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Cooper, David

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A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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Title: An Overview of the Botswana Urban Class Structure and its Articulation with the Rural Mode of Production: Insights from Selebi-Phikwe.

by: David Cooper

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An Overview of the Botswana Urgan Class Structure and its Articulation with the Rural Mode of Production: Insights from Selebi-Phikwe.

by Mr David Cooper

INTRODUCTION

This paper is adapted from the paper of similar title recently given at the "Symposium on Settlement in Botswana" in Gaborone. Here I attempted to summarise, in a short paper, some of the central findings and theoretical perspectives which have been elaborated on in a series of four Working Papers circulated under the auspices of the Botswana National Migration Study (NMS) (Cooper 1979, a, b, c, 1980, henceforth WP1, 2, 3, 4).[1] In these latter papers, the central themes tended to be submerged under a weight of empirical data and necessary qualifications/footnotes. It was thus felt that a summary paper was worthwhile, in order to generate a wider debate on issues concerning the Botswana urban-based classes and their interrelations with the rural class structure. Of course, what then possibly emerges from such a brief overview is a class structure too crudely drawn, and certain jupotheses which appear too unqualified.

These problems inherent in the paper for the Symposium are equally applicable to this summary of the Working Papers here. In addition, such an overview takes, for instance, forms of land tenure in Botswana, the historical generation of the labour reserve economy, etc., as an accepted baseline with very little elaboration on this background. Nonetheless, it is felt desirable to focus this summary as much as possible on the issues of the class structure, and therefore of necessity to take such background coordinates as given. In this way, the discussion to follow this paper might more readily be able to centre on general problems of conceptualising the articulation of modes of production in post-colonial African states, and the accompanying class structures. If desired, some of this Botswana socio-economic 'background' can be gone into in this ensuing discussion.

In summarising the central arguments in these four Working Papers, it must also be stressed that the fundamental *external* determinants of Botswana's *internal* class

structure are largely ignored by these Papers. These include the economic role of USA and EEC capital through direct (e.g. mining) investment and more importantly, trading (e.g. cattle) linkages; the latters' interrelationship with the enormous input of foreign personnel into the political realm of the Botswana state; as well as the effects, primarily economic, of South African capital in its increasingly subordinate role vis-a-vis these other capitals since Independence. These are thus taken as additional 'givens' in this summary here of these Papers which focused on the internal dynamics of the Botswana social formation i.e. internal effects, which, though they have their own relative autonomy, are dominated by this external dynamic.[2]

PROLETARIAT OR PEASANTARIAT?

The central aim of the Papers was to come to grips with the nature of urbanisation in Botswana. With the post-independence growth of the new towns of Gaborone, Phikwe and Orapa, and of even the 'old' towns of Francistown and Lobatse, the 1964 urban population of 20 000 had increased to 120 000 by 1978 i.e. making up 15% of Botswana's resident population (WP2:2). Moreover, since 1974 the SA mines have stepped up recruitment from the internal *Bantustans*, leading to an almost 50% decrease in Botswana mine migrants between 1976 and 1978. By 1978 the approximately 60 000 citizens employed within Botswana in what is termed the 'formal economy' (mainly urban-based) had thus more or less drawn level with the estimated external employment (50% = miners), for the first time.

In a series of policy statements concerning 'income policy', Government planners have conceptualised the issues in terms of a rural-urban dichotomy i.e. a 'dual economy' of 'rich' urbanites and 'poor' rural dwellers. However, while these Working Papers admit that there is a stratum of poor peasant households without a migrant wage earner in South Africa or the Botswana towns, it is estimated (WP2:8) that 50% of rural households do have such a migrant (the recent Rural Income Distribution Survey, RIDS, found 56% of all rural households with at least one wage earner at some time during the 1974-5 year, Botswana Gov. 1976a:vi; initial NMS survey results are showing over 60% nationally, with the figure rising to 70% when only households in the large villages are considered). Thus, while many *individuals* might be unemployed, the *household* has to be the level of analysis, since individuals of the same household often straddle both the 'urban' and 'rural' areas throughout Southern Africa (the relevant geographical unit of analysis). And even if a rural household (the 'homestead' or *lolwapa*) does not actually have such a migrant wage earner, the circular flow of 'urban' wage income into every nook and cranny of the rural social structure points to the extreme fallacy of the idea of an 'isolated farming sector'.[3]

Parson has recently suggested the terms 'external

peasantariat' for Botswana migrants to South Africa, and 'internal peasantariat' for those employed in the *rural* areas of Botswana (e.g. on cattle posts, for rural Government departments, etc.) (1979:199-201). Yet Kerven's research in two 'peri-urban' areas of Francistown has shown that despite an average length of time in the town of over ten years amongst both her sample groups, the majority of the migrants were continuing their involvement in farming activities (1977: 107-9). She utilised the concept 'semi-proletarianisation'; and Alverson's admittedly more limited work amongst unskilled workers in Gaborone seemed to confirm this phenomenon (see WP4: 134).

As will be shown, the Phikwe evidence supported this characteristic of households with 'feet' in two modes of production simultaneously i.e. the concept *peasantariat* is applicable in many respects to various *urban* classes *within* Botswana as well. Thus much more complex questions need to be asked. Such as, which rural strata have no wage earners, and where, geographically, do they predominate? Or, from which rural strata and geographical areas do the various urban wage earning strata originate, and what is the exact nature of their (different) rural linkages?

In examining these questions; two central hypotheses emerged from the Phikwe data, which it is useful at this point to state prior to moving on to their more detailed breakdown. These two are: (i) that for the peasantariat wage levels are the crucial *independent* variable, with cattle and 'lands' activities being *dependent* on remittances from this wage income, (ii) that there is an important 'breakpoint' around 100 Pula (in 1976), coinciding roughly with the unskilled/skilled urban wage division and simultaneously with the estimated 'urban poverty datum line' (WP2:30). Those below this breakpoint never earn enough to enable anything beyond 'subsistence' in cattle and lands farming, while those increasingly above the breakpoint are able to use their 'surplus wage' for significant cattle accummulation and sometimes commercialisation of their arable holdings.

To come to grips with this 'peasantariat' situation, of household involvement in more than one mode of production, it is postulated that urban wage earners must be located in *three* 'class situations' simultaneously, as outlined in Table 1 (from WP4:137). Since their *wage earning* class situation is dominant, this aspect of Table 1 will be elaborated on first. Thereafter, using data from Phikwe skilled and unskilled-semiskilled wage earners, the multiplier effect of urban wage differentials on the rural *lands* and *cattle* class situations, respectively, will be traced. Thus, each of the three class situations will be dealt with in turn analytically separately. However, since all three situations are very often condensed in reality into a Botwana household at *one and the same time*, it will eventually be argued that, overall (i) unskilled-semiskilled workers in Botswana towns are linked to the poor and to a lesser extent

TABLE 1 THE THREE 'CLASS SITUATIONS'

Wage Earning 'Situations'		Lands "Situations"		Cattle "Situations"	
'Middle/High Level Skilled'	: P200+ Administrative, Professional, Mostly University or Technical Diploma	'Very Rich Peasantry/ Emergent Capitalist Farmers'	: 100's of bags grain, Always labour hiring and sales	'Very Rich Peasantry/ Emergent Capitalist Farmers'	: 100+ Cattle, Always 'Madisa' herding
'Lower Level Skilled'	: Clerks, Educated Technical J.C., Cambridge P50-200 | Skilled Less Educated P65-200 | P85-200	'Lower Level Rich Peasantry'	: 15+ bags grain, Regular labour hiring and grain sales	'Lower Level Rich Peasantry'	: 41-70/100 Cattle, Usually 'Madisa' herding
'Unskilled-Semiskilled Workers'	: P40-P80, Government Sector/BCL, etc.	'Middle Peasantry'	: 11-15 bags grain, Mainly 'Supra-Household' labour and own consumption	'Middle Peasantry'	: 21-40 Cattle, Mainly 'Relatives' herding
'Lower Level Unskilled Workers'	: P27-P40, wage employment outside Government Sector/ Large Private Companies	'Poor Peasantry'	: less than 10 bags grain, 'Supra-Household' labour and own consumption	'Poor Peasantry'	: 1-20 Cattle, 'Relatives' herding
'Lumpen-proletariat'	: Domestics, petty self-employed, unemployed	'Lumpen-peasantry'	: seldom work own lands	'Lumpen-peasantry'	: own no Cattle

NOTES: (i) All figure estimates are very rough indicators only.

(ii) Monthly wages for early 1976. By 1978, minimum wage P27 = P46, Unskilled P40 = P60, 'breakpoint' P85 = P110, University Degree P200 = P375 .

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TABLE 2

BOTSWANA CITIZENS : 'FORMAL' SECTOR EMPLOYMENT

Wage per month	P1-P100	P101-P200	P200+	Total Employment
Government Sectors	77%	17%	6%	18 360
Non-Government Sectors	89%	9%	2%	29 560
Wage per month	**P40-P80**	**P85-P200**	**P200+**	**Total Employment**
BCL (Citizens only)	78%	21%	1%	2 470

Sources: (i) Gov. /Non-Gov. (incl BCL) calculated from Botswana Gov. 1976b: Table 3
(ii) BCL, from company employment record cards, Feb. 1976, correlated with July 1975-June 1976 wage schedule

Notes: (i) Government = Central and Local Government, Education
(ii) 'Formal' Employment excludes domestic service and agricultural employment outside the freehold farms.
(iii) BCL P40-P80 = 'grades 1-3', P85-P200 = 'grades 4 - 6', P200 = 'grades 7 - 8', but WP3 shows how BCL grade structure essentially follows Government Industrial Class/Public Officer structure except for the anomalous skilled less educated group (see below).

Profiles of Rhikun Wage Earning Groups. Aspects of Conservation

middle peasantry (i.e. lands and cattle combined); (ii) the wages of (lower-level) skilled wage earners are facilitating their entry into the richer peasantry.

Finally, some thoughts on the class characteristics of the two rural extremes - the emergent capitalist farmers and the 'lumpenpeasantry' - will be considered. For significantly, very few of either the (lower level) skilled or unskilled Phikwe interviewees were linked to these classes.

THE WAGE EARNING CLASS SITUATIONS

Turning initially therefore to the wage earning strata in Table 1, it might appear at first that wage levels 'cause' these strata (wage levels = early 1976 when research was undertaken; 1979 levels are given underneath). However, it must be stressed that it is the nature of the *economic relations of production* established in the towns (involving multinational capitalist mining companies, the State as a major employer, South African medium sized companies, etc.), and their interrelationships with Botswana's *political* place in the international economy, that generates these wage earning situations and their respective wage levels. And these latter incomes then have feedback effects into the rural structure. While a full analysis of the urban based 'political economy' does not exist, some insights can be given.

Firstly, by 1976 the 'Government Sector' (Central and Local Government, Education) made up 36% of all citizen formal employment. Moreover, 1972 figures showed that while only 25% of all citizen formal employment was skilled (i.e. in jobs requiring post-primary education/training), nonetheless Government was absorbing 71% of all these skilled wage earners. These facts, coupled with the Government official 'Wages and Incomes Policy' requiring wage levels of the private and parastatal sectors to "generally conform to, and on no account significantly exceed" that of theGovernment Sector (quoted in WP2: 16), means that Government levels percolate, albeit in an adapted form, throughout all other wage levels of the society. In addition, the specific neocolonial political forces surrounding British decolonisation in Botswana in the early 1960s resulted in a Government wage structure (and hence all national wages) reflecting two important characteristics (WP2: 19-30) evident in Table 1:
(i) A large salary difference between the middle/high salariat and the lower level salariat (clerks, typists, etc.) (ii) A relatively small income difference (compared to other 'Third World' countries) between this lower level salariat and the unskilled-semiskilled workers.

A major reason for these two effects was the fact that expatriates almost exclusively occupied middle/high level salariat positions prior to Independence. In the early 1960s, the colonial administration consciously set in motion the localisation of these without adjusting differentials - including the relatively small differential

between clerical and semiskilled worker positions, both of which had always been filled by citizens. Given the balance of class forces in the post-independence decade, while there has been some limited contraction of differentials, the underlying structure has been retained (WP2: 20).

Secondly, in structural terms Government wage earners have been further differentiated by the creation of what is officially termed an 'Industrial Class', of unskilled-semiskilled (and a few skilled) workers, without the permanent and pensionable conditions of service applicable to so-called 'Public Officers' (which include the 'lower level skilled' stratum of Table 1). The application of increasingly strict educational criteria (i.e. post-primary education) for entry into 'Public Officer' positions has made it more and more difficult for 'Industrial Class' workers to enter the (lower level) skilled technical stratum (see Table 1). As will be shown below, the 'Skilled Less Educated' group (Table 1) found in Phikwe is thus an anomalous and fast disappearing phenomenon. The dotted line in Table 1 with respect to the wage earning class structure therefore signifies this sharp separation from the working class of those above semi-skilled level - reinforced by the increasingly strict educational criteria applicable to skilled wage earner recruitment.

Thirdly, there has emerged a structural and wage level division within the working class itself. As can be seen in Table 1, there exists a stratum of unskilled workers outside Government and large company (e.g. BCL[4] mine in Phikwe) employment. They are governed by the official 'minimum wage regulations' applicable to all sectors except domestic service and agriculture. They earn roughly two-thirds of the wage of an unskilled worker in Government/ BCL. Below them fall the 'lumpenproletariat' of domestics, petty self-employed and unemployed.

Phikwe, the mining town which had grown to a population of around 20 000 in 1976 following its inception in 1971, was found to be a microcosm of these national wage earning situations: an 'apple core' multinational company at the centre (providing 50% of Phikwe 'formal employment'); surrounded by a smaller layer containing the Government Sector and Parastatals; then a series of 'concentric circles' beginning with small engineering industries and construction companies and ending with the most marginalised sectors, of self-employment and unemployment.

Finally, an overview of the distribution of the wage earning strata nationally and in Phikwe is given by Table 2. It is clear from the Table that the vast majority (i.e. around four-fifths) fall below the above mentioned 'break-point' level of P100 broadly differentiating the skilled wage earners from the rest of the working class. It can also be observed how the 'Government Sector' and a large company like BCL both absorb a relatively higher proportion of skilled wage earners (P100+) than the 'non-Government sector' with its many medium and small size capitalist enterprises. Note, however, that the Government Sector

has relatively more medium/high level skilled wage-earners (i.e. P200+) than BCL; as will be seen below, the relatively few Batswana (i.e. excluding expatriates) filling these higher positions in BCL in Phikwe resulted in the research conducted there only focussing on the unskilled-semiskilled (P40-P80) and lower level skilled (P85-P200) BCL wage earners of Table 2.

PROFILES OF PHIKWE WAGE EARNING GROUPS, ASPECTS OF CONSERVATION OF THE PRECOLONIAL MODE OF PRODUCTION

Before proceeding to an investigation of the 'lands' and cattle class situations of urban wage earners based on evidence from Phikwe, it is useful to summarise certain findings in relation to the wage earning situations and life histories of the Phikwe groups which were studied. This is relevant for the following two reasons. Firstly, the subsequent discussion of rural class linkages will only become meaningful once clear profiles have been sketched of the three Phikwe sample groups ('Educated Salariat', 'Skilled Less Educated', 'Unskilled-Semiskilled') selected for study. Each had different rural linkages, directly dependent on both their differing Phikwe wage earning situations and their previous life histories. Secondly, these profiles and life histories generate crucial insights into the way certain precolonial class configurations and their related economic, political and ideological structures were *conserved* (albeit in various transformed forms) throughout the colonial period of the labour reserve economy. While it will be argued that the new post-colonial wage earning situations in the towns generate the *primary* determinations shaping the form of articulation with the rural mode of production, this *current* articulation is incomprehensible without an appreciation of the *historically* conserved aspects of a rural mode of production which make the 'peasantariat' phenomenon take its present shape.

The research in Phikwe involved a study of certain of the wage earning strata of Table 1, and was done by drawing samples for in-depth interviewing from certain specific housing areas in Phikwe. This was feasible because the *urban residence pattern* in Phikwe (and the other Botwana towns) is extremely rigid, and closely corresponds to the wage earning divisions of Table 1. In Phikwe the vast majority of the (lower level) unskilled workers and lumpen-proletariat live in what are termed the 'peri-urban' areas - squatter settlements and 'site and service areas' (plot allocation for self-constructions of housing), on the periphery of the planned mining township. The unskilled-semi-skilled workers of the major employers, the BCL multinational and Government/Parastatals (Water and Electricity), live either in these peri-urban areas or in what are termed the 'low cost' housing areas (BCL mine housing or Botswana Housing Corporation, respectively). Skilled wage earners predominated in the 'medium cost' area, or very occasionally

in the 'high cost' area where mostly expatriates lived; BCL company policy made 'grades 4-6' (P85-P200, lower level skilled) eligible for medium cost, 'grades 7-8 (P200+) for high cost.

The research opted for a detailed, in-depth form of interviewing in order to be able adequately to cover wage earning life histories and current rural production linkages.[5] Hence a relatively small sample had to be focussed on. It was decided to restrict interviews to wage earners of BCL, whose approximately 2500 so-called 'local' employees and 350 expatriates made up half the town's wage earners. Moreover, a further restriction was applied, in that only married male BCL wage earners were eventually interviewed, in order to focus on the nature of rural linkages once a man had begun the process of own household formation.[6] Given this, a random sample (50) of *unskilled-semiskilled* workers (P40-8P per month) was drawn from the BCL low cost housing area; another sample (46) of *(Lower level) skilled* wage earners (P85-P200) was drawn from the BCL medium cost area.

During the analysis phase, it was found useful to split this skilled sample of 46 further into: (i) an 'Educated Salariat' group (17), all with some secondary schooling and consisting of clerical workers, some technicians (e.g. laboratory workers) and a few technical supervisors (e.g. foremen); (ii) a 'Skilled Less Educated' group (29), all without any secondary schooling and filling mainly skilled worker or supervisory positions (e.g. crane drivers, mechanics, 'shift bosses', etc.). These subdivisions can be referrred to in Table 1 for the lower level skilled wage earning stratum. BCL (like Government) was increasingly selecting skilled technical workers (e.g. mechanics) from school leavers with 'Junior Certificate (J.C.)' or 'Cambridge' (3 or 5 years secondary). But there was still a residue of less educated workers filling some of these positions. Most of the Skilled Less Educated group, however, were mining department skilled workers (e.g. crane drivers) or supervisors who had had considerable experience on the SA mines, which background BCL was now using in Phikwe.

These two groups' life histories also differed. While only one of the Educated Salariat had previously worked on the SA mines (as a clerk), only three of the Skilled Less Educated group had not worked there. The vast majority of this latter group had simply oscillated between village and mines on a series of contracts (average of 4 contracts) before coming to Phikwe. A few had, however, from the mid-1960s onwards begun to take jobs in Botswana prior to coming to Phikwe. While the mean age of the group was 39 years, in contrast most of the Educated Salariat were under 30 years - reflecting the post-independence take off of secondary education in Botswana. The majority of these educated men had circulated through a number of 'salariat' jobs in Botswana towns prior to their BCL job, and all had

married women with at least a standard 7 (primary leavers) certificate. In contrast, only three of the wives of the Skilled Less Educated group had had any secondary schooling.

The 'Unskilled-Semiskilled' group (of labourers, underground drivers, etc.) all had standard 7 or less, and hardly any had married women with any secondary schooling. Over 80% of this group had worked on the SA mines (group mean was 4 contracts), the majority also simply oscillating on contracts prior to coming to Phikwe. While 80% of both the Skilled Less Educated group and this group were between 30 and 49 years of age, this group's slightly lower mean age (34 years) reflected the fact that relatively older men tended to fill the supervisory or skilled minor positions.

In terms of village of origin, some very interesting facts emerged concerning the interrelationships of the *urban classes* with *rural settlement patterns*, the latter as will be shown, being an important indicator of the predominant class structure. Initially, using data from the 1975 Selebi-Phikwe census and the 1975 Gaborone Migration Study (Stephens 1976), it was found (WP3:44) that for both Phikwe and Gaborone, about 70% of town migrants originated from within an approx. 150 kilometre radius of each town respectively. However, neither of these surveys broke down migrants by their urban class situations. When this was done for the three Phikwe sample groups, it was found that three-quarters of the Unskilled-Semiskilled group did originate from the '150 kilometre' hinterland. But for the Skilled Less Educated group, nearly half originated from the south of Botswana (over 400 km from Phikwe). Historically, this is the region where a significantly higher proportion of the male population has had mining/industrial experience in South Africa (WP2:39). As one BCL personnel officer remarked to me, "good miners often come from the south, so in the early days we went on recruiting drives there, looking for people with relevant experience". For the Educated Salariat on the other hand, despite the small sample size, the fact that a majority did come from northern and central Botswana (i.e. closer to Phikwe) seemed to confirm a hypothesis suggested by participant observation in Phikwe and Gaborone. This is that eventually (i.e. after marriage), this salariat tends to gravitate to towns reasonably close to their home villages so as better to supervise their cattle/lands and keep contact with parents/relatives.

However, it is necessary to go beyond a description of these rural geographical settlement patterns, to an examination of the class structure 'underneath'. For the evidence to be outlined below suggests that theprecolonial class structure of 'royals', 'commoners' and 'foreigners' is to a considerable extent being reproduced in a new form: the unskilled workers and poor peasantry are originating predominantly from what historically were the lower strata of precolonial society; the rich peasantry and current

emergent capitalist farmers are drawn heavily from families with 'royal' or prominent 'commoner' or prominent 'foreigner' backgrounds. A justification of the form of this precolonial class structure cannot be covered here. But this understanding of the precolonial 'Tributory' mode of production is based on Schapera's work (1952), which describes the existence of a class structure of royal-commoner-foreigner divisions within *each* 'kingdom' of precolonial Botswana - 'kingdoms' which, geographically, became basically the 'Tribal Reserves' of the colonial period and which boundaries still largely form the present day regional 'Districts' of eastern Botswana and the north-west (Ngamiland).[7]

One rough method of investigating the precolonial class background of present-day urban wage earners is in terms of size and location of their villages of origin. For Schapera has described (1955:7-10) how royals and commoners predominated in the large, centre (tribal capital) village of each kingdom, while foreigners of various levels tended either to inhabit (in eastern Botswana) the medium and small sized villages 'peripheral' to these 'centres' in the eastern hardveld, or the more distant small sandveld 'subperipheral' villages in the semi-desert to the west.[8] The 1975 national Rural Income Distribution Survey had found a significant income difference between rural households in the central villages compared to those in the other villages (Botswana Gov. 1976a:88). This fact had sensitised the investigation in Phikwe to the issue of a continuation of precolonial stratification in a transformed form within the new context, and this perspective was reinforced by three other facts emerging shortly thereafter. Firstly a Gaborone migration study found that while only 10% of Gaborone migrants came from villages of fewer than 500 persons, 45% came from central villages of over 5 000 persons (Stephens, 1976:54). Secondly, an investigation into the origin of all (Batswana) 1976 University of Botswana students showed that 86% originated from Botswana settlements of more than 1 000 persons, with 67% being from settlements of 5 000+ (including the Botswana towns) (Puzo, 1979:162). Thirdly, initial National Migration Study results are showing that very few urban migrants are coming from the small settlements of the western, semi-desert subperiphery of each District. In view of the fact that during the 1971 national census, 58% of Botswana's rural population were found to be living in settlements of under 500 persons all these findings suggested the possibility of a significant *reproduction* of the precolonial class structure. The analysis of the data from the three Phikwe sample groups reinforced this supposition. For it was found that while half the Unskilled-Semiskilled group came from 'medium' sized villages (500-3 900 persons), 60% of each of the other two Skilled groups came from large villages (3 900+ persons i.e. including all the old 'Tribal Reserve' capitals) (WP3:73). Overall, these sets of data suggested

therefore that (i) households in the smaller settlements particularly in the western semi-desert, are likely not to have a wage earner in a Botswana town; (ii) many households in medium sized villages of eastern Botswana do have a wage earner in town but not usually earning above the 'breakpoint'; (iii) the skilled urban strata tend heavily to originate from the larger villages. And of course, it is argued that these settlement patterns themselves reflect the reproduction of an earlier class structure, albeit in a new form.

This issue will be further discussed below in relation to the 'royal' and 'rich peasant' cattle class background of the emergent capitalist cattle farmers and the urban educated salariat, respectively. However, this concept of a reproduction of an earlier class structure depends partly on the more general thesis of the *conservation rather than dissolution* of significant core aspects of precolonial society. (For instance, it is implicitly assumed that rural settlement patterns have been relatively frozen throughout colonial rule). This whole issue of conservation cannot be fully covered here (see WP2: 31-42; WP3: 55-71; WP4: 17-26). But briefly summarised, it is argued that a 'labour reserve economy and culture' was generated during the colonial period to serve the needs of mining capital, while simultaneously enabling the British colonial administration to maintain 'law and order' at minimum expense. The oscillating migration to the SA mines which evolved in this context resulted in the emergence of a specific form of the *developmental cycle* of the rural household, i.e. these macro-forces, of capital and the colonial State, had its effects at the micro level of the household. As shown by the life histories of these Phikwe less educated workers, this cycle involved firstly a rural childhood for these men. There followed, between the ages (roughly) 20-40 years, a forced 'work-cum-rest' phase with oscillations between mine and village. During this phase, marriage took place around 30 years of age to a considerably younger woman. This set in motion the gradual process of withdrawal from the parents' household and the building of a separate compound. After 40 years of age, there began the slow withdrawal from wage labour into farming, often at sub-subsistence levels, using the small means of agricultural production accumulated during the work-cum-rest phase. This development cycle was directly structured by these external forces, creating specific economic and social security needs for the oscillating migrant: a farming unit to supplement meagre wages; care of wife and children by kinsfolk while absent; a retirement base after the working phase. Most importantly, the precolonial form of land tenure *was significantly retained (in practice) right up to the* mid 1970s (WP4: 17-26) i.e. until the effects of Land Boards (applied since 1970) and the new Tribal Grazing Land Policy (applied slowly since 1978) began to take root

(see below). This precolonial land tensure system, which was significantly conserved, involved the allocation for *use*, to *each* household, of (i) some arable land nearby the village, for crop farming and (ii) grazing tracts within the 'kingdom', for the establishment of cattle posts. I have argued (WP4) that actual land shortage has not so far been the major farming constraint - much more important are other means of production (e.g. draught oxen for ploughing, ploughs, etc.) which wages can buy. Nonetheless, this allocation of land to a household was dependent on the *retention of the village base*. Not surprisingly therefore, given this *developmental cycle* plus *form of land tenure*, it was found that 80% of the less educated workers had had their paternal grandfather, father and themselves all based in the same village i.e. reflecting an extensive reproduction of the precolonial patrilocal residential pattern within the same village or village ward (WP4: 61-71).[9] Moreover, this village-centredness of less educated workers was further highlighted by the fact that in sharp contrast to the situation of the Educated Salariat group, 75% of the wives of the less educated workers originated from the same or nearby villages as their spouses.

In summary therefore, the current 'peasantariat' phenomenon in the towns *partly* relates to these historically generated conservation tendencies affecting village base and land tenure i.e. historical forces which have conserved aspects of the earlier mode of production. As will be seen, however, while all three Phikwe sample groups were retaining strong agricultural links even *after* coming to Phikwe, these linkages were *different* in each of the three cases. In other words, aspects of this developmental cycle and oscillating migration are being retained by Botswana urban workers. But it is factors inherent in the new Phikwe situation - particularly the Unskilled-Semiskilled group's mean income of P70 versus that of the Skilled Less Educated group's P140 and the Educated Salariat's P180 - which are the *primary* forces now shaping the articulation of this urban-based class structure with the rural mode of production.

LANDS AND CATTLE CLASS SITUATIONS WITHIN THE NON-CAPITALIST MODE

The Phikwe wage earners were reinserting themselves into a mode of production which I have termed 'non-capitalist'. This is because, while it has retained certain important characteristics of the pre-capitalist tributory mode, it has been sufficiently transformed, and has lost so much of its relative autonomy due to its domination by the external capitalist mode, as to defy the use of the term 'precapitalist'. At the same time, as will be seen, the relations and forces of production with respect to arable and cattle farming are not capitalist for the vast majority of the rural population - who are simultaneously enmeshed within political and ideological structures which bear more of the stamp of (transformed) characteristics of the earlier mode than of

directly capitalistic structures. Moreover, these economic, political and ideological structures form enough of a complex whole as to warrant the conceptualisation of a separate mode of production - rather than simply conceiving of cattle and lands relations of production as isolated 'forms of production' floating within the larger sea of capitalism.

In this brief summary, prior to discussion of the way Phikwe wage earners were linking themselves with rural production, a conceptual map of the rural class structure into which these wage earners were reinserting themselves will first be outlined. This is illustrated in Table 1, where 'lands' and 'cattle' strata are conceptualised separately, since a household can theoretically (though not frequently in practice) be located in different lands and cattle class situations simultaneously. Very briefly,[10] this stratification model of thepeasantry in Table 1 revolves around the concept of the 'middle' peasant household - which uses *mainly* 'family group' labour and reaches a level of 'self-sufficiency' in terms of production for own consumption.

With reference to the 'lands class situations', it is argued that while households do sell beans, cow peas, etc. after keeping just a few bags for themselves, around 11-15 bags (90 kg) of grain (sorghum, maize, millet) are required by the average sized rural household before it can contemplate *regular* grain sales.[11] Evidence from the Phikwe interviewees showed that for this arable farming 'middle' and 'poor' peasantry (see Table 1), while consumption was mainly centred on the household (homestead or *lolwapa*), *production* was much less individualistic than currently assumed. Involved in this arable production (ploughing, harvesting) was a 'supra-household' unit, of Phikwe wage earner and wife, linked to parents, (some) married brothers and their wives, and unmarried sisters. They often formed a semi-communal work team, crucial for the accomplishment of production tasks i.e. a contracted but alive form of the precolonial patrilineal 'family group'. Moreover, they were often involved in numerous forms of mutual aid with wider lin/neighbours.[12] While a proportion of Phikwe wage earners who were reaping less than 15 bags were nonetheless using their wages to hire a tractor or team of oxen for ploughing, the majority were using the supra-household unit 'cattle pool'. Birdscaring, weeding and harvesting were almost entirely accomplished by this unit plus other kin/neighbours without any hiring. Only as lower level 'rich' peasant level was reached, did regular labour hiring and its concomitant regular grain sales begin to emerge (see Table 1). It is estimated (WP4:31) that *less than 5%* of rural households in Botswana penetrate byond the (arable farming) 'middle' peasantry into regular grain sales and labour hiring. The vast majority (*around 75%*) fall into the 'poor' and (to a much less extent) 'middle' peasantry - possessing their own land, and, except in severe drought years, reaping a meagre harvest therefrom. The remaining

minority - to use a general umbrella term of 'lumpen-peasantry' in Table 1 - do not possess, or very seldom work, their own lands. They exist on transfers, handouts, gathering or self-employment, often helping on relatives' lands or (increasingly) working for others (i.e. an emergent agricultural proletariat).

Most rural households are also located in a 'cattle class situation'. It is argued that current estimates of the (cattle) 'lumpenpeasantry' (households owning no cattle) are too low, *one-third* of rural households being a better estimate, the figure falling to less than 20% when only male headed households of villages straddling the line of rail in eastern Botswana are considered (WP4:51). Nonetheless, very few (*perhaps 15%*) manage to penetrate beyond the cattle farming 'middle' peasant level (see Table 1) though the *top 5%* (100+ cattle, Table 1) own 40% of the national herd (Botswana Gov., 1976a:112). In terms of this cattle 'middle' peasant concept, it is argued that cattle have specific values for rural households (see also Fielder, 1973): 'exchange value' (for sale in time of need for food, school fees, etc.); 'use value' (for ploughing, milk, transport, etc.); 'semi-exchange value' (for bride-wealth, funeral slaughtering, etc., involving social obligations whose 'debits' eventually return to the owner in the form of various 'credits'). Only when 30-40 cattle are accummulated (Devitt, 1979) by the rural household, can it begin to think of selling on a regular basis in order to accummulate further i.e. to enter the realm of the 'rich' peasantry. Moreover, it was found that while a proportion of Phikwe wage earners with 40 or less cattle were hiring herdsmen (*badisa* i.e. the system of *madisa*) to care for their cattle while away working, nonetheless the majority were involved in a supra-household 'cattle pool' unit. This predominantly involved fathers, brothers, and sometimes other kin, who herded their cattle together, the younger boys doing the actual herding. As the lower level 'rich' peasantry position began to be approached 'relatives' herding increasingly gave way to *madisa* (see Table 1) but often still within the cattle pool however.[13] Fragmentation of the latter pool (or its transformation into de facto 'syndicates') usually emerged once lower level 'rich' peasant cattle level of Table 1 began to be surmounted.

It is clear then that like wage levels in Table 1, these 'bag' and 'cattle' levels in the Table are *indicators* of underlying forms of (usually kinship) social relations of production and their concomitant level of 'forces of production'. For the three Phikwe sample groups, the way they injected some of their wages into these social relations/production forces can now be described.

In terms of *lands production*, although the vast majority of the Unskilled-Semiskilled group had already been in Phikwe for at least three agricultural seasons by 1976, 75% of them were found to be still involved with arable farming, either using their own lands or helping their parents. Their

wives oscillated during the agricultural cycle between village and Phikwe, 'lands' being their 'job' (often interspersed with beer brewing spells in village and/or in Phikwe), combined with their role of general caretaker of the rural base. Despite the fact that none of this group were ever attaining even 'middle' peasant ('lands') level on a regular annual basis, their small harvest did fulfill a number of functions. It involved mobilising relatively idle labour (wife, children, parents, siblings) to supplement food otherwise obtained from their remittances or cattle sales - if they were very lucky during a good rainfall year, the *use value* of say 12 bags of grain was equivalent to about two months of their wages.[14] In addition, besides providing a store of food for their households if they lost their jobs, their involvement supplied strong symbolic indications that they were committed to being 'true rural Batswana' who had not forsaken their kin. This was important if their multiple future negotiations for cattle, land rights, etc. in the village were to go smoothly. Finally, in a subtle way, by their families not joining them permanently in Phikwe (despite their being allocated their own BCL house), their urban cost of living was reduced.

50% of the Skilled Less Educated group were found to be similarly involved. Yet despite this group's very comparable life history to that of the other group *prior* to Phikwe, there was definitely a tendency amongst some of them temporarily to opt out of arable farming by bringing their wives and children to live in Phikwe throughout the year. Most of these men then still retained their lands for use after retirement from wage labour. But their relatively *higher wages*, coupled with *low crop yields* owing to problematic rainfall, were the central factors facilitating this trend.

This tendency was even more marked with the Educated Salariat. Because of their wives often having secondary schooling, these women were obtaining jobs in Phikwe, one month's salary generally covering the loss of a harvest. However, for those of the two Skilled groups who *were* involved in 'lands' it was clear that their higher wages significantly enabled them to overcome the most important arable farming constraints encountered by the peasantry in Botswana. These included (i) hiring a tractor or draught power, or accummulating their own team, to accomplish timely ploughing, (ii) wire-fencing their fields to prevent crop damage, (iii) hiring transport and labour where necessary. Still, problematic rainfall and low levels of technology resulted in few of even these wage earners penetrating beyond 'middle' peasant levels.

Besides the lack of investment in arable technology owing to the high risk nature of crop farming in Botswana, another reason for this limited investment was the channelling of wages into the much more profitable *cattle production*. Amongst other factors (WP4: 40-41), in particular the EEC

'concession' to Botswana beef exports has resulted in beef prices well above that of the international beef market (Hubbard, 1979). Hence with a mature ox fetching over P150 in 1976, that is, well over the value of an entire average grain harvest, it is not surprising that only 17% of the Unskilled-Semiskilled, 4% of the Skilled Less Educated and 25% of the Educated Salariat were found to own no cattle. Cattle were found to have been obtained primarily from wage purchases before and after Phikwe, and to a significantly lesser extent from inheritance (the slightly higher figure of 25% for the last mentioned group reflected their younger average age, half being under 30 years of age). At the same time, 8% of the Unskilled-Semiskilled, 17% of the Skilled Less Educated and 33% of the Educated Salariat owned over 40 head of cattle; though hardly any had penetrated beyond lower level 'rich' peasant cattle situation of Table 1. In-depth interviewing revealed that nearly every one of the 96 interviewees hoped to buy cattle. However, those above the 'breakpoint' were purchasing at a much higher rate, even approaching 10 head per year on a salary of just over P200 per month in 1976.[15] There was also a greater tendency for both skilled groups to hire herdsmen at rates of less than 10% their own wages, given the 'going rate' for herdsmen of around P10 per month at the time.

SOME CONCLUSIONS IN RELATION TO THE NATIONAL CLASS STRUCTURE

In conclusion, since overall class orientation depends on the 'mix' of *all* three 'situations' of Table 1 which are condensed into a Botswana household at *one and the same time*, it is useful to review the overall picture. The Phikwe evidence suggests that *most Government/large company unskilled-semiskilled* workers in Botswana towns are linked to the poor and to a lesser extent middle peasantry (i.e. lands and cattle situations combined), from which they originate, and out of which they have extreme difficulty in moving, given their low urban wages. The (lower level) *skilled* Phikwe wage earners have given concrete evidence of the way money from these urban wages 'speakds' in terms of facilitating entry into the middle and lower level rich peasantry. The anomalous Skilled Less Educated group, in particular, highlight the manner in which, despite a similar previous life history to the Unskilled-Semiskilled in Phikwe, their wages were enabling them to surmoun the middle peasant barrier, at least in terms of cattle. Evidence showed that these cattle then also enabled them to transmit a secondary school education to their children.[16] As mentioned, however, this group is diminishing fractionally. Given the high cost of secondary schooling, it would appear that children with secondary school education will be drawn predominantly from households within the educated salariat and the richer peasantry. It must be stressed however that with only 1% of Batsana citizens in BCL in Phikwe earning over P200 in 1976 (see Table 2), the chances were relatively slight of gathering data on the much more important stratum of very

rich peasantry/emergent capitalist farmers. Nonetheless, obvious inferences can be drawn from this *lower level* skilled wage earner data about high wage and/or large cattle herd dynamics. In addition, a few case studies from the Educated Salariat involving fathers who owned large cattle herds and/or were well educated themselves gave further insights. These revealed transitional social relations of production existing at the upper levels of the rich peasantry (WP4:91-94). On the one hand, aspects of the non-capitalist mode of production based on peasant kinship relations of production still existed e.g. involving lands obtained from headman or father; wife and relatives supervisory role at the lands; use of grandfather's cattle post, etc. On the other hand, these were increasingly combined with features of the capitalist mode: wages for cattle/lands workers replacing more paternalistic exchanges involving use of cattle for ploughing, etc; sale of cattle and crops for the market and reinvestment of profits; tractor hire or purchase; cattle syndicates and boreholes.

The Tribal Grazing Land Policy which, after this research in 1976, has begun to allocate exclusive rights to grazing land in the form of fenced ranches located often around already existent boreholes, will finally coalesce these features in the second direction. While for some reason (?) very little research has focussed on this rural stratum, some findings have recently emerged. Hitchcock's study of boreholes at western sandveld cattle posts in the Central District found the (absentee) owners almost all with 100+ cattle, coming predominantly (40%) from the large Central District village of Serowe. Most had some other source of income besides cattle, with a high proportion either presently, or in the past, holding civil servant positions (1978:183-185). In another study in the Kgatlong District, it was found that despite a subsequent slightly wider borehole syndicate ownership pattern, "many of the earliest syndicates have a nucleus of men from families connected to the various 'royal' lines, prominent ward headmen and their relations and associates, and favoured *batlanka* (servants or clients) of the chief" (Peters, 1980:14).

It thus seems that this *economically dominant class* is based on intermeshing upper stratum wage employment and cattle (and sometimes trading) linkages, and is to a significant degress drawn from 'royal', prominent 'commoner' and 'foreigner' qualification to the thesis of the dominance of wages over cattle and lands production is necessary. For while this applies particularly to the mass of less educated unskilled-semiskilled 'peasantariat', and has been crucial for the upward mobility of the small skilled less educated fraction, it has already been hinted at that at least for a significant proportion of the educated salariat, father's cattle ownership was important in facilitating this education. At the level of the economically dominant class, however, it is definitely large cattle herds which are the key. At the same time, this class sees it as important to

keep its feet simultaneously within the upper levels of wage employment, and has ensured a good education for its children. It must be stressed that in relation to this small dominant class (not focussed on during the Phikwe interviews), the lower level skilled in Phikwe and elsewhere are not more than a 'petty bourgeoisie' (Educated Salariat) (cf. Poulantzas 1975) and 'labour aristocracy' (Skilled Less Educated) (cf. Arrighi and Saul, 1973) respectively. They might polarise their political support either 'up' or 'down', depending on the historical conjuncture.[18i]

Finally, it has been clear that amongst the urban unskilled-semiskilled workers there are *structural* reasons governing their continued investment in farming i.e. factors related to the structural necessity for feet in two modes of production, simply in order to survive economically given the low urban wages. Admittedly, a younger generation who grow up in the town will be influenced by *cultural* factors pointing in the opposite direction. But these will simply *mediate* the more dominant structural factors. It is therefore important to reconsider the usual reflex reaction which automatically considers the peasantariat phenomenon as transitory. For the Botswana urban classes are articulating with a rural mode of production very different to the feudal mode of production, which articulated with the urban classes of early capitalist Europe. And these structural factors make it in the long-term interest of thepeasantariat to retain their linkages across these modes.

What factors are nonetheless likely to erode this peasantariat phenomenon? Some insights were obtained in this regard from an investigation of a small group of female-headed households in a 'site and service' area of Phikwe (WP1). These women were located either in the very low wage stratum of 'lower level unskilled workers' (see Table 1) (shop assistants, etc.) or the 'lumpen-proletariat' (beer brewers, etc.) - strata which were not captured within the other three Phikwe sample groups. The low earnings of these women were an important factor why some of them were beginning to break their rural links. Kerven's study (1977) as well as participant observation has, however, confirmed that the majority of these lower two strata *are* still part of the peasantariat phenomenon i.e. actively retaining production links. Nonetheless, this WP1 did suggest an important hypothesis: that it is amongst these lowest urban strata, who are earning so little that they are unable to purchase cattle or acquire even a minimum of arable means of production, that one will begin to find a possible significant breaking of rural links and hence a 'commitment' to town.

More fundamental, however, was the insight, generated from this investigation of female-heads, that what goes on in the rural mode of production in terms of access to the means of production, is a crucial determinant. Female-heads have greater difficult in inheriting *cattle*,

acquiring *land*, and effectively organising the care of cattle and timely ploughing on their own (WP1: 13-17). But as shown above, for the (male-headed) peasantariat the conservation of the land tenure system involving *access* to land has been absolutely crucial. So far the Tribal Grazing Land Policy has only begun allocating ranches in the sparsely populated western sandveld areas, resulting in the limited expulsion of peasantry (usually 'foreigners') from this land. If and when the TGLP ranches begin to impinge on the more heavily populated eastern hardveld - so far designated as 'communal' (i.e. retention of most of the current land tenure systems) by TGLP - then the base on which the poor and middle peasantry rest could begin to be undermined. The Tribal Land Act (1968) has vested land allocation now in the hands of District and sub-District 'Land Boards', rather than the chiefs and headmen.[19] Undoubtedly the struggle by fractions of the richer peasantry for control of these Boards in the 1980s will increasingly *dissolve* many of the conserved aspects of the earlier mode of production on which the peasantariat depends.

When this dissolution begins to 'bite', an increasing number of entire peasant households will stream to join the lower level skilled and lumpenproletariat in the towns, and perhaps of necessity begin to sever their rural links. At the same time, there is only limited potential for an urban employment increase within the mining dominated economy; the state apparatuses are relatively 'full'; and mine labour to South Africa is expected to decrease even further. The urban unemployed are unlikely to throw themselves back into full-time farming, despite the hopes of the new Goverment 'Arable Land Development Policy' which is hoping to stimulate poor peasant arable production by a technocratic policy of increased supply and availability of technical inputs. Currently, the situation is very bleak for what was estimated above to comprise about one-third of all rural households - the very poor peasantry of lumpenpeasantry who neither directly nor indirectly have the support of even an unskilled wage earner in the towns or South Africa. These are the rural *very* poor. If they are not already working on someone's cattle post, some of them will increasingly be absorbed as an agricultural proletariat as capitalist farming begins to expand. Nonetheless, even this 'option' of employment is limited. The dissolution of this rural non-capitalist form of land tenure and social relations of production will surely, however, undermine the very basis of the peasantariat, particularly at the levels of the poor peasantry and middle peasantry, and swell the ranks of the lumpenpeasantry and lumpenproletariat. Cultural 'commitment' to town therefore plays a significantly lesser role compared to these structural conditions, of conservation tendencies *within* the peasantariat, and dissolution tendencies happening *outside* of them.

NOTES

1. These Working Papers were intended to provide the NMS with background summaries of some issues relating to the political economy of Botswana; and to generate hypotheses, derived from a more limited study in Selebi-Phikwe in 1976, for testing by the more nationally based NMS survey (involving 3% of all Botswana households during 1979). The Phikwe research was conducted throughout 1976 by myself in this mining town, and is currently being incorporated in a Ph.D. thesis for the University of Birmingham.

2. A detailed work on the political economy of Botswana which fully traces the external-internal relationships at a macroeconomic level is still lacking; but Parson (1879) has the most valuable analysis to date. See also some brief comments in relation to the multinationals and the Selebi-Phikwe strike (Cooper, 1979d); and Lewis's detailed work on the Phikwe financial networks (1974).

3. For example, people inherit cattle which are essentially the 'dead labour' (i.e. purchased from migrant earnings) of their fathers; rural beer brewers' income derives mainly from the circulation of migrant earnings; households without a wage earner often obtain a share of the harvest by helping relatives/friends to work their lands, the latter production being set in motion by the use of tractors/draught power/agricultural inputs purchased from wage income, etc., etc.

4. The Bamangwato Concessions Ltd (BCL), copper-nickel mining company in Phikwe, in which the State has a 15% shareholding. The remainder is held 30% each by the multinationals of American Metal Climax (Amax)and Anglo-American Corporation/Charter Consolidated, 40% by private shareholders.

5. Two 2 hourly interviews were conducted with each interviewee, during which the following were covered:household demographic characteristics; previous life history; employment and residence histories in Phikwe; details of lands and cattle production; general rural economic and social links. Of course, in the analysis of this data, a year's participation observation in Phikwe and two years in Gaborone, plus the availability of an enormous number of micro-studies in Botswana in the 1970's are all crucial in the final interpretation of this data.

6. Working Paper 1 deals with the phenomenon of female-headed household in towns and the rural areas. This cannot be gone into here, suffice to say in towns they are still very much a minority; while in the rural areas, although 25% of rural households are headed 'de jure' by a woman (i.e. actually the head, not just acting as head while the male wage earner is away), half of these are households headed by widows i.e. less than 15% of rural homesteads are 'truly' female headed.

7. Schematically:

	'Royal' Ruling Class	Within 'Kingdom' or 'Chiefdom'	Colonial 'Tribal Reserve'	Current 'District'
Eastern Botswana	Ngwato	kingdom	Ngwato Reserve	Central District
	Kwena	kingdom	Kwena Reserve	Kwening District
	Ngwaketse	kingdom	Ngwaketse Reserve	Southern District
	Kgatla	chiefdom	Kgatla Reserve	Kgatleng District
	Malete	chiefdom	Malete Reserve	South East District
	Tlokwa	chiefdom	Tlokwa Reserve	
North West Botswana	Tawana	kingdom	Tawana Reserve	Ngamiland District

8. This class-cum-settlement structure involving a centre-periphery subperiphery geographical pattern within each kingdom is discussed briefly in an unpublished paper, "The National Migration Study Sampling Methodology", Botswana Central Statistics Office. Various important qualifications, e.g. 'foreigner' wards (i.e. village subdividions) located in the centre villages, cannot be covered here.

9. See Schapera and Roberts, 1975, for additional evidence of this continuation of the patrilocal residential system, from their study of a Mochudi ward 40 years after Schapera's initial investigation there.

10. WP4: (14-51) gives an extended discussion of these peasant strata.

11. Of course, intermittent grain sales/exchanges are undertaken by households harvesting less bags, when a *specific need arises.*

12. See also Mahoney, 1977, for the concept of 'neighbourhood set' in terms of neighbourly exchanges.

13. See WP4: (122-23) for how, in addtion, an older system of 'mafisa' (involving the loaning out of cattle, the holder being given use of the cattle for ploughing and for milk, and the occassional gift of a calf) is increasingly becoming indistinguishable from 'madisa'.

14. Mean income for this group was p70. Use value (i.e. cost of purchasing an equivalent bag of maize meal) of 12 bags = P12 x 12 = P144 (see WP4: 146).

15. WP4: 115, gives numerous succint quotes from the in-depth interviews concerning purchases while in Phikwe.

16. Secondary schooling in Botswana is not free: fees alone were around P100 per child per year in 1976.

17. I am indebted to David Massey for some valuable comments on these transitional relations.

18. Poulantzas' and Arrighi/Saul's concepts do capture some of the central aspects here - but not all aspects of their theories in this respect are accepted. Moreover, certain qualifications, and differences, need to be spelt out in relation to the 'new petty bourgeoisie' and 'labour aristocracy' in the metropolises vis-a-vis those located in peripheral social formations like Botswana. I am indebted to Dave Kaplan for comments in relation tothe latter point, and to Alida Kooy for her comments on the crucial role of cattle, not wages, for the dominant class.

19. The 'Tribal Land Act', applied since 1970 (but with fairly limited effect so far), set up Land Boards which

were to *allocate* 'communal' land for *use* for arable farming and cattle grazing i.e. the aim was to attempt to retain the older system, but to transfer the powers of allocation to the Boards. The latter (for each District) consisted of the chief, his appointee, 2 elected members of the District Councils and 2 Ministerial Appointees. Moreover, at least 1 of the 5 members of the 'Subordinate Land Boards' (regional subcommittees within each District) is required to be an elected subchief or headman. All land applications now go through these 'Subordinate' Boards, who are required by law to consult with an applicant's ward head/local representative in terms of objections and advice. The District Land Board acts as a kind of 'appeal court', and in addition the Act makes provision for these Boards to allocate land on a 'common Law' basis i.e. leasehold and freehold (see WP4: 18). The struggle for 'communal' land to be transformed into this form of land tenure will surely increase.

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