their own sons were adults, today they separate often even before their own father has died. Moreover, other relatives such as sisters sons are less willing to aid in herding. This is partly because their own fathers need their assistance, but more likely because they do not consider herding for their relatives sufficiently rewarding. While children know that by herding their father's cattle they are working for their inheritance, other relatives are rewarded with only one or two beasts after several years; a negligible incentive today when so much more money can be made at the mines.

The obvious consquence of a shortage of herdboys was that the heads of households had to look after the cattle themselves or at least involve themselves more actively in the supervision. Many still have one

son to help them, but with only one person to herd, the head of the household inevitably has to be personally involved as well. Since the agricultural tasks of men have also increased and they cannot be absent from their farms either, the only solution was to bring the cattle to the farms. Today few people, who are not forced to do so by environmental conditions have their cattlepost separate from their farmlands.

I conducted a survey of the economic organisation of 124 households. Only 85 or 68.6% of these households owned cattle.

Table III. The distribution of cattle-owning households according to type of cattleherd.

Type of cattleherd	no. of households	% of households
head of household	27	31.8
hired labour	7	8.3
mafisa	6	7.1
sons	25	29.4
grandsons	7	8.2
other relatives	13	15.3
Total	85	100.00

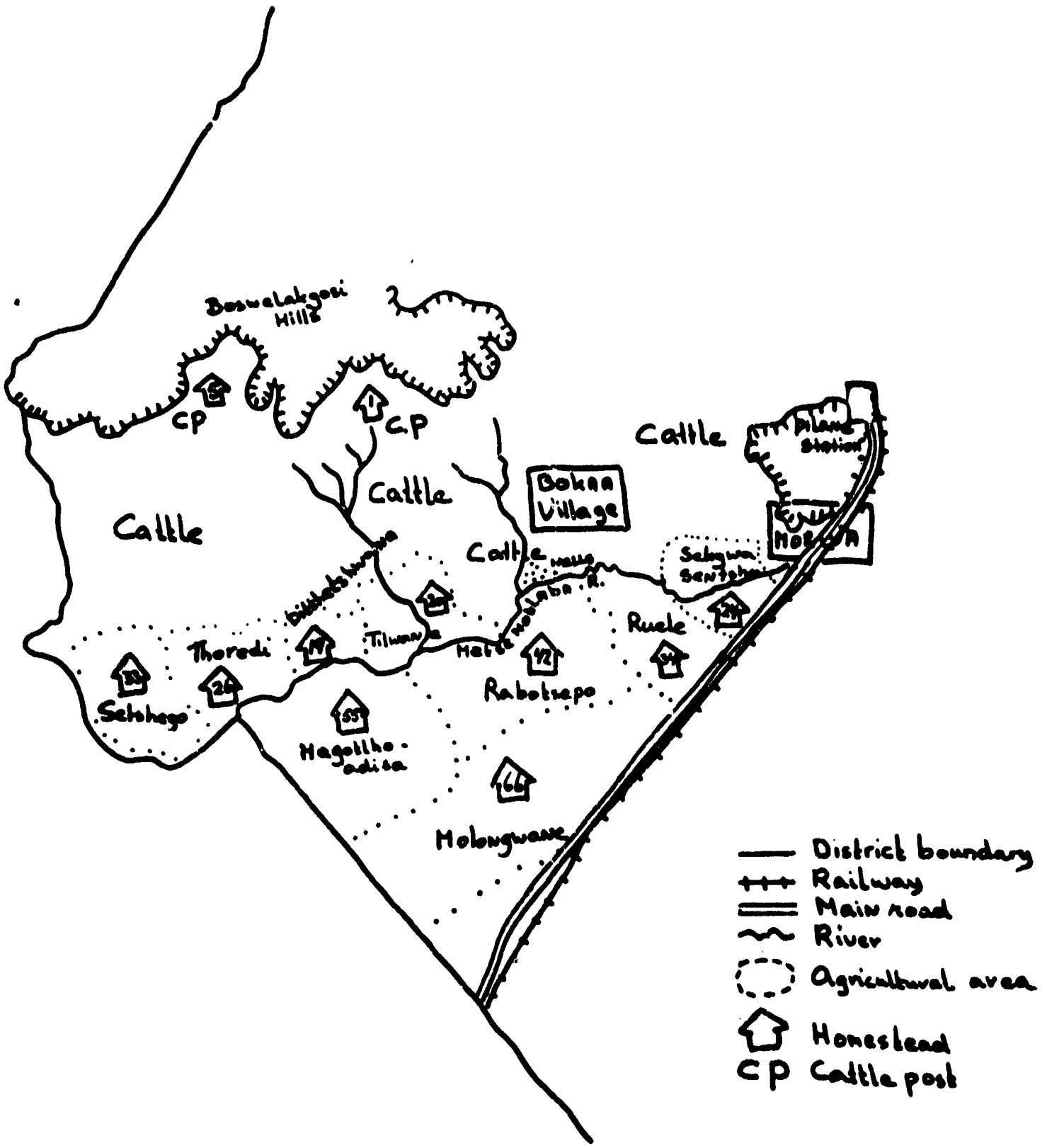
It is striking that in virtually all instances only one person was named as looking after the cattle, in sharp contrast with the large numbers of boys and men who used to live at the cattlepost in the past. If the heads of households did not herd themselves they still had to help regularly, especially since many of the sons and grandsons are only young boys. It also must be taken into account that the labour composition of a household is likely to alter yearly. A man may have a son herding for him this year, but the previous year this may not have been the case.

Of these same 85 households 50 or 58.8% kept their cattle on their farm and 35 or 41.2% did not have their cattle on their farm. Of these latter 6 or 7.1% had given all their cattle as mafisa (see page 184) to another man who was looking after them at his own farm and 7 or 8.2% shared the herding with someone else and kept their herd at his farm. That leaves therefore 25 or 29.1% of households who did not have their cattle in the agricultural areas at all. Of this group 5 or 20% kept

their cattle elsewhere in the district and 16 others or 64% farmed in Molongwane, the area within the Bokaa territory which is furthest removed from a water supply and which is completely closed in by other farming areas so that there is no grazing nearby.

Most of the cattle which are not kept at the lands are found near the village. Map III shows the distribution of grazing and arable land at present. Overgrazing will be a major problem of the future. Since cattle have to be taken further out in winter than in summer in order to prevent them from entering fields with crops, some alternation in grazing does take place, but around the watering points the destruction of the environment has proceeded at an alarming rate. Furthermore, the pools along the Metsemotlaba river are dry much earlier in the year than used to be the case in the past. They are presently dry around April, while in the past they would be filled with water until June/July. The loss of surface water is typically attributed to a reduced rainfall by the inhabitants of Bokaa, but in fact it is much more likely to have been caused by the destruction of grassland. The waterholding properties of the grass have been lost and flash floods and siltation of the river has been the result. Two dams have recently been dug near the village but even these do not suffice to meet the requirements of all the cattle of Bokaa. For several months a year cattle are still watered from the wells. In the area surrounding the wells a thick forest of thornbush gives the warning signal as to what the future will hold, unless drastic steps, such as enforced countermeasures or resettlement are taken. Bokaa is not yet surrounded by the miles of barren land which can be seen around the large villages such as Mochudi, but it is not difficult to see that this will be an unavoidable fate of the future unless the present trend is reserved.

That this destruction of the environment is likely to spell disaster is obvious (49). Despite the contributions of migrant labour, animal husbandry continues to be the major source of income for the rural population. In fact the sale of cattle has increased significantly in past years. In 1954 an abattoir was erected in Lobatse. Previously cattle had been marketed on the hoof and were driven for long distances to foreign markets so that the erection of this abattoir resulted in higher prices for the producers and consequently in an increase in the number of cattle marketed. In 1950 the total value of cattle exported



Map III. Bokaa area 1971.

amounted to R2.400.000 while in 1968 the value of cattle carcases alone reached R5,800.000 (50). That 32% of the households in Bokaa do not hold any cattle is a grave consideration, but that with the destruction of the environment even those who do have some cattle are in constant danger of losing their limited wealth is clearly an all encompassing threat to the whole village economy.

A changing settlement pattern and its effect on the social structure

The social consequences of the trends discussed above are extremely farreaching. Relative labour shortage forces many men to remain all year at their farms. Not only do they have to herd or supervise the herding of their cattle, but those who want to improve their agriculture according to the instructions of the extension service have to work in the months after the harvest as well. Moreover, since cattle are kept at the lands more people are forced to fence their fields. This is a time consuming affair which has to be repeated every year as thornbushes are used for this purpose. Many male household heads cannot afford the luxury of spending a few months in leisure in the village and at present the majority remain at their farms all year. The village is visited for short periods at a time in order to see relatives, attend courtcases, celebrations etc. but no longer do they live in the village for several months a year.

Those who still continue to do so, give as their reasons the pleasant social life in the village (this was especially significant for the young people), their children who attend school there (51), and many women replied that they came to repair their village homes so that these should not deteriorate. There seems to be an apparent contradiction in the fact that so much more care is taken of the little used village-home than of the farmdwelling, but traditional beliefs and practices die slowly and it is still considered extremely important to be buried from the house in the village. The traditional dualistic opposition of village-bush continues to live within the people's thinking. But in the Kwena district, only a few miles from Bokaa the dead are already buried at the lands and the process towards permanent settlement at the farms seems to have progressed much further. Bokaa only appears to be in the beginning phases of a change towards a community living in scattered

homesteads, but already there are many people who do not possess a village-home.

Although economic necessity is the main agent of change, it is not the only one. The declining power of the chief and the concomitant lack of interest in the political process within the village also plays a major role (52). A more balanced view is that both these factors count and that they reinforce each other. As people are more involved in their life at the agricultural areas the power of the chief declines and because the power of the chief has declined people are no longer afraid of staying at their farms. Since the change became only highly noticeable in the 1960's it is clear that the curbing of the chief's authority gave people the chance to do what they probably had desired long before but been afraid to do. Although the chief often expressed bitterness at the fact that his people were ignoring the village, there was nothing he could do about it.

The national census in 1971 gave the following figures for the population of Bokaa. In the village 916 people were counted and at the lands 1060. Of the 259 dwellings in the village 150 were occupied and of the 278 dwellings at the lands 182 dwellings were occupied. The population counted in the village must be considered to be more than usual, for the chief had urged people to be present in the village for that day. On 22 September I conducted a census of the village and counted a total of 664 people which figure can be broken down into 80 adult men (adult was defined as 18 years and older), 190 women and 414 children. Only 116 households were occupied. Thus at a time when all the people should have been in the village, i.e. after the harvest, more than half the population was living at the lands. In ch. VI a table is presented which shows the major places of residence of 475 adults in the period July-November 1972 (see page 201). This table shows that of the 115 men who had lived in Bokaa 41 had resided in the village and 74 at the lands. Of 134 women in Bokaa 53 had resided in the village and 81 at the lands.

The population found in the village during these months will vary greatly from day to day. A large number of people come to the village for only a few days, while others come for a few weeks and yet others for only a few hours. The village continues to draw people because of its amenities and services, i.e. shops, the clinic, the chief, the

agricultural demonstrator, while engagements, marriages and burials also take place there. Those people who live permanently in the village during this season often had done so in order to be with their school-going children, or to benefit from the relatively good watersupply. One of the major reasons why many people still return to the village is the total lack of water at most agricultural areas. The distance from their farm dwellings to the wells is too large (it must be remembered that the dry season coincides with the period of harvesting until the first ploughing) while in the village two boreholes ensure a continuous and sufficient supply. If boreholes were to be drilled in areas such as Molongwane it is possible that the number of people returning to the village will drop dramatically.

I have stated that a change in settlement pattern from three homesteads to one, would alter the basic principles on which Tswana society is founded. The reasoning behind this view need not be sought far. The social structure and all social institutions were based on village life so that the residence at the lands of a large proportion of the population totally disrupts the traditional social system.

Take the political and judicial system for instance. Already, traditional political institutions have been heavily affected, and compared to former times there is a stagnation in political life. The chief and wardheads complain that people remain at the lands in order to be lawless, and this accusation, though certainly untrue for most people is not without foundation either. Wrongdoers well aware that they can avoid justice, at least temporarily and only for ever, by retreating to their farms. A wardhead cannot exert his authority on people who live as far as fifteen miles away. Although most people are not serious lawbreakers, a large number certainly enjoy the opportunity to avoid irksome instructions issued by the chief. Many do not particularly want to exert themselves in unpaid public labour and/or contribute their money to causes stipulated by the chief or Village Development Committee and the fact that they no longer are confronted directly with the authorities in the village only facilitates avoidance of these duties.

Personal contact between a wardhead and his subjects and between wardmembers themselves is essential for the functioning of the traditional system and today this is no longer possible because of the large distances separating them. The chief depends on the wardhead to carry

out his instructions and to report any problems and trespasses to him. Without wardheads the chief is virtually helpless. Moreover, he himself no longer has direct contact with the bulk of the villagers either. He remains all year in the village and sees relatively few of his subjects. This was also the case in former times during the agricultural season, but then most of the political life took place when all had returned to the village. Today kgotla meetings are poorly attended all year round and the pleas and occasional threats to defactors not heeded. On the days that no official meetings have been convened the kgotla stands empty, though in the past men would congregate daily in the enclosure. As a result the younger generation of men has lost touch wi ny traditional customs and is ignorant about customary law.

Courtcases at the land have become a common occurrence. It has always been customary to have preliminary hearings of minor cases at the lands, but in 1971/72 it sometimes happened that even major cases such as divorce were settled there. It certainly has become more common for minor cases to be heard in their entirety at the lands. The settlement is done by a neighbourhood moot and no official is necessarily involved. Neither will spatially distant relatives be invited. Only when the neighbourhood moot cannot solve the dispute, messages are sent to the wardheads and paternal relatives, and a date arranged for a meeting in the village. It is possible that the recently introduced changes in the judicial system whereby it has become focused on the chief and bypasses the lower levels, may have counteracted the trend I observed towards settling disputes at the lands. I have no information on this.

The relationships between kinsmen have also been affected. Kinsmen living far apart are unable to pursue their relationships in accordance with stated norms. Since the most frequent and closest contact ought to exist between agnatic kin, the change is perceived most clearly in those particular relations. Though full brothers are likely to remain in touch with each other their children will not walk the many miles which separate them unless it is a very important matter. This does not imply that people have started to live without kinrelationships; the intricacies of the kinship network are such that within each neighbourhood people will be related to each other. A man will always have many relatives living nearby, but these will be members of his kindred and not necessarily of his lineage and ward. Moreover, this group of relatives will include

many distantly related kin, people with whom in the village he would no longer maintain a very active relationship.

All this need not necessarily be regarded negatively. It is however sad but true that not only traditional institutions but modern ones as well are affected. The government is directing all its development efforts to the village, and many of the failures must at least be attributed in part to the absence of the people they are supposed to reach. For example, the Village Development Committee was functionning most inefficiently during my residence in the village. Leadership problems are partially to blame, but a major reason was that committee members just cannot be bothered to travel all those miles to the village for each meeting. In 1971 even the chairman himself never turned up, and a former chairman whose farmdwelling was only four miles from the village had to take over at meetings which were attended by four to five committee members and no villagers. The community development assistant and the agricultural demonstrator reside in the village and not surprisingly find few people to communicate with. The same applies to the district councillor, although in her case there is the additional problem that she resides most of the year at her farmlands herself. If development efforts are to have a change of success, more attention must be directed towards the agricultural areas.

In summary it can be said that a breakdown of the corporate unity of the village is taking place. It can be foreseen that a fluid social structure based on individual incentive and interest, with leaders chosen on achievement and proximity, is likely to supplant the traditional structure of corporate groups and ascribed status. This does not mean that the village will cease to exist, altogether. For some social categories, i.e. the young and educated people, it may become much more attractive as a place of residence than it has been in the past, while those people who are involved in agriculture may come to live permanently or semi-permanently at the lands. But in either case the pattern of seasonal migration will have weakened and one can expect a greater social differentiation between village-dwellers and lands-dwellers.

Notes

1) See for instance:
Wilson, M.-1969. 'The Sotho'. In Wilson, M. and L. Thompson (eds.) The Oxford History of South Africa. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 153-155.
Schapera, I.-1943. Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Lovedale Press, p. 269.

2) Ashton, E.H.-1937. 'Notes on the political and judicial organisation of the Tawana', Bantu Studies, 11, pp. 67-83.

3) Wilson, M.-1971. 'Problems for research in Tswana history'. Bots. Notes and Records, Vol. 3, 1971, p. 71.

4) Quoted by Wilson, M. op. cit., p. 71.

5) Schapera, I. op. cit. (1943), p. 269.

6) Campbell, A. and Child, G.-1973. 'The impact of man on the environment of Botswana - Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 3, pp. 91-110.
See also, Wilson, M. op. cit. (1969), p. 154.

7) This contention is easily confirmed by elder informants but was also noted by early travellers. See for instance Rev. J.D. Hepburn who stated for the Shoshong people in 1884 'they have such hard days in the gardens that the people will not come in (i.e. to the village) till after supper'. In other words they lived permanently in the village and worked their fields nearby.
Hepburn, J.D.-1895. Twenty years in Khama's country. London: Holder and Stoughton, quoted in Fosbrooke, H.A.-1971. 'Land and Population'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 3, pp. 182-184.

8) Schapera, I. op. cit. (1943), pp. 270-272.

9) Schapera, I.-1958. 'Christianity and the Tswana'. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 88, pp. 1-9.

10) Pauw, B.A.-1965. 'Patterns of Christianization among the Tswana and the Xhosa-speaking peoples'. In. Fortes, M. and G. Dieterlen (eds.), African Systems of Thought, London: Oxford University Press.

11) Ibid. p. 253.

12) Ibid. p. 245.

13) This is particularly noticeable in the concept of 'neighbour'. A 'neighbour' in structural terms is a neighbour in the village and not those in the agricultural areas. Neighbours are expected to aid each other in courtcases and other social engagements, for they are regarded as people who are intimately connected with each other but at the same time are detached and objective because the bonds of kinship do not obscure their perceptions. Despite the fact that people live for the largest part of the year at the lands and thus are in fact much more intimately acquainted with their neighbours there, this is given no recognition in the formal organisation of social life. In fact many of the so-called 'neighbours' are no more than casual acquaintances under the present circumstances.

14) Once ploughing commenced the chief would order all cattle to be taken to the cattleposts and only after the harvest permission was given for their return to the farmlands in order to graze on the stubble.

15) See note 7.

16) See for instance, Schapera, I. op. cit., (1943), p. 25.

17) The information on which this historical outline is based was obtained primarily from the life histories of informants. Ten highly detailed life histories were recorded and on the basis of the patterns which became clearly discernible (they were strikingly similar in their fundamentals) a much larger number of men were questioned in order to check whether indeed pertinent processes of change had emerged. The literature was consulted in order to check the information thus obtained and to fill in the details on which informants were vague (dates etc.)

18) According to old informants there was no need to dig wells during the first few years of residence since the Thlakgamane river held water all year, but of course it is better to be cautious and to regard such statements with some scepticism.

19) I surmise that the disease was smallpox although I have no concrete evidence for this view. The people of Bokaa themselves refer to the epidemic as 'Bulawana' which is a mispronounciation of 'Bulawayo', the town which was founded at that time in Rhodesia by white settlers, and from where it was believed the disease came.

20) Fosbrooke, H.A.-1973. 'An assessment of the importance of institutions and institutional forms in Development'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 27.

Schapera, I.-1970. Tribal Innovators. London: The Athlone Press, p. 101.

21) Calves are traditionally separated from their mothers, since it is believed that if a calf is left with its mother it will drink too much milk and will die as a result. Today as a result of a shortage of herdboys, many are forced to abandon this practice, but the erroneous belief lingers on.

22) For written evidence of this practice see:
Phiri, F.-1973. 'Mochudi fifty years back'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 117.

23) See: Schapera, I.-1947. Migrant Labour and Tribal Life. A study of conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. London: Oxford University Press.

24) The Report on e Population Census-1971. Gaborone: Government Printer, stated that the hut tax was instituted with the specific design to improve the flow of labour by making regular demands for money on all adult males. A. Sillery and I. Schapera have argued on the contrary that 'there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the tax was specifically designed to drive men out to work' and that 'The tax was wholly a fiscal measure'.
'Correspondence on the Report of the Population Census-1971'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, pp. 217-219.

25) Schapera, I. op. cit. (1970), p. 97.

26) For a description of the same process in Shoshong village, see Fosbrooke, H. op. cit. (1971), p. 189.

27) Schapera has stated that 'the agricultural practices of the Tswana had not changed fundamentally by 1940'. Schapera, I., op. cit. (1970), p. 101.

28) For example, one informant told me that one can notice that land becomes 'old' by the reduction in one's crops, but then proceeded to attribute his own very meagre harvest to mystical causes. I had earlier established by my questioning that he had been cultivating the same field for approximately thirty years and therefore I drew his attention to the discrepancy in his statements. He showed surprise at my question for according to him only those fields which had been cultivated for fifty years or more could be considered as 'old'.

29) People in a ritually impure condition (usually in some direct or indirect connection with sexual relations and procreation) are said to be 'hot', their blood 'boils' and they are believed to be harmful to people, crops and cattle. Should, for instance, a widow cross a field the land is believed to be affected and crop failure will be the result. Only the traditional doctor can provide an antidote.

30) I arrived at this approximate date from the statements of various informants.

31) Even today people still claim ownership of land which their grandfathers abandoned fifty years ago and consequently the newly founded (in 1970) Land Board which reallocates former arable land which has reverted to bush to anyone who asks for it, has met with widespread indignation.

32) See Schapera, I. op. cit. (1947).

33) Schapera, I. op. cit. (1947), p. 33-9.

34) Ibid.

35) Ettinger, S.-1972. 'South Africa's weight restrictions on cattle exports from Bechuanaland 1924-41'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 4, pp. 21-29.

36) Report on the Population Census-1971. Gaborone: Government Printer.

37) Fosbrooke, H.A. op. cit. (1971), p. 174-5.

38) Ibid.

39) Ibid.

40) This viewpoint is shared by H.A. Fosbrooke who has stated that 'There is strong evidence to indicate that in recent years the gap between the large and small stockowner is widening.... The 'big man' can more easily apply modern managerial techniques and he can weather the stress of drought more easily by shifting stock over considerable distances and even by hiring grazing from freehold farmers'. Fosbrooke, H.A. op. cit. (1973), p. 28.

41) See Appendix.

42) Report on Population Census-1971. Gaborone: Government Printer, Table 28.

43) Ibid., table 19.

44) Ibid., table 14.

45) Ibid.

46) Ibid.

47) Grant, S.-1973. 'Mochudi. The transition from village to town'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 5, p. 7.

48) The majority of courtcases I attended or was told about were either directly or indirectly connected with the problems created by the absence or negligence of men.
The picture I gained about the effects of migrant labour on tribal organisation is quite contradictory to that described by Van Velsen, J. in 'Labour migration as a positive factor in the continuity of Tonga tribal society'. In Forde, D. (ed.), Social Change in Modern Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 230-241.

49) See also:
Campbell, A. and Child, G. op. cit. (1971), pp. 91-110.

50) Smit, P.-1970. Botswana. Resources and Development. Pretoria: Africa Institute, p. 193.

51) It is a grave social problem that schoolgoing children are forced to live in the village for most of the year, while their parents live at the lands. Every Friday afternoon one sees files of children departing to the lands in order to spend the weekend with their parents. but the remainder of the week they often are without adult supervision. Needless to say parent-child relationships are adversely affected and social evils such as pregnancies of very young girls promoted.

52) See also:
Comaroff, J.L. -1976. 'Tswana transformations'. in Schapera, I., The Tswana (new edition). London: International African Institute, pp. 67-76.

CHAPTER IV: THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL GROUPS IN BOKAA

Though the traditional social structure has been attacked and altered by the forces of modernization it remains as yet visible. An individual's daily life may no longer be organised in relation to his membership of the corporate social groups, but he still will acknowledge with some regret that ideally this should have been the case. The traditional structure continues to mould the thinking albeit not always the actions, of the people and in some instances it will still feature as of old. As yet no examination of Tswana social life would be complete without reference to the traditional social groups and the kinship structure, while, the same is necessary in order to understand the social change which has taken place.

The wellknown problem of determining whether the basic groups of a society are recruited on the basis of descent or of political affiliation and how these conflicting allegiances are reconciled, is pertinent to the Tswana situation. A Tswana village is divided into wards which are subdivided into sub-wards and/or family-groups. Ideally each of these administrative units should contain a core of agnatically related males, so that lineage, minor lineage and lineage segment roughly coincide with the abovementioned groups. In reality the situation is far more complex, and many non-kinsmen belong to one ward while many kinsmen live in different wards. This gives rise to a situation where an individual's allegiances can be divided between kinsmen on the one hand and wardmembers on the other and thereby disruptive tensions are promoted. As a solution to this problem Tswana social structure has clearly opted for the 'unity of the ward' rather than for the 'unity of the lineage'. The corporate identity of the lineage is extremely low while the wards figure prominently in politico-jural and economic life. This fact has caused some authors to ignore or underplay the existence of lineages (1) and others to equate lineages and (sub)wards (2). The latter is clearly untrue at a closer examination of wardstructure, while the former standpoint needs to be refined. An examination of the conceptualization and corporate reality of agnatic descent groups among the Kaa serves this function.

Totemic category and lineage

The totemic categories are the largest units in which a person gains membership through patrilineal descent. Each individual inherits the totem of his father and thus it indicates a person's origin, rank and possibly distant agnatic relatedness to people with the same totem. Yet these groupings cannot be considered 'clans'. Beyond the sharing of a totem (usually it is an animal) and the taboos that go with it (i.e. not to eat the flesh of the animal), individuals with the same totem have nothing in common. Unless they can trace a kinrelationship to each other they have no mutual obligations. Furthermore, the sharing of one totem does not necessarily engender a consideration of common descent. The same totem can be shared by several tribes. For instance in Bokaa some people with the totem 'tau' (lion) are descended from the Taung tribe, while others with that same totem are Rotse from Zambia. There are at least twenty different totems in the village but other than roughly indicating the original stock and thereby rank, they serve no purpose. It may happen that a stranger who comes to live in the village will be assigned by the chief to a ward which contains people of the same totem but this is certainly not a matter of fact occurrence.

The Tswana themselves have no generic term for 'lineage'. The term masika (sing. lesika) which one hears frequently used for relatives can best be translated as 'kindred', since it refers to maternal kin as well as agnates. The descendants of a common ancestor have no specific word to refer to themselves as a group unless they coincide with an administrative unit in which case they can talk of 'kgotla' (ward) or lekgotlana (little ward). Men may refer to themselves, however, as the 'sons' of one man, i.e. barwa [illegible] (from morwa - son; Rapala is a personal name). There is also the reference dikokomane which my interpreter translated as 'descendants of one man through sons', and men can also refer to themselves as 'dikokomane Rapala'. A ward will often have the name of its founder but it must be emphasized that this group includes many non-relatives of the descentline from this founder and that many agnates will have lost their wardmembership and thus no longer refer to themselves by that name.

Agnates do not have a common surname. Usually an individual

takes the first name of his paternal grandfather as his surname. This means that all his siblings and father's brothers sons will have the same name (this is ideally so, but in practice one often finds different surnames even among brothers), but each generation will obviously have a different surname. Nevertheless, descent relationships are acknowledged as having a particular and very important element which no other social relationship has. People speak of 'relatives of the same blood'. This important concept is derived from the traditional theory of procreation. I quote two informants: 'The child gets the blood from the father. What is for the mother is for the seed to develop. Like a seed from the ground, it takes all its food from the ground. As chickens which can produce an egg but not a chick without a male. A child gets all its characteristics from the father. If an European man marries a black woman the child will be completely white'. And a Kgatla schoolteacher said: 'A child also has the blood of the mother. Yet it is of the same blood as the rangwane (FyB) (3) and rremogolo (FoB) but not as the malome (MB). That is because the man's blood is stronger. The woman has the egg which is penetrated by the seed and from this comes life'. Unfortunately I failed to investigate this issue further in the field and therefore had to guess at the meaning of the latter statement. This was made possible by Schapera who wrote: 'Both parents contribute to the build of the child. Its blood, say the people comes from its mother; because before a woman conceives she menstruates regularly, and this is nothing but blood, while after she is pregnant her menses stop, and the child starts to be moulded, so it is obvious that she gives her blood to the child. The father, on the other hand contributes the flesh, 'because of the heavy lumps (of semen) that he puts into the mother'. As a result, children are usually expected to resemble their father,' unless the blood of the woman has been stronger than that of the man, then the child will look like its mother (4). Though this statement at first appears to contradict the former statement, at closer investigation it becomes apparent that the semen is also considered to be 'blood' and that this 'blood' 'fights' that of the mother and subjects it. Schapera writes: 'This belief (that a partner in the act of sexual intercourse may become ill and even die) rests upon the idea that during intercourse the

woman's vaginal secretion, which is identified with her 'blood', enters the man's body through his urethra and summons his semen (also termed 'blood'), with which it is then ejaculated' (5). And also' During the first two or three months of pregnancy, they said, 'the womb shakes about; it mixes up the bloods of the man and the woman, so that they become thick, like cheese, and form the seed'. 'If two months pass without you menstruating after you have slept with your husband', Mmampate told me, 'you know that his blood is fighting with yours in your intestines to make the child' (6). It is apparent that a child is formed by both the blood of the mother and the father, but that since the blood of the father is dominant he 'belongs' to the father's side and not to the mother's side.

Genealogical memory is a significant indication of the value attached to descent. I collected twenty genealogies in Bokaa which had the following depths:

Table IV. Distribution of lineages according to generation depth.

no. of generations above living adult males	no. of lineages
2	5
3	4
4	8
6	1
8	2
	Total:20

Thus, 17 out of 20 lineages had a generation depth of only 3 generations from living adult males. This is a limited depth and the conclusion can be drawn that the Kaa do not attach much significance to the tracing of genealogical descent (7). It is interesting though not surprising that the remaining three lineages were all nobles. The nobles are obviously both interested in proving their link with the royal line and to uphold their status as descendants of illustrious men. After further questioning, however, it became clear that much of their genealogical memory was pure fabrication. Their desire to establish their credentials as 'true'

royals led them to postulate genealogical connections with the chiefly line when in fact the true links had been forgotten. The tracing of descent is constantly subject to revisions and alterations out of expediency. The most notable example of this is provided by Mogadingwana ward.

Case VI. How serfs became royals.

> The Mogadingwana people were originally of low origin and servants of the chief. However, they gained influence and wealth as their head became a powerful witchdoctor. It then happened that a low-ranking woman gave birth to a child from chief Sue, whom the chief called Motswakwa (lit. 'he comes from there'). Sue decided to give it in adoption to the traditional doctor Mphareng and later out of love for his son created a new ward called Mogadingwana and appointed Motswakwa as its head. Motswakwa's descendants trace their ancestry to Mphareng, but have adopted the royal totem tlou (elephant). To account for this anomaly they state that Mphareng himself was a noble. He is supposed to have been the eldest son of the second house of Mosinyi I, in other words a half-brother of chief Sue.

Next to lineage depth as an indication of genealogical memory, the lateral spread of the agnatic links which are remembered should also be taken into account. In the majority of the twenty genealogies, lineage segmentation was memorised for only one generation above the oldest living adults. In other words the elder men could remember the name of their grandfather but none of his brothers. This applied to eleven out of the twelve commoner lineages. In two separate cases two lineages who undoubtedly were related to each other and belonged to the same ward had forgotten the genealogical link between them, even though they still used the kinterms rrangwane (FyB) and rremogolo (FoB) for each other. All the eight lineages with royal connections were more explicit in the tracing of their agnatic relationships. In fact four of these lineages could be regarded as a maximal lineage since they knew the exact agnatic relationship to each other. Again this can be attributed to the nobles' preoccupation with rank.

The paternal line is differentiated from the maternal line because of the greater emphasis on the conceptual unity of agnates (the exact links with maternal kin are usually forgotten after one generation) and because there is an overlap between ward and lineage structure, but in no way is the lineage per se distinguished as a

corporate group. There is no distinctive structured relationship of obligations and prohibitions between all the people who can trace their descent to each other. Only the descendants of a common paternal grandfather (sometimes great-grandfather) can have a corporate unity (see further on in this chapter), the others are merely regarded as 'people of the same blood' and on the basis of that recognition they will be invited together with collateral relatives to family meetings and social occasions. Not even incest taboos pertain between them. The Tswana lineage is not an exogamous unit since marriage with paternal relatives and especially the fathers brothers daughter (who is adressed as 'sister') is preferred. The lineage never assembles as a group, it does not have a family council which deals specifically with the affairs of its members and it does not have a head. Only that section of the lineage which is contained within the ward will have all these institutions and functions, but then of course non-relatives will be included as well. As a general rule, paternal kin who do not belong to ego's ward are merged with his maternal kin as one single undifferentiated kindred and they do not fullfill any functions which set them apart from maternal kin.

The ancestral cult which figures so prominently in most other African societies and which is usually an affair of the lineage, hardly exists among the Kaa. On the few occasions that ancestral sacrifices are made (8) it is not the lineage or lineage segment which assembles, but the whole village is invited to attend. The ancestors to whom the sacrifice is presented can be maternal as well as paternal, usually they are F, M, FF, FM, MF and MM. There was some disagreement as to whether it could be to the MB as well. Similarly, the sacrificial beast is not necessarily killed by a lineage member; there is no reason why a maternal relative should not do so. Ancestral sacrifices if they occur, which is not often, are in no way an exclusive lineage affair.

The only way in which the significance of (extra-ward) agnatic descent is given expression in concrete actions is by the active relationship which is maintained with relatives who live at a large distance from Bokaa. In this respect a clear difference is noticeable between agnatic kin and maternal kin or non-agnate wardmembers.

The relationship with maternal kin who do not live in the same locality is only maintained as long as the mother remains alive, in which case it will depend to a large extent on her initiative, but once she has died it will usually be severed. But the relationship with distant agnatic relatives, even those as far as Shoshong, can persist over a few generations. On important occasions such as burials or marriages, representatives of the distant lineage segment will be sent. For instance, on the occasion of the burial of chief Rraditladi three of the most important guests and organisers were the headmen of the Kaa in Shoshong, Kalemare and Molepolole, the descendants of chief Rraditladi's paternal uncles. Children are sometimes still sent to live with their relatives in Shoshong or Kalemare. One generation earlier this was a common occurrence, but at the moment it is rare since the relations with those kinsmen who left Bokaa in 1895 are slowly but surely breaking down.

It will be clear that though the lineage provides an important conceptual identification, it does not feature as a corporate group. The ward is the more significant grouping because it is both the major unit of identification and the major unit of corporate action. Nevertheless descent still plays an important role in structuring behaviour when it is combined with wardmembership. Agnates within one ward have particularly strong bonds of loyalty towards each other which they do not extend to the same degree to other wardmembers and in times of conflict it is agnates and particularly close agnates who will assert themselves together against other wardmembers. In such cases it is quite possible that they will utilise their extra-ward agnatic ties.

Case VII. <u>The utilization of descent links for political purposes</u>.

> The descendants of Motlabe constitute the largest lineage of the village. Its five lineagesegments are distributed over two wards, four in Mashabane ward and one in Mogadingwana ward. One lineagesegment in Mashabane ward, which constitutes the core of a sub-ward called Maabong, actively promotest the relationship with its kinsmen by inviting them to their courtcases, consulting them about all their affairs etc. This is not done by the other members of Mashabane and it is clearly a tactic of the Maabong people to distance themselves from their wardmembers because they want to become an autonomous ward. Likewise some of the lineage's members in Mogadingwana

seek contact with their agnates in Mashabane because they would like to change their wardmembership. This is especially apparent in courtcases when they will tend to support Mashabane people rather then their own wardmembers.

It will be clear that though descent is relatively insignificant in Tswana society, it should not be ignored altogether either. It still features, albeit in a secondary role.

The ward

Schapera has defined the ward as: 'a collection of households living together in their own hamlet and forming a distinct social and political unit under the leadership of a hereditary headman' (9). The territorial unity which he emphasizes no longer exists today; wardmembers are dispersed throughout the village (see maps IV and V) and agricultural areas, while some do not even possess a house in the village but live permanently at the agricultural areas. The ward today is no more than a distinct social and political unit under the leadership of a hereditary headman.

the ward as a political unit

Even a relatively simple structure like the division of the village into wards and the wards into sub-wards presents problems of definition nowadays. Groups are distinguishable but the opinions as to the status of these groups differ significantly. Different informants stated that there were thirteen, eleven, nine and six wards. What the one considered a sub-ward the other claimed to be a ward. The ambitions of some sub-wards who do not wish to recognise an intermediate authority between them and the chief is partly responsible for this state of affairs, but the diffuseness of political relations another. Many formal sub-wards are acting autonomously since the chief is no longer prepared or able to uphold the formal distinctions. He will deal directly with the heads of these 'wards' instead of referring them back to the head of the senior ward. Since for most practical purposes some junior and sub-wards are treated as wards I decided that there are eleven wards in Bokaa at present.

In the past the following division into senior wards and junior wards and subwards in order of rank pertained:

04/3

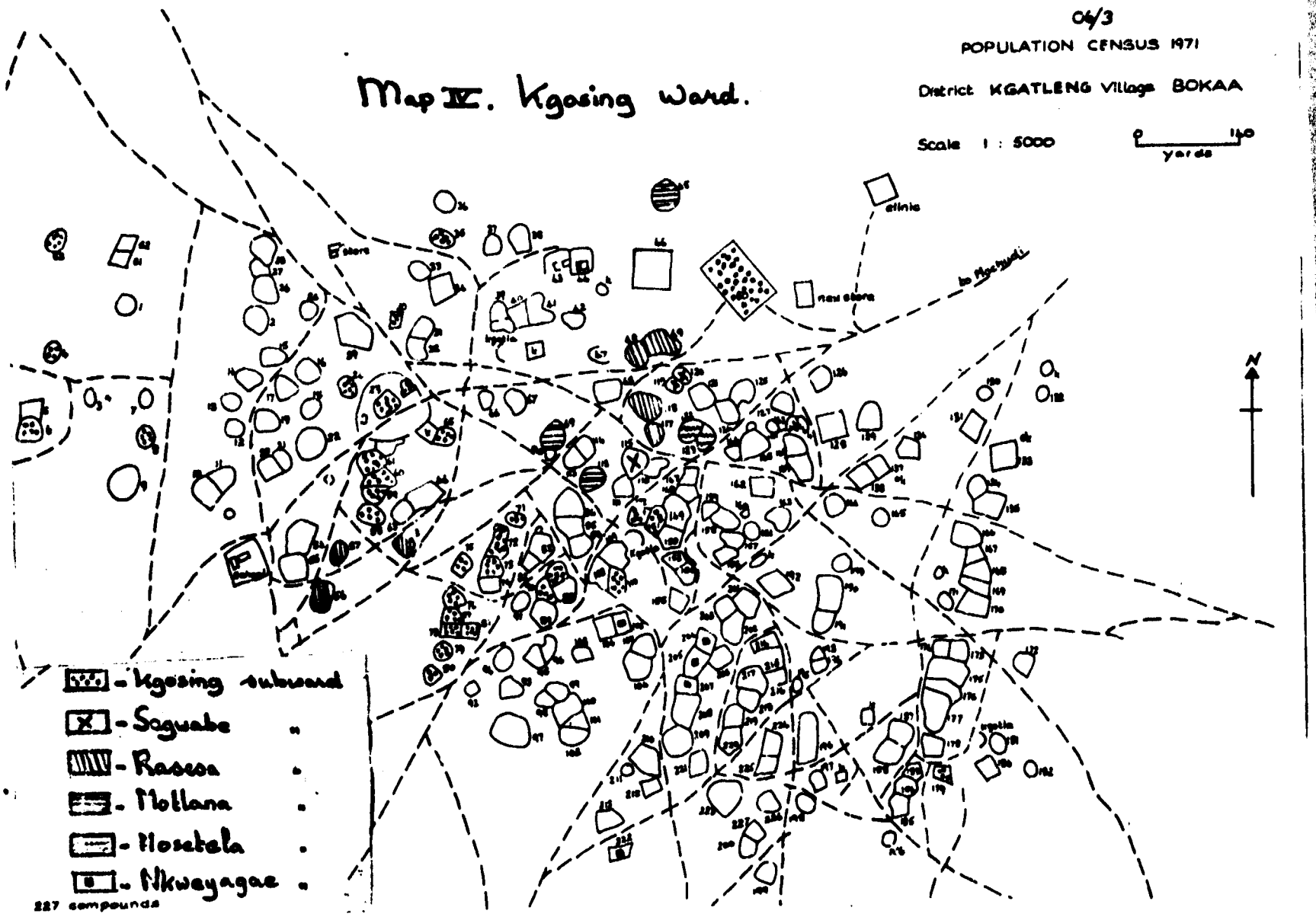
POPULATION CENSUS 1971

District KGATLENG Village BOKAA

Map IV. Kgosing Ward.

Scale 1 : 5000

0 ——— 150 yards



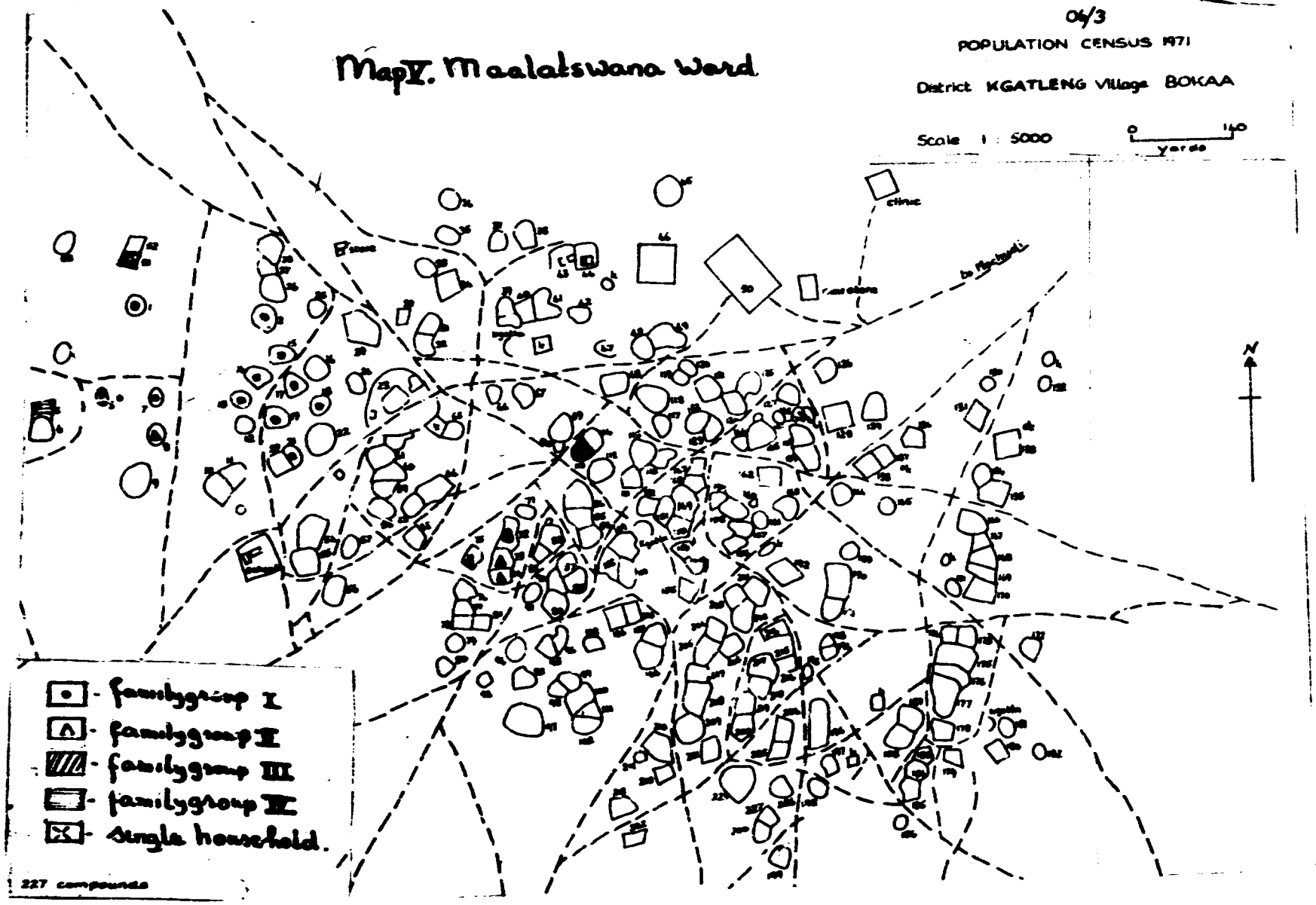
Map V. Maalatswana Ward.

06/3

POPULATION CENSUS 1971

District KGATLENG Village BOKAA

Scale 1 : 5000 0 ——— 140 yards



A. Kgosing ward, which contained eight subwards:

1. Kgosing subward -totem tlou (elephant), consisting of the small royal lineage and the many foreigners who have been incorporated into the subward in recent years.
2. Motlana - totem phofu (eland). These are Khurutshe who were absorbed at Shoshong.
3. Segwabe - totem kwena (crocodile). Kwena people who joined the Kaa during their stay with the Kwena.
4. Rasesa - totem tau (lion). Taung people who have been with the Kaa since their departure from the Rolong. When Rasesa ward seceded from Bokaa in 1904, two men remained behind and their descendants presently form this subward.
5. Nkoagae - totem tlou (elephant). They are not proper Kaa but have adopted the royal totem. Their origin is unknown.
6. Mosetela - totem pelo (heart). Talaote-Kalanga captured at Shoshong. This subward though it belongs to Kgosing cooperates with Matebele ward in the judicial process.
7. Basimane - totem phiri (hyena). (at present they claim to have kwena, crocodile, as their totem). They are Kwena commoners who through a marriage joined the Kaa.

B. Tsiana - totem tlou. They are Kaa proper. 2 junior wards are attached to this ward:

I. Maalatswana - totem tlou (elephant). Kaa proper who have been demoted in rank.

II. Nkwanapedi - totem tau (lion). These people have also been with the Kaa since their departure from the Rolong.

C. Mogadingwana - totem tlou (elephant). They bear the Kaa totem but are not originally Kaa.

A junior ward is attached to this ward:

I. Mashabane - totem tlou. Kaa proper who have been demoted in rank

1. Maabong subward - totem tlou. Agnatic

relatives of the nucleus of Mashabane ward (see case VII).

D. Matebele - totem phuti (duiker). They are Ngwato who after having been captured by the Matebele for a period of time, joined the Kaa at Shoshong.

E. Machailo - totem nare (buffalo). They joined the Kaa at Shoshong.

F. Phinyana - totem tau (lion). They have been with the Kaa for a long time and were traditionally servants of the chief.

I. Masusuopana - totem tshwene (baboon). They joined the Kaa when they were with the Kwena and were traditionally servants of the chief's wife.

At present there are eleven wards some of which are linked to each other in the following manner:

1. Kgosing (its subwards are linked to each other)
2. Tsiana
3. Maalatswana
4. Mashabane
5. Mogadingwana
6. Setshwani
7. Basimane
8. Machailo (consists of two large familygroups which are linked to each other)
9. Matebele (linked to Mosetela subward of Kgosing)
10. Phinyana
11. Masusuopana

The linking indicated above, refers to an alliance between the wards by which they assist each other in courtcases and on social occasions. Judicial proceedings require that non-agnates should be present during a courtcase to offset the partiality of the agnatic group of the disputant. Only in the case of Mogadingwana and Mashabane does this alliance imply a seniority -inferiority; in the other instances it can be regarded as a co-operation for mutual benefit.

Wardsites were originally allocated according to rank. Chief Selalabyanye and his close relatives lived around the kgotla

(councilplace), with his senior wife on the western side and his junior wife on the eastern side. The servants of the first wife, i.e. Rasesa subward and the servants of the second wife, viz. Masusuopana and Phinyana ward lived behind their mistresses. At the north end of the kgotla were the residences of the other subwards of Kgosing and at the south end was Mogadingwana ward, whose agnatic core are the maternal relatives of the chief. The kgotla was thus on all sides enclosed by trusted retainers and relatives of the chief while the wards of nobles, the potential usurpers of the chieftainship, were symbolically distanced from the seat of government by being localized beyond all other wards. Today the positions of these wards have altered completely. Population growth led to expansion and the boundaries between the wards first became diffuse and later when the original sites were fully occupied and people had to move elsewhere, were altered altogether.

At present the members of a ward are widely dispersed. First, they no longer live localised either in the village or at the lands. Second, some people live permanently or semi-permanently at the lands while others do not (this is even so for members of the same household). Thirdly, many people live for long periods of time in South-Africa or the urban centres of Botswana. It will be obvious that such a dispersal hampers the efficient functioning of the ward as a political and social unit. Many administrative problems arise from this factor; courtcases and meetings are difficult to convene, individuals escape from the law or from unpleasant obligations by retreating to the lands or going on migrant labour. Furthermore, the interpersonal relationships between wardmembers have been immeasurably weakened. Even wardmembers who are not away on migrant labour may see each other only a few times a year. The contrast with the past when the members of this group lived together and were continuously recognizable as a social and political unit is sharp indeed. The following case gives an example of a particular subward., i.e. Motlana, a subward of Kgosing ward, to illustrate the dispersal of its members.

Case VIII. Motlana subward; composition and residence.

Kgosing ward consists of six unrelated subwards, of which Motlana

is one. The links between the various subwards are generally loose (this is partly due to the large size of the ward) and in no way does the ward form a distinct residential unit. The subwards are the more significant units of action; the members ought to interact daily and therefore should live next to each other. Such are the norms, but everyone recognizes that they are impossible to realize at present.
Motlana is small, it consists of eight adult males with their wives and children, two single women with their children and one old widow. They are the eight sons of two (deceased) brothers and the second wife (thus not the mother of any of the men) of one of these brothers and her adult daughter from a previous marriage.
Of these people three adult men reside elsewhere in Botswana and thus have no homestead in the village (one does in fact have a homestead, inherited from his mother, but at present he allows his brother to occupy it). These men include the head of the subward who left the village in 1965 out of fear for the witchcraft of his wife (now his ex-wife). He has hardly returned to the village since that date. Anyone of the other adult males can deputize for him should the occasion require so. His brother John often performs this function since he, though the fourth son, is more often present in the village. As all men are of the same generation there is no one with definite authority, although the seniors must of course be respected by their juniors. Most decisionmaking is done by consensus.
In addition usually at least one adult male is absent on a migrant labour contract at any particular moment of time. Every single adult has been to South Africa for some period of time in his life, and several are away repeatedly. This obviously impairs the viability of the subward, but the situation is aggrevated by the fact that the remaining members live several miles apart in the village environment. Most live at large distances from each other at the agricultural areas and while ideally each household should have a village homestead as well as a farm homestead, in practice this is not always the case. While all seven households of which the heads reside in Bokaa, have a farm homestead, only four have village dwellings as well.

The people who only have a farmhomestead will obviously spend little time in the village. However, even people with two homesteads differ in the periods of time they spend in the village and at the lands. Some families live for most of the year at the agricultural areas and only come for short visits to the village, in others the husband remains all year at the lands while the wife comes to the village for a few months. This pattern may change from year to year and for each household, depending on the circumstances. John is the only member of Motlana who at present (though not in the past) lives for most of the year in the village. His reason for doing so, is the profitable bear-brewing enterprise which his wife conducts in the village. The high rate of mobility of the Motlana people necessitates special arrangements to be made on those occasions that require

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corporate action. Unless notice is given long beforehand, it is impossible for all members to assemble at a courtcase etc. and more often than not, only a few will be present.

It will be clear that since such problems already beset a small subward of which households heads are agnatically related to each other, they will be much more apparent within the large wards.

Each ward has its own kgotla (councilplace) and wardhead. The opposition of wardhead passes from father to eldest son. It is the wardhead's duty to maintain law and order, i.e. deal with court-cases, enforce the chief's instructions; look after the welfare of his subjects and organise them for any purpose required by the chief. At the same time he has to inform the chief about the affairs of his ward and as adviser to the chief plays a part in the government of the village as a whole. There is a council of headmen called khudu tamaga (lit. spotted tortoise, a name which refers to the variety of opinions which are freely expressed) which has secret meetings with the chief to discuss important issues as they arise. Formerly only the heads of the six most senior wards belonged to this council, but today all wardheads attend, as well as one old man whose opinion is valued by the chief.

A striking feature of the traditional political system was the relatively high degree of autocratic rule at the highest level in contrast to the democracy at the lower levels. The difference is clear in the judicial process; while the chief listens in court to the various opinions and then makes a judgement which is final (though he can be begged to revise it) the wardhead can never be regarded as a judge in the courtcases at wardlevel. He can punish the guilty party by fining or thrashing, but only after the accused pleads guilty. The court will try to make the accused admit guilt, but should he refuse to do so the case will have to be passed on to the chief. When labour parties for collective enterprises are required, it is usually preferred to mobilize regiments rather than wards, for the very reason that a regimental head is more capable of disciplining his followers than a wardhead. As was said at a kgotla meeting 'wardheads are afraid of their people' (see page 146) A wardhead is not only a political functionary. He is also a kinsman and/or neighbour of his subjects and for that reason it

is very difficult for him to press them with force into something they dislike. He would feel the repercussions of such an act in many areas of his life.

In the past the wardheads were also responsible for the welfare of their subjects. A wardhead had to ensure that widows, orphans etc. were cared for by providing them with milk and arranging the ploughing of their fields. In return they had to help him with various agricultural tasks. In fact, most members of the ward were expected to aid him since he had to remain in the village in order to perform his duties satisfactorily. All this has long ended and today the poor and disabled are no longer provided for, nor can the wardhead expect any assistance. As a result he himself has to live for the major part of the year at the agricultural areas. Since wards are no longer localised at the lands this implies that the efficiency of the administrative structure has been severely impaired.

The wardheads or their deputies are involved in the central village government as well. In the past each wardhead selected one man to represent his ward among the banna ba kgotla (men of the councilplace). They had to be present daily at the kgotla and investigate all matters brought to the chief and were expected to help in the execution of the decisions reached in the village-meetings and generally preserved law and order. Courtcases for the chief's court are brought to them first and they question the litigants at great length so that the chief is acquainted with the details by the time the court sits. In many cases the chief has virtually made up his mind about the judgement to be passed before he hears the case officially. Minor cases can be dealt with by the banna ba kgotla themselves under the authority of the chief councillor. There are two chief councillors; one the ntona is a commoner, the other the younger brother of the chief. The latter is regarded as more senior and deputizes the other councillors and investigates all demands and complaints before bringing them to the chief. Together with the ntona he is the more official intermediary between the chief and the people and councillors.

At present the recruitment of the banna ba kgotla differs from the procedure followed in the past. They are selected by the chief from among his trusted followers and several of them are wardheads. At present they are:

1. Serobolo-Ntona. His father, a lowranking foreigner from Kgosing subward of Kgosing ward was a servant of the chief.
2. Ntsie- A member of Masusuopana ward, traditionally a ward of servants of the chief.
3. Rama- Acting retainer of the chief, who looked after his cattle and as monna wa lapa was responsible for the domestic organisation of the chief's household, the reception of visitors etc.
4. Moalusi-H . Mashabane ward.
5. Basoma -Acting head of Setshwani ward.
6. Mosone- Head of Phinyana ward, traditionally a ward of servants of the chief.

These men were chosen not so much for their ability as for their loyalty to the chief, an attribute which in the days of a declining chieftainship must have become increasingly important to the chief. On the other hand, positions within the traditional political structure hold little attraction nowadays, since people demand cash wages and thus the chief may have been genuinely pressed to find intelligent and knowledgeable men willing to take on these unpaid duties.

Since 1972 the judicial position of the wardheads and banna ba kgotla has been undermined by the presence of the courtscribe and police officer who have been stationed in the village. People can now bypass the traditional officials and directly contact the police officials to lodge their complaints and the case will then pass directly to the chief's court. This has many advantages for the villagers, since the whole judicial process has become very much more efficient and fast. Previously courtcases could continue for years and sometimes death or absenteeism ended them without a settlement having been reached. But the change has also removed an important means of participation in village government for the ordinary villager. The banna ba kgotla and the wardheads never acted autocratically but always in consultation with all those interested and involved and thus every man learned the laws of his community and felt he made a contribution towards their preservation. Under the new system he will have little or no say in the proceedings and thereby he will have little understanding of and identification with the law. In this respect village democracy has thus been weakened.

the ward as a social unit

It is not easy to give a general definition of the ward's internal structure since such great variations are found. It is not a kingroup, yet some, if not all, of the members of most (though not all) wards regulate their relations with each other on the basis of kinship links. The idiom in which people talk of the ward is one of agnatic descent, yet many kinsmen may be related through the mother or through marriage, and others may not be related at all. It is simplest to look first at a sub-division of the ward, i.e. the familygroup, because wardstructure varies primarily according to the number of familygroups and the relations pertaining between them. Schapera writes:

> Several different households living together in the same part of a village or ward settlement and acknowledging a common elder (mogolwane) constitute a familygroup. This group consists basically of families whose men are all agnatic descendants of the same grandfather or great-grandfather; the man senior to the rest by right of birth is their accepted leader. However, it may also contain married sisters or daughters of those men, with their husbands and children; possibly one or more uterine nephews who have come to live permanently with their mothers people and in rare instances even siblings of a woman married into the group. In effect, it is a form of extended family dominantly but not exclusively patrilocal in character. It usually has from twenty to fifty members (10).

This description is still applicable to the Bokaa of today, though some such groups are much smaller and comprise only the sons of one man and though they may no longer live next to each other.

A ward may consist of several such familygroups which may all be agnatically related to each other or which may all be otherwise related to each other, but a ward may also consist of only one familygroup, or one or more familygroups with several single households which are not attached to any familygroup (11). There is no standard structural composition of the ward and there cannot be. The wards are living units which themselves are subject to the processes of generation, fission and fusion and which reflect the fate of the individuals who belong to them. Each ward has a different history and is a different stage of development and thus no one ward is exactly the same as another. Table V sets

out the number of households and the number of familygroups in each ward. Only the houses in the village were counted, so that it must be remembered that each ward has many more members who do not have a house in the village.

Table V. The number of households and familygroups per ward.

Ward/subward	no.of households	no.of familygroups	no.of familygroups agnatically related	no.of single households
Kgosing ward-				
Kgosing subward	24	6	-	10
Rasesa subward	7	1	-	-
Motlana subward	5	1	-	-
Segwabe subward	5	1	-	-
Mosetele subward	3	1	-	-
Nkoagae subward	5	1	-	-
Total Kgosing ward	48	11	-	10
Maalatswana	20	4	-	1
Tsiana	7	2	-	-
Nkwanapedi subward	2	1	-	-
Mogadingwana	37	8	-	5
Mashabane	47	8	4	4
Matebele	12	2	-	1
Tlakana subward	7	1	-	-
Machaile	13	2	2	-
Basimane	7	1	-	1
Setshwani	5	2	-	-
Phinyana	13	3	2	-
Masusuopana	12	2	-	-
Total	228	47	8	22

Of these 228 households 73 (32%) were headed by women of which 53 were widows. The size of the familygroups themselves varied quite considerably as well. I decided to count an association of two households as a familygroup, if they considered themselves to have a separate identity based on agnatic descent and interacted mainly with each other. Yet it must be remembered that such small groups

will often co-operate closely with other familygroups as well.

Table VI. The number of households per familygroup

no. of households	no. of familygroups	%
2	12	25.6
3	7	14.9
4	7	14.9
5	8	17.
6	3	6.3
7	6	12.8
8	2	4.3
9	1	2.1
10	1	2.1
Total	47	100

Wards usually come into being as a large familygroup, but in time a more complex structure evolves. It does not remain a descent-group because an exclusive membership of agnatic kinsmen is never preserved, nor is the agnatic core itself left intact. Membership is lost by women who marry outside the ward and men who settle permanently elsewhere. Even a woman who is not legally married can acquire membership of the ward to which the man she is co-habiting with belongs and the children of such an union can also belong to their fathers ward. Men can choose to change their wardmembership after an internal dispute.

Case IX. Batlatsi leaves Mogadingwana ward.

Ntlomolang had two sons, Chaka and Batlatsi. Chaka the eldest son, died childless. A few years after his death his wife gave birth to a child by a lover and as Chaka had paid bogadi (bridewealth) for her, Ntlomolang recognised this child as Chaka's son and thus as his (Ntlomolang's) main heir. Batlatsi, who after his brother's death had anticipated inheriting all his father's wealth and who had worked for his father in that assumption, suddenly found himself demoted to minor heir. He took the issue to court, first at ward level and susequently

to the chief, but in both cases Ntlomolang's decision was supported. Relations between Batlatsi and his father deteriorated to such an extent that Batlatsi decided to become a member of Mashabane ward. He died long ago, but his descendants are still in Mashabane.

Comments:

It must be noted that, though Batlatsi could have chosen any other ward, he decided to go to Mashabane ward where he had agnatic kinsmen.

The agnatic group which founds a ward always loses some of its members in such a manner, but, on the other hand, the ward always absorbs some affinal and maternal relatives and/or totally unrelated people. The chief allocates foreigners, who do not arrive in sufficient numbers to form their own ward to already existent wards. Usually a foreigner will be assigned to the ward of an individual with whom he has some connection prior to his arrival in the village (this can include a frienship formed during migrant labour), but in the absence of a friendship or kinship relationship he will be absorbed into Kgosing ward. The chief deliberately tries to strengthen his own ward in this manner, but also as 'father' of the tribe feels directly responsible for people without relatives. It is for this reason that Kgosing's structure is so complex. Foreigners were first absorbed into Kgosing subward and consequently there are many 'single' households in Kgosing subward. As they grow in number and form a sizeable familygroup they can become a subward and ultimately a separate ward. For instance, Basimane and Setshwani ward have originated in this manner.

There are various ways in which a ward can come into being. A chief may create a ward for one of his sons. Thus, Mogadingwana was created by chief Sue for his natural son. Several foreigners and one familygroup which had been banished from the tribe, formed the body of this new ward. It can also happen that a group of foreigners arrives and is immediately given wardstatus. This happened for instance to the people of Matebele ward who joined the Kaa in the mid-nineteenth century. But the most usual manner in which a new ward comes into being is through fission of a larger ward. A ward usually becomes internally divided at the point where there are two or more sizeable familygroups.

Tensions arise and are articulated in terms of the agnatic identity of each group and finally a dispute or an ambitious leader precipitate a separation and a new ward is formed. Since wards are primarily administrative units and their main function consequently lies in the judicial sphere, courtcases are the typical events at which the ambitions and discontent of groups within the ward become apparent. The following courtcase illustrates the tensions and strategic manoeuvres which are indicative of the beginning phases of the fission process.

Case X. The undermining of ward unity.

Preliminary remarks

Machailo ward consists of two familygroups; the Machailo and the Leburu people. Both have the totem nare (buffalo) but they deny any agnatic connection with each other. In this courtcase concerning one of the Leburu people, a woman named Mampe, it will become apparent how the Leburu people are undermining ward unity.

Rateeng's son Setimela (from Maalatswana ward) had engaged Mampe (Machailo ward, Leburu familygroup) in 1964. Shortly after this event he went on migrant labour and in the years that followed he only returned to Bokaa for short visits. In 1967 he ceased to send money to Mampe and his children. Mampe contacted her fathers brother Ramotsei who was a guardian (rraditsalane) of her engagement and he complained several times to Rateeng (Setimela's father) on her behalf. Finally there was a small courtcase at which only a few agnatic relatives were present. Rateeng was fined twenty rand for not ensuring that his son fulfilled his duties. But Mampe refused to accept the twenty rand and announced her intention to break the engagement. This time it was Rateeng who demanded a courtcase since in his opinion Mampe as the 'divorcing party' should return all the engagement gifts of Setimela.

At the courtcase (at wardlevel) Ramotsei was the first speaker. He described the events leading up to the present situation. As soon as he finished speaking Sennelo Machailo (of the Machailo familygroup of Machailo ward) angrily demanded an explanation why the Machailo familygroup had never been notified of all these occurrences. All the Machailo people who were present denied any knowledge of the case. Ramotsei tried to shift the blame onto Mampe's brother Sekiri who had been her guardian since their fathers death. Sekiri tried to excuse himself by saying that he had believed that the case would be dealt with by Mashabane ward since Mampe as a child had lived with her mothers older sister in Mashabane. This was a lame excuse and it was apparent to all that his silence had been a deliberate attempt to snub the Machailo people.

As a result of the fact that the Machailo people had not been informed about the case and had consequently not had a

prior discussion on the strategy which was to be followed, the case went badly for Mampe. Finally Sennelo Machailo ended the case by saying: 'We should leave the case for the time being, for we, the supporters of Mampe must come together and decide what to do. You our opponents are all in agreement with each other and know what you want, but we are confused because we have not yet met with each other'.

Comments:

The Machailo familygroup should have been notified of Setimela's neglect from the time the first complaint was lodfed with Rateeng. The fact that they had not been informed at that stage was serious enough, but to call them to a courtcase without a prior meeting to discuss the relevant information and decide upon the strategy to follow was an affront which could not be ignored by the dominant familygroup. I strongly suspected that the ignorance displayed by the Machailo people and their many questions which confused rather than supported Mampe's case, was a deliberate tactic by which they wanted to make it clear to the Leburu people that they could not affront ward unity without suffering the consequences thereof.

This case can be looked at from another angle which is of interest for the same reason.

The people invited by Rateeng to support his case were:

1. two of his sons.
2. Jack, his son-in-law (Kgosing ward).
3. Ratsebe, his neighbour (Segwabe subward of Kgosing ward).
4. Tau, (Segwabe subward of Kgosing ward).
5. John, his neighbour and maternal relative (Motlana subward of Kgosing ward).
6. Modimako, the wardhead of Maalatswana ward.

Rateeng belongs to Maalatswana ward, but is not related to the large familygroup which dominates that ward. Rateeng's father, a foreigner, was absorbed into Maalatswana as a single individual, but at present with the many adult sons of Rateeng and his deceased brothers, the Moeketse people constitute a sizeable familygroup. When I interviewed Rateeng he told me he belonged to Moeketse subward of Kgosing ward. When I objected that his son had told me that they belonged to Maalatswana, he just waved this aside as the ignorance of a young man (the son is in fact 46 years of age). He was of course telling me his ambitions rather than the true state of affairs. It is therefore striking that there was only one man from Maalatswana and four from Kgosing among his supporters. In another courtcase in which Rateeng was involved there was not even one member of the dominant familygroup of Maalatswana present.

Tensions between two or more familygroups of a ward are common, but the integrative mechanisms which balance the divisive tendencies

are so strong that fission is in fact rare. One reason is that the political authorities support the wardhead and emphasize the unity of the ward. In addition there are several more subtle yet pervasive influences which operate within the ward itself, such as the emphasis on the real or fictive kinship ties which link all the members to each other. For instance, a foreigner is on incorporation into the ward linked by quasi-kinship ties to the other wardmembers, unless he stands in some kind of kinrelationship to them already. He calls the dominant patriline rremogolo (FoB) and they call him rrangwane (FyB) and they are expected to care for his interests and invite him to participate in their affairs as if in fact he was a true paternal relative. In practice, non-relatives will not always be invited to the secret discussions of closer relatives, but should such discriminatory treatment become too obvious, the outsider has the right to complain to the chief. The following case illustrates how wardmembers will act as the paternal relatives of a man without local agantic kinsmen

Case XI. A family dispute and settlement of a man without agnatic kin.

Rapedi is a member of Kgosing. His father, a man from South Africa, settled in Bokaa after marrying a Kaa woman. He has long since died. Consequently Rapedi's only relatives in Bokaa are his maternal relatives in Setshwani ward.

Rapedi insulted his mother Mphareng by accusing her late father of evil sorcery. His agression resulted from the fact that his mothers brother expected to receive the bridewealth for Rapedi's sister, since Rapedi's father had never paid bridewealth. Rapedi's behaviour was clearly a flagrant breach of those kinship norms which emphasize that one should respect one's parents and this case ought to have been dealt with by Rapedi's familygroup. However, since Rapedi had no paternal relatives, Mphareng went to Ramokwena, the chief councillor, brother to the chief and senior member of Kgosing subward. Ramokwena replied to Mphareng's complaint in the following manner: 'I have heard your statement but as Rapedi and his fathers are not here I have to inform them first. We shall meet tomorrow'. He notified some other members of Kgosing subward but also some neighbours of Mphareng who were members of Kgosing ward, though not of Kgosing subward. They all came in the function of substitute paternal kinsmen.

When they met the following day Rapedi attempted to postpone the case by arguing that they should have let him know in advance so he could have called his relatives. To this Ramokwena replied: 'I do not think there are any more suitable relatives than those present here', but he nevertheless gave him a chance to look for some other wardmembers to act as his 'fathers'.

Rapedi did not approach anyone else, however, and the case was resumed a few days later and Rapedi punished with six lashes.

In larger wards consisting of several familygroups integration is naturally more difficult than in smaller wards or subwards. Consequently formalised arrangements can come into being to counteract divisive tendencies. Not all the members will be linked to each other by the fictitious kinties described above but it are subwards which are linked to each other. They become each others allies in courtcases and quasi-kinsmen on social occasions. In a dispute with outsiders they are the ideal representatives of the disputant since they are considered to be both intimately acquainted with him and his relatives without being too biased in his favour. At social occasions such as marriages, engagements etc. they act as members of the kindred. They are only excluded from very private family discussions or quarrels which have not reached the significance of public courtcases. There are some variations upon this basic pattern. Often it is not subwards but wards which are linked in this manner, and in the case of Mogadingwana ward there is a very different and unique organisation based on two linked sections.

Case XII. <u>The structure of Mogadingwana ward</u>.

Mogadingwana ward is internally divided into two sections. Each section is expected to deal independently with minor affairs, such as the organisation of feasts, insignificant courtcases, the collection of money for tribal projects etc. In more important matters they have to act together with the other section. Their relationship is thus similar to the one pertaining between linked subwards and wards. The difference is, however, that the division of the ward into sections is not concomitant with divisions caused by descent. Mogadingwana consist of eight familygroups which are not related to each other. Some members of the dominant familygroup belong to the one section and others to the other. The acting wardhead of Mogadingwana explained this organisation of the ward in the following manner: 'We must divide our ward in this way and not on the basis of descent for we (meaning his own lineagesegment) cannot discriminate against these foreigners. The people must be mixed, for children of one family will always vote alike no matter whether it is right or wrong. If wardmembership was not superior to blood relationship there would be no justice'. He gave examples to prove that sectional unity overrides descent on all formal occasions but admitted that in purely kinship matters the descendants of one man would first discuss the matter between themselves before the rest of the ward would be notified.

Thus, even the unity of the familygroup, the group that most closely approaches an agnatically based corporate group, is sacrificed in some respects for the unity of the ward. Fortes' statement that the' more centralized the political system, the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate unity of descentgroups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent' (12) is obviously applicable to the Tswana system. The social structure emphasized the ward above the descentgroup as far as corporate action and multifunctionality is concerned. A familygroup's agnatic identity is played down by the authorities and extra-ward paternal kin are no more than members of the kindred, a rather amorphous association of both paternal and maternal relatives who are expected to act together on only a few occasions in ego's life. Thus, divisive loyalties are minimized and the administrative units strengthened.

As yet, an individuals role in public events and as a subject of the state is determined first and foremost by his wardmembership. Courtcases are regulated by the ward and by the central village government which also contains representatives of the ward. Regiments are internally divided according to wards. At feasts meat is divided and distributed acccrding to wards (this is a prime occasion for ambitious subwards to state their claim to full wardstatus). Some tasks, eg. the cooking of food for the schoolchildren, used to be done by the different wards in turn. But all this has changed in recent years (see page 236). The old tribal rituals such as the first fruits ceremony at which wards functioned as units, no longer exist. Wards also used to have an economic function. Land was allotted to the ward (or subward) and then divided internally amongst its members, and consequently the fields of wardmembers were situated next to each other and there was much interaction and mutual assistance. Frequently they shared a cattlepost and the duties of herding. All these things have disappeared at present. More significant than that is the fact that the traditional political system itself has been undermined. Since wards are primarily administrative units it follows that as the traditional political system which was focused on the chief and wardhead, disintegrates, little will remain of the corporate unity of the former social groups (13).

The familygroup and lineagesegment

In the vernacular the familygroup is variously referred to as 'ba ga etsho' (people of our place), a term which is also used for the ward as a whole; 'bana ba motho' - children of one man, and 'lekgotlana' - the dimunitive of lekgotla (ward). The terminology refers thus to a group in which kinship and political factors converge. Ideally the familygroup is one and the same as a lineagesegment and a subdivision of a ward. The latter is undoubtedly true, the latter only to some extent. To back up this contention the composition of two familygroups will be briefly described. Only the relationship of the heads of the households to each other will be mentioned.

Maabong familygroup (also a sub-ward).

1. Rantsue Maabong -head of familygroup.
2. Modise Maabong - fathers younger brother of 1.
3. Sello Maabong - brother of 1.
4. Mpape Maabong - son of 3.
5. Mogale Mothlaping - fathers sisters son of 1.
6. Ntuka Mothlaping - brother of 5.
7. Sisimogang Mothlaping - widowed mother of 6.
8. Stoffel Mmopi - sisters husband of 5 and 6.

Basimane familygroup (also a ward).

1. Konkome Molefe - head
2. Mmonosi Gaorote - son of 1.
3. Molefe Molefe - fathers brothers son of 1.
4. Mogotlwane Molefe - younger brother of 2.
5. Mokolwane Molefe - younger brothers son of 1.
6. Mosupina Montshu- not related, his father was a servant of the Basimane people.

The convergence of familygroup and lineagesegment is much closer than that of lineage and ward, but it is not complete. When an individual changes his wardmembership he will leave his familygroup behind. Women of course always leave their original familygroup on marriage. Furthermore there are usually non-agnates attached to the coregroup of the male descendants of a common GF or GGF with their

wives and children. Uterine nephews, the husbands of married female agnates, wife's brothers etc. can belong to the familygroup. Thus, while the distinction is not as clearcut as it is for the ward, one can still distinguish between a true descentgroup and the unit which functions as a social and political unit. Those agnates that move away from the familygroup have not severed their kinrelationship with its attendant personal involvement and rights and duties, but they have put an end to one very important dimension of the relationship as it existed beforehand. They no longer have a common jural identity with the people of the familygroup and no longer will function as a unit with them on public events such as ceremonies, regimental tasks, feasts etc. They now fall under the authority of the head of their new familygroup. The only occasions when they will still be actively involved in the affairs of the familygroup are such pure 'kinship events' as engagements and marriages.

The difference between the group as an administrative unit and as a kingroup can be best seen by looking at the way in which disputes are solved. There are disputes which belong to the politico-jural realm. In the first instance the familygroup operates as a sub-section of the ward and should involve the members of the ward. This is especially so if the case in question involves the members of another familygroup. Courtprocedure recognizes that close relatives are biased in each others favour and the chief will refuse to deal with a case on appeal unless relative outsiders such as other wardmembers, neighbours or a linked ward have been involved. The arbitrator in this type of case will usually be the wardhead or subwardhead. Cases of a purely kinship nature, on the other hand, should be resolved by the familygroup in combination with other kinsmen. Occasionally the familygroup may prefer to keep an internal dispute secret and will not ask other relatives to attend, but this is only possible if the matter is not very serious and when no outsiders are involved.

The common jural and political identity of the familygroup has been preserved, but it is no longer a local unit and its members no longer share a cattlepost and this has led to a marked deterioration in the former close involvement in each others domestic and

economic affairs. Today it is not unusual for a man's unrelated neighbour to know more about his personal life than his own brother. But this is a much regretted development. This group is strongly conceptualised in terms of agnatic descent and the bonds between the descendants of a common grandfather are (theoretically at least) still highly valued. The various kinship obligations and rituals constantly remind people of the close involvement which should exist between them and their close agnatic kin and therefore also between them and the members of their familygroup.

The familygroup thus derives its strength to a large degree from the common agnatic bonds. Yet it is preferable to refer in this context only to the 'lineagesegment' since such relations also extend to those who now belong to another familygroup and ward. The descendants of a common paternal grandfather are expected to support and assist each other throughout their lives. They should help to solve each others problems whether they be financial, marital, personal or whatever. This is the group within which one ought to find security and love. The corollary is of course that it is also the group within which the most extreme tensions and ultimately witchcraft accusations arise. The unity of the group ought to be above question but in reality this is far from true. Therefore structural arrangements exist which attempt to safequard the unity and the relations of mutual support.

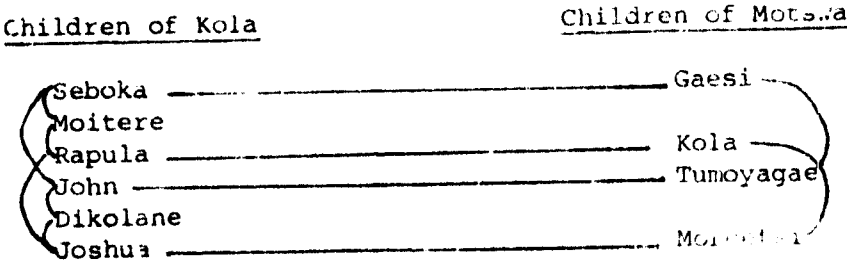
Siblings and paternal cousins are 'linked' to each other (go rulaganya ga bana) in order to structure the obligations which should exist between them more efficiently. Each person has a partner in his siblingroup and among his fathers brothers children with whom the relationship of mutual obligations and rights is manifested most fully. They should take each others interest particularly to heart and help each other where possible. It is for instance the linked brother of a woman who acts as the special malome (mothers brother) to her children, while she is the special rrakgadi (fathers sister) to his children. Of course his brothers are malome as well, but only he has the full relationship with all its prestations and duties with the children of that particular sister.

The general principle is that alternate brothers (eldest and third, second eldest and fourth etc.) are linked to each other; eldest

brother to eldest sister; and eldest fathers brothers son to eldest fathers brothers son etc. One is not linked to one's fathers brothers daughters because they on marriage leave the familygroup and thus can have little influence on its affairs. In practice of course the system of linking has to be adapted to the particular structure of the families in question. The following case is an example of the linking and the attendant duties within one lineage segment.

Case XIII Linked brothers, sisters and fathers brothers sons in the Motlana lineagesegment.

The people of Motlana lineagesegment who have been referred to earlier in this chapter are linked in the following manner:



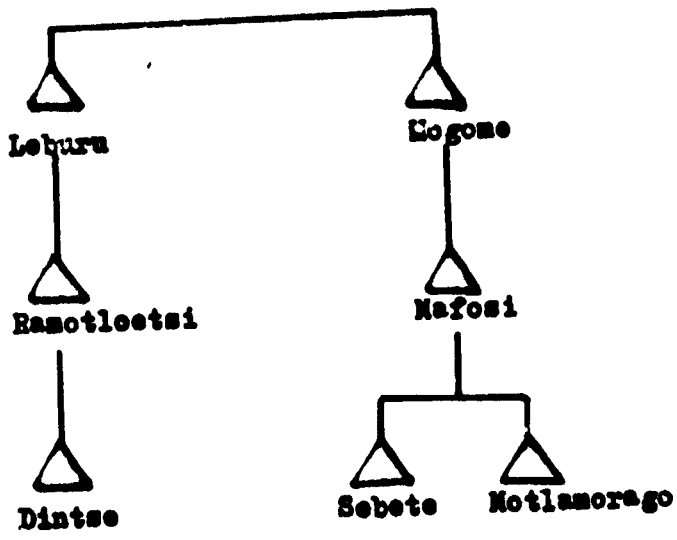
This happens to be a lineagesegment where the internal structure is particularly suitable for the system of linking. The only complication arises from the fact that Kola has two daughters and four sons, but this is simply solved by assigning two sons to one daughter.

John should approach Seboka for help and guidance and he should give Seboka the front leg of any cow he slaughters. He should also respect and obey his elder brother, who is his senior under all circumstances. Seboka should help John with his bridewealth, and give him the hindleg of any beast he slaughters. In practice little has come of this because Seboka is always absent and because John has not engaged or married the woman he is ...ing with. John is also supposed to help Tumoyagae with his bridewealth, contact him first when he wants to approach his fathers brother and give him the intestines and a rib when he slaughters a cow. In actual fact he has never done such a thing. Only Seboka has helped his paternal cousin, Gaesi with a cow for his bridewealth, but actually it was not Seboka himself who gave the animal but his father Kola who decided to give a cow from Seboka's tshwaisa (see pages ..., ...) to Gaesi. It is unlikely that Seboka would have done so himself.

The linking of fathers brothers sons is no longer generally observed. It has become the exception rather than the rule. The younger generation is not intent on having obligations and responsibilities to kinsmen, especially not if it involves material prestations. In contrast older men continue to stress the significance of furthering the unity of the lineagesegment in this manner. One old man

claimed to have experienced a much more developed form of the linking of fathers brothers sons, whereby the fathers yielded the authority over their children to each other.

Case XIV. The linking of fathers brothers sons.



Sebete's father Mafosi was linked to Ramatloetsi and to continue that relationship Sebete was linked to Ramatloetsi's son Dintse. This linking was valued so highly that the fathers yielded the authority over their own children to each other. Sebete claimed that as a young man he had to bring the money earned on migrant labour to Ramatloetsi while Dintse brought his earnings to Mafosi. Similarly he claimed that should his own sons misbehave the complainant should go to Dintse and vice versa as regards Dintse's sons. Whether this in fact happens I could not ascertain.

It was said, by these older people that the reason for linking is to make children of different fathers understand that they belong together. But fathers brothers sons today are obviously not very interested in such a 'belonging' once it has to be manifested in concrete actions and gifts. Between siblings this is different. The ties between brothers and sisters are still strong and though neglect occurs this does not happen without conflict, guilt and retribution.

Case XV. A conflict between a linked brother and sister.

After Kereditse's linked brother George returned from a migrant labour contract, he spend his money on beer and did not give her anything. When he subsequently asked her to wash his

clothes, she refused, saying that since he had not fulfilled his duties towards her, why should she work for him. They quarreled badly.

A few months later Kereditse was bitten by a snake. The diviner told her that her brother had sent the snake. After the initial tension following this divination, brother and sister realised that any grudges should be forgiven and that in future they should respect their duties towards each other.

Such tensions are, however, by no means always resolved for the good and enduring animosity and witchcraft accusations may result from grievances within the siblinggroup. The major conflicts almost invariably involve conflicting claims and interests relating to property and material assistance. To some extent this can be attributed to the process of change. In the past the familygroup and even more so the siblinggroup co-operated closely in all economic affairs and in those instances at which property should be transferred to an outside party, eg. the bridewealth, courtfines. Though land was not specifically allotted to them as a unit, they would tend to have their fields next to each other. They assisted each other with economic activities and often shared a cattlepost. Today none of this is true any longer, but since the norms prescribing mutual assistance continue to hold some validity, envy, discontent and worse are often the result. Conflict can arise especially in relation to the inheritance of property. The inheritance is regulated within the lineagesegment; a man's property goes to his children but should he be childless it will pass to his brothers or their children. Not infrequently a familygroup splits into two or individuals leave for another ward (see case IX) as a result of inheritance disputes. At the actual division of the estate it is typically the FB or FBS who makes the division according to the general principles of Tswana law. Maternal kin (especially the mothers brother) should be present to intervene and mediate if a dispute arises but they have no active say in the division itself. The regulation of the inheritance by the lineagesegment is however not sufficient reason to accord it a corporate identity and we have to conclude that only the familygroup as a politico-jural unit is a corporate group.

Notes

1) For instance, Schapera hardly makes note of the lineage in his writings and usually only discusses the familygroup.

2) See Feddema, J.P.-1972. Transvaal-Batswana Kiezen voor de Moderne Wereld. Baarn: Wereldvenster, p. 16.

3) I have used the following abbreviations for the kinship terms: F=father; M=mother; B=brother; Z=sister; o=older; y=younger.

4) Schapera, I.-1940. Married Life in an African Tribe. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., p. 218.

5) ibid., p. 195.

6) ibid., p. 217.

7) In this they do not differ from other Sotho-speakers. See: Preston-Whyte, E.-1974. 'Kinship and marriage'. In Hammond-Tooke, D. (ed.), The Bantu-speaking People of Southern Africa. London: Routlegde & Kegan Paul, p. 195.

8) Ancestral sacrifices are usually limited to mogoga, the slaughter of a beast after a man's or woman's death, and to badimo which is done after a person has been troubled in dreams by an ancestor demanding a sacrifice. Badimo is a rare occurrence (though it has been reinstated or perhaps introduced by the Separatist churches which are rapidly gaining in popularity). But mogoga takes place after virtually every death.

9) Schapera, I.-1938. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom. London: Frank Cass. & Co. Ltd., p. 191.

10) Schapera, I.-1950. "Kinship and marriage among the Tswanan'. In Radcliffe Brown, A.R. and Forde, D. (eds.), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Insitute, p. 141.

11) See also:
Schapera, I.-1935. "The social structure of the Tswana ward'. Bantu Studies, 9, pp. 203-24.
Schapera, I. and Roberts, S.-1975. "Rampedi revisited: another look at a Kgatla ward'. Africa, 45, 3, pp. 258-79.

12) Fortes, M.-1953. "The structure of unilineal descent groups'.
American Anthropologist, 55, pp. 17-41.

13) This prediction turned out to be true when I visited Bokaa in 1977. The wards had virtually ceased to exist as coprorate groups. The only times when wardmembers still congregated was in relation to engagements and marriages and then of course other relatives would also be present.

CHAPTER V: THE KINDRED

The former chapter has shown that the corporate social groups are in the first place administrative units and that lineages have little relevance besides providing a source of conceptual identification. This does not mean, however, that kinship ties do not feature prominently in this society. On the contrary there are many occasions at which all kinsmen, not exclusively wardmembers, come together and act together. It is the kindred rather than the lineage which is highly significant in Tswana society. The ward features in the politico-jural domain while the kindred which is not a corporate group functions in the ritual sphere. For that reason I have chosen to look in detail at certain kinship rituals because they like any other ritual are occasions at which a symbolic statement is made about structural relations and concepts. Particular attention is paid to marriage and the wedding ceremony, since it is obviously one of the major kinship rites while at the same time it is also responsible for shaping the structure of the kindred. The affinal kin of one generation are the maternal kin of the next and the close alliance created by marriage will feature prominently in a man's kin universe.

Preferential marriage

The Tswana have long roused the interest of anthropologists by their seemingly 'anomalous' marriage system. Not only do they permit, but they even prefer marriages which in other African societies would be regarded as incestuous, i.e. marriages with close agnates such as FBD and BD. The order of preference of marriage partner is MBD, FZD, FBD and MZD. The absence of corporate lineages may explain why FBD marriages are permitted but not why they should be preferred. The matter is complicated by the fact that though MBD and FZD marriages are ideally preferred, in practice the FBD is married more often, as has been demonstrated by Schapera's statistical data on marriages (1). Both Schapera and Kuper (2) after devoting an extensive analysis to this question come to the conclusion that FBD marriage occurs more frequently because it is politically expedient to do so. 'Patrilateral parallel kin are ranked and competitive; other kin are more likely to be equal and supportive. Marriage may either reinforce a supportive tie or transform a ranked competitive relationship

into an equal, co-operative relationship'(3). This reasoning also explains another peculiarity of the marriage pattern, namely that FBD marriage was not the most common type of kin marriage for all of the population. In fact FBD marriage was more prevalent than MBD marriage only among nobles while among commoners the reverse was true. However, as nobles married kin far more often than commoners did (32% as against 18%) the total figures had been affected in favour of FBD marriage. As both power and wealth were concentrated in the upper stratum of Tswana society it is not surprising that the nobles in particular should marry their agnates. But why should commoners rather marry their MBD? Kuper says:

> The preference shown by commoners for MBD marriage is capable of explanation in similar political terms. As the discussion of local group structure indicated, the ward and the family group alliance include affines and matrilateral kin of the group head. These are groups who do not themselves hold any office such as wardhead. Their path to political influence is therefore through marriage with the ruling group at every level of tribal government, but particularly at the lower levels. One's political strength is then most usually on one's mothers side of the family and it is there that one seeks a wife (4).

This argument while undoubtedly true in some instances still does not seem to be sufficiently explanatory to me. First, it would have to be shown statistically that it is indeed only those people attached to the central agnatic core of the familygroup or ward who marry their MBD. Second, if political ambition is that important a force at the lower levels (which is certainly not true for present-day Bokaa) then one would expect a far higher degree of FBD marriage among commoners as well, since a large proportion of wardmembers and family-group members are agnates rather than affinal or matrilateral kin of those in authority. Thirdly, the argument does not explain why the MBD should be the ideally preferred form of marriage throughout the society. Furthermore, why should FZD marriage be the second ideally preferred form of marriage? It appears to me that there may be more to these preferential marriages than political advantage alone. To this point I will return later. I do agree however, that the seeking of political and economic advantage is the reason for the actual prevalence of FBD marriage among nobles. The Tswana themselves say: 'child of my rrangwane (FyB) marry me so that the cattle may return to the kraal'. This statement makes sense only when it is realised that in the past brothers would share a cattlepost until late in life. Furthermore, according to informants, in the past it was

common for a fathers brother to receive a beast from the bridewealth paid for a daughter. Whether this was actually true can no longer be ascertained, it certainly is not usual anymore at present.

Unfortunately I collected few data on kin marriages because I was influenced by the people's present lack of interest. They emphasized that kin marriages no longer took place because children would no longer allow their parents to arrange their marriages. As this statement was consistent with my own impression of the behaviour of young people I collected no more than 44 marriage histories in which the question of kinrelationship had been included. In fact, an analysis of these cases shows a very similar pattern as that which was found by Schapera for commoners. All the marriages with specified relatives were close kin marriages, i.e. the descendants of a common great grandfather. Only three cases (2 MBD marriages) were with the descendants of a common grandfather.

Table VII. Distribution of marriages according to the kinrelationship between bride and bridegroom.

kinrelationship	no. of marriages	% of marriages
FBD	2	4.5
MBD	7	15.9
FZD	2	4.6
related	1	2.3
unrelated	32	72.7
Total	44	100

There were thus more kin marriages than was admitted by the people themselves. But it must be taken into account that all but two of these marriages involved women of over 45 years of age. In other words the change in attitudes may have come later. As the younger people marry late there were not enough of them in my very small sample to analyse this in more detail. It should however also be mentioned that only ten of all women and only five of the twelve women who had married kinsmen said that their marriages had been arranged. The others asserted that they married out of love. There is

of course a relatively nigh chance that one falls in love with a relative. The 'girl next door' in a Tswana village is more likely to be a relative than not. The following case is an example of such a love while also illustrating the change in attitude towards FBD marriage.

Case XV. A case of FBD marriage in modern times.

> Albert Machailo wanted to marry his FBD (first kin). The opinions of his relatives and the village were divided on this issue. Most older people said that it was all right because it has been customary in the past. The young people disapproved, however, because they considered it incestuous to marry your sister. One young man said to me: "You can't follow what the old people did because they only used 3% of their brains'.

The same negative attitude does not pertain to MBD and FZD marriage.

Case XVI. A MBD marriage in modern times.

> Steinberg Motsumi fell in love with the daughter of his special malome, Rama, and wanted to marry her. The relatives were very approving and he became engaged to her. Rama's duties as malome (MB) were transferred to his brothers as far as all matters relating to the marriage were concerned. On those occasions which had no connection to the marriage Rama would still continue to act.

For the young what matters most are not the kinship bonds with their future spouse but rather their sexual desirability and economic status. Young men are much admired for the smart clothes which they procure with their migrant labour wages and the shops are full of lacy underclothes, factory made dresses and skin lighteners. Much store is set by 'love', though this exalted state often appears to occur with lightning speed and as quickly to vanish again. Girls have a considerable share of cynicism about such affairs, as a result of many painful experiences with men who are no longer than a few months per year in the village. Hostility against men frequently crops up in the confidences of girls to each other. To my knowledge there were no single girls of mature age in the village who did not have illegitimate children, excepting myself and one educated girl who secretly took the pill. Thus virtually all women who have no stable relationship with a man had to experience the hardships of raising children without a man to help them emotionally and financially. Of course they will be assisted by their own father, but as he will

have to provide for his own children as well as the illegitimate children of his other daughters, the women are likely to experience many problems.

Once a woman is engaged or married, her husband should assume full responsibility for the children she had previous to their union. At the engagement he publicly declares that he wants the woman with her children and that they will be as his own. Should he not do so and not provide for them economically the woman has grounds for divorce. Yet in practice it often happens that a man does not care for such children as he does for his own. Some informants said that a common cause of divorce was that a man dislikes and beats those children who are not h own. But on the other hand the wife may be so suspicious of such behaviour that she may unjustly accuse her husband until his patience wears out. These children will in any case be at a disadvantage because they will not inherit equally with the true children of the father. It frequently happens that as adults they go to the ward of their genitor and ask for membership, but unless he is willing to pay bridewealth in order to legitimize them, they will not be accorded equal status in his ward either.

Betrothal and marriage

Tswana marriage is a long process. The rights over a woman and her children are transferred only gradually and it is not uncommon for men to gain compete marital rights over their wives and a legal right to their children only in their old age. In fact some men make the final payment of cattle, the bridewealth or bogadi, only after their wife's death and occasionally it happens that a son pays the bogadi for his deceased father. The phases of this long process are marked by various rituals, formal occasions and payments. An ideal procedure is described by informants but it must be noted that many people do not go through all the required proceedings. As has also been noted by Colin Murray for Lesotho (5), marriage (in the sense of an actual relationship) in Bokaa is a flexible concept which covers a wide range of different personal situations and varying bundles of rights. This section is, however, not concerned with actual behaviour but only with the ideal procedure among

the Kaa. The various stages of the marriage process together with the ceremonies that mark them, can be viewed as sta-ements about Tswana culture and kinship structure and it is these I try to analyse.

engagement

When the choice of a wife has been decided upon by either the man himself or by his parents, his relatives will have to be notified and asked for their approval. Two meetings will take place. In the first only the closest and most important relatives attend, i.e. the mothers brother (malome), fathers sister (rrakgadi), fathers brothers (rremogolo and rrangwane) with their spouses. The mothers sisters presence is not particularly required but the mothers brother must be there. In theory an engagement or marriage cannot take place without his involvement. Though he is not involved in choosing the girl, his and the rrakgadi's approval of the match are deemed absolutely essential. Should they withhold their approval, the man can do nothing else but obey. Though more common in the past, informants could still cite an instance of such a thing happening even today. In this instance the youth obeyed his malome not only out of kinship duty but also because the latter was very rich and he therefore stood to lose much by disrupting such an advantageous connection. It is doubtful whether a poor malome could still exert such pressure on his nephew.

After this meeting a second one will take place to which all members of the kindred are invited. Distant kin and wardmembers come together with closer relatives as one unified group. The relatives are asked for their approval, but this time it is little more than a formality. In addition a rraditsalane (lit. head of the relatives) the intermediary between the marrying parties is chosen. This should be the special malome (i.e. mothers linked brother) of the groom. It may happen however, that this man will not be present or is unable or unwilling to take the many duties of the rraditsalane upon himself, and another relative may be appointed to act for him. In most instances such a relative will only act on behalf of the true malome and the latter will still act on the weddingday itself as well as making the customary contribution of cattle and sheep to the various payments.

It is thus apparent that, though on most formal occasions no distinction is made between paternal and maternal kin (see further on in this chapter) and they are together referred to as 'bride-receivers' and 'bridegivers' a difference is acknowledged here. It seems that there should preferably be no direct contact between the agnates of bride and bridegroom at this stage and the mothers brothers are considered sufficiently close yet sufficiently distinct to be the intermediaries.

After this meeting the relatives of the girl's parents can be contacted. At first the rraditsalane of the boy will go to her parents or to her malome (also called rraditsalane on this occasion) then if they have agreed a date will be arranged on which a formal request can be made. This will be done by the boy's male relatives to the girl's male relatives and by his female relatives to her female relatives. The speakers are the malome and the mogatsa malome (wife of the malome) for the men and women respectively. Both speak the same words viz.: "Re kopa sego sa metsi" (we ask for a calabash to draw water) or "Re kopa metsi" (we ask for water). The answer given by the girl's malome and his wife is: "Sego se teng" (the calabash is here) and "Ga sego se dutla le se buse sa thubega" (if this calabash leaks you must bring it back unbroken). Thus the girl is symbolically represented by the cupshaped calabash which is used to scoop water.

At a later date the engagement gifts referred to as the 'blankets' will be brought to the girl by the malome's wife or rrakgadi of the boy. In the distant past they comprised mainly blankets made of animal skin and in Schapera's time 'one pound in cash, a white blanket with red stripes, a red shawl, a kerchief and two lengths of dress material, costing in all between three and four pounds' (6). We may note here that the expression 'to share the blankets' is the accepted phrase for referring to sexual intercourse. Today the man has to go to much more expense (about R60) for these gifts which include blankets, dresses, jerseys, shoes, stockings, scarves. Should engagement be terminated by the girl he has the right to demand the cash-equivalent of his gifts back.

Shortly after the transferral of these gifts the girl visits her future mother-in-law for a day. She goes with her mother and her rrakgadi. A goat will be slaughtered for them to take back and beer will have been made. This practice is called 'go oma' - which Brown's dictionary translated as 'to become dry'. The significance of this eludes me but perhaps it should be related to the 'water' referred to above.

Shortly after the engagement gifts have been handed over, the malome of the boy takes him to the house of the girl. The girl's parents will have made beer and on their arrival the girl's malome or his wife will show the boy where he must sit and he then also knows where he will sleep. After a while his malome will leave and the girl will come into the house. From that moment he has the right to spend the night with her, but he has to wake up very early in the morning and go away before his parents-in-law wake up. Though he can visit normally later in the day it would be a serious offense for which he can be fined should they find him at their place in the early morning. Thus even if he is staying permanently at his fiance's house, as many young men do today, he should get up early and go away for a while. This custom will only end after he has taken his wife to his own house. When he will do so depends on individual circumstances, but officially at least peko should be paid.

peko

The payment of peko which consists of one sheep, permits the man to cohabit with his 'wife' at the lands. After the harvest he should bring her back to her parents house in the village with a gift of corn. The woman's parents will then make beer for him and his relatives. This arrangement is virtually no longer found today and usually a man starts living with his 'wife' after paying peko as if they are in fact fully married. Even in the past this usually happened after some children had been born. After paying peko a man has the right to have children with the woman and is no longer required to pay marebana (damages for impregnation), unless he should

leave her. These children are however not legally his, until bogadi (b[illegible]alth) has been paid, although to all intents and purposes they appear to be so, for they will carry his name, live with him, have [illegible] wardmembership, his totem and will inherit. Only in cases of divorce or at the payment of the bridewealth will it become clear that the father has no legal right to his children. Should the man divorce the woman he will be sued for marebana (damages for impregnation), which is four cattle and itswalleng (breach of promise), which is one cow, and he will not be allowed to keep his children. Even if the woman is the only one to leave, she has the right to take all her children with her. If bridewealth is paid for one of his daughters the man has no right to it, and it will pass to his wife's brothers.

The sheep for peko is usually contributed by the man himself, his father or his malome. It is brought by the malome of the boy (rraditsalane) and given to the malome of the girl (rraditsalane) who slaughters it, takes the head and dishes the rest of the meat for the girls relatives who are present. If children have been born already, the man brings another sheep (called tubelabati) which is given to the girls mother and also eaten by all the relatives present. As the sheep of peko is handed over, the following words are spoken: "Ke lemawana wa me" - here is my small needle. When the bogadi is paid the reference is also to a needle eg. "Re tlisitse lemaô la rôna ke leo, ke lôna le re tsileng go kopa metse ka lôna" - We have brought our needle, there it is with which we have come to beg for water (8). It would appear then that whereas the woman is symbolically represented by the cupshaped gourd and water (9), the man himself and the bridewealth he hands over is represented by a needle (the Tswana type which resembles an awl).

the delivery of bogadi

The bogadi should consist of four cattle, which should be young cows or oxen. It is absolutely prohibited to give a bull, just as it is probibited to give a goat for peko. It appears to me that there is a deeper significance to the fact that a bull, the representative of the sexual and agressive male, is out of place in this exchange.

Informants stress particularly the necessity to include young cows who will bear many calves, so that it may be hypothesized that the inclusion of oxen is a practical arrangement since few people will actually have four heifers at their disposal. It seems to me that the cows with their reproductive power are exchanged for the reproductive power of the woman, if not in actual fact (since sometimes money and sheep can be given as well) than at least symbolically (such items are still referred to as 'cattle').

The actual handing over of the bogadi happens before sunrise. The bridegroom himself drives the cattle to the kraal of his bagwagadi the bridegivers. The cow given by his malome should be in front. The bagwagadi sit on the left side of a fire they have made in the kgotla of their ward and they are told by a relative of the groom, preferably his malome, that the cattle have arrived. After they have ascertained this as true, they invite the bankgwanyana - the bridereceivers to sit down on the other side of the fire. The bridegroom remains standing in the entrance of the kraal and the bride is inside the house where she has been for the past two weeks. After a discussion about the bridewealth which has been handed over, i.e. the number of cattle (which may include some sheep and money), who contributed etc., the bridegivers invite the bakgwanyana to drink beer in the courtyard of the house. The two parties drink separately. First the bridereceivers will drink and only after they have left for their homes, the bridegivers can take their share.

The features of this ceremony exhibit a structure and symbolism which emerge throughout Tswana culture in various forms, i.e. in the rainmaking rites, divination, rituals for newly widowed people etc. The bridegivers, the feminine principle, sit on the left side of the fire while the bridereceivers, the masculine principle sit on the right-hand side (10). The bridegroom stands in the kraal, the masculine sphere, the bride is in the house, the feminine sphere. The symbolism of the fire is complex, but one of the associations is with 'hotness'. This is a concept of profound significance in Tswana thought. People, objects and even the land are 'hot' when their essence, the 'blood' in people, has been disturbed. This occurs with people specifically in matters relating to sexuality and procreation (11), i.e. the union of the masculine and the feminine. The fire in between the bridereceivers and the bridegivers may thus very well symbolize this aspect.

The bogadi payment was traditionally not the responsibility of the bridegroom and his father alone but of many more relatives. As many people as possible should contribute a cow or a sheep to the bridewealth. In particular this should be the malome but also the rremogolo, rrangwane and rrakgadi. Even friends and more remote relatives can contribute. We can guess that this was an important function of the chief in the past, and one which must have gained him considerable power. Even today I recorded two instances in which chief Rraditladi had given a cow for the bridewealth of a trusted follower. Generally, however, few relatives other than the father and malome will help the bridegroom today. As he usually is a wage-earner he is expected to bear the main responsibility for the bogadi himself. A later section will discuss the contributors and recipients to 19 bogadi payments in more detail (see page 144).

the wedding feast

The marriage feast lasts four days. On the first day there will be the church ceremony, the lefiso ritual at the girls place and general feasting at the girl's and later in the afternoon at the bridegroom's place. At the lefiso (from go fisa - to burn), porridge is cooked and served while still boiling hot, in a big bowl in the middle of the courtyard of the house. The group of bridegroom's relatives all at once have to take a handful of this porridge and return to the bridegrooms place with their hands burned. Not all the bridegrooms relatives will be involved, nor will he himself be present. It should in particular be a small group of his agnatic relatives, though his malome may be present as well. For the symbolic value of this ritual we may refer again to the concept of 'hotness' in connection with sexuality. The bridereceivers, and in particular the relatives related in the male line, have to stick their hand in a bowl of porridge, both of which are feminine symbols and in the process burn their hands. The act of sexual intercourse is 'hot' to a minor degree for both partners, but women are particularly 'hot' and highly dangerous to men under certain circumstances, i.e. when they menstruate; if they have been impregnated by another man, when they have just given birth; and particularly if they have miscarried or aborted or

have recently been widowed. Sexuality and thus marriage carries a formidable risk and may be the direct cause of death. It is this what this rite seems to symbolize.

On the first day the bride wears a white weddingdress (European style) which has been given to her by her bridegroom. On the second day she is taken to her malome's place who also gives her a dress. She is escorted by the two (i.e. the bride's and the bridegroom's) singing choirs which consist of young men and girls who have been practising their songs for many weeks in advance. After the visit to the malome they go to the bridegroom's home where there is much food and beer available. On this day alone the bridegivers - the bagwagwadi, are divided into two groups, viz. into juniors and seniors. The previous day while the feasting was at the bride's home the bridereceivers - the bankgwanyane had divided in this manner. Seniority is determined by the age of the individual and the closeness of the relationship with the bride and bridegroom respectively, through both men and women. Thus senior maternal and paternal relatives and junior maternal and paternal relatives are grouped together. The groups should be equal in number. The juniors will be taken to a neighbouring homestead and will be given their food and drink there by the hosts who have not divided themselves. We find thus the following structure: on the first day an undifferentiated group of bridegivers (the feminine principle) serves food and beer to bridereceivers (the masculine principle) who are divided into juniors and seniors. On the second day an undifferentiated groups of bridereceivers serves food and beer to bridegivers who are differentiated into seniors and juniors.

This structure is familiar. In Tswana kinship terminology there is a differentiation into senior and junior of own sibling of same sex and parent's siblings of the same sex (as parent) which results in a structure where the males on the paternal side and the females on the maternal side are divided into senior and junior. Another example is Tswana divination, which is based on two sets of bones- one set consisting of a senior male and junior male and a senior and junior female. Many other instances could be cited of a similar emergence of these principals in ritual. It appears therefore that the rituals relating to bridegivers and bridereceivers reflect a structure of a much wider bearing. The question remains why the differentiation into seniors and juniors does not take place simultaneously

for the two parties. The answer would be, it seems to me, that this would weaken the male-female/bridereceiver-bridegiver dualism because it would be cross-cut by a senior-junior dualism. In other words senior bridereceivers and senior bridegivers would stand in opposition to junior bridegivers and junior bridereceivers. Such a unity is obviously not considered appropriate since it is the male/female dualism which should be stressed (note for instance as well that after the handing over of the bogadi the two parties could not drink the beer together). The two parties will only be united through the sexual union of the bride and bridegroom and the children they will produce. Thus during the marriage ceremony each party, itself consisting of both maternal and paternal kin of the bride and bridegroom respectively, is not internally differentiated according to the male/female - paternal/maternal dualism. They are as one unit in this respect but on one occasion divided into seniors and juniors. Later on in this chapter I will return to this point when discussing the kindred.

The feasting continues in a less structured fashion for the two remaining days, for there is plenty of food left over after the first two days. Both at the bride's and the bridegroom's place two cows were slaughtered, one from the father and one from the malome. Beer was provided not only by the parents but also by the rrakgadi (fathers sister), the malome and the female relatives who wished to do so. In fact the rrakgadi should bring a dish of flour to make fried breaddumplings, beer and a goat for meat. In return she is given a special share of the slaughtered cattle, i.e. the nyati (one of the stomachs) and tupa (ribs). The malome gets tlogo (the head) and the rrangwane (fathers younger brother) mala (intestines) and tupa (ribs). The rremogolo (fathers older brother) is not given a special share for he is regarded as having the same position as the father. As will be shown later it are always these three relatives who are given these specific cuts of meat on formal occasions.

The rrangwane may be singled out together with the malome and rrakgadi for the distribution of meat, but throughout all the arrangements of marriage and engagement another arrangement of kinsmen can be discerned.

Four relatives figure most prominently, i.e. the father, mother, mothers brother, fathers sister. The fathers brothers are expected to assist the father and can act as substitutes for him but they do not feature in a distinct role as 'fathers brother'. Informants stressed that they were the same as the father and therefore did not need to be specially represented. In the words of one informant 'the father is the delegate of his brothers, the rrakgadi of his sisters and the malome of the mothers side'. It is the father and the mothers brother who are the most important male relatives on these occasions. They share the responsibility for the proceedings, provide a beast for slaughter, contribute to and receive from the bogadi while their approval is essential for the match to take place at all. The same relationship exists in the sphere of the women between the mother and the fathers sister. There is thus one male and one female of the paternal, i.e. the male side and one male and one female of the maternal, i.e. the female side. From the statements of informants (see page 157) it is apparent that the mothers brother is also thought of as 'female' because of the fact that he is from the mother's side, so that he is both male and female. Similarly the rrakgadi is both female and male.

Once again we find a structure of two males and two females, but this time there are no connotations of rank. The senior/junior dualism is irrelevant and only the male/female dualism is apparent. But it is more than this dualism which can be noted, it is the unity in the dualism which matters here. In contrast to the opposition between bridegivers and bride-receivers, the differentiations by sex and descent are harmoniously blended into one unity. If we give the female principle a - sign and the masculine principle a + sign the following structure emerges:

FZ	M	F	MB
-+	-	+	+-

The perfect balance is obvious. It would seem that on this occasion the union of male and female and the equal significance of the maternal and paternal line as 'parents' of the marrying child is structurally emphasized. This became particularly noticeable when informants repeatedly referred to the mothers brother as a 'parent'. He is one with the mother through the unity of the sibling-group and the system of linking, while he is

different by being of the other sex. As a man he should act together with the father, transfer property and act publicly on the appropriate occasions. The same reasoning applies to the rrakgadi who is one with the father through being his linked sister, yet is of different gender and therefore should act together with the mother in the sphere of the women. We may note as well that the approval of these relatives was deemed absolutely essential for the match to continue and that it is their children with whom marriage is preferred.

the bogadi payment

Though theoretically each man should pay bogadi for his wife and children, in fact only a minority of men have done so. The following figures were obtained for 44 women mentioned earlier (see page 130).

Table VIII. Bogadi and peko payments for 44 women (12).

	no. of women	% of women
bogadi	20	45,5 %
peko	17	38,6 %
nothing	7	15,9 %
Total	44	100 %

Thus less than half the unions were legalized by the passing of the bridewealth and virtually as many unions were based on peko alone. In some of these unions the bridewealth may still be paid at a later date, but this is not necessarily so. Many of the women were very old already and some were old widows. Informants agreed with reference to their own parents that even in the past bogadi was not always paid. Moreover, I recorded the bogadi payments of all the men in six descentlines of three generation depth and those presented a similar picture. It must hereby be taken into account that all the men of generation I and several of generation II were already dead.

Table IX. Bogadi payments in 58 marriages.

generation	no. of men	no. of marriages	no. of marriages with bogadi paid	% of marriages with bogadi paid
gen. I	4	10	3	30
gen. II	29	33	13	39.4
gen. III	15	15	4	26.7
Total	48	58	20	100

The consequences of this discrepancy between the ideal and the actual situation are less substantial than one would expect. The personal, social and economic dimension of the relationship in which bogadi has not been paid need not be different from those in a true marriage. But of course the jural basis of the relationship is absent. In a society which is so marked by tensions because of the prolonged absence of men this factor counts heavily in the case of divorce, desertion and adultery. As one informant stated:

> They marry as in the past with just peko being paid, but today under the new conditions this is bad because they can break easier. Tension is caused by the fact that the people of today want a better life. The old people were not much interested in money, fasionable clothes etc. But nowadays they want these things and if a richer man comes along a woman will leave her husband. Since it is just peko paid and not bogadi, she can just leave and take the children. It is the same with young men. They prefer modern young women who have been to town.

Nevertheless, though bogadi safequards a man's rights over his wife and children in case of separation, adultery etc. , the payment of peko is sufficient for the children to be regarded as their father's as long as the couple remains together. The absence of his jural rights will become noticeable only when a daughter is married, since her bogadi will pass to her mothers brother. In this way a daughter can provide the bridewealth for her father, since the claim of the mothers brother is ended after one transferral of the bridewealth. The bogadi paid for the other daughters will go to the father. Some poor men in fact counted on their daughters to provide their bridewealth for them. The custom that the cattle paid for a woman are used by her brother to marry is not found among the Kaa. It is only if the father and mother are

dead and the woman's (linked) brother has taken the full responsibility for the wedding, providing a beast for slaughter etc. that the brother has a right to the bridewealth. But even then he will have to distribute at least one to the mother's brother but possibly more beasts to other relatives as well. A chain of bridewealth cattle passing from sister's husband to brother is thus out of the question.

Ideally the bridewealth should consist of cattle contributed by the father, mothers brother, fathers sister and fathers brother of the bridegroom and should be distributed among these same relatives of the bride. But the fathers brother does not actually have a right to a share, while the mothers brother and reputedly in the past the fathers sister as well, should definitely be given at least one beast. When actual bogadi payments were analyzed a pattern emerged which was in some respects different and in some respects similar to the ideal. Of course it is highly significant which relatives continue to have their rights and duties according to the norm and which not. I collected 19 cases of bogadi payments and analyzed these according to the relatives who made the contribution. The bridegroom himself contributed nearly half the total amount of bridewealth paid, i.e. 27 cattle out of a total of 59 cattle, R80 out of a total R136, 3 sheep out of 15 sheep. Table X shows the contributions made by the relatives of the groom.

Table X. Contributions to 19 bogadi payments according to the relationship to the bridegroom.

relationship to bridegroom	cattle	%	sheep	%	money	%
F	9	28.1	-	-	R54	96.4
MB	5	15.6	3	25	-	-
FB	4	12.5	-	-	-	-
FZ	1	3.1	1	8.3	-	-
B	6	18.8	7	58.4	-	-
FBS	4	12.5	-	-	-	-
WB	-	-	-	-	R2	3.4
Patron/Friend	3	9.4	1	8.3	-	-
Total	32	100	12	100	R56	100

Both the father and the mothers brother contributed much less often than they were normatively required to do, and the fathers sister even less so. On two occasions a cow was given by the chief to a trusted follower and on one occasion this was done by a ward-head.

When we turn to the distribution of the bridewealth among the bride's relatives we find quite a different pattern.

Table XI. Distribution of 24 bogadi payments according to relationship to bride.

relationship to bride	cattle	%	sheep	%	money	%
F	25	36.2	3	21.4	R130	92.9
M	15	21.7	2	14.3	-	-
B	4	5.8	2	14.3	R10	7.1
MB	19	27.5	6	42.9	-	-
FZ	2	2.9	-	-	-	-
Z	-	-	1	7.1	-	-
FB	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
MF	2	2.9	-	-	-	-
ego	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Total	69	100	14	100	R	100

The particular significance of the mothers brother is clearly apparent in these figures in contrast to the former table. This despite the fact that in only three instances, together amounting to seven cattle and two sheep did all the bridewealth pass to the malome because no bridewealth had been paid for his sister. Even in all the other instances he remained the main recipient after the father. Thus while the malome does not contribute as often as he should to the bride-wealth of his nephew (though of course he will give a beast for the wedding feast) he is given his rightful share of the bridewealth of his niece. The mother receives a large number of beasts as well, because in many cases she was the head of the household after the death of her husband. It also happened, however, (in two cases) that

the bridewealth was divided between her and her husband to the exclusion of all other relatives. On one occasion it was shared by her father (thus the maternal grandfather of the bride) and herself, where she received four beasts and he two beasts. On one occasion the full bogadi was divided equally between her and her brother. The mother has a right to the bogadi because she suffered the pains of childbirth and because it is her child as well as the father's. Even if the father received, while she did not, she is still sharing since her husbands cattle belong to her as well. The rrakgadi in contrast to the stated norm neither contributed nor received much bridewealth. Brothers, fathers brothers and fathers brothers sons contributed more often than they received.

Of all these 41 bogadi payments only 4 amounted to more than 4 cattle and 4 were made solely in cash, repsectively R60, R40, R54 and R40. In two cases only a single cow was paid. The vast majority of men gave approximately four cows or three cows with one or more sheep. It is revealing that only so few money payments were made, for this would appear to be more advantageous to the bridegroom and his relatives. For the purpose of bogadi one beast is equated with R20 which reputedly is the price a young heifer fetched thirty to forty years ago. At present a fullgrown cow soon fetches R80 - R120 at the abattoir. It is thus obvious that it is more economical to sell one beast and give money than to pay in livestock. This is even more so because often people do not pay the equivalent of four 'cattle', i.e. R80, but much less. The bridegivers are customarily obliged to accept whatever is given to hem, which makes the absence of economic reasoning all the more conspicuous. The value attached to the transferral of young preferably female animals should in my opinion be sought rather in the cosmological or ritual sphere than in the seeking of material advantage. But of course among the younger generation which is so imbued with the desire for money this may be less apparent than among their parents. The following case shows a conflict between father and son on precisely this issue.

Case XVII. Bogadi for Mmalekanyane.

> Kola paid bogadi for his wife Mmalekanyane when he was already an old man. His wife's parents had long been dead. Moitere his daughter was to be married and this forthcoming event made him decide to pay his own bogadi first. His sons protested and tried to deter him, arguing that he should let Moitere pay for him (i.e. through the bridewealth received for her) and that he would probably lose in economic terms since Moitere's future husband was not wealthy. But Kola was adamant and paid four cattle.
> This meant that he did in fact lose heavily in a material sense since Moitere's bogadi amounted to no more than R50 of which both her mother's brother and fathers brother took R10, so that Kola was left with R30, not even half the price of a single cow.

Kola was a traditionalist who throughout his life had little time for the new self-seeking and material values of the money economy. But with others even the bridewealth payment is affected by these modern all-pervasive values.

Case XVIII. An attempt to make bogadi an economic transaction.

> Moremi's daughter was married by a Kalanga man. One man in Bokaa was vaguely related to the bridegroom and thus acted as rraditsalane. He took R120 as bogadi to Sennelo who refused to accept it and said he wanted R160. The outcome was that the rraditsalane took the money back and the bride and bridegroom were married at the District Commissioner's office.

It is however unlikely that this could have happened if the bridegroom himself had come from Bokaa. It does happen that parents will demand bogadi for their daughter before they allow her to go and live with the man but they will not specify how much should be paid for this is regarded as extremely bad manners. Likewise the share of the bridewealth which goes to the mother's brother should theoretically not be bargained about either. The malome should be the first to come forward and point at what he wants as his share. But of course it may happen that he asks too much and so precipitates an argument.

Case XIX. The division of Joshua's bogadi.

> Joshua paid bogadi of four sheep and R40. He had actually been given five sheep by his relatives but as is common he kept one for himself. His bride had no relatives in Bokaa as her father was a Ndebele from the Transvaal and the mother, a Transvaal Hurutshe, had left her husband and child. Radinakana was asked to act as malome though there

was no genealogical relationship at all with him. He demanded R20 and two sheep of the bridewealth but this was considered excessive. An argument followed and he was told that as he was not a real malome and had never done anything for the girl in the past (i.e. given her presents) he did not have the right to take so much. He was given R10 and one sheep.

The relations between affines

The Kaa (and three Kgatla men whom I interviewed as well) conceive of bridegivers as being superior to bridereceivers. One man said: 'Bridegivers are always more important than bridereceivers. The gift of a woman is the greatest gift that can be made'. This superiority is not marked by extreme deference or the passing of gifts but operates in a subdued manner through the rules of respect. Though both parties should respect each other, the obligation lies particularly on the son-in-law. He in particular should behave unobtrusively at his parents-in-law's place and be ready to be of service to them. The saying goes: 'Selepe sa bogwe se rema se mane' - the axe of the bridereceiver (son-in-law) chops with its head turned. The son-in-law is not permitted to shout even at a dog while visiting his parents-in-law and it is a serious offense for which he will be fined should he quarrel with his wife there. Complaints about his behaviour cannot be addressed directly to him, but should be made to his parents and the son-in-law likewise should ask his malome to convey any complaints he may have to his parents-in-law. No familiarity is permitted between a man and his parents-in-law. They should be very polite but not engage in intimate conversations or comradely behaviour. No specific prestations are expected of the son-in-law but he should be ready to do work for his in-laws. When he gives them presents, i.e. some money after he returns from migrant labour, he should not give it personally but let it be brought by his relatives. Should the marriage or engagement ever result in a divorce such gifts can be reclaimed. The parents-in-law were not obliged to give anything to the son-in-law but after the harvest they would make beer for him. This was because the couple in the early years of their marriage stored their corn at the wife's parents place (in a separate gr). Today this rarely happens, not only because of a relaxation of the customary rules of behaviour, but even more so because most people live for the largest part of the year at the lands and thus

need to have their corn at hand there and because few people still have grainbins today. In any case many of the above restrictions do not operate fully any more either. A point of great moral indignation for many older people was that today a man often lives with his wife and children at her parents place instead of taking her to his own parents home or building his own homestead. Because of the close association he would tend to become much too familiar with his relatives-in-law. This is no doubt mainly due to the fact that the man is usually away on migrant labour, but the prevalent local explanation is that it is due to the commercial attitude of the parents-in-law who now demand an immediate bridewealth payment for their daughter when the man wants to take her away, thus making it impossible for him to do so. Such an attitude is much deplored and referred to as 'making a business out of your daughers'. The intrusion of economic motives into transactions of a different order within the kinship domain is not only highly morally reprehensible but al . a serious blow to the valuesystem on which the traditional order was based and it is no wonder that the old people focus particularly on this one aspect. In fact as was shown earl' r on, a truly commercial attitude is still far from prevalent in most marriage transactions.

Despite the mild form of avoidance required between parents-in-law and the son-in-law, they are in an intimate relationship at another level. A man on marriage becomes one with his wife and thus her parents become his parents as he is told at his wedding. This is particularly apparent from the fact that the ancestors which can trouble a man in dreams are his own parents, their parents and his wife's parents. Another factor indicating an intimacy is that according to the kinship terminology he can use the same reference terms as his wife does for her relatives. i.e. rrakgadi, malome, mmane, rrangwane etc. in addition to the term mogwagadi which is particular to him.

The son-in-law can be referred to as mogwe, pl. bagwe and also as mokgwanayana, pl. bakgwanayana, while the parents-in-law are the bagwagadi sing. morwagadi. The bagwagadi and bakgwanayana are internally divided into bagwagadi/bakgwanayana ba batona and bagwagadi/bakgwanayana baba botlana the larger and the lower bridereceivers and bridegivers. Thus for a son-in-law his brothers-in-law are ba ba botlana and there is no

avoidance between them. Problems connected to this ranking can arise, however, if there is a marked difference in age between them. I once attended a discussion in which a young man asked an old man what would happen if the wife-taker is considerably older than his brothers-in-law while his parents-in-law have died. It was argued that a young man (i.e. the wife's brother) cannot call an older man mokgwanyana because this term connotes juniority. This shows however that the superiority of wifegivers is very limited; it does not override the distinctions based on relative age. Only between parents-in-law and son-in-law does the distinction operate fully, with other relatives there is either no active relationship or the ranking is not applicable. Furthermore, the parents of the couple have no relationship with each other, nor does a man have relations with the relatives of his brothers and sisters-in-law. These people will not be invited to the various feasts and are not acknowledged in any particular way. Despite the ranking which exists between the son-in-law and his wife's kindred it is not possible to conceive of a structure of groups in alliance with each other. Even at the times that the groups of bridereceivers and bridegivers act together, i.e. in rituals surrounding marriage and engagement, they are not true groups, for they do not coincide with lineages or territorial groups but include the effective kindred of the spouses. Once the marriage has been consumated and a child has been born bridegivers and bridereceivers act together as an undifferentiated unit (the distinctions that are made extend only to a few specific relatives, eg. the mothers brother and fathers sister). The alliances that are made by a MBD or FBD marriage concern individual households rather than larger groups. Only if the kindred were a bonded bilateral stock, as according to Kuper it is in the ideal model of the Kgalagari (13), could one consider the kindred a group which is held together by relations of alliance.

The woman does not call her relatives-in-law bakgwanayana but matsala which is probably derived from the verb go tsala - to give birth - viz. those that gave birth to my husband. It appears that the term refers primarily to her husbands mother (his father is called rratsala) and is then extended to all the other relatives of the ascending generations. If one looks at actual behaviour this is not surprising for the ngweetsi (daughter-in-law) has a much more involved relationship with her husbands female

relatives and particularly with his mother than with his male relatives. She is to a large extent placed under the authority of the mother-in-law if the couple lives at the husbands parents place, and has to perform many domestic duties for her. She is expected to learn all about housekeeping and childbearing from her mother-in-law. That this is no easy task can be gathered from the following statement: 'The more ngweetsi comes to matsale (on visits after the engagement) the more matsale teaches her how to work and ngweetsi will learn how cruel matsale is.'

The kindred

The kindred is a network of relatives, referred to as masika (sing. lesika), which is mobilized on the events connected with the rites of passage, i.e. birth, initiation, baptism, engagement, marriage, burial. Thus in contrast to the agnates and/or wardmembers who function in the politico-jural and economic dimension of an individuals life, the kindred (which of course includes those categories of kin as well) functions on those events which are primarily in the ritual sphere. Kuper has written of the kindred as conceived of ideally as a bilateral stock (14), as indeed it would be if the marriage preferences for kinsmen were strictly observed (in particular with the FBD). However, even in the past this ideal grouping is unlikely to have existed very often in reality and today there certainly is no bounded unit which could be referred to as the 'kindred'. Instead one finds an egocentred network of relatives, consisting of agnatic, maternal and fictitious kin with ramifications extending far and wide. However, when one looks at the structure of the quasi-group which gathers on certain occasions, an interesting fact emerges. The kindred may not be a bounded entity but there is indeed a kind of conceptual unity, even a merging between maternal and paternal kinsmen. The lineage model is wholly inappropriate to describe the structure of the kindred, as is shown by the following case.

Case XX. Mogoga for Manoka.

> Manoka, Radinakedi's sister had died and a month after her burial a cow was slaughtered for her mogoga, the traditional sacrifice to the dead persons spirit. Her kinsmen in the village gathered to discuss the distribution of specific cuts of meat, before the remainder of the carcase would be cooked and dished out to the whole

village. All her relatives in the village were present since the appropriate relatives for specific cuts of meat had to be found and in the absence of the 'right' relatives, decisions would have to be made as to who would be the next most suitable. The distribution does not work on the principle that there is a certain relative who must be given his particular portion of meat, but rather in the reverse, i.e. a relative has to be found for a specific cut.
Manoka had no close relatives in the village. Her FB, MB and FZ were long dead and their descendants live in Mochudi. Thus a choice had to be made as to the most suitable persons among the relatives present. First a malome was sought and after deliberation it was decided that her brother should act in this position and receive the head of the animal. Subsequently the search was for a rrakgadi (FZ). Tau, the son of Manoka's mother's rrakgadi (thus her MFZS), was considered to be the appropriate person and was given a rib and one of the stomachs of the cow (nnyati). Finally a rrangwane (FB) had to be found. No one suitable in even the remotest degree was found and it was decided to give the share to a mmane (MyZ). John's mother was the daughter of Manoka's mother's younger sister and thus John as MMyZDS qualified as mmane and received the meat (15). Normally the mmane does not receive a special share of meat.

At the time this division of the meat utterly baffled me. To my mind, biased by notions such as the unity of the lineage, it was the rrakgadi who should have taken the share of the rrangwane. The explanation given to me was simple: mmane (MyZ) and rrangwane (FyB) are both the juniors of the parents, while rrakgadi (FZ) is a term which refers to a fathers sibling of opposite sex with no connotation of juniority or seniority. She is thus more similar to the mothers sibling of opposite sex, i.e. the malome than to the rrangwane. The emphasis on the difference between cross and parallel kin is important and will be dealt with later, but the main point to take note of at present is that on this occasion Manoka was identified equally with both her parents. The notion of two exclusive groups connected only by a marriage was absent. Instead, individuals who were aware of a specific or vague genealogical relationship to Manoka, gathered and the link whether through the father or mother was seen as sufficiently similar to merge relationships from both sides. It should also be noted that rights which pertain to a specific relationship, i.e. MB, FZ, FyB, could be transferred to other relatives within the kindred. Since these relatives are not always present or even

existent the kindred provides a field from which suitable substitutes can be chosen. It is clear from the foregoing that another model than the lineage model will have to be drawn up.

At those events connected with the rites of passage full recognition is given to the fact that an individual is born out of two parents and thus belongs equally to them and their relatives. The paternal and maternal relatives are united through their tie to the father and the mother who became as one through their sexual union. Thus the kindred is not differentiated into two descentgroups but acts as one unified whole, in which the paternal and maternal side are merged. The wedding proceedings discussed earlier showed that with the exception of the specific duties of the parents and parents siblings, no differentiation was made between the general categories of paternal and maternal kin in the internal composition of both bridegivers and bridereceivers. The same is true for any other occasion at which the kindred acts. Nevertheless there remain distinctions other than descent which operate in particular contexts. The principles on which these distinctions are based are the same as those which were noted earlier in this chapter. Basically the relatives can be grouped into seniors and juniors (according to age) of the same sex or into the two sexes with no connotation of rank. For instance, male and female kin (both paternal and maternal) are often separated in various activities. And seniority according to age is often emphasized in the distribution of food. But in addition a third principle, the unity of male and female through a sexual union, has to be taken into account Thus, the father and the mother can be regarded as one, which can lead to the following variation on the original pattern as it is applied to specific relatives. Fathers sibling of same sex (as father)= mothers sibling of same sex (as mother)=own sibling of same sex; and fathers sibling of opposite sex = mothers sibling of opposite sex = own sibling of opposite sex. A clear division of the kindred into cross and parallel kin is apparent. When, as happened in the previous case, a parents sibling of either category is not available, a sibling of the other parent or an own sibling in the same category can be substituted. The following case again illustrates this principle when at a burial the share of the rrangwane is given to the youngest sister of the dead woman. The case also gives a detailed description of the formalities surrounding burial and the structure of the kinrelations of this event.

Case XXI. The burial of Matsela.

Ditinki a man from Matebele ward married Matsela from Tsiana ward. Matsela was the widow of Robert, the son of Thikethe the head of Setshwani ward. After his death the Sethswani people had sent her back to Tsiana. But the people of Tsiana also neglected their duties to her and her mother and sisters. Her pater, a foreigner, had been assigned to Tsiana and tensions had existed between him and the dominant patriline in Tsiana. This resulted in the neglect of his wife and daughters (there were no sons) after his death. After being married to Ditinki for only a few months, Matsela died in childbirth. As is customary, relatives of the husband and wife remained for about two weeks at Matebele, the husbands ward, to mourn her. The men sit, eat and sleep in the kgotla of the ward and the women do likewise in the courtyard of the house of the dead person. The paternal and maternal relatives of both spouses are expected to pay their respect to the deceased person by remaining there. However, the people who qualified as Matsela's paternal relatives, i.e. the members of Tsiana ward, hardly made an appearance. Those who did attend were:

1. Matsela's mother and sisters. They remained day and night at the place of mourning for the full period.
2. Setshwani ward - the former relatives-in-law of Matsela. Her genitor was also a Setshwani man. These people came for about two full days.
3. Matsela's malome and his familygroup from Phinyana ward. Pako Nyokane is Matsela's malome. Phinyana ward consists of three familygroups, the Ntokgo, Nyokane and Mpapane people. All the Nyokane people were there but only the junior branch to which Pako belongs remained there for the full period of mourning. The Ntokgo people only made short though regular visits, while the Mpapane people did not come at all.
4. Ditinki's familygroup. Virtually all the people of Matebele ward, i.e. Ditinki's paternal relatives.
5. Ditinki's malome and his familygroup - Nkoagae subward of Kgosing ward. Monnaphiri Molome was Ditinki's malome. After his death this position was taken over by his son Molome and after Molome's death by Molome's son Lekgoa. Most of the people of this small subward were present, but only Lekgoa continued to sleep at the kgotla after the initial two days.

Though whole wards attended, it is obvious that the duty to attend lay primarily with the members of the familygroup standing in a direct relationship with the deceased. Of Phinyana ward it was only the familygroup to which Matsela's malome belonged which was present all the time, and the members of Tsiana ignored the event in a manner which they could not possibly have adopted if they had been real kinsmen. Yet their behaviour incurred severe disapproval since the ward is expected to take an active interest in anything that befalls one of its members. The Ntokgo people of Phinyana ward though not directly related to Matsela or Ditinki observed this norm by making an appearance for at least some days to sympathize with their wardmember, Matsela's malome Pako.

The coffin was bought by Pako, who contributed R20 towards it and by Ditinki, her husband who gave R16. The whole village brought the coffin to the graveyard and gathered afterwards at the kgotla of Matebele and the courtyard of Ditinki's house to eat unsalted porridge provided by Matsela's female relatives and sing hymns for several hours. At this stage Ditinki was still lying on his stomach inside the hut, as the custom requires the widow/er to do immediately after their spouse's death. When he had to get up he was required to walk on one shoe only. After a few days a ritual was performed to allow the bereaved spouse to stand up again. One of Ditinki's goats was slaughtered for the ritual. Medicine was put inside the big intestine of the goat (mongopo) and the widower beaten with it as he rose.(16) The flesh of the goat was eaten by all the relatives who had been sitting in mourning. After this another goat was slaughtered by Ditinki's malome and Ditinki was taken to a cross-road where some of his household possessions were deposited and Matsela's malome took off the one shoe he had been walking on. His footsoles were smeared with the chyme of a goat mixed with leaves of the mosethla tree and the shoe was also left on the road.

A week later a cow was slaughtered as mogoga, the homage to the dead person's spirit. This cow was provided by Ditinki's malome Lekgoa. It should have been given by Ditinki himself, but Ditinki has no cattle and none of his paternal relatives were prepared to help him. First several small pieces were cut from all parts of the carcase and cooked and eaten by the men mourning at the wards kgotla. The women received nothing. This meat is distributed according to the seniority of the age-grades. The juniors take the meat to their seniors who pass it on to their seniors etc., until the most senior age-grade has received their share. Subsequently their juniors in descending order are presented with the meat. When finally the most junior men, the magwane (i.e. those who have not been regimented yet) could take their meat, there was virtually nothing left.

After the meat had been eaten, the distribution of specific cuts of raw meat commenced. Tsolo the brother of Matsela's special malome, Pako, but of course also a malome in his own right, was the speaker: 'Here is the cow. It comes from Lekgoa. He has given it as malome. Ditinki is the son of Matebele (note how here the ward is equated with the descent group) but setlogolo (ZS) to Monnaphiri (Lekgoa's grandfather). This cow is going to be cooked tonight and will be eaten by everyone, but there are some pieces which have to go to the right owners'. The head was given to Matsela's malome, Pako. Then a suitable person to receive the rrangwane's share (intestines and a rib) had to be found. Matsela's father was a foreigner in Boka so that there were no paternal relatives. His quasi-paternal kinsmen, the people of his ward Tsiana were all senior to him since he was a foreigner and therefore they could not qualify as rrangwane. Her mother had no junior relatives either and consequently the person to receive this meat should be one of her own siblinggroup. Matsela was the youngest of her siblings so that the second youngest sister was chosen. The rrakgadi's share, the nnyati was given to all the women who had mourned for Matsela. In the early morning of the following day the whole village came to eat the rest of the meat. On this occasion the meat was not distributed according to seniority of age but according to the rank of wards.

At the end of the two weeks of mourning the women smeared the courtyard of the house and the men renewed the thornbush fences surrounding the house, and everyone could return to their own homes again. Ditinki will be regarded as being 'hot', i.e. a state of ritual impurity for a full year and must refrain from sexual intercourse during this time. At the end of the year another ritual will be performed by a witchdoctor to bring him to a normal state again.

In this case meat was distributed to three different categories of people according to three different criteria:

a. to all the male kinsmen of both spouses who had attended the mourning, according to seniority of age - no distinction being made according to kinrelationship.

b. to three specific relatives of the dead woman, i.e. the parents siblings of opposite sex and the fathers junior sibling of the same sex.

c. to the whole village according to the rank of wards.

It is noteworthy that on this occasion the kindreds of husband and wife were united, in contrast to the proceedings at the wedding when they were separated. The couple though married for only a few months was considered to be sufficiently united to bring about this union of their kinsmen.

It appears to me that by the distribution of meat a statement is made about people who have rights in the dead person, i.e. the kindred as a whole; the three particular kinsmen mentioned; and the village, i.e. the tribe as a whole. I suggest that these categories are singled out because their rights are not normally exercised in ordinary day to day living. An individual associates with his familygroup and fulfills only his obligations to them and towards his patrikin, but of course he 'belongs' to other people, eg. his matrikin and more distant agnatic kin and in a sense to all the people of the tribe. The reason why the three specific relatives are singled out must probably be sought in the linking of brothers and sisters to each other. The linked siblings of the parents are also considered to have rights in their brother's or sister's child and on such occasions this is publicly acknowledged. It should also be noted that formerly the senior male siblings received the larger share of the inheritance but in return ought to provide for their juniors. It seems that at the lifecycle rituals such rights are acknowledged and satisfied in symbolic form. The most significant of these people who have rights in an individual is the mother's brother. His position is of such crucial importance that it warrants a more extended discussion.

The mothers brother

The structural emphasis on the equal importance of paternal and maternal kin in certain spheres of ego's life, i.e. those outside the political and economic domain, finds its culmination in the relationship between the mothers brother and uterine nephew. The maternal uncle is the crucial relative in the lifecycle rituals and events leading up to those rituals, and in addition there should be a continuous flow of prestations between him and his setlogolo (sisters son).

The details of the relationship are as follows. A sisters son should treat his malome with great respect and aleays take heed of his advice. The malome is in fact the particular relative to whom he should go with his personal problems or should he be involved in quarrels with his close paternal relatives. For this reason the malome has to be present at the division of an estate in case a dispute should arise. He is, however, not able to discipline his setlogolo himself and should he personally be involved in a quarrel with the latter, he should contact the father. In disputes or courtcases with people outside the immediate agnatic group his presence is not required, for then a man will be supported by his agnates.

The gifts which are made by the sisters son to the malome are all termed tlogo, i.e. head, after the portion of a cow slaughtered by or for the setlogolo which is set aside for the malome. Tlogo includes this head of each animal slaughtered; any lost property which the setlogolo finds and of which the original owner cannot be traced; clothes, blankets and/or money from migrant labour; a goat or a bull; and finally after the setlogolo's death his personal belongings such as his clothes, gun, dish chair etc. and the bull of his herd. The bull is closely identified with the head of the household, in contrast to the rest of the herd in which the wife and children also have rights. This final gift of a bull to the malome is a significant symbolic transferral of the dead persons male power. A sisters son should never give a cow to his mothers brother. One informant stated that the sisters son gives a male animal because in this relationship he is the male. He added that the malome gives the field and the setlogolo the seed. The field and the seed are symbols of the female and the male respectively. We may note as well that the father may on no account include a bull in his bridewealth payment which indicates the different contents of the relationship with the same individual for father and son.

The malome should contribute a cow to his setlogolo's bridewealth payment and give a cow for the wedding feast of both his sisters son and sisters daughter, and a cow and some small stock to help the sisters son build up a herd. Furthermore he should replace torn or burned clothing or blankets of his setlogolo with new ones and may give other unspecified gifts if he wishes to do so. The description of the wedding and burial proceedings indicated the prominent role which he plays on these occasions. At both these events the presence of a malome is considered essential and it is for this reason in particular that people feel that no one should be without a malome and therefore will seek a substitute if the original malome is dead or absent. In the past he was also the one who was responsible for the initiation of his sisters son. He stayed all the time at the initiation school and played a part in directing the proceedings. The father could come for a few days but was not necessarily actively involved. At the time when the Kaa went to the Kwena for initiation the malome was the one to pay the fee which was charged by the Kwena chief. He received no special reward for this function at the initiation school but could take the old clothes which the initiate sheds. In return he had to provide the adult clothes which the newly initiated man was now permitted to wear. Of course he could not play this role at his niece's initiation school since men were not permitted to be present and in her case it was the rrakgadi together with the mother who was responsible. At baptism the malome should slaughter a goat, give the clothes worn on that day and provide sugar and tea for the celebration. At birth his function is not so important, but he should make the sling in which the infant will be carried. At the burial he carries the head of the corpse and it was stressed that at the mogoga he must take the head of the animal slaughtered.

The similarity between the gifts from the mothers brother and from the father is striking. The father contributes to the bridewealth, should give a beast for slaughter at the weddingfeast and should present his sons (at present even daughters) with a cow in order to build up a herd. But while the son inherits from the father, the malome inherits from his setlogolo and not vice versa. One could interpret these prestations made by the malome as statements that he also has the rights and obligations of parenthood to his setlogolo. These are however only rights and obligations directed to the sisters son in his personal life, his social rather than his political and economic personality. The final gifts from the sisters son to his maternal uncle both restate and end these personal rights.

Kuper has suggested that this relationship should be analysed with the jural dimension of marriage in mind. As marriage is an extended process in which bundles of rights are gradually transferred, so the rights which the mothers brother enjoys in his sister and her children are only gradually relinquished. 'He remains part-guardian of the children until bogari is paid. Until then he is expected to help to discipline them, although their father is responsible for their torts, and he should be consulted about their affairs ... Once bogari has been paid, the situation changes. He loses his right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the couple (short of a divorce) and he loses his quasi-paternal position with respect to the children (17). This latter statement may be jurally true but I found that the relationship malome-setlogolo continues at full strength until death ends it, even after the jural rights have been completely transferred to the father. Kuper concludes: 'I would agree with Goody then that the sisters son has certain rights in the mothers brother and that these are reflected in 'snatching' or 'ritual stealing'. However it is far-fetched to interpret them as he does, as residual rights of inheritance. This is to stretch the notion of descent and inheritance unreasonably. They are rights in a quasi-father or part-guardian, which derives from the marriage contract (18). Kupers argument is in my opinion entirely valid, but as he himself states: 'This does not exhaust the content of the relationship, though it is as far as the jural approach will take one' (19). It seems to me that the mothers brother should not only be considered a quasi-parent from a jural point of view but also from different ones. I do not think that the mothers brother is just a quasi-father by the nature of the marriage contract, but on the contrary that he is also a 'parent' in his own right, independent from the phase of the marriage contract. How otherwise could one explain the fact that the relationship continues in full strength after bogadi has been paid? And why should it be the mothers brother and not the mothers father who holds these rights? And why is the fathers sister also so very important? Unfortunately I cannot answer these questions to my satisfaction, nor could my informants. One informant again stressed the important function of the malome as the representative of the mothers side as against the father as the representative of his brothers and the rrakgadi as the representative of her sisters. This indicates a conceptual complementarity but unfortunately a more explicit explanation was not given. I suggest that the nature of the bond which is created by the linking of brother

and sister should be more carefully investigated by further research, and that the beliefs surrounding procreation and the inheritance of 'life force' should also be taken into account. It is clear that the brother-sister relationship is of crucial significance. Among the Lovedu this relationship has been analyzed in terms of the bridewealth which passes from sister to brother (20). But I suggest that this social phenomenon which the Kriges observed may itself be the outcome of a deeper structure which is found among all Sotho-Tswana. As mentioned earlier, among the Kaa the bridewealth paid for a woman does not pass to her brother, nor were informants acquainted with such mechanisms. Yet the linked brother-sister relationship was structurally very strong and emphasized especially with regard to their children. The ideal marriages were also between cross-cousins. Further research will have to investigate this issue in greater depth.

Another point which should be mentioned is that the relationship malome-setlogolo is viewed differently by the two parties concerned. A sisters son should have a mothers brother and he or his parents will initiate the relationship. The mothers brother is not likewise dependent on this relationship and more often seems to be motivated to engage in the flow of prestations out of a sense of moral duty or because it carries prestige. The parental function of the mothers brother is more important to the sisters son than to himself. Thus a man who has no mothers brother should create one, particularly in matters relating to marriage. The jural aspect of this can be observed in the following case which also illustrates the equal importance of the father and the mothers brother on the occasion of marriage.

Case XXII. A foreigner marries in Bokaa.

> At the main kgotla the chief was being informed of an impending marriage. Makane the daughter of Pampiri was going to marry a man from Rhodesia called George. Pampiri himself had also been a foreigner to the village and had had no kinsmen in Bokaa. After his death his son Ntope became the guardian of Makane. Though he could have acted himself in this position, Ntope had approached an old unrelated man in his ward, named Kaukau, to act as Makane's father during her wedding. He also chose people to act as the father and the mothers brother for her future husband, George. Kaukau's brother, Mogasu, was chosen to be malome and another wardmember was asked to be

> the father for George. Of course George had his own relatives in Rhodesia, but since the wedding was to take place in Bokaa and since he was likely to visit to Bokaa regularly, the chief had to be informed about the marriage and relatives had to be appointed to be the guardians of his marriage.
>
> Kaukau spoke to the chief and explained that he was Makane's father and that the two other men were the father and the mothers brother of George. The chief immediately enguired after Makane's malome and Kaukau replied that he had remained behind. To this the chief replied that he could not receive any information about a marriage without the woman's malome being present as well. Ntope was sent to fetch Makane's malome.

The fictitious kin relationships formed in this manner must not be regarded as mere formalities. Should Makane and George settle in Bokaa, their 'father' and 'mothers brother' will certainly be expected to perform the duties associated with that status. As an informant pointed out: 'This relationship continues all their life, for if they did not act as real parents there would be no marriage because no one would be responsible for it'. A fictitious malome (much more so than the fictious father) is not only expected to act on all those occasions at which a malome should act for his setlogolo but should also engage in the full exchange of gifts. Thus, it can be ensured that the relationship which is of essential value to the sisters son can be continued under all circumstances. This freedom to choose a substitute for a malome introduces a considerable scope for the individual to employ the relationship to his greatest advantage. This brings us to another element of this structural relationship as it is found in Bokaa.

Whatever the structural reasons for the high status of the mothers brother, the individual today attaches more value to the status and the role, eg. the performance at the life cycle rituals, than to the structural definition of the occupant of the position. Therefore he may not always find it expedient to have his true malome and may instead choose another individual to perform that function. In case XX Mogoya for Manoka - the point was made that at the distribution of the meat the question was which relative could be found to receive a specific cut of meat, rather than finding the cut of meat for the appropriate relative. Similarly a person has to have a malome on certain occasions and a relative has to act that role rather than that role automatically accrues to a particular relative.

Officially a man's special malome should be the linked brother of his mother, while she is the special rrakgadi of his children. Already in this case many variations can be found in practice. It is seldom that there will be an equal number of brothers and sisters and moreover individual circumstances of poverty or absence may necessitate a change to another malome among some if not all the children of a sister. Thus, one brother can be linked to several sisters and their children or one sister with her children can be linked to several brothers. The following case illustrates the latter.

Case XXIII. The linking of sisters children and malome's in one family.

In John's siblinggroup there are four brothers (originally five, but their elder half-brother, Lefang died in 1966) and two sisters (see also case XIII page 123). The parents linked one sister to two brothers with the intention that these brothers should divide the children among them for the full malome-setlogolo relationship. However, in practice it worked out quite differently from what was intended. Moitere, the eldest sister lives in Serowe and for that reason not all of her children have yet been assigned to a malome. The two eldest were first allocated as ditlogolo to Lefang, the half-brother who died in 1966. After his death Seboka the next eldest brother was asked by Moitere to be malome to these two children. But when she realised that Seboka was continually absent from Bokaa and therefore neglectful of his relatives, she asked Rapula the next eldest brother. However, Rapula is very poor, so that he has not yet fulfilled his duties and it is therefore likely that the children will seek another malome in Serowe.

Of the five children of Dikolane, the second sister, the first is assigned to John, the second to Joshua, the third to Rapula, the fourth to John and the fifth to Joshua. The children are still young so that changes may still come in the future.

Thus, sisters children can change from one malome to another, either on their own initiative or following their parents decision. The reasons for this must often be sought in economic terms. It is a heavy obligation to be malome and many men cannot or do not want to meet the material requirements. For example, John's father Kola, because he was the eldest son, had received most of the inheritance and therefore was richer than his brother, Motswaragole. For that reason he was given more ditlogolo than Motswaragole and furthermore one of Motswaragole's ditlogolo asked to be transferred to Kola later in his life. It is also possible for a man to allocate his sisters children to his own son. Thereafter the ntsalake (crosscousin relation-

ship no longer exists between them and the full malome-setlogolo relationship pertains. All this is fairly straightforward but the situation becomes more complex when there are no mothers brothers at all. In that case either more distant maternal kin can be approached or a mothers sister can become the malome. I recorded several instances where sisters aided by their husbands acted in all respect like a true malome for each others children. When they die their children may inherit their position and thus parallel cousins can become each others malome and setlogolo at the same time. But of course more distant maternal kin such as MMBS or even classificatory mothers sisters, eg. MMZSS (21), can of course be chosen as well. And for some of the children another solution is still possible. It is quite usual for the youngest child or children to be assigned to the parents themselves. In fact it is the mother who has the right to act as malome for this child, but of course since she is a woman she is helped by the father. I did record one instance in which the father himself acted as malome on behalf of the malome who lived far away. This was explained, however, by the fact that the father had made a MBD marriage and therefore was setlogolo to the same people as his son. He could take ditlogo (the prestations which pass between mothers brother and sisters son) from his son because he himself would give ditlogo to the real malome should they come to Bokaa. This makes it clear that the father is not eligible to occupy this position in his own right as a father, but as the mother does have this right the father as her husband may be involved as well. Since a mothers sister may act as mothers brother, but not a father brother, it is clear that the rights of the mothers brother can be transferred to all maternal relatives but not to paternal relatives.

But of course it may happen that an indivudal has no maternal kin at all living in the vicinity. As case XXII showed, in such circumstances an unrelated person can be asked to become his mothers brother. It is at these instances that clear calculations of material advantage can become most obvious. A setlogolo will want a relatively wealthy malome and not a poor one for otherwise he is not likely to draw the full benefit from the relationship. It is indicative of modern values that the benefits are increasingly calculated in economic terms. With this is mind it is

no longer surprising that people have come to engage in fictitious kinrelationships while they do have the genealogically appropriate relatives living in the vicinity. Today the rejection of a real malome for a more distant maternal relative or a fictitious one, occurs frequently enough to make it a significant sociological factor. As this trend was initiated by chief Rraditladi himself, the village authorities could do nothing but condone it when it became increasingly common.

Case XXIV. Chief Rraditladi changes his malome.

Chief Rraditladi's malome Setlabapudi was a poor man. In 1943 Rraditladi, at that time 44 years of age, finally decided to terminate the relationship because he had not received the customary gifts in return for his own prestations. He renounced Setlabapudi and asked Konkome, his mothers older sister son and head of Basimane ward and a wealthy man to be his malome. This relationship continued until a few years before Rraditladi's death in 1972. I was not able to obtain the reason for their estrangement but I do know that Konkome is a hardheaded man who did not refrain from taking Rradiladi to court on one occasion. At Rraditladi's burial it was Ratsebe, his mothers younger sisters son and loyal supporter who received the head of the animal which was slaughtered.

The recognition that some people seek to maximize their gains also in kinship relationships does not imply that it meets with social approval. To the villagers it is a deplorable but unavoidable reality that kinsmen can be ignored in favour of more advantageous connections. They blame modern times for encouraging a pre-occupation with money and material goods and they blame the particular individual for his disloyalty to his kinsmen. The social disapproval is backed up by beliefs of a mystical nature. Witchcraft performed by an offended relative is seen as an evil but logical result of neglect. But it is not even necessary to engage in witchcraft since the offender can be punished simply because he has emotionally wounded his relative. A mystical retribution called kgaba which can cause illness and misfortune, can follow upon wronging a relative. Schapera linked this belief to a belief in ancestral wrath (22), but certainly today people are not aware of such a connection and give instead vague explanations about mystical forces. To quote an informant:

> Dikgaba is talking in the mind. It can only occur between relatives because one cannot be really deeply upset by an unrelated person. Of course one can be hurt by the actions of an unrelated neighbour, but it cannot go very deep since it is mainly relatives who have expectations about each other. If, for example, you get married and turn to someone else to be your malome, your real malome will be very upset. He will go about with pain in his heart and you will get ill in consequence. He will not say or do anything, because he does not actually want you to get ill, but there is pain in his heart because you deprived him of his rights and that is enough to make you ill.

No doubt the fear of the consequences of disappointing one's kinsmen does exist, but as the same informant added resignedly: 'Fear of dikgaba still fails to make all people honour their kin and some people still leave their relatives and make their friends their relatives.

Yet the fact that people make their friends their relatives' shows that the kinship structure has not been destroyed. Only when people no longer find it necessary to have a malome at all and will turn to their friends as friends for assistance at particular occasions one can speak of a fundamental structural change. The behaviour described above may spell the beginning of such a change, but as yet the relationship malome - setlogolo and the relations with the kindered remain of crucial significance for the average villager.

Notes:

1) See Schapera, I. - 1950. 'Kinship and marriage among the Tswana'. In Radcliffe Brown A.R. and D. Forde (eds.), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, pp. 140-165.
- 1957. 'Marriage of near kin among the Tswana', Africa XXVII, pp. 139-159.
- 1963. 'Agnatic marriage in Tswana royal families'. In Schapera, I. (ed.), Studies in Kinship and Marriage. London: Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper no. 16.

2) Kuper, A. - 1975 (a). 'The social structure of the Sotho-speaking peoples of Southern Africa', Africa 45, 1, pp. 68-81, 2, pp. 139-49.
- 1975 (b). 'Preferential marriage and polygyny among the Tswana'. in Fortes, M. and S. Patterson (eds.), Studies in African Social Anthropology. London: Academic Press. pp. 121-134.

3) Kuper, A. - (1975) (a), ibid., p. 76.

4) Kuper, A. - (1975) (a), ibid., p. 80.

5) Murray, C. - 1976. 'The redistribution of migrant earnings', African Studies 35, 2, pp. 99-120.

6) Schapera, I. - 1940. Married Life in an African Tribe. London: Farber and Farber, p. 62.

7) This custom is not found among the Kgatla and therefore has not been described by Schapera.

8) Schapera, I. - 1938. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, p. 141.

9) It could be that the symbolism of water does not refer to the woman (only) but (also) to the children she may produce. Junod mentions that among the BaRonga whose rituals surrounding sexuality, procreation and death, closely resemble those of the Tswana, a newly born child is egarded as being 'just water'.
Junod, H.A. - 1910. 'Les conceptions physiologiques des Bantous Sud-Africains et leur tabous', Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie, 1, p. 127.

10) Female, left and east are associated in Tswana symbolism, and masculine, right and west as well. I assume this symbolism finds its origin in the fact that the east is the direction in which the sun rises, i.e. the place of birth-life, while the west is the direction where the sun sets, i.e. darkness - death. The connection with woman as the lifegiving force and man as the lifetaking force (through hunting, warfare) is straightforward.

11) See for instance,
Junod, H.A. - 1910. ibid.

12) Unfortunately I did not ascertain whether those that had paid bogadi has also paid peko.

13) Kuper, A. - 1969. 'The kinship factor in Ngologa politics', Cah. Etud. Afr. 9, pp. 293-4.

14) ibid.

15) Kuper whose paper on Tswana kinship terminology is to appear shortly told me that the choice of this relative follows the reduction rules among the Kgatla, i.e. MMyZDS ⟶ MyZDS ⟶ MyZS ⟶ MyZ. Similarly the earlier mentioned choice of a rrakgadi follows the rule as well, i.e. MFZS ⟶ FZS ⟶ FZ.

16) Willoughby also mentions this custom:

> the great dread of slayer like that of the widow and widower is rumbling of the bowels; and as prophylactic against this calamity the magician takes the large bowel of an ox, inserts occult powders into the flesh attached to its lower extremity, ties both its ends and inflates it, and then strikes the slayer over the small of the back, on the sides and on the bowels with this inflated intestine.

Willoughby, W.C. - 1932. Nature Worship and Taboo. Hartford: Seminary Press, p. 175.

17) Kuper, A. - 1970. 'The Kgalagari and the jural consequences of marriage', Man, 5, 3, p. 479.

18) Ibid., p. 480.

19) Ibid.

20) Krige, E.J. and J.D. Krige - 1943. The Realm of a Rain-Queen. London: Oxford University Press, pp. 65-7.

21) According to the reduction rules of Kgatla kinship terminology,
MMZSS ⟶ MMSS ⟶ MBS ⟶ MB and MMB ⟶ MB
Personal communication by A. Kuper.

22) Schapera, I. - 1940. ibid, p. 309.

CHAPTER VI: ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

The Kaa like the other peoples of Botswana live in a very difficult environment and as a result their standard of living is generally low. This fact is at present probably the major influence on their lives and the social changes which have taken place have more often than not been dictated by economic considerations. The extent of rural poverty is apparent from the Rural Income Distribution Survey in Botswana 1974/5 which indicated that the median income was R630 per household per year, but that the poorest 20% of t rural households had incomes of less than R325 per annum (1). About 45% of households had incomes below the rural poverty datum line and the poorest 10% were very poor indeed. However, it must be borne in mind that the situation is worse than is suggested by these figures since the year 1974/5 was exceptionnally good for agriculture as an excellant rainfall fell (700 to 1000 millimetres as against the average 457 mm). Usually and certainly in the years that I visited Bokaa the picture is much bleaker. The experience of hunger is not at all unusual (especially in the months before the harvest) and malnutrition is widespread.

What makes the matter worse is that the gap between rich and poor appears to be growing. Much attention has been paid to the large differences in the income level of the urban and the rural population, but great disparities in income and wealth exist in the rural areas as well. Furthermore it appears that the traditional forms of 'sharing' have either disappeared or have been weakened (see ch. VII). In such a society living on and over the brink of dire poverty, the economic side of life counts heavily. The attention of the people themselves is virtually totally focused on the acquisition of money, cattle or jobs. This has had of course far-reaching social consequences. I considered therefore that a study of social change could not ignore the economic features of the village. Basic data on the distribution of wealth and the sources of income were essential as a background to the social phenomena which were observed.

I distributed a questionnaire on economic organisation among

124 households in 1971. These households represented a sample of four wards (Kgosing, Mashabane, Basimane, Maalatswana). Full wards were interviewed because I was interested in assessing the economic relations of wardmembers to each other. As no differences were found for these four wards, which together constitute more than half the population of the village, it is safe to assume that this sample is representative of the village as a whole.

Of the 124 households 35 (28.2%) were headed by women and in a further 25 (20.1%) the male heads were absent. Thus nearly half the households were managed by women. That this had a considerable effect on the economic enterprises of such households stands to reason. 48 householdheads (38.7%) were 'old', i.e. over 55 years of age (this was only roughly assessed by asking their regimental name) and only 8 householdheads (6.5%) were under 35 years of age. The total number of living children born per household was 669 which makes an average of 5.4 children per household. Of this number 385 (55.8%) were 'adult', i.e. above 18 years of age, and 116 or 30.1% of these adult children lived with their parents. In total there were 294 adults (including old people) present during the agricultural year to manage the economic resources of these 124 households. This is not much, especially since several of these people were aged. As these figures suggest, the shortage of labour is a serious problem; it will be further discussed in due course (see page 195).

The environment

Most of Botswana lies in the south-west arid zone of Africa, and only the eastern and northern fringes extend into the drier parts of the Southern Savannah Zone (2). Bokaa lies in the eastern fringe of the country where the vegatation consists of tree savannah, but though the soil of its environment may be of better quality than the Kalahari sands, they remain poor. However, more significant than the sandy soil is the low rainfall. I quote an expert:

> Botswana has an average rainfall of 457 mm (18 inches) ranging from 254 mm (10 inches) in the southwest to over 711 mm (28 inches) in a small portion of the north-east. The rains generally commence in October and end in April, over 90% of the rainfall occurs during this five month summer period November, March with an average of

> only 51 days per annum. Marked fluctuations in both the monthly distributions and total seasonal rainfall are experienced throughout the main arable areas and an analysis of the rainfall data from a number of recording stations in eastern Botswana indicates that in three years of four rainfall equal to or greater than 330 mm (13 inches) can be expected. Conversely rainfall below 330 mm can be expected one year in four (3).

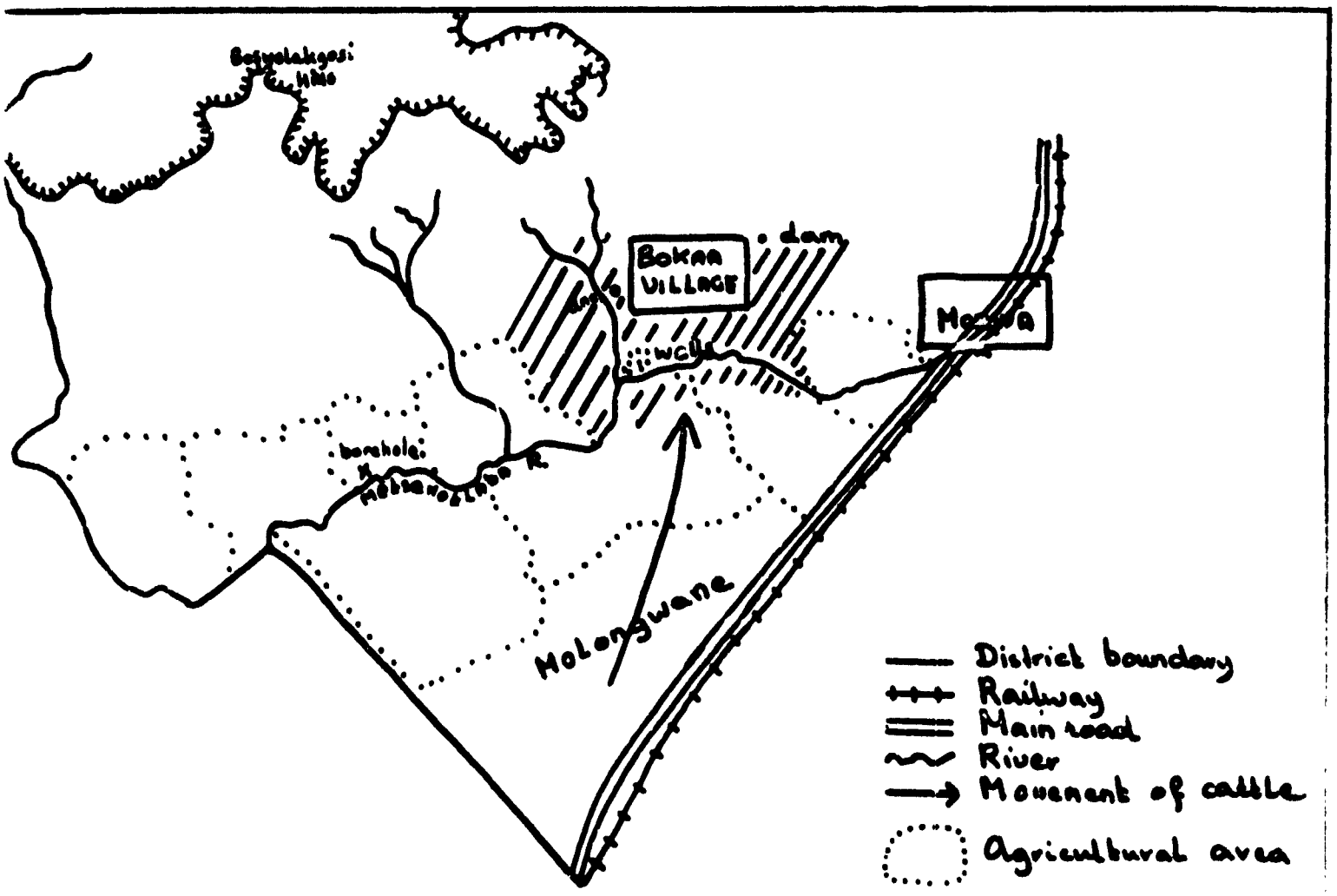
The low rainfall and the lack of surface water is one of the severest problems which beset the villager in his economic activities. Bokaa has a few water sources which should supply water for man and cattle but for their crops they depend totally on the rain. As was remarked in the quote above it is reasonable to expect a drought once in every four years, but the years 1962-70 were far more disastrous than this. Several drought years occurred in succession, while the year 1965/6 was catastrophic with a total crop failure and the loss of 30% of the national herd. My estimate is that in Bokaa 50% of the cattle population died (see Appendix). The population was dependent on food handouts by international organisations in order to remain alive. These food handouts were only ended in 1971.

There is yet another problem which threatens the livelihood of the villagers. All experts agree that the ecological balance of Botswana's environment is a very delicate one. Though in its natural state its grasses provide very good pasture for cattle (this is so even in the Kalahari) it can easily be destroyed by man and his domestic animals and become a barren desert covered only by thornbushes. The area of Bokaa which is in the most densely settled part of Botswana (80% of the population of Botswana lives in the eastern fringe) already exhibits the signs which forespell doom in the future unless responsible range management is soon introduced. Much of this ecological problem is again interrelated with the shortage of water. The movement of the cattle is severely restricted by the lack of watersupplies and shortage of labour and thus the herds will tend to be concentrated in a few areas with disastrous consequences for the vegetation. The man-made water supplies, on which man and his domestic animals are dependent in the dry season, in and around Bokaa consist of two boreholes in the village (which regularly break down), two dams next to the village (which dry up for 2-3 months at the end of the dry season), the wells at one and a half mile distance from the village, and a borehole which was opened in 1972 five miles from the village. The high concentration

of watersupplies around the village is both impractical since most farmers live far from the village and dangerous from an environmental viewpoint. Though in summer the farmers derive the watersupply for their herds mainly from the natural pools along the river, in winter their cattle are totally dependent on the dams and wells (some since 1972 use the new borehole at the lands but for many the fees are too high). The obvious consequence is that cattle will tend to graze around these watersupplies and only move further out when the grazing there is depleted. Overgrazing around the village and the wells has promoted the encroachment of thorny shrubs. The most palatable grasses are the ones to disappear first so that there is deterioration of grazing as well as less of it. Especially around the wells which have been in use since ± 1898 (while the dams date from the sixties) a large area covered with a ticket of thornbushes is found. In recent years with the rapid growth of the cattle and human population the destructive process has been considerably accelerated (4). It is clear that as long as no boreholes are being drilled in the remoter parts of the area the destruction of the environment near the village must take on ever greater dimensions. This again contributes to a deterioration of the condition of the cattle. They become lean and weak as a result of the large distances which they have to travel between their grazing area and water supply and their fertility declines. Ideally cattle should not walk more than three miles a day and should be watered daily, but this requirement is obviously impossible to fulfill. In practice most cattle are watered once every two or three days in the dry season and they have to travel very large distances to arrive at their water supply. The situation has been aggrevated by the fact that the natural pools next to the Metsemotlaba river dry up at a much earlier time of the year than in the past. The larger number of cattle which drink from these pools is one obvious reason why they presently dry up around May, but another reason is that overgrazing has led to soil erosion. This has caused the apertures into the main river to widen and thus more water flows out. The establishment of more boreholes may provide a temporary solution but unless a rational system of rotational grazing accompanies it, the area around the boreholes will suffer the same fate as that around the wells. Ultimately the liveli-

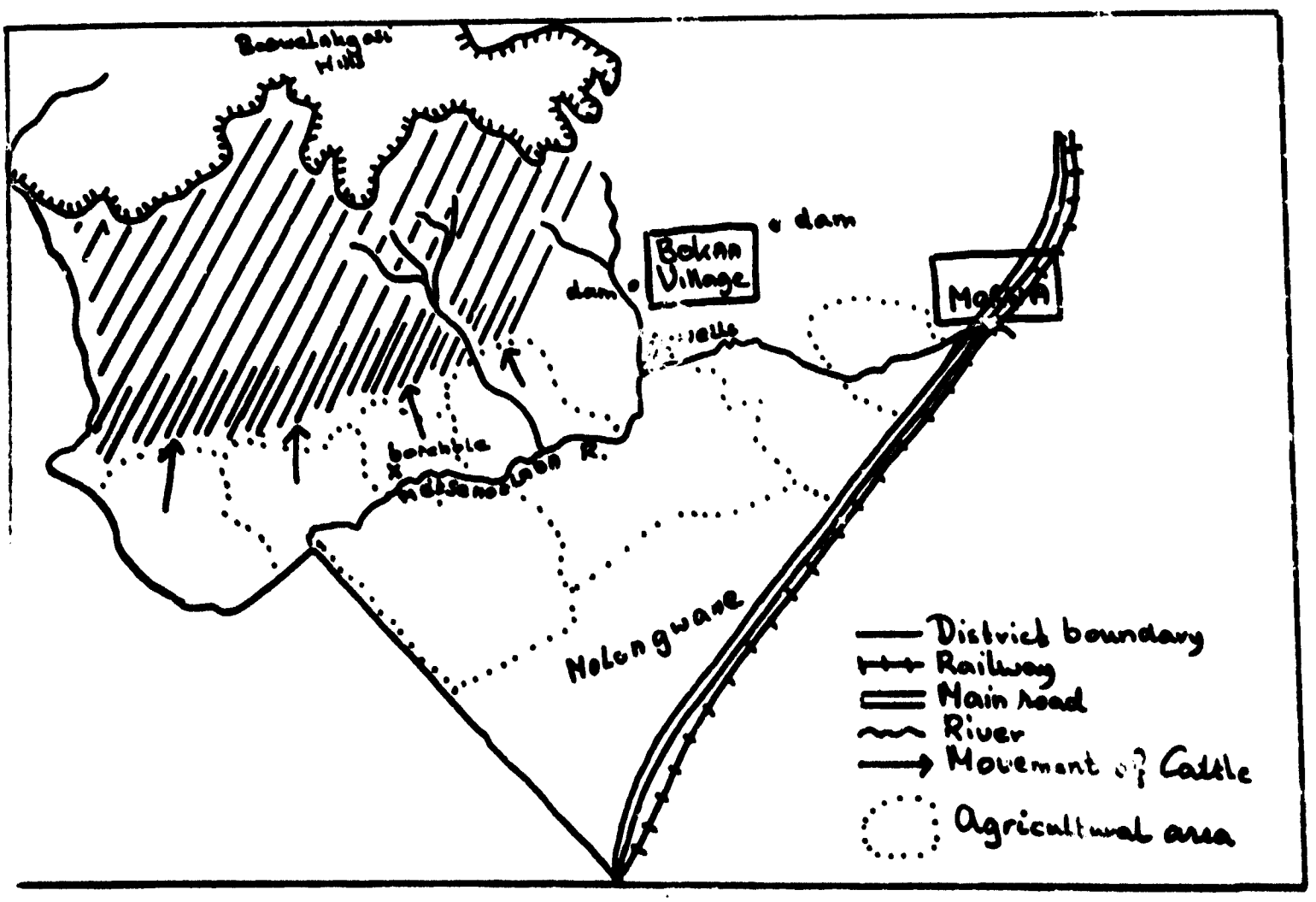
hood of all farmers in the area may be endangered.

Social factors also play a role in the destruction of the environment. Since there is a shortage of herdboys and since kin no longer cooperate in herding, the cattle have been taken to the agricultural areas which in turn has led to overgrazing since all the cattle of a farming area will tend to be concentrated in the grazing land that is closest by. Molongwane, the agricultural area which presents the greatest problem to the cattle owner can serve as an example.



Map VI. Movement of cattle from Molongwane.

In the course of the agricult ..ar the cattle of Molongwane will first graze in the patches of ..sh which are still found among the many fields. But these will soon be depleted and the cattle will be moved to a belt near the river which consists of former fields which are no longer in use and have reverted to bush. The cattle have to travel a considerable distance to arrive there. In summer there will be water in pools alongside the river but later in the year the cattle will have to go to the dams next to the village or to the wells.



Map VII. Movement of cattle from Tlwane, Dibshetshwana, Thoredi, Setshego.

In this strip next to the river not only the cattle from Molongwane graze but also those from three other agricultural areas. It is clear that much too many cattle are kept on this small area of land. Had there been a sufficient supply of herdboys it would have been possible to keep the cattle on the relatively unused area on the other side of the village by establishing cattleposts there but since there is a shortage of herdboys this is not possible in practice.

Similarly the people who have their fields at the other side of the Metsemotlaba river also graze their cattle in a restricted area.

First the cattle will be moved to the belt next to the fields and graze there. As the season progresses they will have to go further out, but of course by that stage the area next to the fields will have been damaged already. It is well recognized that the pasture in the hills is of much better quality, but the distance which the cattle will have to travel to water and the herdsman to them (he will not remain with them since he has agricultural tasks to tend to as well) restrains people from keeping their cattle there. One of the very few men who had a permanent cattlepost at the hills was able to do so because he had hired a herdboy and because he had dug a small dam to water calves so that they did not need to go to the wells. When his herdboy left him he was forced to move all the cattle near the river.

The breakdown of the separation of cattleposts and fields has thus had serious consequences. In the past the cattleposts were situated in a belt beyond the fields and there was a regulation of the movements of cattle by the chief. After the harvest he gave permission for the cattle to be kept in the agricultural areas so that they could eat the stubble on the fields. But, once ploughing had ended it was prohibited to keep one's cattle near the fields. The aim was to prevent cattle from entering the fields and eating the young seedlings but at the same time this practice of moving the cattle far out to separate cattleposts was also more favourable for the environment. The Kaa could move their cattle anywhere they wanted in the area which had been allotted to them by the Kgatla chief and if they wished they could move them to other parts of the district as well. In practice this hardly happened because people were forced to keep their cattle near a permanent watersource, i.e. their wells and because they needed to keep their cattle relatively close at hand. It would be difficult to feed and supervise the herdboys if the cattlepost was too far and in any case the owner would want to

use the animals for various purposes, i.e. as a dairy herd and as draughtpower. Only the rich people, who had hereditary servants or who could hire a herdsman to live at the cattlepost, could afford to keep their cattle at a large distance from the village. But even so they would keep sufficient cattle for their immediate use near the village. In my opinion Sansom overstresses his case that the Tswana tended to spread their subsistence activities over the total tribal area in order to use the different types of soil to best advantage and as a device for spreading risk (5). He includes a map of the Kgatla district around 1930 to indicate the separation of grazing and arable areas (6). Today the distribution of these areas is not significantly different. The relatively highly populated agricultural areas are still found in the south of the district, while the northern two-thirds of the district remains a cattle area. Yet it gives a completely wrong impression to suggest that the tribesman is free to choose where he will move his cattle as there are no restrictions on the movement of cattle within the tribal area. The northern part may have been preserved for grazing but few farmers can in actual fact make use of that area. There are virtually no water-sources there and without surface water the poor farmers cannot make use of the land. Only the wealthier farmers who can afford to drill bore-holes can keep their cattle there. Though groups of men combine to form a 'syndicate' which finances and manages a borehole, this is still a far too expensive undertaking for the majority of the population. The land may belong to the tribe but the borehole does not and therefore the boreholeowner has the advantage of keeping his cattle in relatively open country, while in the overcrowded areas of the south the vast majority of the population lives with their cattle. As a result a draught will hit the poorer majority much harder. Thus while Sansom's argument is valid for the rich part of the population, the distinction between rich and poor should have been more clearly drawn.

Yet the poor man is aware that theoretically at least he can move his cattle as he wishes within the tribal area. In times of severe drought he may in fact do so. Borehole owners may allow anothers cattle to drink from their water at a heavy fee, and some areas may be less badly hit by the drought than others. Moreover, people are well aware that there is no more space for agricultural expansion around Bokaa and that in the future their young people will have to move elsewhere to

farm. They think that this will be in the present cattle areas in the north of the district. Though they do not in practice benefit much from their right to exploit the total tribal area, they do gain a sense of security from the knowledge that this right may come to their aid in difficult times. Consequenly many men are opposed to any suggestion of fencing the land. They fear that the rich will claim large tracts of land for themselves so that they, the poor, will no longer have access to that land when they need to move either their cattle or fields. The events in South Africa where the black population has been driven into overcrowded small reserves while the white farmers have large ranches nearby, have imprinted themselves on their minds.

Yet the fencing of the land in order to enable rotational grazing is essential if the environment is to be preserved for the future. The extension services for many years have made propaganda for fencing, without this having had much success. Then in 1975 the Government introduced the Tribal Grazing Land Programme which should be implemented in the 1980's. The National Development Plan of 1976-8 states:

> The basic purpose of this programme is to alter the traditional forms of land tenure so that improved conservation and production methods can be applied and to provide farmers with incentives to preserve the land for future generations. This will be achieved by allowing leasehold ranching in limited commercial areas and by encouraging group and co-operative grazing schemes in communal areas. The introduction of leases will serve as an encouragement to improved management and husbandry practices. Regulations will be included in the leases to limit the cattle numbers to land carrying capacity. The formation of group ranches will enable smaller livestock owners to utilize improved management practices and to reserve grazing for the dry season (7).

It is clear that this programme in addition to promoting the conservation of the soil will bring about dramatic changes in the rural economy. Whether these changes will be beneficial or detrimental to the small farmer remains to be seen, but it is certain that many measures will meet with opposition from their side. For instance, they will not like the idea of forming co-operative groups. And one of the major problems one can foresee is the necessity of keeping the cattle numbers

down in accordance with the land carrying capacity. This means they will have to sell the old and non-productive animals. To understand the values of the tribal people in this respect the role of cattle in the tribal economy should be examined more closely.

Cattle

'Cattle are the life of the people' say the Tswana. Interpreted literally this statement is incorrect. One third of the households in my sample of 124 possessed no cattle, while few of the remainder had enough cattle to be able to survive on them alone. It has been estimated that only the households which have more than fifty cattle can earn a good income from their sale without diminishing their herd, but this ideal situation was in 1971 enjoyed by no more than 3 households in the sample. But cattle certainly are the 'life of the people', if we take the aspirations of the people into account, and the emotions which are invested in these animals. I find little reason to accept Sansom's statement that cattle are relatively less significant among the Tswana than among the Nguni (8). It is each Tswana man's ultimate goal to acquire as large a herd as possible and most of his efforts are directed towards this end. However, those aspirations are not directed first and foremost towards cattle as a source of income in the form of money. Even though the sale of cattle is at present a major source of income for rural households, it is the frustation of extension officers that the concept of quality rather than quantity is only slowly gaining ground. Each farmer views an increase in the size of his herd as extremely desirable yet does not readily convert all his surplus animals into the money with which he could obtain a much higher standard of living. Basic foods, clothing, money for taxes and education of the children are obtained by the sale of one or two beasts per annum. Otherwise, the average cattle owner prefers to let his cattle multiply rather than to raise his standard of living significantly. Linked to this fact is the apparent contradiction that a relatively rich cattleowner is highly respected, yet does not appear to have a basically different lifestyle from the poorer sections of the community. The late chief Rraditladi was the largest cattleowner of the village but lived in a mud hut and did not 'waste' his resources

on displays of wealth. Yet he could say to me: 'If I had no cattle and my brother was a rich man, the people would regard him as the chief'. This statement is probably related to the fact that in the past he (and some wardheads as well) did use their cattle wealth to secure the allegiance of some men by contributing to their bridewealth or by giving them cattle in loan (the mafisa system, see page 184), and also gave feasts for the whole village. Today, however, they no longer do so. Not long ago two mafisa receivers of the chief returned their mafisa cattle because they felt that the obligations imposed upon them were too heavy. There is only one man at present who follows this strategy with great success. The head of Mogadingwana ward is reported to be extremely rich and is one of the most influential men in the village, even though he lives and works as a storekeeper in Artesia, a village in the northern part of Kgatleng district. Though he does not visit the village frequently he maintains contact and influence by use of his wealth, his status and his intelligent support of both tradition and modern development. Many men have become his clients since they have his mafisa cattle and the village in general respects and likes him because he tends to mark his visits to the village with a feast at which meat and beer are provided. But this man is exceptional in the village so one cannot pin the value attached to cattle on their political use alone.

Anthropologists have stressed that cattle have other than economic value and that the prestige attached to them is imbued with mystical and ritual values. There is undoubtedly some truth in this but it is hardly relevant for the present times. For the past century cattle have primarily been of utilitarian value, economic as well as otherwise and it is precisely these values which primarily prevent the majority of the people from regarding cattle simply as assets to be converted into money. In my view, then, cattle are primarily an economic good, though they are not primarily direct sources of income. Schneider has distinguished three roles which cattle play in Turu economics (9), i.e. real capital, money and consumption goods. Similarly among the Tswana the primary economic functions of cattle are as capital, as a source of draught-power and as a mode of exchange and payment.

Return on cattle is predominantly found in milk. Manure was never used traditionally and at present even the thirty pupil farmers hardly

made use of it. Since the fields are large it is impossible to apply manure to the whole of one's field. Attempts to spread a little manure over a large field obviously met with no success and thereby discouraged many from making the attempt again. Yet several people do realise its value and are restrained only by the heavy demand on labour. A solution has been found by a local doctor, who told me proudly of his medicine to 'cure old fields', consisting of a little cowdung mixed with water and herbs to be sprinkled over the field. Milk, on the other hand, is widely valued as an important supplement to the diet. It is customary to separate calves from their mothers and reserve most of the milk for human consumption. The milk is made into madila, a thick sour milk with cottage cheese-like consistency which can be sold in the village as well as in Gaborone or nearby villages. It may be true that cattle give a more profuse supply of milk in the Eastern Zone of Southern Africa as Samson has stated, but in making a case for distinct differences between the Nguni and the Sotho economy he understresses the value of milk for the latter (10). In the past it was not only herdboys who lived at cattleposts but also the children (girls included) of the owners were sent to live there in order to drink the milk. It was much emphasized that milk was very beneficial for the health of children, but also for adults. Today as in the past women whose husbands co-operate in the herding of cattle tend to quarrel frequently about the distribution of milk. And one of the reasons why people do not like to have their cattleposts too far removed from the village is that they will not be able to drink milk regularly.

Cattle can provide an additional source of income by enabling a man to plough for farmers who have no draught power. A standard rate of 1 rand per 'acre' is asked. A 'Tswana acre' is measured by twelve paces in the length of the field against the full width. Obviously such an 'acre' will differ greatly from one field to another but this is not taken into account in the amount of money asked.

The most important function of cattle for the smaller cattle-owner is undoubtedly their draughtpower. Since the plough is used by all, cattle are an essential requirement for the cultivation of fields. Those who have no or not enough draught animals must borrow

or hire some. They are however severly handicapped by the fact that tney will have to wait until the person they borrow from has completed the ploughing of his own field (see page 231). Since rains are scarce and the fields large this means that they will start ploughing much too late to hope for a reasonable harvest and usually will not even meet subsistence requirements. As the rain falls only for a few months and then is paced in heavy showers, it is essential to plough during the first rains so that the crops can benefit from the maximum of rain. It follows that those who are poor in cattle are also the poorest in crops. Every man thus needs a span of six cattle for ploughing. Though ideally only oxen should be used, the Kaa do not prohibit the use of cows, although it is recognised that this is harmful to the health and fertility of these animals.

Cattle are also used to pull sledges on which firewood, crops and most importantly water can be transported. When living at their farms, most people are many miles from the nearest watersupply. Water is usually fetched in drums on sledges pulled by cattle, but those that have no cattle have to make a daily walk with buckets on their heads. Today donkey-carts are also used for the transport of water and donkey-cart owners earn money by selling drums of water to people without cattle.

Cattle can also have a similar function to money. Traditionally they served as means and standards of exchange and paid for services rendered. They used to be exchanged for sorghum and in 1971 several people with a large harvest of sorghum preferred to exchange their crops for cattle rather than selling it to the abattoir. The chief who until 1968 could make use of tribal labour in the cultivation of his fields acquired a large number of cattle in this way. I was told that in the past if severe droughts brought famine upon a village large expeditions were made to territories where rainfall had been better in order to exchange cattle for sorghum. In 1971/2 the standard price was four bags for a heifer and six for a cow. At that time a bag of corn cost R6 at a trading store and a small cow ± R36 at the abattoir so that the exchange was patterned on the wider market. But of course a man selling his sorghum to a storekeeper would not be given a price of R6, so that he could only benefit.

A cow could also be exchanged for a plough and for a field. 8% of my sample had bought a field in this manner. Cattle functioned as the 'big notes' in a system of exchange. They were also used to pay courtfines, witchdoctor fees and the yearly payment of a herd-boy.

Then there are of course the important social transactions and payments for which cattle are used, and the slaughter of these animals at ritual occasions. Though the brideprice is increasingly paid with money, it are still only a minority of cases in which this happens (see page 144). But marebana, the damages paid for impregnating a girl, which should cost a man four cattle,is usually paid in money. It is to the advantage of the men to do so, since in this transaction a cow is valued at R20, which is far below the market value. At marriage, burials, mogoga and the occasional ancestral rite cattle are slaughtered and eaten by the whole village. Otherwise slaughter does not take place very often, since it is obviously wasteful to kill a beast and eat vast quantities of meat in a short space in time (there are no refrigeration facilities in the village).

It is important to acquire as many cattle as possible for all these various uses listed, but of course it is also necessary to provide an inheritance for one's sons. At least one span of cattle is required for agriculture and few fathers would like to see their sons reduced to the vicious circle of poverty. In fact a man may not even have the right to sell a large proportion of his herd. According to the custom of tshwaisa a cow is assigned to each child (including girls at present). Though this cow and its offspring remain under the control of the father until he dies or formally transfers them to his child, he should guard these animals on behalf of this child so that they may multiply and form the core of the latters future herd. If he needs to sell one of these animals he should notify the part-owner and replace that animal with another one. Furthermore many men also manage the cattle of their wives, sisters, younger brothers etc. and thus do not have the right to sell these for their own benefit either.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the above is that for the vast majority of the population cattle are not just 'prestige objects needed for social purposes' as government officials have

often asserted. The solid purpose if not of having directly increasing consumption is at least of having the assurance that should hardships or social emergencies befall the owner, he will be able to cope without being reduced to poverty. This partly explains the acquisition of as many cattle as possible. To the average farmer a large number of cattle seems to be the only way to survive a severe drought. In their view a man with few cattle is more likely to lose all or be left with too few for his purposes. It was often said of men who were now poor but once had been rich that they had wasted their cattle on luxuries. The other factor of significance is that for all the uses of cattle within the traditional economy the quality of the cattle does not count. It is thus not surprising that quantity rather than quality is preferred.

These reasons are of course primarily relevant for those cattleowners who do not have a large herd. For the very wealthy cattleowners (by village standards these are the men who own more than fifty head) there was another very important reason, i.e. their fear of witchcraft. A man who has many cattle is surrounded by jealous relatives and neighbours and he genuinely fears for his life should they be confronted too openly with his wealth. Rather than display their wealth by investing in prestigeous housing or luxury objects rich men will tend to hide their wealth by giving their cattle as <u>mafisa</u> (see pp. 184-186) to a poorer man. One relatively rich cattleowner who was asked in my presence why he did not have a 'nice European house' indignantly said that 'he wanted to live long'. Only when the social contracts with relatives and neighbours have deteriorated to the extent that there are no longer expectations and disappointments on the side of the poorer ones, can a cattleowner afford to enjoy his wealth publicly by investing in prestigeous objects and luxuries. Alternatively he may display his wealth while at the same time investing heavily in social relations so that he can rely upon a considerable store of goodwill.

But of course for the majority of men the above discussion is irrelevant. For them there is no choice between a large herd of poor quality or a small herd of good quality animals. To them the only reality is a small herd of poor quality animals. When one has less

than 15 animals with which one has to plough, transport water, obtain milk etc., it is obviously not relevant to talk about improving their condition so that they can be sold. Such a farmer will only sell when forced to do so by urgent needs. His main aim is to increase the herd so that he will at least be assured of a span to plough with after a drought.

Inequality of cattle ownership is one of the major problems which hinders rural development. Those people who have no cattle are not only deprived of a very important source of income but they will also have poorer crops (see page 192). And they have no chance of benefiting from the extension services offered by the government. Additionally they are not likely to be able to educate their children or even to supply them with much needed protein. Table XII shows the distribution of cattle ownership in the 124 households of my sample. For 14 households the number of cattle could not be obtained and these households have been excluded from the table. They were largely households headed by a woman or by an absent male, who had given their cattle to another farmer to look after.

Table XII. Cattle ownership of 110 households in 1971 (11).

no. of cattle	no. of households	%
0	39	35.5
1-4	9	8.2
5-14	38	35
5-24	10	9.1
25-49	10	9.1
50-100	4	3.6
Total	110	100

It is clear that at least 44% of these households were not at all able to provide for their basic needs with their cattle and that 78.7% had less than 15 animals. This confirms that the vast majority of people are dependent on sources of income other than cattle for their livelihood.

The hardship caused by this poverty in cattle can to some extent be alleviated by co-operation and the cattle loaning system of mafisa. Co-operation as it existed in the past when brothers would pool their resources has largely been replaced by other forms of co-operation between unrelated farmers, i.e. by borrowing cattle for ploughing or by hiring a span of oxen from a wealthier farmer. Thus 20% of those households that ploughed in my sample had borrowed cattle from others, 18.3% had to hire a span, 5.2% hired a tractor and 56.5% used their own cattle.

Mafisa is a special kind of contract whereby a man places some or all of his cattle under someone else's care (12). Today two different types of mafisa can be distinguished. The one type has always been customary in Tswana culture. The herdsman is given the cattle to use and look after as if they were his own, but he may not sell them or slaughter them for his own benefit. He can keep the milk for himself, plough for himself and others and if he makes money with them in any other way than by selling or slaughter it is his to keep. Should he die, his heir can inherit the rights to look after these cattle unless the owner has a reason to distrust him. All management decisions are left to the herdsman, but should he be negligent and the cattle were to die he can be taken to court. The full use of the cattle are considered to be a sufficient reward for his labours and although he may occasionally be presented with a cow, this is certainly not a regular occurrence. Since the early 1940's when a cattle tax was imposed, the herdsman is expected to pay this tax himself. The reasons why a cattleowner will decide to give mafisa can be any of the following: his herd may have become too large for him to manage efficiently himself or he may want to disguise the full extent of his riches so as not to incur the envy and possibly witchcraft from his less fortunate neighbours. It may also be a convenient way to escape the taxes for a large herd. He may also want to spread the risk of all his cattle dying at the same time through drought or disease. This latter reason is only found among very wealthy cattleowners. A few men in Bokaa have mafisa from owners in Mochudi and Oodi (a village in the district) but no one from Bokaa itself has given mafisa to men outside the village area. As mentioned earlier mafisa can be given to secure the loyal support of a few

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important men. Thus, Chief Rraditladi gave mafisa to a few men in the political hierarcy. Another very important reason for people to give their cattle as mafisa to someone else, is to hide the animals from their relatives who might rightfully have a claim to them. I knew of a case where a man had mafisa out his dead brothers cattle so that the latters sons would not know about them. Another example was a woman who had been widowed and subsequently had had children by another man. Because all the cattle were to be inherited by the son of her late husband, she gave a considerable number away as mafisa in the hope of hiding them for her youngest children. Though her eldest son suspected her, he could not prove anything and despite many severe quarrels she succeeded in her aim.

The form of mafisa which I have named temporary mafisa is a much more recent phenomenon. It often results from the fact that the owner is unable to either look after the cattle himself or to find a herdboy among his relatives. It is mainly female cattle owners, migrant labourers and old men who loan their cattle in this manner. A much closer control is kept over the management of the herds, the herdsman has to follow the instructions of the owner and cannot use the cattle to make money for himself. He frequently is expected to plough for the owner and to bring some of the milk. His reward is the use of the cattle for his own ploughing and a beast once every two or three years. The owner pays the taxes himself. This type of mafisa combines thus some of the advantages of hiring a herdsman with that of giving mafisa. To hire a herdsman who would live at one's own cattlepost would require the payment of one beast per annum so that it is cheaper to give the cattle to a man who does use them for his own purposes as well as providing for the owners, while the control over the herd is not relinguisehd either. Mafisa of this nature is likely to be reclaimed much sooner.

While mafisa does alleviate poverty it does not bridge the gap between the have's and have-not's to the extent that might be expected. In fact most cattleowners prefer to give their cattle to a man who already possesses cattle of his own. The reason for this probably is that such a man will look better after the cattle because his own will be included in the herd. In total 25 of the 124 households had received mafisa. The following table shows the distribution of cattle ownership (i.e. their own cattle) among these mafisa receivers.

Table XIII. Distribution of households which had received mafisa cattle according to number of cattle owned.

no. of cattle	no. of households	% of households
0	4	16
1-4	4	16
5-4	13	52
15-24	3	12
50-100	1	4
Total	25	100

It is clear that the majority of the mafisa receivers were men who already owned cattle themselves and thus that mafisa does not really benefit the poorest section of the community (13).

Small stock

In addition to cattle people keep goats, sheep, pigs, poultry, and a few donkeys. By far the most significant of these animals is the goat. Generally people prefer goats to sheep because sheep do not multiply as rapidly and are more fastidious eaters.

Table XIV. The distribution of the ownership of goats and sheep.

no. of goats and sheep	no. of households	%
0	16	12.9
1-4	52	41.9
15-49	35	28.2
50-99	10	8.1
100-149	1	0.8
?	10	8.1
Total	124	100

There are much fewer households without small stock than without cattle. Many households depend on the sale of goats or sheep to meet cash requirements. They can be sold to a trader who comes

once a week to the village, or they are slaughterd and the meat sold in the village. It is also a common enterprise to give feasts at which beer and cooked goatmeat are sold. By selling the meat in the village one can get a higher price than by selling a beast to the trader, but one runs the risk that there will not be sufficient buyers. Small stock also provide milk and are slaugthered and eaten by the household itself much more frequently than cattle are. Many social occasions, eg. engagements, peko, the birth of children, require the slaugther of a goat, while a poor household will provide sheep and goats instead of cattle at weddings and burials.

If cattle are the 'big notes' in a system of exchange, goats are the 'small notes'. Corn can also be exchanged for goats and payment for services can also be made with goats. Goats can also be converted into cattle, although not many cattleowners will be prepared to engage in such a transaction. The relative value of goats has risen. Before 1940 the rate was eight goats to a heifer while one also had to be ritually killed. It was believed that if one goat was not killed at such a transaction the other goats which were exchanged would die. This custom was called bosela. After World War II the rate was seven goats and one bosela for a heifer, while today it is six goats for a heifer while the custom of bosela has disappeared. The reason for the relatively higher value of goats must be sought in the fact that goats survived the drought of 1965/66 much better than cattle did and people therefore began to consider them a safer form of investment.

Sheep but not goats are to some extent used in social transactions such as engagements and weddings.

31 households had pigs. Of those only two households had two pigs, the rest only one. The main purpose of keeping pigs is not for the meat but for the fat from which soap is made. In the past this was a lucrative business, since one handlength of soap fetched 50 cents, but today it is cheaper to buy soap from the store and households make soap only for their private use.

Donkeys have only recently been introduced and not many people realise their value as yet. They can also be used for ploughing and a few people have scotchcarts pulled by donkeys. Only twelve households kept donkeys.

Agriculture

If the majority of people cannot survive from their cattle alone it would appear that agriculture must be of major importance. Sansom also states: 'Logic and sparse observations combine to suggest that because they were more reliant on crops (because their cattle do not provide milk throughout the year), non-Nguni peoples (eg. Tswana) had to ensure a greater yield of grain per head to provide food' (14). Again this is only partly true. What ought to be and what is are two quite distinct matters. Almost all households did practise agriculture (92.7% of households had ploughed) and even more (96%) possessed a field, but this did not mean that they could support their subsistence needs by agriculture.

The 124 households together held 165 fields.

Table XV. Distribution of ownership of fields among 124 households.

no. of fields	no. of households	% of households
0	5	4.1
1	82	66.1
2	32	25.8
3	5	4
Total	124	100

These fields were mainly acquired and cleared by the owner himself.

Table XVI. Distribution of mode of acquirement of 165 fields by 124 households.

	no. of fields	%
cleared	118	71.5
inherited	33	20
bought	14	8.5
Total	165	100

It is customary for the youngest daughter or son to inherit the field of the parents. The small number of inherited fields must be attributed to the fact that the fields of the former generation have been deserted (see ch. III). When one buys a field with one cow, one is not paying for the land itself but for the labours of the former owner in clearing it. The land itself belongs to the tribe and therefore never can be sold. The majority of fields were acquired by filing an application to the chief via the overseer of the agricultural area in question. Today the application is made to the Land Board.

Of the 165 fields 90 were ploughed completely, 54 were only partially ploughed and 32 were not ploughed. 75% of those 32 fields that were not ploughed were second or third fields and the others belonged to old or absent people. It is thus clear that all households who were able to do so, cultivated at least one or part of one field. In the case of migrant labourers or men employed in the modern sector, it was their wives who were responsible for cultivation. Some of these women were assisted by a relatively substantial sum of money sent by their husband, but many had to manage as well as they could on their own, with only a little cash to buy seed and hire someone to plough for them.

The crops grown are sorghum, millet, beans and small quantities of maize, sweet reed, concurbits and watermelon. The staple is sorghum, supplemented by millet. It has been estimated that two 200 lb bags per person per year (of either sorghum or millet or both) are needed (15), but my own estimate is that in practice ± 1 bag is considered sufficient by the people themselves. Beans are the only crop which is primarily grown for sale as the market price is relatively high, i.e. R.8.50 per 200 lb bag. The widespread sale of this crop must be considered unfortunate from a nutritional viewpoint since it could provide a much needed source of protein.

The environment is not very suited for agriculture; poor soils, low and erratic rainfall combine to make agriculture a hazardous affair. Yet despite the limitations set by the environment, at least a subsistence level in agriculture could be expected. Most farmers, however, fall pitifully short of even that requirement. The agricultural year 1970-1 was a relatively good one, there had been more

rain that the preceding years but even so the figures I collected for crop production present a depressing picture. Of the 124 households 9 or 7.3% did not plough. They are the older absent household heads referred to above. The yields of the remaining 115 households are shown in table XVII.

Table XVII. Sorghum/millet production per 200 lb bag per household in 1971.

no. of bags	no. of households	%
35-39	1	.9
25-34	2	1.7
15-24	10	8.7
10-14	15	13
5-9	31	27.9
2-4	30	26.1
1 or less	26	22.6
Total	115	100

In the preceding year, i.e. 1969/70 there had been much less rain. 28 households or 22.6% had not ploughed and the reported yields of the others were very low indeed.

Table XVIII. Sorghum/millet production per 200 lb bag per household in 1970.

no. of bags	no. of households	%
35-39	0	-
25-34	0	-
15-24	2	2.1
10-14	10+	10.4
5-9	21	21.9
2-4	24	25
1 or less	39	40.6
Total	115	100

In 1970 65.6% of those that ploughed had less than 4 bags and in 1971 48.7%. Even if we assume 1 bag per person per year to be sufficient, those households certainly fell short of minimum subsistence requirements.

The major causes of this disquieting state of affairs are in my opinion:

a. poor agricultural techniques
b. exhaustion of the soil
c. inequality of cattle ownership
d. migrant labour

The first two factors are of course connected.

The Tswana have always been more interested in cattle than in agriculture and consequently their knowledge of agriculture is extremely poor. It was never recognised that soil would lose its fertility if the same crop was planted for too long, and most of the elderly people have cultivated the same field all their lives with the same crop, i.e. sorghum. While fields were deserted after they had been in use for some 30 to 40 years, this was not done because it was understood that the soil had lost its fertility (see ch. III). It is obviously more difficult to explain that fields should be left to lie fallow and/or that manure should be applied to people who lack even this basic knowledge. They tend to explain the success or failure of their crops in terms of climatological conditions and since they cannot influence those, they adopted a passive attitude. Their methods of planting are also completely wrong; after broadcasting the seed they simply plough over it, which wastes much seed but also prevents an even distribution of the seed. Weeding is not done until the crops have grown already and many people plough much too late. Though people clearly recognise that the ploughing should be done as soon as possible after the first rains, they are usually not able to do so. At the end of the dry season the cattle are weak and should gain strength before they can be made to pull the plough, and as emphasized earlier many people do not have enough cattle or labour to be able to plough immediately. The rains come in October-November, but the majority of people plough later.

Table XIX. Month of ploughing for 115 households 1970/71.

month of ploughing	no. of households	%
Nov.	24	20.9
Dec.	53	46.1
Jan.	34	29.6
Febr.	4	3.5
Total	115	100

If we now look at the relative results in crop production it will be clear that those that ploughed early obtained generally much better crops than those that ploughed late.

Table XX. Month of ploughing and crop production of 115 households.

no. of bags	% of households which ploughed in Nov.	% of households which ploughed in Dec.	% of households which ploughed in Jan.	% of households which ploughed in Febr.
35-9	0	1.9	0	0
25-34	4.2	1.9	0	0
15-24	16.7	11.3	0	0
10-14	25	11.3	8.8	0
5-9	25	34	20.6	0
2-4	16.7	26.4	44.4	50
1 or less	12.5	13.2	44.4	50
Total	100	100	100	100

It can be shown that those household which did not own enough cattle themselves and which were forced to hire or borrow a span from others generally ploughed late. Only 56.5% of the households used their own cattle for ploughing, 18.3% had to hire cattle, 20% borrowed cattle and 5.2% hired a tractor. It should be taken into account that the question in my questionnaire was framed with reference to cattle. There were certainly many more people who co-operated with others because they lacked either a plough or labour. Unfortunately I was not aware of these factors at the time I conducted the survey.

Table XXI. Time of ploughing for those households who hired or borrowed cattle for ploughing.

Time of ploughing	no. of households which hired a team	%	no. of households which cooperated/ borrowed cattle	%
Nov.	1	4.8	3	13.1
Dec.	6	18.2	7	30.1
Jan.	13	6.2	11	47.8
Feb.	1	4.8	2	8.7
Total	21	100	23	100

Migrant labour and the employment opportunities in town have drawn away the young people from the economic process in the village and this has had grave consequences for agriculture and animal husbandry. In particular agriculture has suffered. Cattle were traditionally the domain of the men and they continued to be considered both a profitable and emotionally rewarding enterprise by all male villagers while agriculture was traditionally the work of women and always a risky venture which frequently led to a total or partial crop failure. Though fields are larger than in the past and thus require much more participation of male labour, less and less young men are motivated to direct much of their energies towards such work. Their orientation is in the first place towards the modern sector and the result has been both a serious labour problem within the agricultural sector of village and a marked lack of enthusiasm for agricultural work among those young men who are (temporarily) resident in the village. Women, even those who have had education, are more motivated to practise agriculture but only because the employment opportunities for them are much more limited. They are confronted with the harsh reality of finding food for their (often illegitimate) children and have no other means than agriculture. But their work is hampered by the shortage of labour and the fields are not properly cared for.

The agricultural extension service

The Botswana Government has created extension services which operate on the basis of a promotion ladder for participating farmers. They can rise through the categories of pupil, improved and progressive farmer to master farmers. Agricultural demonstrators are stationed in the villages in order to teach farmers who join the pupil farmer scheme various modern techniques and methods of agriculture. It was hoped that the pupil farmers would transfer advice to their neighbours who eventually would be encouraged to join the scheme as well. Unfortunately this has not happened.

An agricultural demonstrator has been stationed in Bokaa since 1948. For all the efforts of this man and his successors there were 30 pupil farmers in Bokaa in 1971, and this figure compared favourably with Kgatleng district as a whole. Of the 4416 agricultural holdings in Kgatleng in 1972, 147 followed the instructions of agricultural demonstrators; there were 130 pupil farmers, 14 progressive farmers and 3 master farmers. This record is obviously far from satisfactory. Part of the failure must be attributed to the extension service itself and more particularly to the fact that there are not a sufficient number of demonstrators for such a large population. Consequently demonstrators tend to work only with scheme farmers and ignore the rest of the community. But there are also other more significant reasons for this relative failure. I was always struck by the fact that a great number of people expressed their appreciation of the fact that pupil farmers had better crops yet were not prepared to join the scheme themselves. I attributed this to the following reasons:

1. poverty

To be a succesful farmer one requires at least a span of cattle, a plough and sufficient labour, but preferably also the capital to buy various agricultural implements, such as a harrow, cultivator and fertilizer and an improved variety of seed. For the vast majority not even these essential requirements can be met. Only 28.7% of my sample had enough cattle, a plough and enough labour. Though the

National Development Bank finances loans for farm implements and other arable inputs such as fertilizers and ploughing oxen, it are again wealthier and the pupil farmers who benefit in practice. In order to minimize risks the Bank has reduced the number of farmers eligible for loans and relies on the agricultural extension officer to vet applications for loans.

2. labour shortage

This is probably the single most important reason. Most of the ablebodied men are away on migrant labour and so are many of the women. The total labour force of the 115 households was 370 people. It was specifically asked in the questionnaire which members of the household had contributed to the various tasks connected with agriculture and cultivation. Those that were absent or at school were not included, unless in the case of migrant labourers they had returned for the agricultural season or in the case of schoolchildren worked in the afternoon. In fact many migrant labourers were included in the figures because they had returned to the village in order to plough.

Table XXII. Distribution of total labour force per age category.

age category	no.	%
men 55 +	22	5.9
women 55 +	46	12.4
men 16-55	85	22.9
women 16-55	128	34.6
boys 10-15	41	11.2
girls 10-15	20	5.4
boys -10	18	4.9
girls -10	10	2.7
Total	370	100

But the true difficulties of labour shortage only become apparent when we look at table XXIII.

Table XXIII. Distribution of households without adult labour.

	no. of households	% of households
without men in age-group 16-55	53	46.1
without women in age-group 16-55	27	23.5
without men or women in age-group 16-55	17	14.8

The shortage of able-bodied men spells great difficulty for the traditional management of fields and cattle, but should the household wish to adopt modern farming techniques the strain would be much heavier. As it is, men have a much greater burden than in the past. Since the fields have become much larger after the adoption of the iron plough they ought to be actively involved in various agricultural tasks which previously were solely the responsibility of women. Today no strict division of labour in agriculture exists any longer. Men plough, weed, harvest and thresh as well as fencing fields (with thornbushes- this activity has to be repeated every year) and clearing new land. Relatively few children help them in these tasks and many men also have to look after their cattle themselves. To become a pupil farmer one is expected to do much additional hard work, i.e. ploughing twice instead of once a year (winter-ploughing conserves the moisture in the soil), applying manure or fertilizer, rowplanting, harrowing, careful weeding etc. Most households are simply not able or willing to make these extra efforts.

3. limited rewards

The rewards of adopting improved methods have not been substantial enough to convince people that it is worth the extra effort. Though the crops of pupil farmer households are much better than those of the average household, they still did not exceed subsistence standards in 1970/71. There were 16 pupil farmers in my sample, who obtained the following yields of sorghum/millet.

Table XXIV. Production of sorghum/millet for 16 pupil farmers.

no. of bags	no. of pupil farmers	%
1-4	1	6.3
5-9	5	31.2
10-14	4	25
25-34	2	12.5
Total	16	100

A problem lies in the fact that though as a group they have better yields than the average farmer, there are also many non-scheme farmers who have the same yields. Consequently people are not convinced of the essential value of the new methods. They do not take into account whether the pupil farmer has in fact followed all the instructions correctly (which many do not) nor the differences in the fertility of the soil.

In addition it has to be taken into account that the production of surplus sorghum is not very rewarding. The Rural Income Distribution Survey of 1974/75 writes:

> 'The Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board has had a major influence on prices paid to producers of crops. There is now only a small, cost covering difference between the Board's buying and selling prices, compared to the very big spread in previous years when traders would buy for R3 per bag in surplus years and sell for R13 per bag in drought years.
>
> However a fundamental problem remains. This is the low price paid to producers, currently around R5 per bag. It would appear that many subsistence farmers feel discouraged by this price, so they try to make sure that they only produce enough grain for their own immediate needs. The farmers do not want to produce a surplus for sale, because they feel that the sale price does not compensate them for the effort involved in producing the extra harvest' (16).

This quote overstresses the point somewhat; farmers will not deliberately try to limit their crops but rather will they not make the considerable effort required to produce much more.

4. traditional beliefs

Agriculture and livestock management are hedged in by various mystical notions which hinder the acceptance of modern methods. Though few people put manure on their fields virtually everyone uses medicine (motuso) procured from the traditional doctor or the

modern equivalent, water blessed by a 'prophet' of the African Independent Churches.

Table XXV. Distribution of the use of medicine, fertiliser and blessed water for 115 households.

	no. of households	%
motuso	75	65.2
water of prophet	27	23.5
fertilizer	1	0.9
nothing	12	10.4
Total	115	100

17 households had used some manure in combination with motuso and water of the prophet over the previous years. It is clear that much reliance is placed on mystical protective and growth promoting substances. Motuso and 'water of the prophet' serve the same purpose, i.e. the protection of crops against witchcraft and to 'strengthen' the crop. Besides the fact that it is expensive to procure this psychological reassurance (1 or 2 bags if the harvest has been succesful), it has the disadvantage (from the extension service's point of view) that it is easy to point to one man's success in agriculture as being the result of strong motuso rather than due to the methods he uses.

But it is also recognised that one's motuso does not always offer sufficient protection. Crops still fail and the explanation given is that someone is using evil medicine which is stronger than one's own motuso. Then another witchdoctor should be consulted or extra expenses incurred in procuring very 'strong' medicine etc. An example will illustrate the turn of mind of some people.

Case XXV. Alleged witchcraft by a pupil farmer.

> G., a pupil farmer, obtained 12 bags from his field while his neighbour M. only had 2 bags, despite the fact that they had ploughed at the same time. Relations between them had never been good and the neighbour started hinting darkly that he was being bewitched. Soon a story circulated that G. had buried a baby's head in M.'s field. Evil medicine of this nature

(i.e. of human origin) is regarded as being so strong that no motuso is able to fight of its evil. Several people then warned G. that M. was seeking revenge and was going to bewitch his field in return, but G. no longer believes in the bewitching of fields (he is one of the 12 who did not use anything on his field) and showed no concern, which was interpreted as further proof of the strength of his medicine. M. has now decided to clear another field several miles away.

In addition to witchcraft, failure of the crops can be attributed to contact with 'hot' people. Hotness implies a state of ritual impurity which is dangerous to other people, crops and cattle (see page 137). For instance, a menstruating woman is traditionally believed to have a disastrous influence on cattle, or if the medicine protecting the cattle is strong enough to fight off her impurity she herself will be affected and her menstruation will never cease. This is probably the reason why women were never allowed to enter the cattle-kraal in the past. Even more dangerous are widows and widowers and women who have miscarried or aborted. Should such a person walk over a field that is not her/his own, that field will be 'spoiled'. Not only will the crops fail that particular year but they will continue to fail until a strong enough medicine has been found to purify it again.

But the use of motuso itself has its dangers. Different witch-doctors give different medicines and the powers which are contained in these medicines should not be confronted with each other. The medicines will 'fight' each other and the stronger medicine will defeat the other and crop failure will result on that field. Crops should therefore never be taken from one field to another and children are warned that if they want to eat sweet-reed or water-melon they must do so in the field where it has grown. But of course the wind can blow leaves or stalks to another field and crop failure is believed to be the result. Similarly 'water of the prophet' and motuso can act against each other. One man gave as the reason for separating from his brother that the latter continued to use motuso for his cattle while he, the eldest, had decided to use 'water of the prophet'.

However, not every crop failure is attributed to mystical causes. If there has been no rain or if the person in question ploughed late, he realises well enough that those are the reasons. It is when he cannot attribute his misfortune to these causes that he will turn to explanations of a mystical nature. This agrees with

the fact that traditionally there was no recognition that the soil loses its fertility. While today knowledge of 'old' fields is generally admitted it is still not understood that fields lose their fertility as rapidly as they do. Deterioration of the soil is to them a vague notion which they do not take account of in their explanations of crop failure. As a result their efforts (and expenses) at 'healing' their fields ignore the methods advised by the extension services and they may only turn to those methods when they consider that their fields have been purified.

Migrant labour

For many households the income derived from the remittances of migrant labourers is equally or more important than the income derived from agriculture and animal husbandry. In Chapter III the history of migrant labour was outlined. After the discussion in the previous sections it is easy to see why migrant labour should be so widely prevalent. But at the same time the poverty of the traditional economy is to no small extent attributable to the general absence of ablebodied men. Migrant labour has been a mixed blessing as Schapera has shown so ably for the years during and shortly after the second World War (17). The negative consequences which he mentions appear to have grown in the years between 1947 and 1972, but at the same time the dependence on this cash income has also increased. Today more people send their children to school and all people require european clothing and various other goods which were considered luxuries not so long ago. All these usages require cash and as yet the migrant labour wages are a substantial and not infrequently the major source of cash income. Of my sample 74 households or 59.6% had received money from a migrant labourer in the year 1970/71. And of the 92 households with children above 18 years of age, 82 had at least one child away on migrant labour.

Unfortunately I did not have the figures for absenteeism among the village population as a whole, but by asking 6 wardheads to list the place of abode of all the adult members of their ward during the winter season of 1972 a rough indication of the rate of absenteeism and the places of employment could be obtained. The reason for the greater number of men mentioned than that of women must probably be sought in the defective memory of my informants.

Table XXVI. Residence of 475 adults in the year 1972 - months July-Nov.

	no.of men	% of men	no.of women	% of women	Total	%
Bokaa village	41	16.4	53	23.6	94	19.8
Bokaa lands	74	29.6	81	36	155	32.6
Other villages in Kgatleng district	15	6	9	4	24	5.1
Gaborone	25	10	48	21.3	73	15.4
South Africa	73	29.2	22	9.8	95	20
Selebe-Pikwe	10	4	7	3.1	17	3.6
Other centres in Botswana	12	4.8	5	2.2	17	3.6
Total	250	100	225	100	475	100

The majority of the men (i.e. 135 out of 250) or 54% are absent from the village and the majority of those that are absent go to South Africa. Should one consider only the men in the 18-40 age category this rate would be very much higher. The majority of the women on the other hand remained in the Bokaa area. The majority of those women who had left the village had gone to nearby Gaborone, probably in the hope of finding employment as a domestic servant or earning money by beerbrewing in the shanty town just outside Gaborone.

The Rural Income Distribution Survey 1974/5 shows that 'transfers', primarily from migrant mine workers, but also from employees in the urban areas of Botswana are the major source of income of the poorest 10% of their sample group. For the 15%-50% category these transfers were the third major source of income and for the 60%-95% category it was the fourth major source (18). These are national figures, so we may assume that in areas such as Bokaa which have a relatively high incidence of labour migration the average households income is to a much greater extent dependent on such transfers.

As a result of these factors young men have become much more independent than in the past. In the past a man depended for his livelihood on his father and the latters brothers until late in

his life. Boys lived at the cattlepost herding for their 'fathers' and when they had become grown men they continued to supervise the herding activities of their younger brothers while at the same time ploughing for their parents and for their own wife. Their house should be established next to their father's and their wife would help her mother-in-law in the daily tasks. As the father retained the rights over his herd until he died, a man had no opportunity to become independent until that time. The authority of the father was thus backed up by his control over the economic resources. Today this has changed dramatically. Not only do young men have an independent source of income but more often than not the father is dependent for part of his income upon his sons. This obviously has affected the father-son relationship profoundly and fathers frequently complain bitterly about the insolence of their children.

Yet, the rights of the parents to a share in the wages is not challenged. A household can benefit in three manners from the wages of mineworkers: remittances can be sent by mail; clothing and household goods can be bought in South Africa and brought back to the village; and savings are accumulated by a payroll deduction scheme and paid out at the place of recruitment. This latter scheme has proved very popular and few migrant labourers will not make use of it. Those men who do not yet have their own family should (and almost always do) bring the full amount of this money to their parents. The latter will give some pocket money (from R2 to R10) to the migrant worker himself, allocate R2-5 and/or some clothing to the latters malome, possibly a few rand to his brothers and sisters and keep the rest for themselves and the household's needs. Occassionally some money may be set aside to buy some livestock for the migrant worker. I collected the labour histories of 27 men - all except 3 below 30 years of age. All, except 2 of these 3 elder men, were single and handed over their 'deferred pay' to their parents. Only 12 (44.4%) of these 27 migrant workers had ever obtained livestock from their wages; in total 26 goats and 11 cows had been bought. Virtually all men had honoured the obligation to make a gift to the malome (21 men or 77.1%). The amounts of savings varied from R20 to R140 with the vast majority in the R35-R70 range. A few cases can serve as example.

A. brought back R80

This money was distributed by his parents in the following manner:

R8 to A. himself

R2 to his malome

R1 to sister

R1 to sister

R2 to younger brother

R2 to younger brother

R10.60- two bags of corn

R 55.40 to parents

B. brought back R40

R5 to B. himself

R2 and trousers to his malome

R 3 - a goat for B

R 32 - schoolfees for his brother and sister and food for the household

C. brought back R 20

R1 to C. himself

R2 to malome

R2 to mother

R15 to father to pay his taxes

It is only when the migrant worker has engaged or married a girl and has children with her that his parents or quardians will relinguish their rights to his savings. Though the young migrant labourers greater self-assurance and independence may lead to disrespectful behaviour, it often has contributed to the growth of a deep sense of responsibility as well. Young men when asked why they had gone on migrant labour unanimously replied that they considered themselves to be grown men and therefore should work, but most added that they had to go because their parents badly needed the money. As Schapera has pointed out the first migrant labour

contract marks the transition to adulthood as in the past the initiation ceremonies did (19). A young man who has not been to the mines is frowned upon, and the girls favour especially those who have bought fashionable clothes with their wages. But these factors should not obscure the considerable sacrifice which is made by these men. Life in the mine compounds is not easy and the work hard and dangerous. While every man wants to go at least once to the mines, not many would out of preference continue to do so for many years more. Especially after a man has a wife and children he does not like to leave them. It is clearly recognised that children should have the constant love of a father rather than a few presents once a year. Yet many men are not able to settle down in the village until their children have grown considerably. It is for these families that the negative consequences of migrant labour are most clearly noticeable. Family life obviously suffers badly and the relations between husband and wife can become strained. Virtually all the divorce cases I came across centered around the problems which had been created by the prolonged absence of the husband.

The households agricultural activities suffer as well. Though the wife is made responsible while the husband is away he continues to make the managerial decisions. She should write and consult him about all major issues. This may in certain circumstances prove to be an extremely inefficient procedure. Furthermore, the herding of the households livestock is not likely to be properly supervised which may result in many losses. More serious is probably the fact that a dependence has been created on an external source of income at the cost of an independently acquired income within the village environment. The aspirations and energies ar not directed upon the village economy itself since it is not possible to see the immediate benefits thereof. Rather than learning how to farm properly most people prefer to acquire the skills and knowledge taught at school in the (usually vain) hope for a job in the urban areas or a higher wage at the mines. Furthermore the contact with the urban areas introduces people to the glitter of the consumer society and new wants are created. Rather than investing their money in agricultural

implements and livestock which will benefit them later, young men prefer to buy clothes, bicycles, radio's etc. and enjoy the good life at the beerhalls. The following chapter will discuss the ill effect which migrant labour has had on the relations between agnates. With so many negative consequences one may come to deplore the migrant labour system wholeheartedly, yet it should also be remembered that it offers a much needed cash income to a very great number of people. Should the mines decide to work with a permane labour force this would have a short-term disastrous effect on poorer sections of rural Botswana. But whether the long-term effects would also be negative is open to question.

Other sources of income

In addition to these three major means of income several households obtained an income from the sale of various products within the village environment. The most significant of these products was beer. 44 households (35.5%) had sold beer in the year 1970/71. Women without adult men to help them in agriculture are usually totally dependent on this source of income, but also in other households an immediate need for cash, i.e. schoolfees or taxes was met by the sale of beer. The beer brewers sell in particular to migrant labourers on leave. After the hard work in the mines the young men come to the village to enjoy themselves with their comrades and spend some of the money they have earned. At a price of 5 c per calabash ($\frac{3}{4}$ litre) the theoretical profit margin is high, i.e. 200% (20), but the competition among brewers and the frequent buying on credit may cause heavy losses. Witchcraft accusations frequently accompany the economic competition among brewers. The most successful brewer in the village woke one morning to find blood sprinkled all over her courtyard, and the bones of the diviner indicated that evil witchcraft was performed by her three rivals in the beerbrewing business.

Table XXVII shows the other sources of income which were mentioned by the interviewers.

Table XXVI'. Distribution of households with additional sources of income.

sale of:	no.of households	% of households
beans	42	60
thatching grass	7	10
firewood	2	2.9
barkrope	7	10
wooden spoons	1	1.4
milk	1	1.4
services:		
carpenter	1	1.4
brickmaker	1	1.4
made fences	1	1.4
dug well	4	5.7
lorry driver	1	1.4
made granary	2	2.9
Total	70	100

It is unfortunate that today people buy goods from the stores rather than manufacturing and selling them themselves. Many of the old crafts have completely disappeared. For instance, no woman makes clay pots any longer. The competition with the factorymade goods from South Africa has been to the disadvantage of traditional craftwork. This also means that money is not kept circulating within the village environment or even within Botswana but that it goes to Botswana's rich industrial neighbour.

Conclusion

Sansom distinguishes three phases of development of the Dual Economy (21). In the initial phase cash is earned as wages to satisfy new demands for a few manufactured goods eg. guns, while subsistence production continues in the traditional way. In the second phase 'the relationship between subsistence sector and cash sector is one of separation and co-existence' (22). Within each sector the

values and standards relevant to that sector continue to be observed. In the final phase 'economic transactions are generally calculated in market terms. The economy remains a dual economy only in the sense that the participants have two sources of income and must divide their time between town and country' (23). If one had to place Bokaa on this continuum it would have to be near the pole of the final phase. In few instances can one still speak of two distinct standards of value existing next to each other. One obvious example is the bridewealth where R20 can count as one cow, although the market value is much higher. The bridewealth is still not a commercial transaction but some ritual events have come to resemble one. It is customary to give a feast with meat and beer after the birth of a child. The visitors bring gifts of money or grain for the mother and child. Today it happens at such occasions that the amount of beer and meat given to each visitor is calculated against the gift he brings. Thus should he bring 10c, he can either have two calabashes of beer or one calabash of beer and a few pieces of goat meat. These are the standard prices which are charged at the more openly commercial occasions in the village. This example would not necessarily imply that the rates of the wider market are generally applied, but this in fact is what happens most of the time. I can best give an example out of my own experience. I could buy a large hare which had been snared for 30c, but 1 rand (100c) was demanded for a scrawny chicken since that was the price for a chicken in the supermarket of Gaborone. My arguments that this price was ridiculously high (in comparison, the standard wage for a full day's work of a male labourer was 50c) and that the bird was half the weight of those bought in Gaborone, were met with disdain. Where people are acquainted with the values of the wider economy they try to apply them, albeit with misconceptions and confusions. The orientation is towards the market sector and the traditional values have largely been abandoned. Associated with the economic values are social values and this transaction from a small-scale tribal economy to an integration with the larger Southern African economy has had profound effects on social life. There is no longer a truly dual economy

and in many respects there is no longer a dual value system governing the relations between fellowmen. The following chapter will deal with this issue.

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Notes:

1) Rural Income Distribution Survey in Botswana 1974/5. Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 76.

2) See for instance,
Child, G.-1971. 'Ecological constraints on rural development in Botswana'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 3, pp. 157-64.

3) Weare, P.-1971. 'The influence of environmental factors on arable agriculture in Botswana'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 3, pp. 165-8.

4) See Fosbrooke, H.A.-1971. 'Land and population'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 3, pp. 172-87.

5) Sansom, B.-1974. 'Traditional economic systems'. In Hammond-Tooke, W.D. (ed.), The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 138-45.

6) Sansom, B. ibid., p. 143.

7) National Development Plan 1976-8. Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 148.

8) Sansom, B. ibid., p. 150-1.

9) Schneider, H.K.-1968. 'Economics in East African Aboriginal societies'. In Leclair, E.E.Jr. and H.K. Schneider, Economic Anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p. 427.

10) Sansom, B., ibid., 150-1.

11) The figures in this table are initially derived from the answers of the householdheads, but I compared these answers as much as possible to vaccination records and cross-checked them with other informants. I found that people with less than twenty head of cattle were generally truthful about the number of cattle owned, but that the 'richer' cattleowners, i.e. those with over twenty head tried to hide their wealth as much as possible and would consistently give lower figures.

12) See also Schapera, I.-1938. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom. London: Frank Cass & Co., pp. 246-50.

13) This finding was also reported for the Manyana area of the Ngwaketse district by D. Curtiss.
Curtiss, D.-1972. 'The social organisation of ploughing'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 4, p. 68.

14) Sansom, B.-1974. op. cit., p. 151.

15) Personal communication by H.A. Fosbrooke.

16) Rural Income Distribution Survey of Botswana 1974/5. Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 114.

17) Schapera, I.-1947. Migrant Labour and Tribal Life. London: Oxford University Press.

18) Rural Income Distribution Survey 1974/5. Gaborone: Government Printer, pp. 94-103.

19) See Schapera, I.-1947, op. cit., p. 115.

20) Rural Income Distribution Survey, p. 48.

21) Sansom, B.-1974. op. cit., pp. 172-6.

22) Sansom, B., ibid., p. 172.

23) Sansom, B., ibid., p. 174.

CHAPTER VII: FROM COMMUNALISM TO INDIVIDUALISM

The plight of the rural areas of Botswana, such as Bokaa, has not gone unnoticed by the government of the country. The National Development Plans have given high priority to rural development and the reduction of the existing inequalities in income. The economic goals of the Second Development Plan were as follows:

> 1) to secure the fastest possible rate of economic growth in a manner designed to raise the living standards of the great mass of the inhabitants of Botswana; 2) to achieve budgetary selfsufficiency in the shortest possible time consistent with rigid economic growth; 3) to maximize the number of new job opportunities; 4) to promote an equitable distribution of income, in particular by reducing income differentials between the urban and the rural sectors through rural development. (1)

In order to reach these goals various strategies have been formulated some of which have been referred to in the previous pages. It is not my intention here to evaluate these programmes though it may be mentioned that they have not been very succesful so far in substantially altering the living standard of the majority of the rural people or in reducing the income differentials. My concern is rather with the implicit and explicit conceptions about tribal society which underlie the formulation of these strategies. Underlying every programme for rural development is a model for rural society and a model of the modern society it is hoped to achieve. The reigning view is that the traditional economy is characterised by a surplus labour and unchanging production techniques and underlying these is a set of attitudes which are incompatible with modernization. It is furthermore embedded in a traditional, i.e. tribal society which socializes and forces its individual members to resist change. While environmental influences and poverty are acknowledged to be major factors retarding progress, the government consistently has expressed the belief that the problem of development is a human problem, by which is meant the backwardness of the peasantry and their resistance to innovation. The shift from the traditional to the modern sector has to take place first and foremost in the consciousness of the people. As long as tribal society continues to be tribal society and the peasant remains tradition-bound he will be the major barrier to rural development

However, not all tribal values are viewed negatively. On the contrary some are highly praised and considered valuable assets to a developing country. The policy advocated is to change certain aspects of tribal society but by all means retain others. The vice president is clear on this point:

> The real obstacles to progress are found in ourselves, in our attitudes to change and initiative, our ignorance of what needs to be done and what each must do and some of our customary practices, for example in respect of land tenure.
> By this I do not mean that our traditional way of life is wholly incompatible with development. Far from it- there are very many aspects of our traditions which are splendid ways of doing things which I would never wish to replace with European ways if by "European' people mistakenly mean modern. The African extended family, for example, with its built-in system of social security is an invaluable institution. If the extended family system were to disintegrate we would all be the losers. Likewise the traditional sharing of natural resources of water and grazing, and land generally, provides a sound basis on which to build a just and egalitarian society. (2)

Such thinking is familiar. Most African leaders profess a desire to combine the development of their countries with the continuity of valuable indigenous traditions. In their efforts to establish a distinct African identity and counteract the evils they see as inherent to western systems, they tend to uphold the humane virtues of traditional African society. These virtues have been extolled particularly by the exponents of African Socialism who have emphasized that African societies are 'cooperative', collectivist', 'communalist' or 'socialist' in their traditional [illegible] (3).

The extensive network of social obligations [illegible] the crucial feature to be admired and preserved. Although in addition the communal ownership of land and the low degree of stratification are cited as elements in the traditional socialism, it are the close-knit and supportive relationships which pertain particularly between kinsmen which reflect the values of African culture.

Of course it is not only the culture which evaluated; at stake is a view of the essential nature of the African tribal man. One visualizes a person for whom the values of group welfare predominate over personal welfare, with a concern for those less fortunate than he himself and the concept that only as a member of a group can the individual fulfill himself. Should he have ambition at all it is in terms of social values rather than economic ones. In fact

some of the exponents of African Socialism seem to maintain that traditional man acted not only in response to social obligations but also out of a genuine and generalised love for mankind (4).

It is held that because of such cultural and human characteristics capitalism is 'unnatural' to Africa. Capitalism is defined not simply as private ownership of the economy but as the kind of human relationship that individual ownership can produce. These human relationships are seen as the very opposite of all the social and human values which are inherent to African culture. Capitalism not only creates a social system of exploitation and gross injustices but it also atomises society and uproots the individual. The associated model of man is of an individual who searches the maximum of self-fulfillment and in order to realise his high goals seeks to maximise his gains to the utmost regardless whether it be at the cost of others.

The dilemna which faces African leaders is that while modernization, which implies westernization and frequently capitalism as well, is desired, the abovementioned human values of the western world are rejected. In Botswana it is hoped that it will be possible to combine the good of two worlds. On the one hand individual initiative is encouraged, eg.: 'there is a lack of people with enterprise, energy and the necessary skills. We can only hope to develop rapidly if we concentrate our limited resources on those few who are so equipped' (5). But on the other hand, 'we must balance our concern for equality with our need to maximise development so as to reduce the general level of poverty' (6), and as mentioned, the communalistic nature of tribal society is thought to aid the realisation of this aim. It seems that not only ought the poor to work together for a better future but that furthermore the rich and moderately well-to-do will assist their poor and hungry relatives until the time that the development aims have been sufficiently realised for all to partake in the new national wealth. Are these realistic hopes? In my opinion they are not. Tribal society is not an enclave in which tribal values have survived intact. It is part of the wider South African society which is permeated by the capitalist ethic. For a century already the villager has had contact with the

money economy and its values have philtred down all layers of his society. To assume that this would not have drastically altered tribal society is almost naive.

Bckaa today is neither 'traditionalist' nor 'communalist'. Changes in the social organisation and the valuesystem have taken place in a, for the older inhabitants alarmingly, fast tempo. And much of this change is not in agreement with official plans and hopes. The spirit of communalism is very much on the wane and individualistic values are everincreasingly present. Of course the past never was as ideal as has been suggested. The first obvious criticism is that co-operation and communalism never extended to the whole society but were usually vested in the smaller corporate groups. It was possible to have wealthy familygroups in the same village as very poor ones and the only way in which those poor could share in the wealth of others was by an occasional feast, and through customs such as mafisa. Inequality in wealth has clearly always existed just as inequality in rank and political status have. Yet there did exist a considerable degree of 'sharing' between members of a familygroup and to a lesser degree between wardmembers and more distant relatives, and no member of the society would have to fear starvation as long as another did have a surplus of food. Another rtant mechanism was the redistribution of grain by the chief as responsible for the sick and needy. Today such mechanisms r do not exist any longer or are very much weakened. This is society which has only partially been replaced by the distributions of aid-agencies.

The following section of this chapter will examine the various traditional forms of co-operation and aid and trace their breakdown.

Social values, economic co-operation and property relations

The values of mutual assistance and aid to the needy operated particularly within the corporate social groups of traditional society. In addition there was to a varying degree also a sharing of natural and other resources within these groupings. The corporate

groups functioned to organise social and economic life efficiently and provided security to all their members.

the household

In the past when polygamous marriages were more common, household structure was different from what it is today. Rather than a husband, wife, children unit, the basic unit consisted of a mother and her children. This unit refered to as the 'house' managed its own separate resources as well as sharing to some extent in those of the full polygamous family. Each wife had her own field (tshimo ya lapa) where she would work with her children. She stored the grain in her own separate grainbin and managed it in consultation with the husband. However, should one of the wives not have enough corn to feed herself and her children the husband would give her corn from his own field (tshimo ya kgotla), or could even ask another wife to give from her corn.

All the sons stayed at the cattlepost and the milk of the herd was divided equally among the houses. However, the cattle were not divided equally after the death of the household head. Each house was allocated some beasts (tshwaisa) during the lifetime of the household head but the bulk of the cattle was inherited by the eldest son of the senior house. In particular if the junior wives had not been married with bogadi this could lead to sharp differences in wealth which in turn frequently led to animosity. Although the main heir was more like a trustee of the inherited property than an absolute owner and was expected to manage the estate for the benefit of all the members of the family, in practice this did not always happen. Especially the children of the junior houses could be deprived of their fathers property. For instance, chief Radi Radi was a son in the second house of Selalabyannye. All his fathers cattle went to the children of the first house and on his ascendancy to the chieftainship (after his half-brothers death) he was a poor man. Quarrels between the descendants of different houses about the division of the inheritance used to be a common occurrence. The disputes about the chieftainship between sons of different house are wellknown (see for instance page 8) but disputes between

sons of different houses about property are no less frequent among the common people.

Case XXVI. A dispute between half-brothers about the ownership of a well.

Leburu had 4 wives. One of them was the daughter of Segwabe. Segwabe gave a large open well to Leburu and all members of the latters household made use of it. After Leburu's death all his sons continued to use the well together, but in time as the number of their cattle grew and their own children became adults the well was no longer able to support so large a population. Quarrels began to occur. Molemi the son of Leburu and Segwabe's daughter claimed the well as his own on the grounds that his mothers father had given the well to Leburu. He fenced the well in and began to charge a fee of 50c to those who wanted to draw water. This led to a serious quarrel with Padigokong the eldest son of the senior house, since the latter, the main heir to Leburu, considered himself the owner of the well. A courtcase was pending when I left the field but it was considered that the end-result would probably be that all the descendants of Leburu would continue to use the well together but also that they should all contribute to its upkeep (dig it deeper, fencing it etc.)

Polygamy is rare at present, but similar problems to the one described above arise when a man marries a second time after the death of his first wife. Though the children of his first marriage should accept this woman as their own mother the relations between step-mother and step-children are notoriously bad. Especially if the children of the first marriage are adults they will resent having to share the property of their father with this woman and the children which may be born of this union.

Today the monogamous household is the norm, although in practice many variations may be found due to the instability of many unions and the high rate of illegitimacy. The fields are no longer divided into man's fields and woman's fields but both the spouses work on the same field or fields. A much closer co-operation exists between the spouses today than was customary in the past. Shortage of labour has forced the men to participate in traditional woman's tasks such as weeding, birdscaring, harvesting, threshing and some women help their husband with ploughing and herding. Husband and wife have become virtually equal partners in the making of economic decisions. The husband is still considered the superior of the wife but this superiority has become rather tenuous. Informants said:

'In the past a wife was like the first born of her husband, today it is different' and 'the husband is the head and the woman his child, but yet she is the vice-head'. In one case of divorce the woman started prceedings after the husband had sold a bag of corn without consulting her. Corn was traditionally regarded as belonging to the woman, but even with regard to cattle a husband should consult his wife about the sale of a beast. Likewise she ought not to sell anything without his permission. It is the wife who keeps the money and allocates it to the household essentials. Together they should work for their common income and together they should spend and consume it. In practice this ideal is often made impossible by the conditions of migrant labour and the frequent irregularities in the relationship between husband and wife which result from it. It is quite common to find women who hear infrequently from their absent husband and who in addition to rearing the children and managing the household assets have to earn some extra income by working for others or brewing beer. After the husbands death the estate should not be divided until the wife has also died and she should co-operate with the children, in particular the eldest son, in the management of the estate. Unless she especially permits the division of the estate before her death no one of the children is allowed to take his share of the inheritance (they also require her permission to take their tshwaisa share, but this is more easily given).

Between parents and children many strict obligations pertain which are not all disrupted by the marriage of the latter. Children help in all aspects of the agricultural work, and when boys go on migrant labour they should send a major part of their earnings to their parents. Girls stay at home until they are formally married, and until then help their mother with domestic tasks, the brewing of beer etc. Even after marriage people are obliged to look after their parents. Men should plough for their aged father and mother and help in the herding of the herd. They should of course make sure that their parents have sufficient food, clothing and housing.

The father is obliged to provide a cow to each child (in the past only to boys) as a return for the work they do for him and his wife and to enable each one to build up a herd of his own. Such an animal and its offspring is called tshwaisa. Roberts writes:

> Under the tshwaiso custom an estate holder sets aside a given beast for a particular beneficiary without severing it from his herd. Such a beast is regarded as being irrevocably alienated to the donee from the moment it is set aside for him, but may not be separated from the donor's herd before the donor gives permission for this. Any issue born to a tshwaiso beast are automatically set aside in the same way, as the basic purpose of the custom is to provide the foundation of a herd for the donee. A father is regarded as being under an obligation to tshwaiso beasts for each of his children, provided he has sufficient cattle, and normally sets aside a beast under this custom for each child after it is born. Where a tshwaiso beast dies, or proves infertile, it is replaced provided the donor has the resources to do so. Tshwaiso beasts are not regarded as part of a dead man's estate. Even if they remain with his herd when he dies, they are always separated from the herd before division. (7)

The fact that their own animals are included in the herd of the father is an important incentive to young men to continue herding the cattle and ploughing for their parents. They are herding their own future wealth as well as fulfilling a kinship obligation.

the sibling group

Brothers, and to a lesser extent sisters, are expected to co-operate and aid each other all their lives. They should not only work together as long as their parents are alive, but should do so even after their parents death. They should share a cattlepost and their sons should herd together under their supervision. As a herd is often not divided until many years after the death of the father and during that time the brothers (and sisters if they also have a share) should consult each other and their mother if she is still alive, about the management of the herd. But even after the herd has been divided they should remain together in one cattlepost until their own sons have become adults.

This arrangements had considerable benefits for all the parties concerned. They were assured of a continuous supply of labour as each brother took his turn in herding, going on migrant labour etc. Furthermore, a man could leave the village secure in the knowledge that his brother would plough for his wife, give her milk and aid her in an emergency. In return he would of course do the same for the wives of these brothers if they were to leave the village on migrant labour. A very important factor was also that the poor

benefited significantly. In the past the eldest son inherited most of the herd. However, he was obliged to provide for the needs of his younger and poorer brothers and sisters. Roberts writes:

> Traditionally, the greater part of a deceased person's property passed to a single male heir; in the case of a married man this heir was normally his eldest son (or the eldest son of the senior wife in a polygynous household). This arrangement was workable because the property was held by the principal heir on the understanding that it would be used for the general benefit of the family as the need arose; he was far more in the position of a trustee than an absolute owner. (8)

In the co-operative arrangements the poorer brothers were also not discriminated. By contributing their labour they earned their right to an equal access to the cattle, i.e. they had equal rights to the milk and draught power.

The ploughing was done in rotation so that the span started at a different brothers field each year. Thus everyone was given a fair chance to profit from the first rain. Furthermore half of each field was ploughed before they returned to the second half of the first one's field etc. In this way it was ensured that at least part of each field was ploughed in the right season. No one who contributed his labour should suffer hardship because of limited wealth. The well-being of all was considered more important than the immediate advantages which the richest individuals could secure for themselves. This was no charity but a clear appreciation of interdependence. With the frequent occurrence of droughts and diseases the wealthy man of today could be a destitute tomorrow and then he would depend on his fellow men for a living. It was thus always safer to invest in social relations than in immediate gains and who could one depend on more than one's own brothers? Thus the economic relationship was very strongly emphasized. They should preferably do all their economic activities together and help each other at times when a heavy expenditure of cattle was required. Ideally brothers should contribute to each others bridewealth and they should offer each other substantial cuts of each animal they slaughtered.

Sisters should also be assisted. Unmarried sisters should be ploughed for and given milk. Her linked brother should help her when

necessary. He might, for example, sell a cow to support her in case of illness, or he might pay her schoolfees with his migrant labour wages. The guardianship over sisters is of course transferred on marriage to her husband who should then provide for her, but a relationship with economic aspects is then initiated with the children. It was very common for a sisters son to live with his malome in order to help the latter with the herding of his cattle. As reward he would receive a tshwaisa cow just like the children of the malome. Once the boy reached adulthood he could choose whether he wanted to return to his own parents with his tshwaisa cattle, or whether he wanted to stay in the familygroup of his maternal uncle.

the familygroup

Basically the same rules obtained for the economic co-operation of the members of the familygroup as for those of the siblinggroup, but to a lesser degree. They were also expected to help each other in all activities, share a cattlepost, plough together etc. but if the familygroup was large, no one would feel offended if its members separated into two or more groups for such purposes. These groups were usually sublinggroups but it was also possible for unrelated men to work together in this manner.

the ward

If a ward was small its members worked together in the same manner as the familygroup and siblinggroup. From the lifehistories which I collected it appeared that after the rinderpest epidemic when there were few cattle and few men, because most of the population had left for Shoshong, whole wards would plough together with only one span of cattle and a plough. But of course in those days women still hoed as well and the fields were smaller. Later as fields became larger it was no longer possible to plough so many fields with one span and one plough.

The members of a ward also exploited a common area of land and though the grazing areas were not divided according to wards they often had their cattleposts close to each other. Each ward was alloted a particular agricultural area in order that they would remain together in their economic activities as well as in their

political and social activities. In time as the population grew, this concentration of the fields of wardmembers was broken and they became dispersed over the various agricultural areas (see ch. III).

The functions of the wardhead were extremely important for the regulation of the economic affairs of the ward and the assistance of the needy. A quote by an informant, who was the grandson of a wardhead, expounds the old ideal:

> In the time of my grandfather the wardmembers had to look after his properties. They had to fence his land, to weed his fields and help with ploughing. This changed during my fathers time. My grandfather had to look after the poor people in the ward. Those that had no cattle for ploughing could use his cattle and even if they were fined at the kgotla my grandfather had to help them in paying their fines. He was as a father for every one in the ward. He had to look after widows and orphans, giving them corn and milk, and if a bag of milk came from his cattlepost everyone in the ward would be given something. For these reasons people worked willingly for him, not just because they were forced. The chief would usually give wardheads some cattle as mafisa. A wardhead had to be rich so that he could help his people and they would not flee to other villages. Wardheads were herdsmen for the chief. They were looking after people for the chief, not for themselves, and a chief could punish a man if he was rich and was not looking after suffering people. The chief would say: By making him suffer you make me suffer.

It appeared that chief Selalabyannye and chief Rraditladi in the early years of his reign had indeed given mafisa cattle to several wardheads. Today this is no longer the case and the ideal described above is not at all in accordance with present-day relations between wardhead and wardmembers. A wardhead no longer assists his people in any way and many even feel disgruntled about the fact that they still perform a judicial function without being paid for it. And no wardmember would dream of working for his wardhead without pay.

the village/tribe

At village and/or tribal level the chief was the symbol of unity and the chief was the one who co-ordinated all the economic activities of his people and who provided food for the poor. Through this one man the tribe acted together for the common good. The chief gave orders for the people to start ploughing and when they could start havesting. From the time that ploughing was permitted he prohibited people from keeping their cattle at their lands. Thus it

was avoided that one man's cattle would eat the young crops of another man who had ploughed earlier. By ordering people to plough at virtually the same time it was also ensured that the swarms of birds which plague the cultivators should not be concentrated on only a few fields at a time.

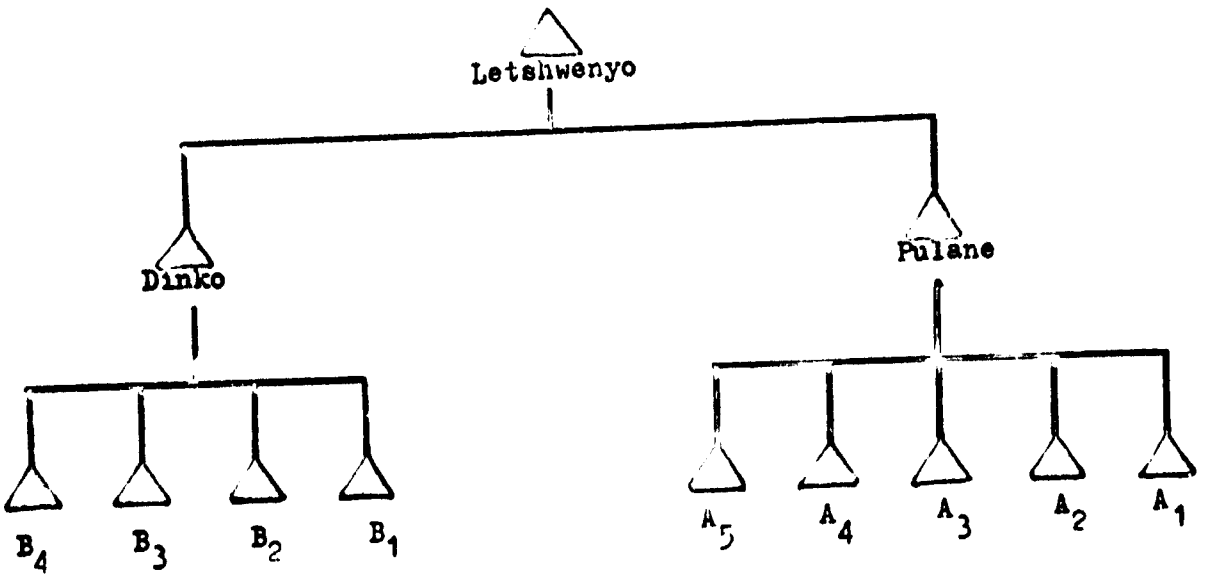
In addition the chief as 'father' of the tribe was responsible for the welfare of all. But in this he was aided by the people themselves. They paid tribute and ploughed tributary fields for the chief. The corn which was thus collected was stored for distribution to the poor. By contributing their labour and tributary payment people were assured that they themselves could turn to the chief in times of need. Moreover the chief was expected to be generous and regularly gave feasts at which everyone could receive beer and meat. Generosity was one of the first qualities on which a chief was judged by his people.

These were the ideals, and by all accounts they were realised to a considerable extent in the past. Today, however, matters fare very differently. While the ideals are still verbally acknowledged by older people they are usually followed by a diatribe against the evil of modern times in which people no longer honour their relatives and chief, but seek only immediate advantages for themselves. Even younger people agree that this is a sorry state of affairs, but they have also come to accept a different valuesystem and know that they themselves will sacrifice the old ideals for their new ambitions. But it is more than a question of new values. The new values can flourish only because the old arrangements are no longer efficient. The orientation towards the group was necessary in the past. There were no opportunities to earn a living besides those found within the village environment and there were no ways of storing wealth safely. Surpluses could not be invested in much else than social relations. A man was well aware that only by investing his energies and resources in the strenghthening of the group would he have some security if misfortune should befall him. Likewise kinship co-operation was not charity but a system of mutual benefit. A man with many cattle could benefit from the labour of a poor person and the poor man benefited from the use of the cattle. These rewards were considered to be equal to each other. The poor

man had no market on which to sell his labour and the rich man had no use for his cattle other than in agriculture and social transactions. But once the new factors of money and work in the mines of South Africa were introduced all this had to change. The following lengthy casestudy of a familygroup in time illustrates this process of change.

Case XXVII. The dynamics of co-operation.

Part I



Letshwenyo died in approximately 1910 and Pulane his eldest son inherited the major part of the herd. He and his younger brother Dinko were the only members of their subward and familygroup at the time. They shared a cattlepost and ploughed together. The two spans of cattle would first go to the field of one brother and then to the other's. The following year they would first go to the one whose field was ploughed last the year before and so on. They had no children to help them, since Pulane's wife was barren and Dinko still young, but Pulane co-operated with his wife's two brothers who had no cattle and was given a child to help him by his wife's mothers sister. His wife's brothers helped him all year in the herding and in return received equal shares of the milk and equal treatment in ploughing. Since the fields were much smaller than today and half of them were still being hoed by the women, this presented no problem. After his wife's brothers left him (one received mafisa cattle and the other went on migrant labour)

Pulane contacted two of his sisters sons in Shoshong and they came to herd for him. The cattle were thus being herded by these two adolescent boys and Ratsebe, Pulane's adopted son, while Pulane and Dinko alternated in supervising their activities.

Pulane's wife died and he married a widow who already had a son whom I will refer to as A 1. Soon she bore him four sons: A 2 born in 1926, A 3 born in 1932, A 4 in 1937 and A 5 in 1942. Shortly after his first two sons were born, Pulane's sisters sons returned to Shoshong taking their tshwaisa cattle with them. Ratsebe also left. Since he was not Pulane's real son he knew that he would not inherit now Pulane had children of his own. This embittered him and he sought co-operation with his father-in-law instead. Dinko also had four sons, B1, B2, B3, B4. A2, B1 and B2 herded in the 1930's. Pulane purchased an iron plough in this period. This encouraged the brothers to enlarge their fields. Since the women stapped hoeing the acreage to be ploughed was considerably increased. To ensure therefore that no one's field would be ploughed too late, they ploughed half one field first, then went to plough half the others field, returned to the first's etc. Of course they still alternated each year with the field to start on.

Comments:

It is clear that at this time the co-operation between relatives was relatively easy. Pulane and Dinko could ask various relatives for help and this was readily given. The brothers-in-law of Pulane co-operated with him because they themselves derived benefit from the co-operation, while the sisters sons were obliged to help their malome. The two brothers themselves had an arrangement whereby each benefited equally. Though Dinko was poorer this did not affect his chances to success in agriculture.

Part II

In the mid 1940's A1, A2, and Dinko's three eldest children went to the mines. Herding depended mainly on A3. By 1950 all Dinko's sons had gone on migrant labour and this presented problems since Pulane's wife was complaining about the fact that her sons were being made to herd, whilst Dinko's children were earning money and not giving any of it to Pulane. Pulane, however, who was relatively wealthy felt pity for his much poorer brother. He realised that Dinko and his sons needed money from migrant labour badly. Tension did exist however, and Dinko several times tried to separate from Pulane, but until shortly before his death never succeeded in doing so because his sons would only remain for a few months at a time in the village. A 1 and A 2 were also going to the mines. Only A 3 was perfectly

happy to herd and plough and had no inclination to leave the village. He was the pride of his father for that reason. In 1952 A4 at the age of 15 without the permission of his father went to South Africa where he worked on a farm. In 1954 he returned and helped A 3 until 1956 when he started to attend school at the age of 19. In 1958 A 3 finally decided that he should go to earn some money as well but A 5 was now old enough to take over from him. Dinko separated from Pulane since his sons were now returning more regularly to the village and the eldest one had settled down to being a farmer as he had a wife and children. A 2 was also married and therefore two fields had to be ploughed by Pulane's family.

In 1960 Dinko died and in 1962 Pulane. A 3 was in the village 1960-1 and A 2 in 1961 as well. In 1962 A 4 left school and A 5 went to school. Their father died that year. A 4 herded until August 1963 and then departed for the mines as well. He left the cattle to graze without supervision (this was possible since it was just after the harvest) and asked B 2 to water them (cattle are trained to come to the wells by themselves). He wrote to A 2 and A 3: 'I must go. You do not support me, so I must work for money. You must come back to the village'. That year their mother died and A 4 broke his contract to return to the village. The brothers decided not to divide the inheritance as yet and to maintain their co-operation. A 4 then went to work in Gaborone. A 2 and A 3 herded and ploughed together in 1964, but in 1965 A 1 deserted his wife who was believed to be a witch and left the village. A 5 was still at school, so A 3 herded.

Comments:

The difficulties caused by migrant labour are well illustrated by this section. Co-operation became a difficult matter which required much organisation and patience with each other. This case is rather unusual among the ones I have collected in that the tensions never produced violent quarrels and accusations. The reason probably must be sought in the fact that the brothers were still young and most of them had not yet established their own household. If those who were absent had left a wife who should be ploughed for and given milk, quarrels would have been much more likely. The greatest cause of resentment is that the one who remains behind and who does work to the benefit of his absent brothers is not rewarded in any material way. While in the past everyone contributed and everyone received, now a single individual contributed more than ever and received nothing in the way of money to compensate him for his efforts.

Part III

In the drought of 1965 virtually all the cattle died; the herd was reduced from 45 beasts to 7. The herd had consisted of the cattle of Pulane, the inheritance proper or estate, and the tshwaisa cattle of each of his children including his two daughters. Of the seven that remained, three were A 4's tshwaisa, one A 1's, one their sisters's and only one of their fathers inheritance cattle remained. A 2 and A 5 lost all of their tshwaisa, while of course there were no estate cattle any more eitner. A 1 had never been much interested in herding with herding (no doubt because he knew even before the drought that he would not inherit much, since he was not Pulane's true son) and A 3 and A 4 realised that from then on the herding would depend on them alone. A 5 and A 2 would not be prepared to herd cattle to which they would never have a claim. And until they would have children who could go on migrant labour and help them with money, the prospect of farming and its inevitable bleak poverty for them, held little attraction for these two brothers. In 1967 A 1 died. He had a wife and young children in the Kweneng district but since these children were not told that their father had cattle it can be assumed that at some stage in the future Pulane's children will divide them among themselves.

In 1967 A 4 returned from Gaborone with a wife, this time with the intention of settling down permanently in the village. He would not have come back if it were not for his cattle. A 3 left for Gaborone in 1968. A 4 stayed alone with the cattle in 1968, 1969 and 1970. In 1968 he ploughed together with his wife, but did not plough for A 3's wife. In 1970 he made an agreement with an unrelated man called Kgofa. In January 1971 A 3 returned and that year the two brothers herded and ploughed. A 4 did not want to co-operate with his brothers in ploughing, however, and they went their own way at ploughing time (see below). After ploughing they arranged with Kgofa (A 4's partner in ploughing), who in the meantime had acquired two mafisa cattle, that each man would herd for a month in turn. This lasted until May when A 4 decided to break the co-operation. He harvested in May and since he wanted to keep poultry in the village and his wife was a succesful beerbrewer, he decided to organise his agricultural activities from the village. A 3 on the other hand has no house in the village and lives permanently at the lands. A 4 realised that it would be impossible to organise their herding satisfactorily under these conditions and also wanted to avoid the possiblity of demands being made upon him by his brother at future ploughing times. He took his own cattle (eight in total) and left A 3 with seven, three his own, one his sisters, one of the estate and two of A 1. All this year A 4 kept his cattle at the village but in October he was forced to return them to the lands since the grazing around the village was depleted. He did not bring them together there ever since. After the drought their co-operation became impossible to maintain. B 2 and B 3 had also married so that there were four fields to plough and only a few cattle (the inheritance which was not divided as yet). B 1 managed to get some mafisa cattle and from that moment on he made any co-ope-

ration to his own advantage, stipulating that his field was ploughed first. This was not entirely unreasonable since he was the only person to herd as B 2 and B 3 were forced by their poverty to go to the mines and only returned for the ploughing season. But B1 should have ploughed for his stepmother first. One year after the drought B2 refused to co-operate with his brothers again. Until 1971 B1's field was ploughed first, then Gadifele his stepmother's, and then B3's. In 1971 this pattern was altered. B 3 who only possessed one cow, left because his field was always ploughed too late. Gadifele and B1 had a violent dispute about the inheritance of Dinko. B 1 first disputed Gadifele's right to the three cattle she had inherited from Dinko, and then managed to disappropriate her field and nearly succeeded in turning her out of the house in which she was living. There was a courtcase and Gadifele was granted ownership of the three cattle. She was so upset by the animosity of her late husband's children that she was thinking of changing her wardmembership.

Comments:

In this final phase we see the breakdown of the kinship co-operation. Though the drought might appear to have played an important role in this process, one should be careful not to overestimate its effect. It is more likely that this disaster only contributed the final impetus to an inevitable process. Despite the seeming harmony of the previous stage there were many tensions and frustations beneath the surface and when the test came, each one all too readily went his own way. Individuals chose a direction which was most advantageous to themselves rather than thinking of the unity of the group as a whole. It was clear to them that they could no longer combine their own interest with those of their kinsmen.

A 1, A 2 and A 5 left the co-operating group once they no longer had any hope of inheriting cattle. It was more advantageous to them to work for wages and invest some of their wages in agriculture than to remain in the village to herd their brothers cattle and use these for ploughing.

A 3 and A 4 were at first forced to co-operate since neither had enough cattle to go alone. But once A 4 had eight cattle of his own and thus could form his own span for ploughing, he decided to break the co-operation. It is telling that though he did not want to co-operate with his brother he did seek co-operation with another man. The reason was simply that this co-operation with Kgofa

was not subject to the same norms as the co-operation between kinsmen. I will return to this point later.

A similar thing happened among Dinko's sons. Those that had no cattle went away for long periods of migrant labour and the one who did have cattle used these first and foremost for his own advantage. For this reason B 2 left his brother in the hope of finding a more advantageous co-operation elsewhere. B 1's dispute with his stepmother about the inheritance of Dinko is typical. The competition for cattle is so strong that only the strongest of bonds can withstand the tensions and the relationship between stepmother and stepchildren is almost always difficult. Though Gadifele had lived quite amicably with her husbands children until the division of the inheritance, B 1 did not hesitate to attempt to take Gadifele's few inherited properties away from her. Had he succeeded Gadifele's fate would have been hard. She had only one middleaged spinster daughter and no other income than that which she earned herself by brewing beer and from the few bags of sorghum from her field. With some cattle to her name she could at least bargain for some help in ploughing and occasionally sell a beast, without them she would probably be abandoned. B1 would probably not have ploughed those many years for her if the three cattle about which the dispute erupted had not been included in the herd he managed.

Thus both the co-operation between brothers and the obligation to plough for one's fathers wife were broken. This did not mean, however, that all co-operation had ended. On the contrary, almost every household of the familygroup co-operated with another at the time of ploughing. But the co-operation was not with agnatic kinsmen or wardmembers and was not ordered by the same rules. In fact a totally different system of exchange was established in which not the equal benefit of both parties was sought but the greatest benefit accrued to the strongest, i.e. richest, party. The arrangements made at ploughing time in 1970/71 and 71/72 will illustrate the new principles of co-operation.

Co-operation in ploughing

A 4

In 1970 A 4 started to co-operate with Kgofa because he needed an assistant. The previous years his wife had helped him with ploughing, but he felt that this was a cruel thing to do to her and moreover the work had progressed too slowly. Kgofa had no cattle at all and therefore had to accept a co-operation which was much more advantageous to A4 than to himself. A 4 had also promised to plough for his younger brother A 5 (working as a builder in Sebele) since he had no money and needed the food which A 5 promised him in return for ploughing. First of all the major part of A4's field was ploughed, then half of A 5's and only thereafter half of Kgofa's. Then they went to A4's field again. When A 4's field was finished, his brother A 3 arrived from Gaborone and as he and A4 were still co-operating together his field had to be ploughed as well. He did not have enough seed so that only part of his field was ploughed. Thereafter they went to Kgofa's field but his seed ran out as well and only 3/4 of his field was completed. A 5's field was completed late in January. This was not the end of it, however, for A4 had not helped Kgofa in ploughing on his (Kgofa's) field, so Kgofa had sought co-operation with Sekiri. A 4's cattle were therefore still being used in ploughing Sekiri's field in February. A 4 had eleven bags, Kgofa nine, A 5 two (from the part ploughed first), A 3 and Sekiri nothing.

In 1971 A 4 arranged with A 3 that each should seek their own co-operation in ploughing. A 4 knew that his field would be ploughed later than would be the case if he co-operated only with Kgofa who had no cattle and was not a relative. Each brother thus took a team, but while A 4 had a plough A3 did not. In fact the plough was not A 4's at all, but was part of the inheritance of their father and belonged equally to all the children until the estate would be formally divided. But in 1963 while A 3 was away, A 4 had sold three oxen, one of his own tshwaisa and two of his fathers estate. The plough was bought with the money from the sale of an ox from the estate, but A 3 was under the impression that it was bought with the money obtained from A 4's ox. A 4 had no intention of making him wiser. Without a plough A 3 had no hope of finding such favourable conditions of co-operation as A 4 could realise.

In October 1971 A 4 and Kgofa went to A4's field and ploughed one quarter. Then there was no more moisture in A4's field and Kgofa was allowed to take the cattle since his field was still wet. He ploughed for a week and then heavy rains fell. The Metsemotlaba river which separates A4's and Kgofa's fields from each other was in flood, so A4 had to wait another week before he could get his cattle back to his field. At this stage A4 who badly needed money was presented with the opportunity to earn some cash for a few days. He hired a fourteen year old boy to plough with Kgofa. Once A 4 had gone to the village Kgofa took the cattle back to his own field on the pretext that he could not find A4's seed. It rained again and the river was in flood. A 4 in desperation finally swam over

the river (a hazardous undertaking) and crossed again with the cattle. Both men were now extremely angry with each other. After regaining his cattle A 4 was left without an assistant, since Kgofa refused to swim. A 4's wife had just given birth and could not assist him. He had to go around asking his neighbours if they could not spare one of their sons. At last he found a twelve year old boy whom he paid 30 c per day. The next day the mother refused to let her son go again. A 4 had to go around asking and found another young boy. The next day the cattle had strayed. Most people kraal their cattle at night in fear of this and take them very early in the morning (from 4 to 6 0'clock), midday (11 - 4 o'clock) and evening (5.30-7) for grazing. A 4, who wants to plough all day, leaves his cattle out at night. Since his field is at the boundary of a large grazing area he can afford to do so since the risk of his cattle entering other people's fields is smaller. After ploughing another day Kgofa crossed the river. Both men knew that they depended on each other and nothing further was said. Since time was running short A 4 did not want to plough the remainder of his field but returned to the part which was ploughed but not planted in October. Towards Christmas 3/5 of A4's field was planted. On Christmasday he was involved in a dispute with a woman and was jailed for sixteen days. He was released because nothing could be proved against him. In this period his wife had hired some people to replough a section of the field on which the germination was bad. Kgofa had disappeared again. This was the end of the co-operation between Kgofa and A 4.

Most of A4's crop was destroyed by weevils and he was left with six bags of beans.

A 3

A 3 had cattle but no plough or helper and therefore co-operated with Nkepu (a pupil farmer) who had no cattle but a plough. Nkepu had donkeys but since the ploughing with donkeys is a slow process and he also needed a partner, he preferred to co-operate. Both men wanted to plough their fields twice, planting only the second time. In addition A 3 promised to plough for his younger brother A 5 (a builder). A 5 gave him two bags of sorghun and one of maize, some of which was to be used as seed and the remainder was for A 3. A 5 also wanted his field ploughed twice, but realising that his brother would not be capable of doing this he hired a tractor in October for the first ploughing.

The co-operation between A 3 and Nkepu was on an equal basis, i.e. half one field, than half the others etc. Nkepu, an extremely forceful man, managed to secure that half his field was ploughed first. After doing half of A 3's and the remainder of his own, Nkepu refused to come to A 3's again. A 3 had to complete his ploughing with his pregnant wife. He only finished late in December and then still had to go to A 5's. As a result A 5 for all his expenses (tractor, two bags of sorghum, one bag of maize, the labour he hired for weeding) received nothing in return. He blamed A 3 for this and the brothers became very hostile towards each other.

B 1

B1 had fifteen cattle three of which belonged to Gadifele and eight of which were m He had a plough and a 17 year old son to help him so t did not really need to co-operate with anyone. He did c perate with his brother- in-law Nchibidu however, partly to help him and partly because Nchibidu bought him a ploughshare. The whole of B 1's field was ploughed first and after that B 1's son helped Nchibidu on his field.

Gadifele

Despite the anomosity between them, Gadifele did not want to break completely with B 1. She approached him again to plough for her, but this time offered to pay. She had only five rand which could pay for the ploughing of five 'Tswana acres' (twelve paces on one side of the field against the length of the field) B 1 did her a favour and ploughed a few more acres. He did this because he feared that she might consider taking her three cattle from his herd, and give them as lefisa to someone else.

B 2

He has one cow and no plough. He co-operated with Lekgari who has cattle and plough but no ass t. Ploughing on B2's field only started when Lekgari's f was completed.

B 3

B 3 has no cattle and no plough. He co-operated with his father-in-law Moreetsi. By co-operating with B 3 Moreetsi was doing him a favour, since he already had his own son to help him. Moreetsi who is 65 years old probably also appreciated the fact that the heavy work would be done by his son-in-law. Half Moreetsi's field was ploughed first, then half of B 3's.

Comments:

From these cases it is apparent that new terms of co-operation have been adopted. Each one sought to maximize his personal gains and used their resources towards this end. It has become obvious why A 4 preferred to co-operate with Kgofa, an unrelated man, rather than with his brother. A 4 had cattle and plough and lacked only labour while Kgofa lacked all three essentials. This made A 4 by far the strongest party and he could determine the terms of the co-operation to his greatest advantage without the restrictions of the kinship norms. This meant that A 4's field was ploughed first and that Kgofa was even expected to help A 4 in the ploughing of his brothers field. But when Kgofa's turn to plough came A 4 was not willing to help him and let him make his own arrangements and A 4 only agreed as did A 3 in the following year, to plough for his brother A 5 if he was paid for it.

A 3 could not demand such favourable terms in his co-operation with Nkepu as A 4 had had with Kgofa. A 3 had cattle but no plough and labour. Nkepu had a plough but no cattle and labour. This made them equal partners since the value of cattle and plough are considered equal while labour is rated less then either of these two. Both parties to this co-operation should have benefited equally but Nkepu proved to be untrustworthy and A 3 was duped as he had been with his brothers. His kind non-assertive personality has caused him to be taken advantage of throughout his life. He herded while his brothers went away on migrant labour but was never rewarded for this. In fact A 4 dishonestly disappropriated the plough which he ought to have owned jointly with his brothers, even though this meant condemning A 3 to greater poverty. Nkepu likewise took advantage of A 3's 'weakness' and A 5 did not show any understanding of the problems A 3 had experienced in the ploughing of his field.

A similar pattern was apparent among the children of Dinko. B 1 who had cattle, plough and labour could co-operate on terms which were to his own greatest advantage. He ploughed for Gadifele only because she offered to pay him. The apparent consideration for the kinship norms, which he expressed by ploughing a few more acres free of charge, must more likely be attributed to his fear that she would take her three cattle away from his herd. B 2 who had no more than his labour to offer could co-operate only on unfavourable terms to himself. B 3 was lucky to have a kind father-in-law.

The old forms of co-operation which ensured the maximum benefit to the group rather than to the individual could not be maintained as conditions changed. The previous chapters have outlined the political and social reasons for the breakdown of the various corporate groups, the decline of the chieftainship etc. But even more fundamental were the changes in the economy. Once people became oriented towards a source of income external to the village environment and gained new needs which could only be satisfied with the expenditure of money, things had to change. The gaining of a living and the seeking of security now became individual affairs. Rather than help one's brother or wardmembers one would send one's child to school or to the mines. Rather than help the wife of one's absent brother one would plough a larger acreage for one self so that it might

be possible to make money by selling corn or beer. The introduction of the iron plough made it possible for the fields to become larger, but this also made it more difficult to co-operate. The differences of wealth which have always existed now led to different behaviour patterns. A poorer man needed to go more frequently to the mines to satisfy his cash-needs and thereby did not help his richer brothers in herding or otherwise. His demands for help at ploughing time were therefore not satisfied for long. Those that remained in the village were not willing to continue in a co-operation which had little benefit for them. The lesson was learnt that it was better to look for security in one's own efforts than depend on others, for those others were not only unable to fulfill one's aspirations but proved unreliable as well.

The community of Bokaa has moved towards individualism. This was probably an unavoidable process within the context of the events at national level and from one point of view there are many advantages to it. Small-scale loyalties to traditional groups should be replaced by a wider identification with the nation as a whole if Botswana is to take her place among the modern nations of this world. And very significantly, enterprising individuals are freed to follow their own course. Few people could have become pupil farmers if they had remained hemmed in by the demands of their kinsmen. A much greater mobility, and a much greater choice of direction is open to each individual. Even women can now seek their own direction and realise themselves to a much greater degree than before. Those who have initiative, skills and some resources can participate in the process of modernization which supposedly will ultimately offer them or their children a richer (both in the material and cultural sense) life and contribute to their country's development. But the initial clause of the last sentence already implies the major problem which has been created by this change toward individualism. Not all people are able to use the new 'freedom' to their own advantage. To be succesful the peasant requires an understanding of the conditions which shape his life, much energy and above all a certain amount of wealth. Those who go to work in the mines only to spend the money on food, schoolfees, taxes and clothes are not

likely to progress from their poverty. And the people without cattle who are not or no longer able to work in the mines, may have great trouble in making ends meet. They may in fact not succeed in doing so. As we have seen, agriculture is a rather hopeless affair under present conditions for the large proportion of people who have few or no cattle. Frequently a vicious circle of poverty is established which nowadays is hardly alleviated any longer by the generosity of kinsmen and wealthy members of the community. The inevitable consequence of the process of change towards individualistic values has been that the gap between rich and poor has grown.

Particularly those members of the community who are poor, old and disabled may come to be in a bad position today. The obligation to plough for one's parents is no longer always observed or often only perfunctorily so. This is not necessarily always due to ill will but because the children themselves are poor and place the interests of their family first. Donald Curtiss has made an excellent statistical study of 'The Social Organisation of Ploughing' in the Manyana area of the Ngwaketse district (9). His report in agreement with my own observations stresses that the stated ideals of kinship co-operation barely exist in reality. In only 8 instances out of a sample of 93 households did father and son plough together and none of these relationships aproximated the ideal. 'The sons of the two wealthy men had in one case amicably, and in the other case not so, arrived at a solution in which their major effort was directed to their own fields. The other cases were more arrangements of mutual convenience than traditional patterns of co-operation' (10). He concludes that 'an independent source of livelihood on the one side and the expectation that wage earners should look after themselves on the other side make close co-operation between father and sons the exception rather than the rule today' (11). He found nine cases where offspring ploughed for their widowed mothers but observed that these were not always given priority and that many widows greatly complained of the lack of support of their sons. This finding agrees with my own observations. The households headed by single/divorced/widowed women are the poorest category of this society. Next come those old men who have lost their cattle or have worked in South Africa for most of their life and failed to invest their money into

livestock. An example may indicate the dreadful poverty in which such people find themselves today.

Case XXVIII. Gaesi Nyokane.

Gaesi is 71 years old and a T.B. patient. He has no cattle. When a young man he married a Kaa woman but she soon died after giving birth to a daughter. He worked for most of his life in Johannesburg and lived with another woman there. They separated and he came to Bokaa in 1962. For a few years he received a pension.
In 1962 Gloria was still a young woman of 30 years but she had three children without fathers and was struggling to feed and clothe them. She longed for some security and agreed to marry Gaesi because she thought the pension could provide for her family in years to come. Then the payment of the pension was stopped.

Years of extreme harship followed. In addition to the three children she had on marriage with Gaesi, Gloria gave birth to another four children. They tried to earn a living by working for other people in the village. She helped others in building huts, smearing floors, cutting thatching grass, fetching water etc. etc. He tried various jobs like making fences of thornbushes, thatching roofs etc. But he was old and very ill. He was given a ration of enriched maizemeal via the clinic because he was a registered T.B. patient. Often the whole family would live on this ration which was meant to supplement the diet of only one man. They could go without food for days.

Gaesi's brother Ranko is an extremely wealthy man. His wife inherited many cattle and they have multiplied since that time. Ranko helps Gaesi a little but expects repayment in labour. When Gaesi's son was old enough to herd he went to look after Ranko's cattle. Gloria's brother Ntope has frequently employed Gaesi himself in return for some money and food. He says: 'I cannot give him food without him or his family working for us. My wife could never agree to a free gift of corn. She would ask me what I am doing by giving food to 'lazy' 'people' Then he added: 'They are shy to ask food and ashamed to come and help us'. It is shameful to be like a 'servant' to one's close relatives. Only when it is a proper job rewarded with proper pay, can the element of shame subside.

During the time of my field work, Gloria's eldest daughter (18 years) went to Gaborone. Some time later Gloria herself went there as well to look for employment.

The breakdown of co-operation described above is not limited to a lack of co-operation in herding and ploughing. Co-operation in general is distrusted at present. On the whole people are only willing to work together if they will be paid for it. For instance

the traditional workparties (melaleetsa) now take the form of a few people working together for a wage of one small basin of salt or one larger basin of sugar. The workers are expected to do their full days work and the 'employer' is anxious to see that everyone does their share. The element of merry making with beer after the work has disappeared. People consider that to work for another without pay is to put oneself in the position of a hereditary servant and this is an extremely shameful thing. This attitude has been fostered by the attainment of national independence. Politicians emphasized that people are now 'free' and 'equal' and no one should work for another without pay. Their speeches were directed primarily at the chiefs but people have tended to think that if they should not work for the chief without pay they certainly should not so for anyone else, including the 'community' and the 'government'. The concept 'independence' has come to be interpreted as a new era in which no one should give orders to anybody else and in which distinctions based on rank should disappear. 'In the past people took themselves as belonging to the chief. With independence we realised we were all equal and that we should all be gentlemen'. It followed that services of whatever kind should only be rendered if payment is involved. Some examples can indicate the extent to which this attitude is carried. The V.D.C. (Village Development Committee) and the P.T.A. (Parent Teacher Association) are functioning very poorly indeed and most members do not turn up to meetings. The major reason which is given is that people demand to be paid for such duties. Schoolchildren are provided with one meal of enriched maize-meal per schoolday and in the past the women of each ward formed groups which cooked the food in turns. In 1972 they refused to continue doing so and one woman had to be hired as a permanent cook. A Peace Corps Volunter was stationed in the village for 2 weeks in order to learn the language. At the end of his stay he thanked the village and gave them a present of white paint to paint their school. The main reaction he received was that people demanded money from him to do the painting job and in the end he had to paint the school himself. Self-help projects are regarded as 'work for the government' and again people demand that the government should pay them for such efforts. The fact that they were 'paid' in the form

of food during the 'Food for Work' programme of the famine years confirmed this attitude. Moreover people are aware that Government employs various people to do a similar kind of work, so why should they themselves not be paid for this work as well? As mentioned, the only 'self-help' projects which had a measure of succes were those in which the chief called the regiments to work and in those instances the fear of a fine or a thrashing in accordance with the old regimental laws was a primary motivating agent.

Such attitudes and values are clearly a reflection of the 'capitalist' values of the urban centres of Southern Africa and the western culture which is propagated in various forms in Botswana itself. People could not adopt the desire for a 'better' life in the material sense while continuing to observe the regulations of a society which emphasized social relations above all else. 'The present-day life is made for money' people say. But at the same time the past is still near enough for people to deplore these new trends. Informants generally agreed that the past was better than the present and one of the main reasons cited was thet people still helped and respected each other. Today, they agreed there is nothing but 'jealousy'. 'Jealousy' (lefufa) is a much used term which denotes a wide range of meaning from envy and jealousy to hatred. It refers to that human trait which cannot tolerate to see others rise to better fortune than oneself or to see others rise to the same good fortune as oneself. And of course this 'jealousy' is closely connected with the evil practices of witchcraft. The process of change outlined above could only lead to a marked deterioration in the relations between kinsmen, wardmembers and neighbours. It is always painful to be poor while another is rich but this is worse when it concerns one's own relative who moreover refuses to obey the traditional kinship norms. Today it is common to find that the brothers of a wealthy man are poor, some even very poor, while he does not assist them. Out of such conditions 'jealousy' arises and out of jealousy witchcraft accusations! 'There is more witchcraft than in the past. People get employment and money makes people jealous of each other'. It has also led to a situation where relatives or villagers hamper each others progress on the path to greater wealth and/or political influence. As one man said: 'If I try to

become rich my brothers will think that I want to become important and despise them. They think I will no longer respect them as I should and they do not want to be despised. Take me for instance. I have bought a donkeycart but I have no donkeys. My rrangwane's son has donkeys but no cart but he does not want me to use them, because he is afraid that I can become rich with them'. The traditional ideal of kinship demanded that there should be unity. People today seem to feel that if there is little real unity there should at least be shared poverty. Those that succeed in enriching themselves by utilizing the new values of economic individualism to their greatest advantage are viewed with much 'jealousy'. At the same time these same people are accused of protecting their position by working against anybody else trying to do the same thing. We can clearly see here a growing opposition between rich and poor, even if those rich be only relatively richer. The reluctance to work for another as labourer is often also attributed to the fact that people are afraid that the other will become richer through their labour. One can observe that many of the poorer people work on temporary jobs for another but that few are prepared to do so on a long-term basis. The earlier mentioned fear of becoming a 'servant', and the envy of the richer man, are probably the main reasons. Employment in towns is quite a different matter. Firstly because the employers are foreigners and not one's own kinsmen or neighbours and secondly because the town is a place which operates totally on a system of employment and wages.

Similar problems are encountered by those that try to rise to a position of leadership. They are generally regarded with distrust and hostility and accused of attempted exploitation. It is commonly said against clever and/or forceful people who try to play a role in the village's political life or try to stimulate self-help projects that 'he/she is trying to become a chief'. As there should only be one chief and this position is derived by birth, such a comment is extremely critical, even hostile. Educated people are distrusted because they tend to feel superior and because they are suspected of using their 'cleverness' to swindle people of their money and to oppress them. All village 'leaders', even those

who had no or little authority complained of 'jealousy'. A V.D.C. chairman said: 'Jealousy is the main factor which has destroyed everything. Of course we cannot exactly know what creates jealousy. We can just see that everyone hates everyone and notice that relations will die. Since I am a V.D.C. chairman it has brought me in a bad position because I am hated by everyone, but I like the job. I like to help those people. The trouble is that I work for nothing, I am not paid'. And the chief said: 'I do not agree that wards and the relations between kinsmen have disappeared because our culture has changed. It is because of jealousy. Families cannot co-operate because they are jealous. If jealousy could disappear everything could be the same'.

A revealing feature of these beliefs is that women in particular are pointed out as being 'so very jealous'. The usual explanation for the breakdown of the cooperation between brothers is that 'the wives were jealous. They did not want the milk to be given to the other woman's children. They ask a husband whether he is a 'servant' of his brother, and refuse to let their son herd another family's cattle'. Thus the blame is put on the 'wives', the relative outsiders who disturb the peace and unity of the siblinggroup, familygroup and ward. It is too much for a man to admit that he himself is not prepared to observe his most compelling kinship obligations and he shifts the blame. But though the cause may be attributed to the women the actual effects are almost always distrust, antagonism and ultimately wichcraft accusations between close agnates. The greatest danger of being bewitched comes from one's brothers, one's father's brothers and their sons, one's sisters, ones own parents and one's children. Especially between brothers and brothers and sisters, accusations are common because they are often engaged in a bitter struggle over the ownership of their fathers cattle. It is seldom that everyone is satisfied with the division of the inheritance and even more seldom that they bear no grudges about alleged or true misdemeanour.

Case XXIX. A case of witchcraft between brothers.

When bogadi was paid for Dikeledi her eldest brother and

her mother fought badly over the cattle thus received. The eldest brother regarded himself as her guardian and wanted them in that capacity, while the old lady claimed that as she had suffered the pains of childbirth for Dikeledi she should have them. She won the case and then asked her youngest son, Rakodu to look after them. Rakodu was very pleased with this arrangement since he had no cattle of his own. His pleasure soon vanished however because he fell ill and the bones of the witchdoctor indicated that his elder brother was behind this illness. Since that time Rakodu has not gone to live in the village again, but remains all year at the lands in order to avoid coming in contact with his brother.

Case XXX. Phophe is bewitched.

Phophe has been ill for a long time. He has consulted various traditional doctors and finally a prophet of an African Healing Church. Around his neck he wears a red cord to ward of the evil influence. He says that he first realised that he was bewitched when a few years ago he was nearly killed by a snake. According to him it was a huge snake with eyes as big as marbles, and it jumped on him as he fell in his panic. He was saved because the snake only attacks a human being when there is witchcraft involved. Phophe immediately consulted a diviner. His suspicions were confirmed by the outcome of the divination.

Previous to this event Phophe had experienced problems with his relatives. The widow of his fathers brothers had given her cattle to the care of the senior brother of her husband, i.e. the fathers older brother of Phophe called Tladi. After a few years Phophe convinced her that Tladi was not looking properly after the cattle and that she should rather give them to him. She agreed. But then Phophe sold a few of the calves for his own purposes without her knowledge and the majority of the others perished in the 1965 drought. Both she and Tladi now bore a grudge against Phophe. She started courtproceedings against him over the sale of a cow to a Kwena man but before the case had ended she fell ill and died. Phophe himself was held responsible for this death by her relatives. He himself believed that since he had found a strong new protective medicine (in fact paid for by the sale of the animal in question) the evil medicine of her and Tladi had rebounded on her.

Such cases are of course no new phenomenon. But everyone agrees that they are much more common than in the past, and in the light of the changes in the social fabric with their strong resultant tensions it is probable that there are indeed more witchcraft fears and accusations than in the past.

So far the picture presented is one of disintegration, problems and conflicts but of course new social forms will replace the old

ones. Certain trends can already be observed. We have seen how the former corporate groups have disintegrated and that the dominant mode of living is an increasingly individualistic one. And out of these same trends new forms of association are rising. Today people no longer from associations based on kinship and political status acquired by birth but have started to form associations based on achievement and interest. And these associations are reciprocal and contractual rather than 'co-operative'. Despite the frequent distrust and the desire to be 'independent' people have certain strong needs which they know they cannot satisfy easily on their own. These needs, however, have not been those which would have been envisaged by an outsider. The strongest and most widespread association in the village are the burial societies. Nearly everyone is a member of one, and often the husband and wife belong to a different one. To be buried in the proper manner, i.e. in a good coffin and with enough food for those that attend the funeral (ideally the whole village) is an extremely important matter. At this last occasion more respect should be paid to a person than ever during his life and it would be a disgrace if this did not happen in the proper manner. Every individual wants to be buried with honour. But it is an expensive affair and people often are unprepared for a sudden death. In the past a coffin or the planks for a coffin would be bought on account but this could lead to many problems later on. Close agnates were held responsible for the payment of such accounts and the chief could force the brother of a dead man to pay the account if the widow was not able to do so. As the relations between kinsmen deteriorated, this system led to many fights and ultimately was disliked by all parties concerned. The result was that burial societies were created to satisfy the strongly felt need for a good burial. At present there are nine burial societies in Bokaa. A discussion of one such society can serve as an illustration.

Case XXXI. Bokaa Badisa Burial Society.

Bokaa Badisa has forty members. Most of these are women. Kinship ties play little or no role in the recruitment of the members, while friendship ties are significant. The chairman, a man from the nearby village of Morwa was elected because

of his polite non-assertive behaviour.

Members pay 35 c each month to the treasurer and when there is a death they pay another 25 c. Thus each month R 14 is collected and at each death R 10. If a member of the society or his/her spouse or one of their children, dies, the society pays the full amount for the coffin. Also sugar, tea and soap are bought. In addition each member has the right to collect R 24 for the burial of four other relatives. Each month there is a general meeting at which members should bring their new contributions to the treasurer. Virtually all members do in fact attend these meetings. Likewise they will all turn up for the meetings which are called when one of their number or his/her relative has died.

There are indications that the membership of some of these burial societies may be structured in accordance with specific social categories in the future. For instance, on two occasions young people split off from the parent society and formed their own burial society. At one stage there were also a pupil farmer burial society and a burial society of people living at certain agricultural areas.

There is yet another form of association which is extremely widespread and which meets a strongly felt need. The need in question is 'money' and more particularly the saving of a large enough amount to make necessary or desired capital expenditures. People form associations called metshelo (sing, motshelo), a type of saving society. Again we can give the example of one particular society.

Case XXXII. A motshelo.

This motshelo has seven members. They are all relatively rich, some even very rich. Therefore their monthly payments are high. Each month each member contributes R 12, and each month one member receives the full amount collected. In addition each member pays monthly 30 c which partly pays for the small party which the member who has received the money must give. He/she will brew beer and provide meat, porridge, and 'fat cakes' (bread dumplings fried in hot oil). Each member has a right to two calabashes of beer, a plate of porridge and meat and ten fatcakes. The rest of the meat is usually sold to others.

This particular motshelo is one of wealthy people but there are metshelo suited for each level of income. The lowest is one of 25 c a week. We find thus that in these associations the divisions based on wealth are being confirmed. Could this be an indication

that one may expect a stratification according to wealth in the future? It seems indeed likely that the divisions caused by wealth will become more strongly marked in the future. The emphasis on 'work only for pay' will ultimately create a group of employers and one of employees. The shortage of labour forces the richer people to employ the poorer people as herdboys, agricultural labour, for the building and repairing of houses, digging wells, making fences etc. while the poorer are forced by their poverty and need for money too work for the richer. In this perspective the fear of the poor to lose their autonomy and become 'servants' is a realistic one. It is also possible that the growing land shortage and the proposal to form fenced ranches may well force the poorest section ever-increasingly into the service of the richer.

But whatever the future may bring it is clear that traditional society is no more. Change has been rapid. In 80 years time the people of Bokaa have moved a very long way. And though this still causes anguish to the older generation, the younger generation looks ahead, pleased with their new acquisitions and knowledge. The older people may lament:

> The people of recent times have spoiled things. Ever since my parents generation died and we were left with our children, things have been spoiled. It is the fault of the Europeans. The Europeans spoiled things purposely especially the rain. They were producers (i.e. of agricultural and material goods) and they wanted us to buy from them. They spoiled things so that we would make them rich. In the past we had everything for ourselves, sorghum, pumpkin, beans, milk and meat. We ate well, it was not like today.

But the younger generation and especially those that have been to school will agree with this informant:

> Things should change and if they had not changed life would be difficult. Our life is improving. European culture is a good culture, we accept it. In the past the living depended on the rainfall. Without rain everything had to die. Things were not under control- except for the chief controlling his people. Things like diseases and ways of living were not under control. In drought years we would be lost. At the moment we can do many things for ourselves. With money we can buy goods from far countries- even if there is a drought. Therefore I accept the modern culture better than the past.

Notes:

1) National Development Plan 1970-75. Gaborone: Government Printer. Introduction.

2) Masire, Q.K.J.-1970. 'A developing society'. In Development in Botswana. Gaborone: Government Printer, p.1.

3) For instance, Julius K. Nyerere writes:

> Traditionally we lived as families with individuals supporting each other and helping each other on terms of equality. We recognized that each of us had a place in the community, and this place carried with it rights to whatever food and shelter was available in return for the use of whatever abilities and energies we had... the community was a unit in which every individual was important, and among which the goods available were shared without too great inequality.
>
> This attitude is basically what we mean by saying that traditionally African society was a socialist society.

Nyerere, J.K.-1967. Principles and Development. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Information and Tourism, p. 9.

4) See for instance:
Mboya, T.-1964. 'African Socialism'. In Friedland, W.H. and Rosberg, C.G. (eds.), African Socialism. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 251.

5) Development in Botswana. Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 3.

6) ibid.

7) Roberts, S.- A Restatement of the Kgatla Law of Succession to Property. Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 13.

8) ibid., p.5.

9) Curtiss, D.-1972 'The social organisation of ploughing'. Bots. Notes and Records, vol. 4, pp. 67-80.

10) ibid., p. 73.

11) ibid., p. 75.

APPENDIX

The veterinary office in Mochudi allowed me to look into their cattle vaccination and stock census records. I tried to relate cattle figures from 1964 (thus before the catastropic drought of 1965/66), 1969 and 1971 to each other. This proved to be a most difficult task. Farmers had used different names in different years (it is quite common for people to have several names) and it seemed that many people had used names I was not aware of. They obviously wanted to mask their identity because they feared further taxation. Sometimes one man had included the cattle of relatives among the animals noted down as his own, and so on. For only 47 farmers could I find the figures for all three years. It must be realised, however, that these figures are not very reliable and I present them as indication rather than as absolute fact.

	cattle held in		
	1964	1969	1971
1.	54	49	63
2.	75	45	66
3.	65	35	44
4.	107	56	99
5.	50	22	27
6.	59	45	56
7.	66	36	62
8.	59	49	45
9.	45	33	47
10.	38	23	31
11.	39	6	2
12.	30	18	22
13.	39	29	33
14.	42	17	20
15.	31	11	14
16.	23	21	52
17.	38	12	7
18.	21	14	11
19.	16	19	63
20.	18	19	26

	1964	1969	1971
21.	21	6	11
22.	19	8	9
23.	29	18	13
24.	26	16	18
25.	16	10	8
26.	15	25	14
27.	28	16	18
28.	17	7	8
29.	18	3	6
30.	12	48	87
31.	28	28	30
32.	15	-	-
33.	12	12	10
34.	26	19	26
35.	9	20	19
36.	13	7	16
37.	22	14	5
38.	25	8	15
39.	29	-	-
40.	15	28	57
41.	7	6	23
42.	10	-	-
43.	4	-	-
44.	6	-	-
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