

**Africa's 'miracle state'? the intersection of political leaders and non-state
actors in the greening of Botswana through wildlife**

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DECLARATION

I, **EMMANUEL MOGENDE**, declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution.

Signature: _____

Signed by candidate

Date: 10/02/2020

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ABBREVIATIONS

APU – Anti-Poaching Unit
BDF – Botswana Defense Force
BDP – Botswana Democratic Party
BNARS – Botswana National Archives and Records Services
BTO – Botswana Tourism Organisation
CBD – Convention on Biological Diversity
CBNRM – Community-based Natural Resource Management
CEGs – Community Escort Guides
CHAs – Controlled Hunting Areas
CKGR – Central Kalahari Game Reserve
CI – Conservation International
CITES – Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna
DEA – Department of Environmental Affairs
DISS – Directorate of Intelligence and Security
DWNP – Department of Wildlife and National Parks
EWB – Elephants Without Borders
GEF – Global Environment Facility
GoB – Government of Botswana
HCLV – High Cost Low Volume
IUCN – International Union for the Conservation of Nature
KAZA – Kavango-Zambezi Transfontier Conservation Area
KCS – Kalahari Conservation Society
KDT – Khwai Development Trust
MEA – Multi-lateral Agreements
MENT – Ministry of Environment, Natural Resource Conservation and Tourism
MEWT – Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MFDP – Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
NDPs – National Development Plans
NEF – National Environment Fund
NGO – Non-governmental Organisation
ODMP – Okavango Delta Management Plan

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OWS – Okavango Wilderness Safaris
PAs – Protected Areas
PPF – Peace Parks Foundation
TFCAs – Transfrontier Conservation Areas
TLB – Tawana Land Board
TLGB – Tribal Land Grazing Policy
SADC – Southern African Development Community
SONA – State of the Nation Address
SWV – the Foundation of Netherlands Volunteers
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme
USAID – United States Agency for International Development
WMAs – Wildlife Management Areas
WTTC – The World Tourism and Travel Council
WWF – World Wildlife Fund for Nature International

ABSTRACT

The premise of the thesis is that attention to the processes that produce the green state opens up avenues for analysing African states from the perspective of the green state. This study engages the theory of the green state within the African context to understand the complex processes that enabled the greening of the state in Botswana. I draw on the example of wildlife conservation policies and practices in post-independence Botswana to argue that the greening of the state entails processes by which the state interacts with non-state actors to enact environmental reforms over a long period of time. Such interaction maybe initiated by the state or by non-state actors who are determined to pursue an environmental agenda or to implement environmental strategies through organs of the state. To account for the processes that enable the greening of Botswana, the study employed an interpretive approach that is dependent on qualitative data. The study primarily draws from archival research and key informant interviews with academics, environmental consultants, representatives of civil society, relevant government departments and ministries, the private sector in Botswana's tourism, and an interview with former President Ian Khama. To understand the greening processes, the thesis analysed the qualitative data between 1966 and 2018. These historical periods cover the presidency of Seretse Khama (1966 – 1980), Ketumile Masire (1980 – 1998), Festus Mogae (1998 – 2008) and Ian Khama (2008 – 2018).

The four key findings of the study are that, first, the collaboration between authorities in Botswana and international agencies and actors enabled the greening of Botswana. These agencies and actors, financed environmental-related programmes, facilitated the development of green institutions, and influenced the country's conservation policies. Second, the study demonstrates that political leadership is instrumental in the greening of Botswana. The four presidencies paid attention to environmental protection though there were variations in each presidency. The presidency of Ian Khama stands out as an important period in greening of the state as he strengthened the greening process by realigning the wildlife economy with political power. Third, the study found that the greening process necessitates the internal restructuring of the state through the establishment of green institutions, which serve to realign state activities with the green agenda. Fourth and lastly, the study reveals that the greening of the state in Botswana is accompanied by negative state-citizen relations in the wildlife sector.

These relations played out through the marginalization of the local people in the ecotourism enterprise within the context of community-based natural resource management initiative.

Chapter One

The State and environmental governance

(A)ny green transformation of the present political order will, short of revolution, necessarily be state-dependent (Robyn Eckersley, 2004, p. 5).

1.1 Introduction

In recent years, the changing role of the state in the provision of public goods and services as well as in environmental protection have been a subject of extensive debates in the fields of political science, economics, international relations (IR) and political ecology. The debates centres around the erosion or diffusion of state power and authority in the delivery of public goods and services as a result of the increased participation of non-state actors in policy making and implementation (Rosenau, 1992; Kooiman, 2003; Rhodes, 2007; Hysing, 2009; Reed and Bruyneel, 2010; Bäckstrand et al., 2017). This literature highlights that the state has been hollowed out through the processes of decentralisation and neo-liberalization whereby state power and authority is transferred vertically to international policy levels and horizontally to local actors, civil society and private sector in natural resource management. This hollowing out implies a shift from government to governance, and it takes place in varying degrees within nation states (Rhodes, 2007; Jessop, 2009; Moon et al., 2017; Bennett and Satterfield, 2018). This shift has opened avenues for the increased role of non-governmental organisations, civil society, private actors, community-based management and market-based policy instruments in environmental management (McCarthy, 2005; Lemos and Agrawal, 2006; Castree, 2008). Put simply, the concept of governance promotes shared decision making in which policies and interventions aimed at solving environmental challenges are negotiated by a broad coalition of non-state actors. Since non-state actors play an increasingly authoritative role in decision-making, shaping policy outcomes and implementation, analysts argue that the state has retreated from environmental governance.

There are at least two main factors that accounts for the erosion of state power within the literature of environmental governance. First, environmental problems are often characterised as complex or wicked. Environmental issues such as the loss of biodiversity, climate change, air pollution, water shortages, food insecurity are multi-layered. This means that resource management takes place in a context of rapid environmental change, uncertainty and increasing complexity (Armitage et al., 2009; Preiser et al., 2018; Reyers et al., 2018; Rodela and Swartling, 2019). As a result, it is claimed that state bureaucratic structures are unable to

adequately address the complexity of environmental problems. This perspective is “based upon the recognition that no single actor possesses the capabilities to address the multiple facets, interdependencies and scales of environmental problems that may appear at first blush to be quite simple” (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006, p. 311). In this regard, the state is seen as lacking the capacity to deal with complex environmental issues. Hence there is a shift in the role of the state as a central authority figure to one of facilitator or co-partner working in collaboration with other social actors in decentralised and market-based governance processes (Kooiman, 2003; Hysing, 2009; Ngeta, 2015; Armitage et al., 2017). Scholars have thus enhanced our understanding of the conditions of success and failures associated with collective action to manage natural resources under a combination of various forms of knowledge and socio-economic contexts (Ostrom, 1990; Lemos and Agrawal, 2006; Sowman and Wynberg, 2015). Examples of environmental models that call for the participation of non-state actors in environmental governance include community-based conservation, especially community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) (Alexander et al., 2016; Twyman, 2017; Milupi et al., 2017). Others have put forward market-based solutions in which the community and the state have relatively little roles to play in effective ecological management (Vatn, 2015; Cooke and Lane, 2020).

Second, globalisation is seen as a driving force in the waning of state power and authority (Rosenau, 2017). The advent of globalisation witnessed an increase in international actors, international treaties and networks that pressure the state to recognise powers from above and below; making it difficult for the state to govern through traditional top-down, command and control forms of sovereign rule (Sassen 2007, 2008). The growth of institutions such as the Global Environment Facility (GEF), United Nations agencies, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and the proliferation of international environmental law, epistemic communities, together with the rise of local movements and instruments like Local Agenda 21, environmental NGOs and movements, citizens groups, private companies involved in corporate social and environmental responsibility, and the importance of local governments in designing and implementing environmental regulation have resulted in the waning of the central role of the state. Keck and Sikkink (1998) considers these networks to be political entrepreneurs, who play various roles including information sharing, capacity building and implementation and rule setting (Andonova et al, 2009). Networks are key to globalisation. For Dicken (2015), globalization is compounded by significant material transformations in the

global economy, in what he refers to as the global shift. These global transformations entail the rapid proliferation of cross-border trade and investments by transnational corporations and financial institutions, the penetration of global cultures and the reluctant power shift from nation states to global governance. Dicken (2015, p. 438) argues that the effects of globalization “are felt not at the global or the national level but at the local scale: the communities within which real people struggle to live out their daily lives. It is at this scale that physical investment in economic activities are actually put in place, restructured and closed down”. In the context of Botswana, which is the focus of this thesis, globalization resulted in key resources such as diamonds and wildlife being under the control of multinational companies and largely benefiting the traditional Tswana elites. The wealth generated by the globalization of these resources has not translated into the improvement of quality of life of ordinary citizens (Ulriksen, 2017).

Despite the hollowing out of the state, scholars have challenged the alleged move from ‘government to governance’ by highlighting the continued interference of the state in market-based environmental management (Jordan et al., 2005; Howlett et al., 2009; Giessen et al., 2016). Studies in political ecology have pointed to the significance of the state and civil regulations in neoliberal reforms, which produce a form of hybrid neoliberalisation (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Roth and Dressler, 2012). A growing body of governmentality studies has also engaged with the simultaneous operation of disciplinary forms of intervention alongside the prevalent neoliberal ones, producing a form of state-led neoliberal restructuring (Bluwstein, 2017; Fletcher, 2017). Given these counter claims on the role of the state, recent work in green political theory and environmental politics calls for the re-insertion of the state as the central unit of analysis in environmental protection (Barry and Eckersely, 2005; Duit et al., 2016). In this thesis, I appreciate this call but locate it within the theoretical frame of the green state in order to understand what bringing back the state means for the greening of the state in the African context. The frame is also helpful for analysing the implications for re-inserting the state in the governance of the environment.

1.2 ‘Re-insertion of the state’ in environmental governance

Contrary to the arguments that the state lacks the capacity to deal with environmental challenges, scholars of environmental politics and green political theorists argue that the state is the most effective and democratic institutional structure that can tackle environmental

challenges and social injustice (Eckersley, 2004; Barry and Eckersley, 2005; Meadowcroft, 2005, 2012; Duit et al., 2016). What this implies is that the state remains a primary site for environmental management and it is critical for resolving human-environment tensions. In addition, the state is a powerful actor that mediates political, economic and social interactions. Rather than completely dismiss the role of the state, green political theorists call for the transformation of the state so that it can pursue greener goals and better practices (Eckersley, 2004, 2016). Against this backdrop, the role of the state in addressing global and domestic environmental issues is being investigated afresh.

There is a view that the state has and will always be the first point of reference when environmental problems arise within its territory. This is so because the state, as a political organisation, has a monopoly over the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory (Robinson, 2013). Drawing on the Weberian conception of the state, this view presupposes that for an organisation to be a state, it must be autonomous and also have the means to extraordinarily dominate within its territory. Therefore, the state is an enabler of operations and has the legitimate and coercive power to deal with ecological challenges within its territory. The state's "relative monopoly on administrative resources, technical expertise, bureaucratic intelligence and institutional influence" (Whitehead et al., 2007, p. 415) gives it unique capacity to manage the human-environment interface better than any other actor.

In light of the above perspective, the state as a primary institution has the legitimate power to come up with laws, regulations, plans and to develop green institutions that could enhance environmental sustainability within its territory. State regulation remains a domain of environmental protection. Through the legal framework and institutions, the state has the capacity to compel various actors operating within its territory to abide to laws and measures that the state has put in place. In this way, the state is able to monitor and guide the behaviour and activities of various actors operating within its territory and enforce solutions favourable to environmental sustainability (Mansbridge, 2014). This means that the state is able to mediate state-society-nature relations. Death (2016, p. 63) argues that states have a central role in producing, circulating and implementing political practices "that evoke green, environmental, or ecological discourses". Whether the state fails or succeeds, the fact is that states cannot be side-lined in environmental protection.

Taking into account that environmental issues such as climate change are not only confined to the borders of the country, states are key figures in ameliorating global environmental challenges. States may seem to be overshadowed by international non-governmental organisations such as the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF), International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), United Nations agencies in international fora. However, states have the power to decide whether they want to sign international agreements, collaborate with these organisations and align their domestic policies with international policies. Domestically, national governments often implement various environmental strategies to influence the behaviour of its citizens, environmental organisations, multinational corporations and the private sector operating within their territory. These strategies include: the introduction of mandatory environmental education in schools; they can employ administrative measures such as taxation, fines and other policy instruments as well as provide an arena to resolve environmental conflicts (Duit, 2014, 2016; Duit et al., 2016). Depending on the kind of policy the state has put in place, they can improve the quality of the environment or can also destroy it. Eckersley (2004, p. 6) notes that “it is difficult to imagine how such changes might occur on the kind of scale that is needed without the active support of states”.

The role of the state as a facilitator of environmental sustainability rather than a contributor to environmental degradation is encapsulated in concepts like the ‘green state’ (Eckersley, 2004), ‘ecological state’ (Meadowcroft, 2005, 2012), ‘eco-state’ (Duit, 2014) and ‘environmental state’ (Duit et al, 2016). Despite nuances, these concepts not only focus on sovereign state policies and institutions but are also relevant for regional regimes and multilateral agreements that help states to ameliorate environmental harm and facilitate a sustainable green future for its citizens and the world. For the purpose of this study, I adopt the concept of the green state since it is a generic concept that can be used to mean different things (Hildingsson et al., 2019). Hildingsson et al. (2019, p. 911) note that the concept of the green state has emerged as a “normative or analytical construct; counterfactual ideal of ecological responsiveness to strive for or an evolving institutionalisation of ecological responsiveness that can be empirically assessed”. Green states are states in which “the governance of environmental issues has become central state imperative and is closely linked to core imperatives of survival, maintenance of domestic order, generation of finance, capital accumulation and political legitimacy” (Death, 2016a, p. 116).

There are several factors that push states to internalise environmental reforms. First, environmental movements play a key role in pushing states to pursue greener practices particularly in industrialised Western democracies. Environmental movements provide an arena in which citizens collectively pursue their common interests. Hence, they are regarded as key actors in the transformation of the state. These movements usually operate independently without the interference of the market and the state (Dryzek et al., 2003). They pressurise governments to internalise environmental reforms through non-institutional strategies ranging from environmental education campaigns, lobbying, boycotts and litigation to more expressive and direct actions such as strikes and protests (Saunders, 2013; Charles, 2019). Such strategies often have a bearing on the enactment of environmental policy (Jenkins et al., 2007; Saunders, 2013). It is for this reason that Dryzek et al. (2003, 2005) argue that a green state is likely to emerge in countries where there is an active oppositional sphere (see more discussion on Chapter Two).

Second, environmental reforms are likely to happen when environmental issues jeopardize national and global security. For example, wildlife poaching, climate change, food insecurity have since been given priority by states. According to Barnett (2019), climate change can undermine legitimacy, individual and collective economic livelihoods, impair human health through reduced availability of freshwater and food and exposes people to new diseases and migration, undermine state wealth and military capability as well as intensify inequalities between people. This poses considerable challenges for sustainability and cause increased contention and/or conflict internally as well as between nations thereby disturbing peace and harmony. This often calls for enhanced action by states. Ramutsindela and Buscher (2019) note that the rising wildlife crime has brought African states face to face with international interventions such as anti-poaching measures with the aim of protecting wildlife.

Third, multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) often assist states to review and integrate international or regional measures into domestic policies targeted at mitigating global environmental challenges. Environmental issues have no respect for international boundaries hence MEAs form an important international legal protocol through which states can address global environmental challenges. More often, states are members of various international multilateral agreements and treaties such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), Ramsar Convention on wetlands of international importance, Paris Agreement, Convention on

International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES) and many others. These MEAs often develop common rules, targets and indicators with the expectation that member states will feel an obligation to abide by the provision and cooperate in safeguarding the environment. States usually integrate such targets in domestic policy, which in turn enables the greening of the state. Weiss (2009 cited by Death, 2016a) notes that by 1990 there were about 900 international legal instruments either directed primarily towards or containing important environmental programmes. These factors suggest that there are various ways through which environmental reforms can be achieved by a state.

This study draws on the literature on the green state to understand the state's engagement with environmental questions and how the environment has become embedded within state politics and policies. This literature is relevant for the study reported in this thesis because it opens debates on how we might conceive the green state through the lens of the processes that produce this type of the state. The green state literature also allows us to trace parallel developments of, as well as the intersections between conservation and state formation over time. Furthermore, the concept of the green state allows us to analyse African states not as an isolated case but as part of broader discussions on the green state and on the relationship between the state and the environment. Expressed differently, environmental activities in Africa should be studied within the theories of the green state. This study takes these theories as a point of departure to understand the complex processes that enable the production of the green state using Botswana's wildlife conservation policy and practice as an example.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

The extant analyses of the green state, especially the normative and empirical assessments, are skewed towards more economically developed democracies in the Global North. The analyses of the emergence of the green state in these countries consider the greening of the state in terms of environmental outcomes and do not pay adequate attention to the processes that produce the green state. From this point of view states in Africa have been left out of the discussion on the green state though these countries have engaged with environmental reforms aimed at protecting the environment. There are at least two perspectives on the exclusion of African states from the green state debates (Death, 2016a). Firstly, African states are often viewed as – 'weak', 'failing' or 'collapsed' – relative to state capacity and democracy. Characterised by

weak state capacity, African states usually do badly in most indexes of environmental performance and governance. Secondly, environmentalism is considered a post-materialist concern (Death, 2016a) and that African states are faced with pressing challenging issues such as economic development, health, employment, which means environmental protection is not always a priority.

Although the green state discussion focuses on many aspects of state policies and institutions such as climate change, urban and energy policy, consumption and transport, the debates have not featured any sustained discussion on wildlife conservation and policy. Unlike in Europe and North America, wildlife conservation has significantly contributed to state formation in colonial and post-colonial Africa. In Africa, for instance, protected areas preceded independent statehood and are associated with practices of state building, border enforcement and the penetration of the state in rural areas (Lunstrum, 2013; Death, 2016a; Woods, 2019). Furthermore, the expansion of protected areas in Africa is illustrative of an increased recognition by African states of the need to conserve biodiversity and to move towards a more sustainable management and use of biodiversity and ecosystem services. This recognition is also demonstrated through the adoption of a wide range of international agreements concerning biodiversity conservation of which African states are signatories. Such agreements, for instance, the Strategic Plan for Biodiversity 2011-2020 calls for the establishment and effective management of protected areas (UNEP, 2014). Against this backdrop, I proceed from the premise that the green state is not the preserve of countries in the Global North. African states do engage with environmental agendas that in turn impact on the outlook of the state and therefore qualify to be viewed from the green state perspective. Their engagement with global and regional environmental agendas has transformed and continues to (re)make the states in various ways and has thus opened possibilities for the greening of African states.

The question then becomes what accounts for state greening in African states? In this thesis, state greening is understood in terms of processes through which the state pursues the green agenda. That process entails the interaction of the state with non-governmental organizations, civil society, and international agencies to achieve certain environmental outcomes. Such interaction may be initiated by the state or by actors who are determined to pursue an environmental agenda or to implement environmental strategies through state institutions. The greening of the state also entails political processes that shape environmental reforms. In

practice, this means the state pursue environmental goals through various means, including the development and implementation of environmental policies that resonate with national needs as well as global aspirations.

In this thesis, I investigate how the process of state greening unfolds and how it is crucial for expanding analyses of the green state beyond the Global North. Using a historical analysis, I focus on the processes of state greening in post-colonial Botswana between 1966 and 2018 through the lens of the wildlife sector. The period covers the presidency of Seretse Khama, Ketumile Masire, Festus Mogae and Ian Khama, allows us to trace shifts in wildlife conservation policies and practices but is also crucial for understanding complex processes that enabled the greening of the state in Botswana. The wildlife sector is important for the analysis of state greening because it is a site on which many actors are visible and their roles in the greening process are made visible. The wildlife economy is anchored on environmental policies that fuse together domestic and international interests. Furthermore, the wildlife sector in Botswana advances a business model that simultaneously encourages profit making and environmental protection through its high-cost low volume tourism model, which is dependent on green branding (see Chapter Six). This kind of business model is mostly practiced in tourism concessions in places such as the Okavango Delta in the northern part of Botswana.

1.4 Aim and objectives of the study

The study engages the theory of the green state within the African context to investigate the complex processes that enable state greening in Botswana. It does so by tracing the development of wildlife conservation policy and practices over time. Three objectives were formulated to achieve the aim of the study. The first objective is to examine the role of political leadership in steering wildlife conservation policy, practices and institutions in Botswana between 1966 to 2018. The second objective analyses the development of institutions during the greening process while the third objective examines state-society relations in the wildlife sector within the context of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) programme.

The **central question** that guides the study is:

What are the processes that enabled the greening of the state in Botswana?

In order to answer the main question, the following questions were formulated:

1. How has the political leadership shaped the character of the state and has this influenced the greening process in the wildlife sector between 1966 and 2018?
2. How, and under what conditions were institutions developed, sustained, broken or transformed in wildlife management during the greening process?
3. How does the state interact with citizens in the wildlife sector within the context of CBNRM as one aspect of the greening of Botswana?

1.5 Significance of the study

The concept of the green state has gained momentum in recent years. Eckersely (2004) advanced the debate on the emergence of the green state through her seminal work, 'The Green State'. Since then scholars have revisited some of the core questions and assumptions around greening with the discussions mostly revolving around advanced industrialised democracies and welfare states. Discussions have focused on the link between the environmental state and the welfare state (Gough, 2017; Christoff, 2017); studied the critical political economy agenda (Paterson, 2016); extended comparative research agendas (Dryzek et al., 2005; Duit, 2014, 2016; Duit et al, 2016), and brought to the fore the politics of sustainability transition (Bäckstrand and Kronsell, 2015). Others have widened the geographic scope to include African states (Death, 2016; Chandrashekeran et al., 2017). Broadening this scope requires that attention should be paid to how the process of greening unfolds over time. This is precisely what my research aimed to do. My goal is to contribute to the ongoing debates on the process of greening by focusing on wildlife conservation policy and practices over time. This way, we can better understand how states engage with environmental reforms.

1.6 Botswana and wildlife conservation

Botswana is a semi-arid landlocked country located in Southern Africa bordering South Africa, Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Botswana, a product of British colonial rule gained independence in 1966. The country did not have a promising future at independence with the majority of citizens living in poverty as the country was underdeveloped. However, the situation changed with the discovery of diamonds that brought about a major economic transformation in the country. The remarkable post-colonial success is ascribed to the sustainable utilisation of minerals, specifically diamonds by the country's elite political

leadership. For this reason, Botswana has earned the label of the ‘African miracle state’ (Samatar, 1999), and has adopted a developmental economic approach (Taylor, 2005; Leith, 2005; Hillboom, 2011; Botlhale, 2018). The country has used its revenue from natural resources particularly diamonds to bring about broad developments such as infrastructure, health care provision, free primary and secondary schooling and the creation of jobs. In its effort to reduce poverty, the government of Botswana introduced welfare programmes to poorer sections of the populations. These include a drought relief programme, remote area dwellers, the Accelerated Rural Development Programme, Ipelegeng Programme and financial assistance policy. These efforts signify government commitment to assisting the marginalized in society. Furthermore, Botswana is viewed as a good example of governance in Africa. Over the years the country has consistently been ranked by Transparency International (TI) as the least corrupt in Africa in its Corruption Perception Index. In addition, the Ibrahim index of African governance has also over the years ranked Botswana in the top five of the well governed states in Africa. The Ibrahim Index of African Governance is regarded as the world's most comprehensive ranking of African governance.

Notwithstanding the above indices, a handful of scholars argue that the country is no model for democracy in Africa (Taylor, 2003; Good, 2008; Good and Taylor, 2008; Mogalakwe and Nyamnjoh, 2017). It has been argued that Botswana is characterized by illiberal authoritarianism and presidentialism characterized by elitist top-down structures and rising inequalities (Taylor, 2003; Good and Taylor, 2008). Hence the country has become a ‘minimalist democracy’ (Good and Taylor, 2008). Two images are discernible from the literature: ‘an African miracle state’ and ‘authoritarian ethnocentric state’. The former projects economic prosperity and serves as evidence of good governance in usage of natural resources. The latter indicates that power is concentrated in the hands of a small fraction of elites from one dominant ruling class, the Tswana. Despite these diametrically opposed images, there is a strong narrative of Botswana as a success story.

The process of greening the state in Botswana has developed through environmental policies anchored on the protection of environmental assets, namely wildlife. Wildlife conservation policies are instrumental in greening the state in Botswana and have since played a critical role in driving the green economy of the country. It is deeply embedded in state politics and national identity in the country, which is home to the largest concentration of lucrative charismatic

megafauna. This megafauna feature prominently in the country's international conservation profile. In its endeavour to diversify the economy away from diamonds, the Botswana government has embraced wildlife-based tourism. Although the industry was non-existent at independence, it has grown substantially over the years to become the second largest economic sector in Botswana contributing about 9.5% to the gross domestic product (GDP), after mining (GoB, 2017). Botswana pursues a greener model of tourism, which is in the form of high-cost low volume (HCLV). This model was developed in, and is concentrated in the northern conservation zone, which includes the globally unique fragile ecosystem of the Okavango Delta (see Figure 1.1). This greener model aims to minimize the ecological footprint in Botswana's conservation areas by attracting fewer high paying tourists who originate from countries in the Global North. This greener model takes place in Botswana's conservation areas, which comprises of protected areas and wildlife management areas (WMAs) covering an area of 39% of Botswana's territory, with much of the protected areas located in northern Botswana.

Since independence, Botswana has had a long-standing concern with the protection and management of its wildlife, which accounts for the country's evolution towards a green state. In recent years, the country witnessed a dramatic shift in the use and access to wildlife resources, and this is directly linked to the state. The decision by the government of Botswana to suspend hunting in 2014 provides a glimpse into how the state goes about controlling and governing its people, territory and resources, and how citizens respond. The hunting ban in Botswana was enacted through a presidential directive aimed at transforming environmental governance (cf. Chapter Five). The changes undertaken by the government of Botswana is illustrative of the coercive power the state has over valuable natural resources and how it drives the green agenda.

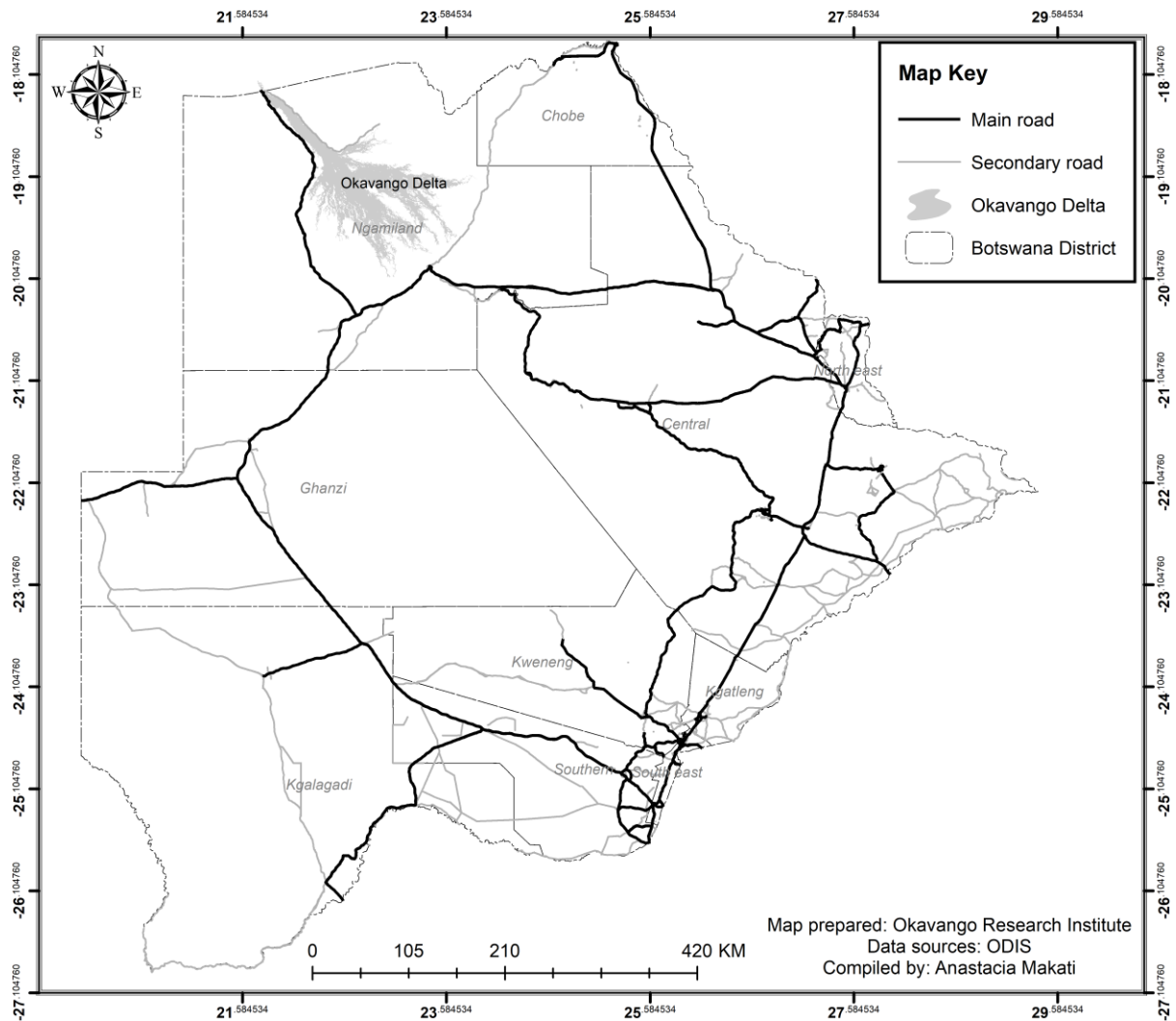


Figure 1.1: Map showing the location of the Okavango Delta in Northern Botswana, the Ngamiland district (Source: Okavango Research Institute GIS lab, 2019)

1.7 Thesis structure and overview of the chapters

This introductory chapter laid the foundation of the study by posing the research questions and providing the justification of the study. The rest of the thesis comprises of six chapters as follows. Chapter Two examines the broader concept of the green state, which underpins the theoretical foundation of this thesis. In this chapter I recount the green state as both a normative and empirical concept, and how it is presented by the green state theorists. The literature on the green state helps us to understand what the greening of the state entails in various contexts. The chapter refers to the exclusion of developing countries from the analyses of the green state arguing for attention to African states because they have been engaging in green discourses through the process of territorialisation. Territorial strategies such as protected areas, green

militarisation, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) are an attempt to enforce and experiment with the greening of the state. Through these processes the state has been able to penetrate remote areas where wildlife conservation takes place, to include local communities in the green agenda, and to enlist international financial institutions and environmental NGOs into its conservation projects. Furthermore, the chapter highlights that unlike the green state in the Global North, which is post-materialist, the greening of the state in Africa is top-down as the state exercises excessive control over people, land and the environment. The abuse of power by the state and the consequent environmental injustice is very much part of greening of the state in Africa (Death, 2016a).

Chapter Three explains the methodology and the techniques of data collection that have been used to understand the unfolding process of greening Botswana as a state over time. The thesis provides the justification for the adoption of a qualitative approach used in the study and gives an account of how archival data, observation and key informant interviews, including interview with former president Lieutenant General (Lt. Gen) Seretse Khama Ian Khama were conducted to answer the research questions. Furthermore, it details how data was analysed and presented in the thesis. Chapters Four, Five and Six provide the empirical evidence for the unfolding process of greening the Botswana state.

Chapter Four explores changes in wildlife conservation policy and institutional transformation between 1966 and 2008. This period covers the presidency of Seretse Khama, Ketumile Masire and Festus Mogae. The chapter does not dwell on the biography of the former presidents but rather places them within the context of the evolution of wildlife conservation policy and institutional transformation. It explains how the green agenda was set and the various actors that were involved in greening the state under each presidency. The premise of the chapter is that ideological orientations of the presidents are reflected on, and also guided the greening of the state as witnessed under each presidency.

Chapter Five argues that the greening of the state in Botswana was consolidated between 2008 – 2018, the period that covers the presidency of Lt. Gen Ian Khama. It pays attention to how Ian Khama defined state authority over wildlife thereby deepening the greening of Botswana. Of interest in this chapter is the militaristic outlook of former President Ian Khama, which is

ascribed to his background in the military, where the chain of command is the norm. It is largely the army that influenced his style of leadership, which translated into the militarization of the state as well as wildlife protection. The chapter demonstrates that the militarization of wildlife in Botswana under Ian Khama was part of the general trend of protecting wildlife in Africa. Furthermore, militarization aided the centralization of power in wildlife conservation through the national environment fund (NEF), the hunting ban and the tourism land bank.

Chapter Six analyses the consequences of the greening process on local people in the Okavango Delta within the context of the CBNRM programme, and how that process shapes or defines state-citizen relations using the case study of Khwai community in the Delta. The chapter demonstrates that state-citizen relations at the local level reflects the wider global and national changes in wildlife governance. It further shows that the greening process in Khwai concession is characterized by fluid and negative state-citizen relations. The attendant shifting of authority away from local communities to the central government through the presidential tourism land bank has created new tense relations between the state and the Khwai community.

Chapter Seven re-emphasizes the argument of the thesis, summarizes insights from the thesis, reflects on the research questions, and highlights the contribution of the study. The chapter argues that part of the process of greening is constituted by the environment becoming central to government policies and actions with tangible results. The chapter shows that considering greening in terms of state practice or processes enables research on the green state to pay attention to state-led environmental initiatives in countries in the Global South, including Botswana. Successive governments in Botswana have demonstrated sustained efforts towards managing the environment, especially wildlife although there were variations in the style of governance by the four presidents. The study concludes that the greening process in Botswana has been driven by two factors. Firstly, the convergence of state and non-state actors operating in Botswana between 1966 and 2018 pushed the environment into the centre stage of government planning and policy. Secondly, political leadership was crucial for Botswana's engagement with green discourses and practices. It shows that political leadership can strengthen or weaken the process of greening.

Chapter Two

Towards the Green state in Africa

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the concept of the green state which is key to understanding the role of the state in addressing environmental challenges. The premise of the chapter is that the state is a central conceptual anchor for achieving environmental sustainability goals (Eckersely, 2004; Barry and Eckersely, 2005; Duit, 2014). The concept of the green state illuminate's processes through which green discourses and practices are invoked by nation-states. This chapter and the thesis as whole argue that the greening of the state is a process that takes place over time and that it entails the interaction between the state and non-state actors that operate through the state to achieve certain environmental outcomes. This interaction leads to institutional changes and the development of environmental policies aimed at achieving environmental protection through the backing of the state. In order to understand how this process unfolds, there is a need to reflect on the concept of the green state.

The discussions on the green state are divided on whether African states can or should be included into the category of green states. Leading theorists of the green state argue that a state should be post-materialist and also measure favourably in environmental outcomes to qualify as a green state (Eckersely, 2004; Barry and Eckersely, 2005). Based on this criterion, African states would not qualify as green states. Death (2016) has provocatively challenged the assumptions that the green state should have the same attributes that define greenness in economically developed democracies.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I recount the ideas of the green state, both as a normative ideal and empirical assessment. The second section discusses the green state in relation to the African state and its approaches to environmental challenges. This serves as a background to the argument I advance in the third section of this chapter, namely that African states should be considered in analyses of the green state because they have engaged and led various environmental reforms as evident in protected areas, green militarisation, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs); all of which contribute to the greening of the state. The last section synthesises the chapter.

2.2 Theories of the green state

In this section I revisit the concept of the green state as discussed in literature on green political theory, environmental policy and comparative politics. I do so by focusing on conceptions of the green state as well as the conditions that enable the state to transition towards a green state. The debates on the green state are inspired by the theory of ecological modernisation (Mol and Spaargaren, 2000) and comparative analysis of the implementation of sustainable development (Meadowcroft, 2005). Drawing from ecological modernisation, green state theorists have developed typologies of green states ranging from weak to strong ecological modernisation. This literature has paid adequate attention to countries in the Global North and tends to over-emphasize the greening of the state in relation to ecologically beneficial outcomes. Accordingly, scholars explained why certain states perform better than others in pursuing green practices. Some of the elements of state greening include: entrenching polluter pay and precautionary principles, commitment to environmental agreements, performance of environmental institutions relative to state capacity, environmental policies such as carbon emissions taxes, ecological footprint, enactment of environmental education programmes, concern with the concept of sustainable development, and the modernisation of the state through ecological means.

The green state literature is derived from two approaches namely, the normative and the empirical. The normative approach holds that ecological sustainability and biocentric values need to be embedded in the economic, social and political objectives of the state (Eckersley, 2004; Christoff, 2005; Hysing, 2015). Whereas the empirical approach scrutinizes the performance of state policies and institutions relative to measurable ecological outcomes. I discuss each of these approaches in detail below.

2.2.1 Normative approach

The discussion on the ideal type of a green state has been steered by Robyn Eckersley. According to Eckersley (2004, p. 2) an ideal green state is a “democratic state whose regulatory ideals and democratic procedures are informed by ecological democracy rather than liberal democracy”. In her view, the green state is post-liberal in so far as it emerges from immanent (ecological) critique (ibid). Eckersley identifies three challenges that prevent the modern liberal state to move towards green statehood, that is, international anarchy, global capitalism and the administrative state. Ecological democracy not only ensures environmental protection but also

enables environmental justice in that “all those potentially affected by risk should have some meaningful opportunity to participate or otherwise be represented in the making of the politics or decisions that generate risks” (Eckersley, 2004, p. 111). Eckersley asserts that when a state achieves a greener status it will be able to deliver on environmental justice.

To foster ecological responsibility and environmental justice, a democratic state would incorporate substantive and procedural green values into the formal political and legal decision making of the state. For instance, entrenching green norms such as the right to environmental information, the right to be informed of risk generating proposals, the right to participate in environmental impact assessments (EIA), the right to environmental remedies when harm is suffered, third party litigation rights in the constitution of the democratic state. By so doing, environmental considerations become engrained in the core functions of the state as the constitution is the foundation of its political society. In this vein, political decisions would not only be limited to humans (current and future generations) but would also consider non-human species. Furthermore, entrenching environmental provisions in the constitution would enable legitimate state intervention in ostensibly private matters (Barry, 2001; Eckersley, 2004, 2020).

In terms of multi-lateral agreements, the green state would have to move away with the principle of territorial exclusivity (Eckersley, 2004, 2016). This means states must take responsibility of protecting non-citizens on ecological matters where they will be affected by decisions made by the state. Considering this, the green state becomes a fluid entity constantly changing depending on the determination of risk exposure. The ideal green state of Eckersley is post-liberal, transnational, cosmopolitan, risk averse, discursive participatory and representative democratic ecological state (Eckersley, 2004, 2016). She also emphasises the importance of ecological citizens who continuously (re)shape and monitor the state to ensure that it promotes ecological sustainability and social justice.

Peter Christoff (2005) develops the normative qualities of a democratic green state. He argues that “green states were they to exist would be characterised by the predominance of types of state activity aimed at strong ecological modernisation” (Christoff, 2005, p. 41). In pursuing economic activities, the state would consider the environmental limits on material activity and this would be reflected in institutional developments that would ensure environmental protection, social justice and biocentric values. Christoff outlines green states as ideal types

ranging from strong to weak green states. Green states demonstrate high levels of state capacity and intervention, eco-citizenship, strong commitment to biocentric values, human welfare and ecological protection (ibid, p. 42). States which almost exhibit the necessary criteria for being a green state, namely environmental welfare state, engages in weak ecological modernization. According to him, such states (Sweden and Netherlands) have a weaker institutionalization of ecological values, moderate values of eco-citizenship and environmental capacity for state intervention. Environmental neoliberal states such as the US and Australia are defined by strong market orientation, weak ecological modernization and low budgetary commitment to social and environmental welfare protection. Christoff also outlines an ideal type of ecofascist characterised by authoritarian features but with high commitment to biocentric values.

2.2.2 Empirical approach

The empirical evidence can be divided into two school of thoughts: one that pays attention to the importance of environmental movements in enabling environmental reform and the other pays attention to the institutions and policies that states have introduced to address ecological crisis. The potential for environmental reform according to Dryzek et al. (2003) lies with social movements and deliberations in civil society and the green public sphere (see also Dryzek and Hunold, 2005). For a long period of time social movements have been critical agents in steering social change within a state (Dryzek et al., 2003; Oberschall, 2017; Almeida and Chase-Dunn, 2018). Social movements are organisations that pursue collective action towards a particular issue facing humanity using non-institutional strategies by either challenging or defending the principles upon which society is organised (Tilly, 2019). For instance, the social movements of the working class emerged from the need for better conditions of employment and higher wages and were responsible for the formation of the welfare state. Social movements emerge as a result of the following elements: 1) a sustained campaign with a collective claim; 2) various forms of political action such as creation of associations, public meetings, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives and; 3) public representations of WUNC: worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment (Tilly, 2019). According to Almeida and Chase-Dunn (2018), the mobilization of social movements in the 21st century has largely been driven by global issues such as climate change, models of economic liberalization and international migration. Other social movements are associated with political identities, for instance, feminism and black consciousness movements (Oberschall, 2017).

Environmental movements are often advocates for the protection of the environment and conservation of biodiversity. These movements usually question the state as well provide solutions on how the state can deal with environmental issues (Saunders, 2013; see also Ramutsindela, 2020). Environmental movements often critique the state on account of the inability of the state to address environmental issues such as climate change, loss of biodiversity, poaching and pollution, and so on. These challenges have provided a basis through which environmental movements interact with the state. There are those movements that collaborate with the state and that oppose the state (Saunders, 2013; Ramutsindela, 2020). Environmental non-governmental organisations such as WWF, IUCN, CI often collaborate with the state with the aim of conserving biodiversity. They work with the state so as to influence state policies as well as work closely with government agencies. Those movements that oppose the state usually do so through political processes by participating in the electoral process, for instance, the Green Parties such as the German Green and the European Federation of Green Parties (Ramutsindela, 2020).

For the state to respond to the demands of the social movements they should link their interests to the state's core imperatives. Whenever the movement interests come up against the core, the movement loses or it is co-opted (Dryzek et al., 2003). According to Dryzek et al. (2003, p. 679) a green state is likely to emerge when "there is a connection of environmental values to both economic and legitimization imperatives contingent on the presence of an active oppositional public sphere". Focusing on case studies in Europe and North America, Dryzek et al. (2003) classify states into two categories, namely exclusive versus inclusive, and active versus passive. Combining the two produces ideal green state types. Using these criteria, they contend that their country cases represent four different types: expansive corporatism in Norway considered to be actively inclusive; pluralism in the US (passively inclusive); authoritarian liberalism in the UK (actively exclusive) and legal corporatism in Germany (passively exclusive) (p. 660). They conclude that a polity that is inclusive but dictates participation of civil society in formalized ways is less conducive to environmental policy making than a model that allows for pluralistic environmental deliberations in the public sphere and outside formalized organized channels. In their analysis, the latter is found in passively exclusive states like Germany that would enact a green transformation.

Other ideas of the green state accommodate a range of aspects of environmental governance. Scholars have reflected on institutional reforms and policies put forward by the state to integrate environmental concerns into their everyday functioning (Mol et al., 2009; Duit et al., 2016). In response to the ecological crisis, Duit et al. (2016) contend that the state integrates the management of environmental problems into its administrative core and solves them within one or two decades by means of regulative measures in the techno-scientific sphere (what is known as ecological modernization) (Mol et al., 2009). Duit et al (2016, p. 5) conceptualize the green state in broad terms, as a state that consists of a “significant set of institutions and practices dedicated to the management of environmental and socio-environmental interactions”. The green state encompasses the administrative (e.g. taxation, fines), regulatory (legal frameworks), financial and knowledge structures (teach society about environmental issues) to deal with ecological problems (Duit 2014, 2016). Through such functions the state can steer society towards the sustainability path. By breaking down the green state into these functions, Duit (2016) identifies more specific indicators that broaden the idea of an environmental governance regime (EGR), which he describes as either established, emerging, partial or weak.

From the perspective of ecological modernization (EM) theorists, a green state emerges from regulations that foster ecological innovation (Sonnenfeld and Mol, 2002; Mol and Janicke, 2009; Mol, 2016). EM scholars consider the importance of the market arguing that “economic actors and market dynamics have constructive roles to play on the state of environmental reform” (Sonnenfeld and Mol, 2002, p. 132). Considering this, it is assumed that economic growth can chime in with environmental protection. States can use their capital to introduce less polluting and more resource efficient technologies. As the economy evolves over time, to become increasingly efficient and less resource intense eventually leading to decoupling that the economy can grow without environmental damage.

Proponents of EM argue that for environmental reform to take place, technological innovation is seen as an essential part of any path towards sustainability (Spaargaren and Mol, 2009). Through the development of clean technologies and renewable energy environmental concerns can be integrated into production and result in energy efficiency. In order to facilitate technological innovation, the government must play a critical role in providing funds for environmental research and development, incentives in the tax systems (structural tax reforms)

and beyond, create markets for scarce environmental goods and setting progressive environmental standards that will stimulate technological progress. Concepts such as the green economy¹ and green growth represent more recent attempts to reconcile economic growth and environmental protection (UNEP, 2011). For this to be achieved, Mol and Janickë (2009, p. 19) argue that the green state has moved away from a “bureaucratic, hierarchical, reactive, command and control state towards more flexible, decentralized and preventive institutions that create networks with other societal actors and applies a variety of approaches and instruments to guide society into directions of sustainability”. While this literature acknowledges the role of the state in facilitating environmental reforms and achieving environmental sustainability, it does not feature any sustained discussion on African states for reasons discussed in the next section.

2.3 The exclusion of African state in green state debates

The discussion on the green state is silent on developing nations yet environmental issues have played a crucial role in the evolution and transformation of the African state. Consequently, the African state has over the years transformed environmental governance to steer society towards ecological rationality (see Ramutsindela and Büscher, 2019). States in Africa are excluded from the discussion on the green state because they are viewed as weak and often do badly in most indices of environmental performance and governance (Death, 2016). Secondly, the green state in advanced states is post-materialist. However, such pessimism risks overgeneralizing our understanding of politics and environmental governance in Africa. In this section, I pay attention to this negative narrative on African countries. Contrary to this pessimistic narrative, the African state is pluralistic (Mbembe, 2001), and there is considerable variation between states in terms of national economies, governance performance and environmental related indices. For instance, countries such as Botswana and Mauritius have a record of good governance in the management of natural resources whereas Mozambique, Democratic Republic of Congo have squandered their natural resource wealth due to bad governance. In terms of economics, countries like Botswana, Mauritius or Cape Verde have grown at between 4 and 6 percent per capita per year since their independence whereas citizens

¹ UNEP (2012, p. 4) defines a green economy as one that results in improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities. It can be seen as a means to achieve a resilient economy that provides a better quality of life for all within the ecological limits of the planet.

of Chad, Djibouti or Mozambique have gotten about 2 percent poorer every year over the same period (Englebert and College, 2000; see Mkandawire, 2015). In light of these examples, any theory which seeks to explain Africa's poor performance should take into account such diversity.

2.3.1 Weak states

The common narrative on the African state is that African political structures are 'weak', 'failed', 'collapsed' or 'fragile' when measured against the Weberian bureaucratic nation state (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982; Howard, 2010; Woodward, 2017). Considering this perspective, it is assumed that African states lack the necessary capacity to implement and enforce policies. The premise is that countries in Africa have not fully developed state institutions, lack democracy and exhibit a lack of control over substantial segments of the country's territories and populations (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982, Englebert and Tull, 2008, 2013; Woodward, 2017). In terms of environmental governance, the African state is regarded as "lacking capacity, expertise, stable structures and as altogether unsuitable for progression toward the post-Westphalia transnational environmental or ecological state" (Death, 2016a, p. 38). Viewed through the lens of ecological modernisation, the African state does not have sufficient financial resources to develop clean scientific technologies necessary for implementing environmental reforms as compared to states in advanced industrialised regions. This is partly due to the fact that financial resources are used to solve challenging developmental issues such as health, unemployment and so on – hence environmental issues do not often take priority in a nation's budget. This explains why African states do badly in most indices of environmental performance and governance such as Yale's Environmental Performance Index (EPI) or Colombia's Environmental Sustainability Index (ESI), Happy Planet Index (see Death, 2016a, b).

The key question then becomes, what explains the weakness of state structures in Africa? There is a claim among political theorists that African states are subverted by neo-patrimonial system of governance. Scholars in political theory contend that neo-patrimonial practices are the hallmark of post-colonial politics in Africa, where rational-legal bureaucratic institutions coexist with informal institutions based on giving and granting of favours (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997; van de Walle, 2001; Erdmann and Engel, 2007; Mkandawire, 2015; Hoffman, 2018). Within this system of governance, decision making is appropriated by powerful leaders

and their cronies/associates. Van de Walle (2001, p. 52) argues that patrons and clients “personally exert discretionary power over a big share of the states resources” as a form of private property (see also Diamond, 2008). The system is held together by the personal distribution of socio-economic resources (rents) to clients. In such a system, appointments in state institutions are not based on competence, merit and experience. For as long as one is a preferred choice, they would easily get an appointment over those qualifying for the position. In what Allen (1999, p. 377) calls ‘spoils politics’, the author argues that “public office is valued not for its powers or potential, nor to serve the public interest but in order to achieve a cash return to the investment made in obtaining the office”. In this regard, neo-patrimonialism plays a significant role in influencing policy outcomes. Government is mostly concerned with satisfying its cronies. Individuals who do not belong to these networks are marginalised as they are denied a voice in policy processes (Beresford, 2015; Sigman and Lindberg, 2017). Ultimately this leads to poor governance, corruption, non-implementation of policies thereby affecting delivering of public goods and services.

Arguably, neopatrimonialism in Africa is a product of colonial governance (Cooper, 2002; Mamdani, 1996; Mbembe, 2001; Mkandawire, 2015; Hoffman, 2018). Colonial administrations were designed to serve western European interests, including the protection of colonial economic interests, the extraction of natural resources and the maintenance of order. At independence, most of these administrative structures were left intact and new set of roles were placed on them without taking into consideration the financial, human and organisational constraints that African states experienced (Sigman and Lindberg, 2017). Colonial governance has largely affected institutions and organisations of the modern African state negatively (Hoffman, 2018).

Mamdani (1996) contends that indirect rule particularly in British colonies contributed to the weak state structures (see Ali et al., 2019). It signified control of citizens and natural resources through traditional authority in what he calls decentralised despotism. The system was grounded in a legal dualism where “alongside the received law was implemented a customary law that regulated non-markets relations in land and in personal (family) and community affairs” (Mamdani, 1996, p. 145). Within this system traditional authorities (chiefs and headmen) were used as colonial agents for enforcing colonial policies, collecting tax and maintaining order. Chiefs often maintained police force, prisons and oversaw the provision of

public goods like roads and garnering the resources and manpower necessary to build them. So, the tribal leadership became an extension of the colonial states as they became more accountable to colonial power thus making them more despotic and unaccountable (Acemoglu et al., 2014; Wucherpfenning et al., 2016). This despotism persisted after independence and influenced both local and national governance. They also played a significant role in the collapse of democracy in post-colonial Africa. In writing about weak states in the Global South, Migdal (1988) points out that the weak African state is being opposed by strong local actors (chiefs) in society preventing them from carrying out good governance. These strong actors exert such a great influence on the local economic, social, cultural and political affairs that the ability of the central state to establish formal system of rule and have their citizens comply with it was and still is very limited in Africa (Baldwin, 2014, 2015; Roessler and Ohls, 2018).

Contrary to the weak state narrative, the African state is not entirely bleak. Not all African states have been negatively affected by neo-patrimonialism. Booth and Golooba-Mutebi (2012, p. 394) argue that patronage politics can be used to strengthen the state and depends on “whether rent management is directed towards short term-enrichment of members of the political class or its allies or alternatively towards ‘growing the pie’ of the national economy, maximising opportunities for long-term accumulation”. They illustrate this line of argument with a focus on the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) led by Paul Kagame, which has relied on long-horizon economic planning to promote poverty reduction and most notably economic growth through which the ruling party’s sizeable business interests have directly benefited (Booth and Golooba-Mutebi, 2012). To do so, it has kept tight central controls over rent-seeking behaviour and a firm anti-corruption line so that state capacity and economic growth are not undermined. Rwanda prides itself as a hub for the implementation of sustainable development goals (SDGs) in Africa and has thus established Kigali-based SDGs center for Africa (Ramutsindela and Büscher, 2019).

In Southern Africa, scholars have argued that countries like Botswana do not fit the categorisation of weak states on the continent. The Botswana state has demonstrated strength and capacity in terms of economic growth, political stability and governance of the country’s two main resources, diamonds and cattle since independence (Acemoglu et al., 2003; Leith, 2005). The country experienced one of the fastest growth rates in per capita income among Third World countries despite being underdeveloped at independence. This achievement has

resulted in many scholars praising Botswana as an ‘African miracle state’ (Samatar, 1999), ‘exemplary post-colony’, ‘Norway of Africa’, etc. The exceptionality of Botswana is attributed to the political and economic unity of the elites under the tutelage of a political leadership that is disciplined and conscious of the institutional requirement of its project (Samatar, 1999; Botlhale, 2018). According to Samatar (1999), the small size of the elites, their narrow and relatively homogeneous economic base (with roots in the cattle industry) and common ideological views provided the basis for this unity and enabled the political leadership to pursue a capitalist development policy. This unity not only limited corruption but also limited patronage and clientelism as there was no need to finance new networks of political support (Englebert, 2000). The political leadership set up state institutions such as the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) and Botswana Meat Commission (BMC), which were instrumental in driving Botswana’s economic development and good governance. The ruling elites were assisted by expatriate technocrats who were slowly being understudied by the locals (Samatar, 1999). This external influence was not limited to the bureaucracy of Botswana but also manifested in the development of environmental policies as we shall see in Chapter Four.

Botswana has had a tradition of strong traditional leaders and yet despite this, chiefs have not hindered Botswana’s development. The traditional leadership were absorbed into new state institutions, and this in turn enabled the blending of traditional and modern institutions. Botswana’s success is a testimony that developing countries can establish good policies and institutions that promote sustainable utilisation of resources for economic growth and development. However, the exceptionality discourse of Botswana does not feature sustained discussions of environmental politics, yet environmental governance has contributed significantly to state building in the country. As I will show in this thesis, the state was able to pursue its greener model of capitalist accumulation and gross domestic growth through the wildlife economy that is anchored on environmental policies that fuse together domestic and global interests (Chapters Four and Five).

Despite Botswana being Africa’s success story, some scholars have questioned certain attributes of the country and its representation in literature as a model for Africa (Good, 2008; Good and Taylor, 2008; Hillboom, 2008; Mogalakwe and Nyamnjoh, 2017). For instance, Good (1996, 2008) characterises the Botswana state as authoritarian liberalism in that power

is highly concentrated in the head of state (see Chapter Five). One of Botswana's other side is its extremely high level of social inequalities in relation to the country's natural resource endowment compared to the level of development (Hillboom, 2008). These social inequalities, which emanate from social relations of production and distribution embedded in a capitalist system, are systemic rather than aberrant. Good (2008) claims that the wealth produced by diamond mining and the luxurious tourism sector has not led to greater prosperity for all. Botswana's economic growth has allowed "for significant poverty rates and extremely unequal resource and income distribution to prevail in the midst of plenty" (Hillbom, 2008, p. 191). Ulriksen (2017) argues that Botswana's success story has not translated into the reduction of poverty and social inequality of her citizens with the country having one of the highest Gini co-efficient of 0.65 in the world. Historically disadvantaged populations such as the *Basarwa* (commonly known as the San) remain politically and economically marginalised. Such marginalisation would disqualify Botswana as a green state because in the eyes of green state theorists, such a state is characterised by social justice in which the state aims to include all citizens in the affairs of the state on an equal basis without discrimination.

2.3.2 Environmentalism as post-materialist

Environmental protection is viewed as a consequence of the attainment of higher standards of living as evidenced by countries in the Global North (Inglehart, 1995; Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005; Manfredi et al., 2016). The assumption is that affluent societies have greater interests in protecting the environment. It is claimed that the relatively improved economic conditions of modern society afford people the opportunity to focus on or develop values that go beyond those of wealth creation or making material gains (Inglehart, 1995; Manfredi et al., 2016). Following the post-war period, countries in the Global North experienced economic stability that saw the satisfaction of material needs as well as a rise in the levels of education, information opportunity and welfare systems that played a role in influencing the values of society (Dalton, 1996). This caused a shift in focus from material needs such as those of basic survival and economic security to post-materialist values such as freedom of speech and self-expression, aesthetic satisfaction and quality of life (Inglehart, 1995, 2000; Dalton, 1996). As such the post-war period saw a rise in environmental movements such as Friends of the Earth, Green Peace Movement and environmental green parties in Europe and North America. Thus, the emergence of environmental activism is seen as evidence of the rise of post-materialism.

It is worth highlighting that the green state in the Global North is not entirely post-materialist. States in North America and Europe are strongly guided by the imperatives of profit making as anywhere else in the capitalist world. In terms of environmental justice, the poor – often racialized groups – are disproportionately exposed to environmental harm (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Bullard 2018). For example, in the USA, Bullard (2018) found out that “black communities, because of their economic and political vulnerability, have been routinely targeted for the sitting of noxious facilities, locally unwanted land uses and environmental hazards and are likely to suffer greater risks from this facilities than is the general population” (Bullard, 2018, p. xiv). Furthermore, these poor communities do not derive maximum benefits from environmental resources located in their areas, just like states in Africa.

The post-materialist logic applied to green states in Global North suggests that states in Africa do not have environmental concerns because they have to deal with pressing challenging issues such as unemployment, health, water shortages, food insecurity, infrastructure and political instability. These issues take precedence over environmental concerns in developing countries. The assumption is that African states are too engaged with economic and physical survival to be concerned with the environment. However, this line of thinking does not hold water. African indigenous communities have, since time immemorial, been, concerned about the environment. This is because the environment plays a crucial role in their survival. As such indigenous communities established social and cultural norms which are inherent in nature and established via long standing social relationships (Ostrom, 2000). These social and cultural norms were meant to ensure sustainable use of natural resources. For instance, the *Basarwa* (commonly known as the San) nomadic lifestyle allowed for resource renewal and regeneration as they moved from one place to another (Madzwamuse and Fabricius, 2004).

However, the interest in environmental protection was disrupted by the advent of colonialism in Africa. The African environment became embedded in global capitalism thereby leading to unsustainable or exploitation of the environment by external hegemonic forces. Colonialism alienated indigenous communities from their environment by removing them from their ancestral land that they had occupied for centuries. In the process, indigenous communities’ lost access and control of the environment to the detriment of environmental protection. Therefore, environmental movements in Africa “emerge from and draw their legitimacy from

their immersion in social struggles directed at accessing power over the environmental space for hitherto expropriated and repressed groups” (Obi, 2005, p. 6).

Prominent examples of environmental movements in Africa include the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in Niger Delta and the Green Belt Movement (GBM) in Kenya. MOSOP emerged in response against the exploitation of the Niger Delta by the Shell Petroleum Development Company (Obi, 2010; Ikerionwu, 2014; Wetzel, 2016). The GBM advocated for the sustainable management of forest resources and economic empowerment of women (Ikerionwu, 2014; Wetzel, 2016; MOSOP, 2019). These movements work with international organisations and are often limited within national borders. It should also be noted that African states have also upped their efforts in sensitising their citizens on issues of environmental sustainability and climate change. Recently, Ethiopia planted over 353 million trees in 12 hours as part of the country’s national ‘green legacy’ initiative despite the ongoing struggles in governing the multi-ethnic country. The country aims to tackle deforestation and effects of climate change by educating Ethiopians on the environment and planting different eco-friendly seedlings (BBC, 2018). Furthermore, African states are working towards integrating education into school curriculum (see Chapter Four). These efforts suggest that African states are on the path towards greenness and should therefore be considered in the debates of the green state. Next, I demonstrate the ways through which African states pursue the green agenda.

2.4 The greening of the state in Africa

Considering the arguments on the exclusion of African states from green states debates highlighted above, Death (2016a) challenges the normative assumptions that the green state is associated with economically developed democracies. He considers the strategies that countries in the Global South have internalized to become green and argues for their inclusion in the debates on the green state. Death (2016a) makes a compelling argument that environmental and ecological imperatives have been central to the production and transformation of the state in Africa even though African states are weak and do badly in most indexes of environmental performance and governance. From a biopolitical perspective “the African state is actually a product of particular attempts to govern land, species, human populations, water resources, and so on” (Death, 2016b, p. 123). He further argued that the green state in Africa is “the effect of long-standing deep-rooted endeavours to govern

environmental resources”, including efforts by colonial and post-colonial governments towards managing socio-ecological problems (Death, 2016a, p. 59).

Therefore, the potential for the emergence of the green state need not be limited to countries of the Global North because many countries in the Global South also pursue environmental agendas as, for example, signatories of different kinds of environmental-related conventions and treaties. They have also domestically developed green institutions and policies to manage the environment and nature-society interactions. As a result, there has been an element of greening taking place within African states. In this thesis, I align my argument with Death’s view on greening the state in Africa using evidence from Botswana, which has had a green agenda since independence in 1966. I support Death’s argument for two reasons. First, he shows that environmentalism is involved in the making of the African state (see Ramutsindela and Büscher, 2019). Second, and more importantly, he draws attention to the process of greening which is as important as the environmental performance of the state.

Although Death’s work advances our understanding of environmental politics and greening in African states, his work can be deemed to be broad. Death has sought to cover as many countries in the African continent on various environmental themes ranging from wildlife conservation, minerals, land reform, climate change, environmental education and green citizenship policies, green economy strategies, ecosystem services programmes and international environmental negotiations. While for the most part it becomes clear his overall argument of what a green state in Africa is, I am of the view there is a need to drill down to each of these themes. It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus on wildlife conservation policy and political leadership over time. This helps us to understand how policies and institutions evolved and how they have been sustained or broken. In what follows, I focus on attempts to bring the green agenda into the African state through processes and practices of territorialisation and how this has transformed it.

2.5 Regulation by territorialisation

My point of departure is that the state in Africa has placed the environment at the center of state making through territorialisation. The state is a political organisation that claims and upholds the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within its territory, usually

through strategies of territorialisation. Territorialisation is a form of resource control whereby a state controls and regulates the environment and human-environment relations in organised geographic boundaries within its territory to achieve environmental goals (Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995; Peluso and Vandergeest, 2001; Whitehead, 2017).

Control over environmental resources plays a key role in defining, constituting and operationalising state power (MacLean, 2010; Badiey, 2014). Neumann (2004, p. 202) asserts that “the process of mapping, bounding, containing and controlling nature and citizenry are what make a state a state. States come into being through these claims and the assertion of control over territory, resources and people”. This involves various mapping exercises or even geographical information systems (GIS) but essentially enables the state to know nature through its spatial form and location. The modern state uses territorial strategies such as zoning, policing, surveillance to physically control nature and social interactions with the environment and make themselves governable. It is through this mechanism that states include and exclude individuals or social groups within certain geographic boundaries such as protected areas. This may involve the regulation of nature using national geographic boundaries but also involves the control of nature in sub-national geographic boundaries like wildlife management areas. Within these geographic boundaries’ laws, regulations and authorities are established to enable the state to extend and maintain control over wildlife resources and to alter nature-society interactions. Biodiversity conservation is fundamentally a spatial practice. States have used biodiversity conservation to consolidate and deepen state power in rural-remote areas in Africa as well as to accumulate wealth (Lunstrum, 2013, 2019).

Practices of environmental statecraft emerge “via the interactions and negotiated consent of many different actors” (Bridge and Perreault, 2009, p. 483) and are spatially and temporally contingent because they depend on how power is distributed in particular contexts. The outcomes of state territorialisation are therefore dependent upon the state-society relations. In order to curb biodiversity loss and enforce the green agenda, the modern state in Africa has deployed various exclusive and inclusive modes of territorial strategies. Exclusive territorial strategies include protected areas and green militarisation which often invoke physical force to exclude certain people from accessing wildlife resources. Others involve inclusive territorial strategies such as community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and transfrontier

conservation areas (TFCAs) aimed at including local communities in managing wildlife resources as it will become clear below.

2.5.1 Protected Areas/Fortress conservation

Wildlife conservation has always been associated with the establishment of protected areas such as national parks and game reserves. According to the IUCN a protected area is a “defined geographical space, recognised, dedicated and managed through legal or other effective means to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values” (IUCN, 2008, p.8). This definition is expanded with a series of six management categories (I-VI) ranging from strict protection with limited human access to protected landscapes and seascapes, which are cultural landscapes often with settled human communities managed as protected areas (see Table 2.1). The dominant discourse of protected areas is the preservation of ecosystems and wildlife species to the exclusion of indigenous communities. PAs are also becoming key components of climate change mitigation strategies.

Protected Area Category	Definition
Category Ia	Strict nature reserve: protected area managed mainly for science
Category Ib	Wilderness area: protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection
Category II	National park: protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation
Category III	Natural monument: protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features
Category IV	Habitat/Species Management Area: protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention
Category V	Protected Landscape/seascape: protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation
Category VI	Managed resource protected area: protected area managed mainly for sustainable use of natural ecosystems

Table 2.1: IUCN protected area categories Source: IUCN, 2008

The architecture for the protected area system in Africa can be traced back to Western colonial thought and practice as the majority of PAs were created during the colonial era. Underpinning the development of protected areas in Africa is the idea that African wilderness areas are earthly Edenic, that is untouched, unspoiled and free of humans (Neumann, 1998, Dowie, 2009). Following this assumption, protected areas were created to preserve and maintain the unspoiled environment from human destruction. National parks like Yellowstone and Yosemite in the United States of America (USA) created in 1872 and 1890 respectively, became a reference point for protected areas in Africa and elsewhere (Carruthers, 2017). The park was founded on the principle that nature as something pristine should be devoid of humans. As a result, these protected areas were carved out of land originally belonging to native Americans. This state-led exclusive model became a template that was imported into Africa and elsewhere by white settlers (Brockington, 2002; Brockington and Igoe, 2006).

The creation of protected areas in Africa became synonymous with human rights violations against indigenous communities who were forcefully removed from land they had occupied for centuries. They were considered to be disturbing the romantic notion of unspoiled and untouched wilderness (Adams and MaCshane, 1992). In light of this, state power was strengthened in far-flung remote areas, where the exercise of that power has been marginal. In the process of deepening state power, local people lost access to resources that were important for the security of their livelihoods as a result of their removals (Ramutsindela, 2004; Brockington, 2002; Brockington and Igoe, 2006; West et al., 2006; Hall et al., 2014). Local communities were therefore not allowed in conservation spaces; should an indigenous person be found within the boundaries of the parks they were brutally suppressed by the park authorities or heavily fined (Peluso, 1993). In this way, their traditional way of living was criminalized; indigenous communities became the enemy of the state thus labelled as poachers, squatters etc. This policy was appropriately called the ‘fines-and fences’ approach or fortress conservation (see Brockington, 2002). Local communities developed negative attitudes towards protected areas, and they would often trespass and poach animals as a way of resisting their removal from land that belongs to them.

In order to safeguard wildlife and exclude local people from protected areas, states not only erected fences but also applied barbed wire around the conservation spaces (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006). In the eyes of the locals, the fence became a symbol that governments value the

life of animals more than the life of humans (Hulme and Murphree, 2001). It is for this reason that local communities today often associate protected areas with the interests of white people. Some states such as Botswana did not erect fences as fences hinder the movement of wildlife, but the government deployed militaristic tactics to police conservation spaces (see Chapter Four and Five).

While protected areas predates independent statehood in most African states, their networks have since increased significantly, and now covers nearly 17.5% of sub-Saharan territory and parks such as the Serengenti, Kruger, Masai Mara, Okavango Delta have a worldwide status and reputation (Dunn, 2009). Countries such as Central African Republic, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana have set aside 43%, 42%, 40.5%, 29.2% and 40% respectively of their territory for nature conservation and figure as globally influential sanctuaries of wildlife (Lindsey et al., 2007; UNEP, 2014; see Chapter Four). Setting aside land for conservation transforms the state in that it weakens the grip of state power in the territory because as more land is protected it brings in more actors that have direct influence in the operation of PAs. There are states such as Tanzania that gave up land for conservation in order to access foreign development aid for its budget, which brings in more actors in the planning and implementation of environmental policies consequently weakening the grip of the state (Death, 2008; 2013; Gardner, 2017; Noe et al., 2017). It is estimated that Tanzania gets approximately 40% of its total budget from donors and scholars contend that the private sector is at the helm of operating Tanzania's conservation areas (Death, 2013). In Madagascar, Duffy (2006) points out that conservation practices shaped state governance when WWF and Conservation International solicited US\$8 million worth of debt for nature swaps, and donors and NGOs directly operated elements of national parks. In addition, the World Bank funded and designed the National Environment Action Plan (NEAP) and a Charter for the Environment.

Protected areas are key attraction for both foreign investors and international tourists. African countries have taken advantage of the pristine wilderness image portrayed by Europeans to reinforce their economies. Private safari tourism operators such as Wilderness Safaris² and state tourism enterprises often market conservation areas to affluent western consumer markets

² Wilderness Safaris is widely acclaimed as the continent's foremost ecotourism operator, dedicated to conserving and restoring Africa's wilderness and wildlife in Southern and East Africa (see <https://wilderness-safaris.com/>).

as pristine and undisturbed wilderness. This has boosted tourists' interests and increased revenue for governments. Wildlife tourism is one of the top foreign exchange earners for several sub-Saharan countries including Botswana, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania (see Chapters Four and Five). The turnover from tourism in sub-Saharan Africa was estimated at USD66 billion in 2016, with wildlife tourism generating a significant percentage of that total (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2018, hereafter WTTC). Furthermore, the industry has created 8.4 million direct jobs and 20.7 million indirect jobs (WTTC, 2018). This implies that tourists' expectations are met as they can see Africa's charismatic megafauna and rare species.

2.5.2 Green militarisation

To secure natural resources against illegal off-take, states adopted military tactics to monitor protected areas. Since most of the protected areas are located along the borders of a country, they became sites of illegal smuggling of guns and were infiltrated by poachers. The increase in rhino and elephant poaching between 2009 and 2016 in sub-Saharan Africa forged a renewed sense of urgency in wildlife conservation. Hence African governments reverted to militaristic intervention. This form of state intervention, which usually involves force or violence, is commonly known amongst conservation scholars as green militarisation. Lunstrum (2014, p.817) defines green militarisation as the "use of military and paramilitary (military-like) actors, techniques, technologies and partnerships in pursuit of conservation". Proponents of green militarization consider the approach as legitimate, in that, it saves endangered species from extinction (Henk, 2005, 2006; Hübschle and Jooste, 2017; Mogomotsi and Madigele, 2017). Therefore, green militarisation is an attempt by the state to enforce the green agenda.

Green militarisation is enabled by a wide range of actors. States have brought in their national armies to fight poachers. For instance, the Botswana state has enlisted the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) in the war for conservation and has somehow become a model example of how to deal with poachers (see Chapter Five). Elsewhere in Africa, anti-poaching units (APU) have been trained by foreign military instructors and security companies with others engaging former military personnel (Lunstrum, 2014; Büscher and Ramutsindela, 2016). Furthermore, APUs have now resorted to camouflage uniforms which resemble military gear. There is a discernible shift towards a greater use of physical force, which include the use of shoot to kill or shoot on site, surveillance technologies, informant networks, drones and camera traps (Lunstrum, 2014; Duffy, 2016). As Marijnen and Verweijen (2016) indicate in the case of

Virunga National Park in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) conservationists engage in moral boundary drawing, grounded in colonial stereotypes of black poachers and rebels versus the white saviours of the park management authority. By adopting such measures, Ramutsindela and Büscher (2019, p. 17) contend that “African states and their citizens are placed under their surveillance while being enabled to themselves become surveillance states with the aim of protecting environmental assets”.

Such initiatives chime with state objectives to put an end to or displace rowdy populations or groups operating across international borders via counter insurgency operations in which biodiversity conservation plays a legitimate role (Duffy, 2016). They also deepen and extend state power in rural and remote areas, where state authority has often been limited (Dunn, 2009; Peluso and Vandergeest, 2001; Duffy, 2016; Ybarra, 2016). It should also be noted that military tactics have been used to forcibly remove indigenous populations when protected areas were established (Peluso, 1993; Neumann, 2001). In this regard, Death (2016a, p. 88) argues that the green state in Africa can be considered “an authoritarian conservation state in which vast tracts of land are exclusively territorialised and secured against local populations, for the protection of wildlife rents and the enjoyment of foreign tourists”.

2.5.3 Decentralised environmental governance

It was not until the 1990s that international conservation NGOs and governments began to realise that the state-led exclusive protected area approach was inefficient in addressing biodiversity conservation. In 1992, delegates at the World Congress on National Parks and protected areas acknowledged that denying indigenous communities rights and benefits from protected areas undermines conservation efforts. The real turning point however came in 2003 at the World Parks Congress in Durban, South Africa. A commitment was made by governments to include local communities in the management of protected areas on a fair and equitable basis and in full respect of their human and social rights (UNEP, 2004). It was considered that indigenous rural Africans have a better understanding of environmental processes. For instance, indigenous communities have established social and cultural norms which are often inherent in nature (e.g. established via long standing social relationships) and not necessarily codified or written down (Ostrom, 1992). Hence, they must be recognized as citizens with rights and responsibilities over the nation’s conservation estate. This prompted a

shift towards a more inclusive, flexible and hybrid approach towards natural resource management. These featured the importance of decentralised and quasi autonomous networks in biodiversity conservation. Decentralized approaches present a platform on which to build capacities of rural African societies and local level institutions where natural resources are located. It also represents an arena in which the transformation of the state takes place.

The decentralised governance involves devolution of power and transfer of responsibilities from the central government to local government and rural communities in wildlife management (Murombezi, 2001; Dryer et al., 2014). Through decentralised governance, local communities are able to self-organise themselves to manage resources and coordinate with state actors through formal (regulatory or bureaucratic frameworks employed by the state) and informal mechanisms (Ostrom, 1990, 2005). In addition, decentralised approaches provide an important avenue for establishing novel public private partnerships between various actors to share both authority and responsibility over resources. Rather than a complete transformation of conventional environmental statehood, decentralized approaches depend on the re-regulation of conservation and use of natural resources, which often combine state-oriented and market-oriented practices (Harris, 2012).

Initiatives such CBNRM in Botswana, Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe, communal conservancies in Namibia, Kenya and wildlife management areas in Tanzania epitomize decentralised approaches in Southern and East Africa. These initiatives are a tool to achieve biodiversity conservation and improve livelihoods in rural communities in Africa. The basic assumption of CBNRM is that communities will sustainably manage wildlife within their locality if they directly derive socio-economic benefits from the use of wildlife (Murphree, 1993; Thakadu, 2005; Twyman, 2000, 2017). Hence it is presented as a win-win opportunity by the state and non-state actors and is considered as crucial for achieving sustainable development goals.

CBNRM has mostly been promoted and implemented on areas adjacent to protected areas. The aim here is for communities to sustainably manage wildlife resources while contributing to reducing poverty among indigenous communities. These peripheral areas act as transition zone between a protected area and local community settlements thus they are able to retain the natural features, promote the sustainability of protected areas values, and foster development

of not only communities but the private sector as well. The peripheral areas are zoned by the state into what is known as tourism concessions³. These concessions serve as economic unit of production (Twyman, 2000). There are community concessions where the land is governed by a democratically elected body which adopts a management plan for its land use (see Chapter, Six). This management plan must be approved by a relevant environmental agency to ensure that the activities are carried out on a sustainable manner. The local community usually zones their concessions for various activities, including consumptive or non-consumptive use. There are also private concessions for the private safari operators.

When the state transfers power over wildlife, it is an illustration that it trusts its citizens, and this act gives the state a democratic outlook to the public. However, this characterisation has been questioned by scholars (Nelson and Agrawal, 2007; Nelson, 2010; Poteete & Ribot, 2011; Hoon, 2014). This is because, the initiative has been externally driven by powerful environmental foundations and NGOs as well as developmental agencies in the Global North (see Chapter Four). The aim of these NGOs is to limit the power of the state by pressing for the devolution of power to locals to influence the use and ownership of resources. Contrary to the state giving local communities the autonomy to decide on their economic projects, the state actually influences the implementation of community projects. In certain instances, the central government has been able to influence the distribution of revenue with the national government having a major stake from community projects (see Chapters Five and Six; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012; Hoon, 2014; Mbaiwa, 2015). The rent-seeking behaviour of states is one way to ensure that the state extends its authority where it has been marginal. Ramutsindela and Buscher (2019) contend that decentralised initiatives can literally make states particularly where there is no local state structures to infuse the initiative. They note how Lesotho through the Maloti-Drakensburg Transfontier Project (MDTP) was able to establish a local state structure to decentralise community conservation through the assistance of the Global Environment Fund (GEF).

³ A concession is a lease, license, easement or permit for an operation undertaken by any party other than the protected area agency (World Bank Group, 2016, p.9).

2.5.4 Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs)

Another key element of the green state in Africa is the implementation of trans-border mega parks commonly known as transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs). TFCAs are an attempt to experiment with the green agenda in Africa. These modern conservation areas are established between two or more countries and involve merging formally isolated protected areas, wildlife management areas, freehold, state and communal land across state borders (Ramutsindela, 2007). Just like protected areas, TFCAs have colonial roots. Wolmer (2003, p.266) argues that “TFCAs are driven by Cecil Rhodes clones, rather than seeing great expanses of red on the map (the color of British empire) they want to see a great wedge of green as their legacy to Africa”. It is widely acknowledged that Cecil Rhodes had a vision to expand the British empire from Cape to Cairo hence the TFCA dream is to join Africa’s protected areas along this axis.

TFCAs challenge the bordering processes in Africa by seeking to move beyond the removal of fences to allow for free movement of wildlife across the borders. Political boundaries are an obstacle to the conservation of biodiversity and ecosystems (Fall, 2005, 2011). It is claimed that borders are physical features imposed by colonialism that disrupt natural processes and inhibit the migration of wildlife. Duffy (2001) contends that ecological boundaries do not follow political boundaries. Therefore, TFCAs promotes a ‘borderless’ notion in conservation (Hanks, 2003; Ramutsindela, 2009) while portraying a dream of a united Africa without fences.

Against this backdrop, TFCAs are justified for ecological, economic and political reasons (Wolmer, 2003; Ramutsindela, 2007; Büscher, 2013). From an ecological point of view, TFCAs are created to restore fragmented ecosystems that have been disrupted by political borders. They do so, by re-connecting protected areas and other land uses across borders through ecological corridors. These allow the “re-establishment of wildlife seasonal migratory routes, which in turn reduce the extinction risk due to stochastic events” (Munthali, 2007, p.52). The initiative is regarded as an activity directed at accomplishing biodiversity protection in accordance with global commitments to the United Nations Convention on Biodiversity of 1992.

Economically, TFCAs serve to increase tourism revenue that bolsters regional and local economies by providing an extensive ecotourism industry. It is hoped that this extensive tourism industry will provide sustainable livelihoods to historically marginalised local

communities living near TFCAs (Sandwith et al., 2001; Ramutsindela, 2007). They are therefore an avenue for the penetration of capital into nature (Büscher, 2013). To realize this dream, for instance, the KAZA TFCA has introduced uni-visa for tourists. Just like the Schengen visa, the uni-visa allows tourists to move freely across five partner countries with ease with the aim of contributing significantly to the economies of the participating countries.

Politically, TFCAs are viewed as necessary for peace building and present an arena in which the dream of the 'African Renaissance' can be attained (Mbeki, 2002) hence also known as peace parks. It is through TFCAs that nature is used to maintain peaceful relations thus promoting a philosophy of goodwill, cooperation and co-existence. Thus, the green state in Africa is a vast, interconnected Pan-African conservation estate (Death, 2016a). Büscher and Ramutsindela (2016) aptly note that 'the global solution' or 'telos' of conservation has been under severe pressure from rhino poaching and the aggressive militarised response to it. The authors argue that poaching presents the greatest threat to the peace compelling rationale in Southern African peace parks. The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park was at the centre of rhino poaching in 2015 and has over the years been the flagship of the PPF (Lunstrum, 2014; Büscher & Ramutsindela, 2016). Büscher and Ramutsindela (2016) argue that implementers of peace parks use violent tactics against people who are framed as poachers which contradicts the notion of peace and harmony that peace parks promote.

The African continent has since experienced a significant increase in transborder conservation projects the majority of which is found in Southern Africa. Examples of TFCAs in Southern Africa include, the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park which includes Botswana and South Africa; the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier conservation area (KAZA) one of the largest by far comprising of five countries including Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe; the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Park (South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe) (see Figure 2.1). The literature on TFCAs frames TFCAs as a manifestation of global environmental governance where an array of non-state actors and environmental organisations are increasingly responsible for driving conservation policy and practice globally in an era characterised by a surge of neoliberalism (Duffy, 1997; Büscher and Dressler, 2007; Büscher, 2013). Scholars argue that TFCAs are an epitome of the rise in globally driven market-oriented environmental interventions and mega parks are evidence that most governments have embraced a neoliberal policy agenda (Wolmer, 2003; Duffy, 2006; Büscher, 2013). Dr Anton

Rupert, the late South African business mogul and co-founder of Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) has been instrumental in driving the TFCA agenda in Southern Africa. The PPF has since collaborated with international environmental organisations such as World-Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and Conservation International (CI) who channel funds and provide technical assistance in TFCA projects. The foundation has drawn the attention of governments who support the vision of TFCAs while also serving as honorary patrons.



Figure 2.1 Map showing TFCAs in Africa (Source: Peace Parks Foundation, 2018)

The implementation of transborder projects are endorsed by the SADC protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 1999. Article 4(2f) of this convention confers the responsibility on the SADC states “to advance the conservation of the shared wildlife resources through the foundation of trans-frontier protection regions” (SADC, 1999, p. 6). To ensure

commitment to the protocol, participating countries contribute a significant amount of land to form part of TFCAs. It is within this contributed land that the implementers cooperation with governmental environmental agencies to design and create ecological corridors. Hence TFCAs force the state to give away part of its sovereignty over wildlife (Ramutsindela, 2007, 2017) to various actors involved in TFCAs; a process that weakens the power of the state. The involvement of various actors in the planning and implementation of TFCAs transforms the role of the state. When the state agrees to include part of its conservation areas into a TFCA it shares its responsibilities over such areas with other participating states. Thus, TFCAs force the state to work with other actors, including government departments of various countries, powerful international financial institutions, and environmental NGOs. The conservation spaces which are part of TFCAs are governed by international protocols and rules that constrain the power of the state over such land. In essence, the more actors are involved in the planning and implementation of TFCAs, the less control the state has. Furthermore, participating countries are expected to integrate TFCAs protocols and rules into their domestic policies. The involvement of non-state actors in TFCAs constitutes global environment governance in which the responsibility to manage conservation areas is moved away from the state to the hands of non-state actors. In short, power and authority shift from the state to non-state entities most of which originate from the Global North.

Despite TFCAs ambitious promises, local communities continue to find themselves on the receiving end from large scale conservation projects across Africa. TFCAs are characterised by marginalisation, displacement and loss of access to natural and cultural resources (Ferreira, 2006; Spierenburg et al., 2006; Ramutsindela, 2007; Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008). Since TFCAs are conceived and implemented in a top-down manner, Mayoral-Phillips (2002) found that the government of Botswana did not consult with the San community in the planning and implementation of the KTP. Mogende (2016) noted that communities on the Botswana side were not aware about KAZA and that they have not been involved in the planning phases of the same. The creation of the GLTP has resulted in the forced removal of approximately 7,000 people from Coudata 16 in Mozambique to give way for the creation of the Limpopo National Park (Milgroom & Spierenburg, 2008; Lunstrum, 2010, 2015). Such practices nurture complex issues of rights, proprietorship, governance and authenticity (Adams & Hutton, 2007). Furthermore, Anderson et al. (2013) observe that communities are often seen as a threat to conservation and are given labels such as poachers, smugglers and squatters. The authors

further note that communities who were reclaiming their land or using resources in GLTP have been labelled as squatters in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Judging from these examples, Ramutsindela (2009) argues that TFCAs reflect trends in the colonial-era of environmental injustice and the contradictions between domestic needs and international environmental goals.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has tried to give a review of conceptions of and discussions on the green state. Drawing mainly on the Global North experiences, the literature of the green state has demonstrated that the state is a critical actor in facilitating environmental reforms that altogether enhances sustainability. This literature tends to evaluate the greening of the state in terms of ecological outcomes of countries in the Global North. It is for this reason that green state theorists assume that green states are largely liberal democracies. This view of the green state raises questions about whether and how African states fit into this categorisation of the green state. Furthermore, the chapter has demonstrated that environmental issues are central to the making and transformation of states in Africa (Death, 2016; Ramutsindela and Büscher, 2019). In order to understand how the process of greening unfolds, I needed a qualitative methodology to investigate this. In the next chapter I discuss the methodology and techniques used to collect and analyse the process of greening in Botswana through the lens of wildlife conservation policy and practice over time.

Chapter Three

Methodological reflections towards understanding Botswana as a green state

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the methods and procedures through which various empirical data sets were collected and analysed to understand how the process of greening unfolded in Botswana. The research was aimed at understanding how the Botswana state has been produced through green discourses and practices and the key drivers behind policy changes over time (1966-2018) in the wildlife sector. The chapter includes the justification of the selection of the study site, research design, methodological approach, data collection and analysis used to explain the complex processes that enable the greening of the Botswana state and the consequences and contestation of the greening process on local communities in the Okavango Delta. In the last section I discuss the ethical issues and challenges I encountered during data collection.

3.2 Setting

Botswana's wildlife conservation estate which accounts for approximately 39% of the country's territory makes it an interesting case study in understanding state processes of environmental governance in greening the country. Wildlife conservation is central to Botswana's burgeoning high-end tourism industry and features prominently in the country's international conservation profile. Wildlife-based tourism is the second largest source of foreign income for Botswana after mining and is largely concentrated in the northern part of Botswana with the Okavango Delta playing a significant role in the national and local economy. The study was carried out in the Okavango Delta - a Ramsar site and World Heritage site – one of Africa's most incredible wildlife sanctuary and one of the largest inland delta systems in the world (Ramsar, 2006). The Okavango Delta derives its water from the upland plains of Angola through the Kubango River, which is joined by the Kuito River, and then criss-crosses the desert land of Namibia to later form the Okavango River. The river then empties into the low plains of north-western Botswana as alluvial distributaries thus forming an inland delta. The delta is part of the KAZA TFCA, an area of approximately 520 000km² straddling five countries – Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The Okavango Delta is chosen purposively for this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is a popular tourist destination, often considered as the jewel of Botswana's tourism industry operating a multi-billion-pula luxurious tourism that contributes US\$1.5 billion to the GDP in Botswana (WTTC, 2018). The luxurious tourism in the Okavango Delta encourages environmentally friendly tourism that is anchored on green branding promoted by the government of Botswana grading system called the Eco-Certification programme. This grading system allows private tourism operators and local communities involved in CBNRM in the Delta to minimise environmental impacts while at the same time promoting green growth in tourism concessions. Secondly, the delta is also considered by many as a paradox; an area that is rich in natural resources but poor at the same time (Mbaiwa, 2017; Mogalakwe and Nyamnjoh, 2017). Botswana's high-end tourism industry is largely located in what is still one of the country's most poverty-stricken areas – the Ngamiland district in North West Botswana covering the Okavango Delta. Many local communities have not yet realised the benefits from the thriving wildlife-based tourism industry in the delta hence there is a need to establish the link between the concept of the green state and environmental (in)justice.

Thirdly, wildlife is subjected to various models of environmental governance in the Okavango Delta although the resource is state property. These consist of state-led park model, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and privatisation (see Figure 3.1). These various models of wildlife governance offer the government of Botswana an avenue to greening the state and maintaining the high-end tourism in the Okavango Delta. Under the state-led park model wildlife is sustainably managed in protected areas such as Moremi Game Reserve (MGR). MGR is controlled and managed by the state through the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) housed under the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation and Tourism (MENT). In this type of model, the state has exclusive and discretionary power in the control of wildlife as an ecological and economic asset. It is widely acknowledged that state control and ownership is the most notable model in Africa in the majority of resource sectors. Within this model, only non-consumptive activities are permitted by the state.

The CBNRM model is premised on the devolution of power and authority from the central state to local communities in managing wildlife. This is meant to promote and empower local communities by linking economic and social development to natural resource management.

CBNRM was implemented in 1989 with few local communities in the Okavango Delta embracing the concept (see Chapters Four and Six). Wildlife conservation takes place within concessions often leased to local communities by the relevant land board authority (see Chapter Six). Within CBNRM, local communities can engage sustainably in both consumptive and non-consumptive activities guided by the relevant department. Local communities are important in the greening process in that they assist with the implementation of the green agenda at the local level in Botswana with the premise that they will generate rewards crucial for uplifting their livelihoods.

With the private sector model, the state has granted foreign investors or private safari companies the right to sustainably extract wildlife resources in concession areas through leases in the Okavango Delta. The state is not directly involved in the resource management structures but draws taxes and royalties from the investors. The most notable one is Wilderness Safaris which operates safari camps in several African countries. Wilderness Safaris through Okavango Wilderness Safaris (Pty) Limited (OWS) operates approximately 23 safari camps in the delta. OWS pays lease fees and taxes to the government. A total of over BWP41 million (approximately US\$ 5.9 million) has been paid in terms of lease fees and taxes in the financial year 2009 -2013 (Spenceley & Snyman, 2016). Spenceley and Snyman (2016) contend that the company has participated in conservation and tourism policy and planning at the national level in Botswana, both formally and informally. The private companies assist in reinforcing the green agenda by adopting the latest technological innovation that minimises environmental impacts while at the same time promoting green growth in Botswana complementing the HCLV tourism business model.

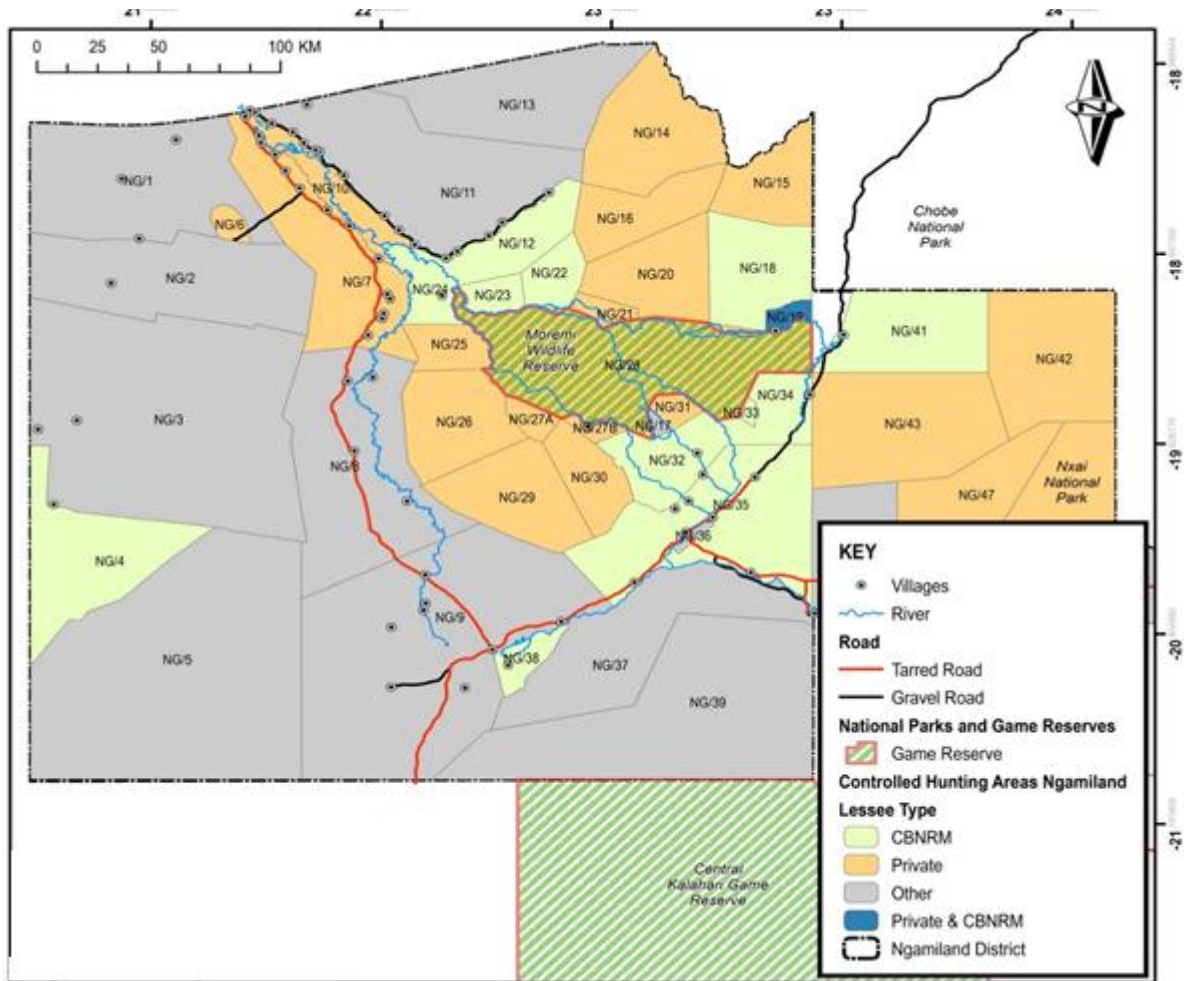


Figure 3.1 Various models of wildlife governance in the Okavango Delta, Botswana (Data source: Botswana Tourism organisation, 2017)

Khwai village, located in wildlife management area (WMA) NG19 in the northern part of the Moremi Game Reserve and along the Khwai river was selected as a case study because it helps us understand the unfolding process of greening at a local level and the relationship between the state and its citizens in environmental governance. The village was established as a result of forced removals of various families from Moremi Game Reserve at the time of its designation in 1963 and the subsequent extension of the reserve in 1969 (Taylor, 2000; Bolaane, 2002; see Chapter Six). The community of Khwai mainly comprises of the Bugakhwe or River Bushmen, a Basarwa group. Just like other Basarwa, the Bugakhwe were hunters and gatherers before being relocated from the game reserve.

Khwai village is surrounded by wealthy rich wildlife populations making the area ideal for tourism development and conservation. They are the first community to be approached for

CBNRM when the program started in 1989 (see more discussion in Chapter Six). As part of CBNRM the community established a community trust, Khwai Development Trust (KDT) to run and develop an eco-tourism enterprise that aims to protect the environment and generate revenue from the area's unique environment. Khwai was purposively chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the CBNRM programme has been operational in the village since 2000. The Khwai community was the first community to stop trophy hunting in 2008 and solely focus on photographic tourism before the implementation of the nation-wide hunting ban in 2014 (see Chapter Six).

Secondly, Khwai epitomises the challenges and interactions between the state, private sector and KDT regarding tourism development and conservation. Khwai is surrounded by three prime luxurious photographic tourism lodges – Tsaro lodge, Khwai River lodge and Machaba lodge – most of which are and have been operated by private safari tourism operators. For decades, the community through their trust have been at the centre of resource conflicts with tourism companies in the area, the Tawana Land Board (TLB), Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) and the national government over ownership of Tsaro Lodge (see Chapter Six). All these conflicts are a result of the fact that Khwai is in a wildlife rich area suitable for tourism development and wildlife conservation desired by the government, political and economic elites and private safari tourism operators. By paying attention to the relationship between the state and its citizens in Khwai concession, this case study helps us establish the possible link between the concept of the green state and environmental (in)justice. As discussed in Chapter Two, when a state achieves a greener status, environmental justice and poverty alleviation becomes a priority thus this case study is critical for understanding this link in the African context.

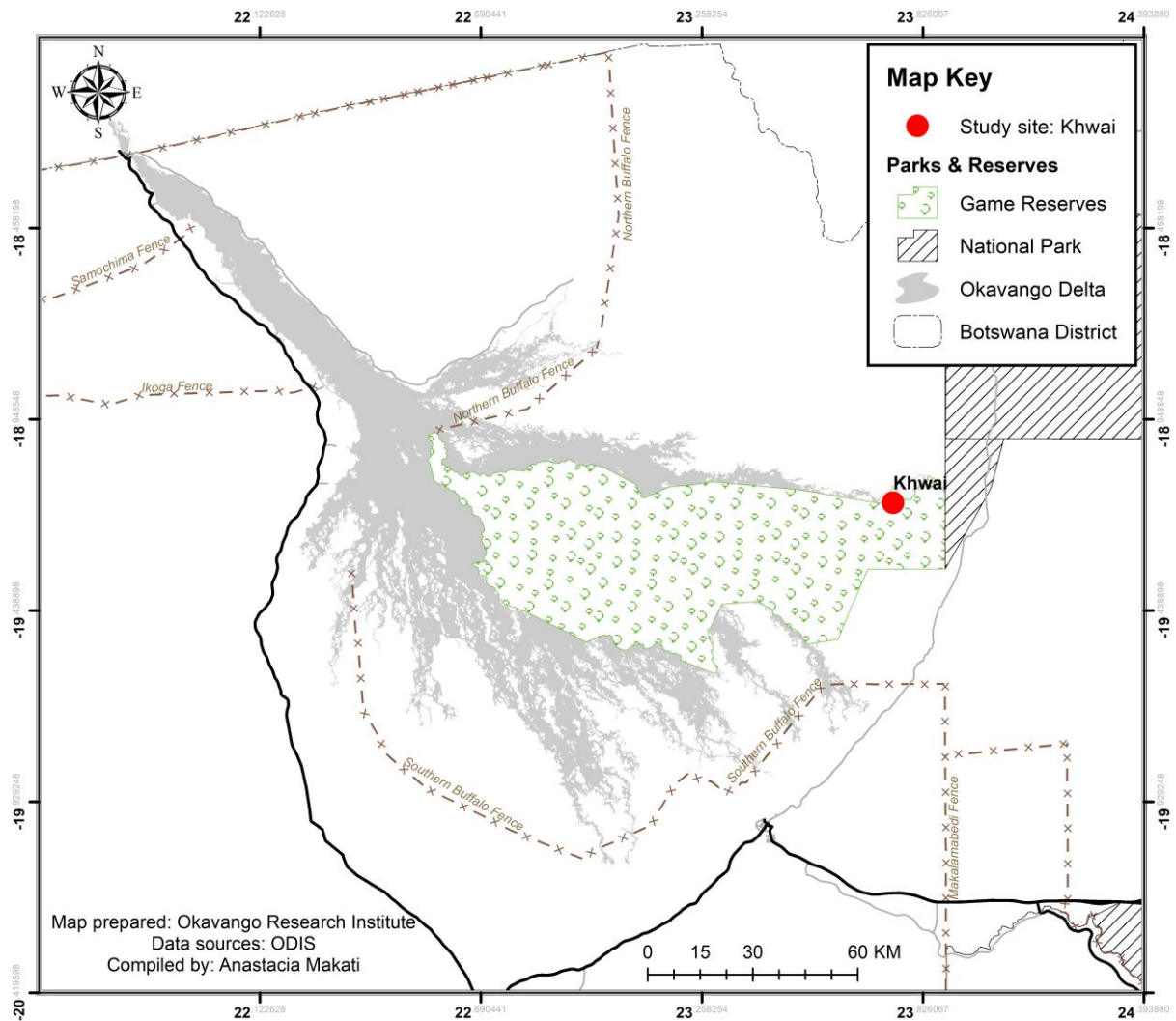


Figure 3.2: Map showing the location of Khwai settlement in the Okavango Delta (Source: Okavango Research Institute, 2019)

3.3 Research design and methodology

The study was designed to understand the complex processes that enabled the greening of the state in Botswana through the lens of wildlife conservation. This study is situated in the interpretivist paradigm. An interpretive approach is the “systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detail observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds” (Neuman, 2000, p.68). The interpretive approach is of the view that the world is subjective and best understood in terms of individuals subjective meanings rather than the researcher’s objective definition (Neuman, 2000; Myers, 2009). Hence, the interpretive approach is largely shaped by human experiences and social context and best studied within its socio-historic context by bringing together the subjective interpretation of the various

participants involved in the study (Walsham, 1995; Neuman, 2000). The research is dependent on participants experience including participants knowledge, views, interpretations and experiences on the processes of greening Botswana since independence. The interpretive approach focuses on meaning and employs multiple meaning in order to reflect on different aspects of the issue. This enabled me to appreciate the difference and similarities between participants views.

Contrary to the positivist research paradigm that depends on quantitative data, interpretive research is mainly informed by qualitative data and analysis. Qualitative data is based mostly on non-numeric data such as interviews and observations as it tends to focus on meanings generated from the perspectives of respondents. As such qualitative research involves a collection of broad narrative data in order to gain deeper insights into the complex processes that enable greening in Botswana. Proponents of qualitative research are of the view that this approach offers naturalistic inquiry, in that it allows the phenomena under investigation to be carried out within their natural setting. Since social phenomena are often situated within and cannot be isolated from their social context, interpretations of such phenomena must be grounded within their socio-historical context (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Myers, 2009). Qualitative methodology enables data collection and analysis to be done simultaneously and iteratively. This strategy allows the researcher to correct potential flaws in the interview protocol or adjust the questions to capture the phenomena of interest better (Creswell, 2015). Furthermore, the researcher may even change his/her original research questions if they realise that the original questions are unlikely to generate new or useful insights. Qualitative research encourages the use of open-ended interview questions in data collection and thus allows the researcher to capture not only questions asked but also those that one may not have thought of when designing the study. There are various methods of data collection and analysis employed in qualitative research, including interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document analysis. The use of more than two methods often termed data triangulation enhances the credibility of the data.

There are various strategies of inquiry that qualitative researchers can choose from to collect and analyse data and they include: narrative, phenomenology, ethnography, case study and grounded theory (Creswell, 2015). For the purpose of this research which attempts to explain the complex processes that enable the greening of the Botswana state, grounded theory was

deemed suitable to collect and analyse data. Grounded theory consists of a set of inductive procedures for analysing data to discover new theoretical insights from the data and avoids traditional logical deductive reasoning (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Charmaz 2003; Stern and Porr, 2017). The methodology of grounded theory is iterative, requiring a steady movement between concepts and data. Corbin and Strauss (1990) note that sampling in grounded theory is not drawn from samples of specific groups and units of time but in terms of their concepts, properties, dimensions and characteristics. Thus, a purposive sampling technique guided the selection of participants. This type of sampling strategy allows a researcher to use judgement to select participants who will best answer the research questions and meet the objectives of the study (Creswell and Clark, 2007; Patton, 2015).

3.4 Data Collection

The empirical evidence for understanding the complex processes that enable the greening of the Botswana state is primarily based on key informant interviews, observations, document analysis and historical archival work. Fieldwork was carried out in Botswana from April 2018 to April 2019 in Gaborone⁴; in the administrative capital of Ngamiland district, Maun and Khwai village in the Okavango Delta. In early April 2018, I left Cape Town for Gaborone to begin interviews. I spent two months in Gaborone conducting interviews with key informants from the various governmental and non-governmental organisations working on environmental conservation. In the beginning of June, I travelled to Maun where I spent two months doing fieldwork. I then took a break of two weeks, spending time in Cape Town reflecting on fieldwork data with my supervisor. This assisted me to identify gaps and determine the kind of questions to ask in the next field visit.

In September, I travelled back to Maun to continue with the interviews. I then proceeded to Khwai village to interact with villagers to understand how the state interacts with the community in wildlife conservation and the role they play in rolling out the green agenda in their concession. Khwai was not foreign to me. I first came to Khwai in 2013, when I was a research assistant to a PhD scholar, Annette LaRocco, from Cambridge University. I was accompanied by Mr Thebe Kemosidile, a research assistant from the Okavango Research

⁴ This is where the Ministry of Environment, Natural resource conservation and Tourism (MENT), headquarters for Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) and Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) are located.

Institute (ORI). We spent almost two weeks in the area sleeping in camping tents at the old abandoned DWNP camp near the northern gate of Moremi Game Reserve. After finalising interviews and doing observations in Khwai, I went back to Maun to complete interviews before heading to Gaborone. The purpose of travelling back to Gaborone was to interview informants whom I did not get a chance to interview whilst on my first visit to Gaborone. It is also during this time that I visited the Botswana National Archives and Records Service (BNARS). I spent almost two months in my second visit to Gaborone before going back to Cape Town.

The data gathering was further informed and complemented by research and historical archival work since independence on key natural resources (i.e. land, minerals and wildlife) in Botswana. These mainly took place in university libraries including University of Botswana (UB), Okavango Research Institute (ORI)⁵, University of Cape Town (UCT) as well as the BNARS in Gaborone. I also conducted news media, policy and legislative documents relating to wildlife conservation and wildlife-based tourism in Botswana since independence. The use of these various techniques of data collection provided a basis for triangulation across multiple sources of data thus strengthening the quality and robustness of the research (Creswell, 2015; Denzin, 2012; Fusch et al., 2018). Furthermore, it enabled me to explore the similarities and differences across the data set. Data collection and analysis were interwoven throughout the research process. The techniques for data collection are discussed in the following section.

3.4.1 Interviews

To gain a deeper understanding of how the Botswana state placed the environment at the centre of state making, semi-structured interviews were used to seek information from key informants. The broad themes explored with key informants included: historical development of wildlife conservation policies, institutional transformation and practices in post-independence Botswana under the administration of the four presidents from 1966 to 2018. It included questions relating to the character of the state; relationship between political authority and control over the environment; actors involved in environmental reforms; rationale behind environmental reforms in Botswana and sustainable use of wildlife at community level. For

⁵ ORI is a UB multi-disciplinary research institute that has been established to carry out studies on the conservation of the Okavango Delta in Botswana.

the purpose of this research, key informants are individuals who are conversant with environmental and wildlife conservation policies and practices in Botswana usually through experience and expertise (Bernard, 2006).

I engaged with officials and senior figures including the Minister, deputy permanent secretary, directors and deputy directors from national and local government environmental related departments. These included the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resource Conservation and Tourism (MENT), Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), Department of Tourism (DOT), Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA), Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) and district level government officials of these institutions located in the administrative capital of Ngamiland District, Maun. I had the opportunity to interview the former Minister of MENT, Honourable Onkokame Kitso Mokaila⁶ who at the time of data collection was the Minister of Transport. I also had the privilege to interview the former president of Botswana, Lieutenant (Lt.) General Seretse Khama Ian Khama. Ian Khama who is well known by the international community for his commitment towards environmental conservation in Botswana since 1980s when he was the commander of the Botswana Defense Force (BDF) (for more on this see Chapter Five). He has been instrumental in driving green initiatives such as green militarisation, hunting ban and restocking of rhinos in Botswana's green spaces.

In addition to government personnel, I interviewed academics in the fields of political science, sociology, historians, tourism, political ecology and natural sciences most of whom work as academics at the University of Botswana main campus (Gaborone) and ORI in Maun. Personnel from private safari tourism operators (both photographic and hunting), environmental conservation non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and development agencies were also interviewed. These include organisations such as OWS, Rhino Conservation Botswana, Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) Botswana and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Furthermore, I engaged with politicians both from the ruling and opposition parties. At the village level, in Khwai, key informants included the *kgosi* (chief), headman, the Trust manager and assistant manager; village development committee

⁶ It is important to highlight that Minister Kitso Mokaila has been in MENT since the Festus Mogae administration before being moved to the transport ministry by Ian Khama in 2010. When President Masisi took over the presidency in 2018, he brought Mokaila back to MENT.

(VDC) chairperson and the current and previous members of the board of trustees of KDT and the village councillor (see Table 3.1). The informants at Khwai were mostly asked questions pertaining to the state-citizen relationship in the wildlife governance through their participation in CBNRM and how greening is carried out through CBNRM initiatives at the local level.

The informants were selected carefully based on my prior knowledge of their responsibilities, participation and influence in Botswana's environmental and wildlife conservation policies and programmes. I personally knew some of the respondents as I have interacted with them during my field visits in 2015/16 for my master's project on the politics of Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier conservation area (KAZA) on the Botswana side. Some of the respondents were approached through the researchers' close friends and contacts without any difficulties. In order to get a broader network of key informants, each respondent was asked who I should talk to, at the end of the interview.

Requests for interviews were made via email in Botswana at least 4 weeks before each scheduled meeting. The emails described the purpose of the study and invited the informants to participate. I also made sure that I attached the research permit for every email I sent to the informants. In an event that I did not get a response a follow up was made via telephone after two weeks of sending the email. At the beginning of every interview, I introduced myself and allowed the respondents to introduce themselves. This gave me an opportunity to develop rapport with the respondent. The respondents were also briefed on the project and the procedures to be followed during the interview. Key informant interviews were mainly conducted in English. I conducted semi-structured interviews, guided by the interview guide. The interview guide allowed the same questions to be asked to the respondents. This increased the comprehensiveness of the data and made the data collection systematic for each participant (Patton, 2015). The interviews also allowed me to pursue other themes that arose during the discussion through probing (Gibson and Brown, 2009; Patton, 2015). This allowed respondents to elaborate on their brief responses (Gibson and Brown, 2009) which gave rise to effective interpretation of responses. Furthermore, when conducting interviews, I always asked respondents to substantiate the claims that they make either by recounting examples or providing documentation.

With the consent of the interviewees, I audio recorded the interviews. In a case where the respondents were not comfortable with being recorded, I made sure that I carefully took notes

during the interview and worked them out as soon as the interview was done. Interviews were later transcribed verbatim and sent back to informants so that they could give their opinion on whether my interpretation of our interview was correct. The process of cross checking led to the generation of new data that the informants might have left out during the interview. A total of 80 key informant interviews were completed and analysed because theoretical saturation was achieved with the 80th participant. Fresh data neither provided valuable additional insights nor revealed new properties of the core theoretical themes (Morse, 1995; Charmaz, 2006; Mason, 2010).

Organisation	Code	Number
Ministry of Environment, Natural Resource conservation and Tourism	MENT official	7
Former President Ian Khama		1
Hon. Minister Kitso Mokaila (MENT)		1
Department of wildlife and National parks	DWNP official	6
Department of Environmental Affairs	DEA official	3
Tawana Land Board	TLB	2
Botswana Tourism Organisation	BTO	4
Academics		
Historian	Historian	2
Tourism		3
Sociologist		3
Political scientists		3
Wildlife ecologist		2
Environmental consultants	ENVC	2
Private Tourism Safari Operators (Hunting and Photographic)		10
Politicians:	POL	
Member of Parliament (MPs)	POLMP	3
Councillors	POLCO	4

United Nations and Development Programme (UNDP) Botswana	UNDP official	2
United States Agency for International Development Botswana	USAID	1
Environmental Non-governmental organisations	ENGOS	5
Journalists	Journ	3
Chiefs or Headmen	Chiefs	5
Khwai Development Trust leadership	KDT	3
Escort guides Khwai	ESG	5
Village Development Committee	VDC	2
	Total	80

Table 3.1 Total number of respondents and their affiliation (Source: Author)

3.4.2 Informal interviews

At the village level in Khwai, I engaged informally with community members. Before interacting with local community members, I first liaised with the trust management who are based in Maun. Upon arrival in Khwai, my first point of contact was the tribal authority, that is the *kgosi*⁷ (chief or headman). I went to the *kgosi* to introduce myself and the research project. The *kgosi* gave me permission to interact with the locals and introduced me to the chairperson of the village development committee (VDC). During my field visits in 2015/16 for my master's project in Mababe, I had noticed that local communities are not always comfortable and free to speak when recorded. For this reason, I resorted to having informal conversations with community members in Khwai. I engaged with locals though the assistance of a research assistant Mr Thebe Kemosedile from ORI. The research assistant usually assists researchers and students from University of Botswana in these areas when conducting research. As a result, Mr Kemosedile is well known in the area and has established rapport with the locals hence it became easier to interact with locals. The interviews with locals took place in informal settings such as under a tree, open spaces and their respective homes. I conducted the interviews in a local language Setswana and at a later stage translated into English. The collection of narratives from locals provided an empirical basis for discussing state-citizen relations in

⁷ Traditionally, in order to feel welcome in a village, outsiders usually go to the chief at the Kgotla to introduce themselves and announce their presence in the area.

Botswana wildlife sector; reorientation of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM); the contribution of CBNRM practices towards the production of the green agenda. In order to capture the widest array of views, prospective interviewees included community escort guides (CEGs) and members of the community who are not affiliated to any of the community structures. A total of 30 informal interviews were completed and analysed in Khwai village.

3.4.3 Observation

Fieldwork observation was carried out during my stay in Khwai village where I spent time with villagers. Being able to live and stay in the community allowed for greater insights into the villager's day to day activities. In this setting, I paid attention to CBNRM day to day activities at the KDT office in Khwai, the behaviour and actions of CEGs in policing natural resources in their concession. CEG embark on daily wildlife resource monitoring patrols to ensure the sustainable use of natural resources in their concession. They record wildlife sightings, rare and endangered species, mortalities, meat harvesting and problem animals within their concession (see more on Chapter Six).

While making observations, I kept a separate field notebook to record observations made and informal daily conversations with villagers. I also took photos of lodges present in Khwai. This allowed me to reflect on the research process itself, the issues that unfolded and allowed me to formulate new questions. Observation allowed me to develop a level of trust among villagers as time passed and they witnessed my continued presence at the local supermarket and bar, the tribal office and the trust office.

3.4.4 Archival data and document review

Conservation is a historical process as it relates to the past, present and future. The interviews were supplemented by archival work. This part of data collection involved retrieving historical accounts relating to environmental and wildlife conservation in Botswana. Archival materials were obtained from the Botswana National Archives and Record Services (BNARS) in Gaborone. Upon arrival at the archives centre, I visited the search room where I lodged a request on archival materials relating to environment and wildlife conservation in Botswana since independence. Under the strict supervision of the archivist, I used a digital camera - without flashlight - to capture the archive material since the facilities for reproduction, that is,

scanners and photocopy machines were not working. In this regard, materials such as newspaper articles, parliamentary debates (Hansard's), wildlife conservation policies and acts, state of the nation address (SONA) for the period 1966 - 2017, biographies of Sir Seretse Khama and memoir of Sir Ketumile Masire (2006), state budget speeches (1966 – 2017), press release statements issued by the government on environmental conservation and national development plans (NDPs, 1 to 10) were reviewed. The review of the archive material revealed the grounds on which the green agenda was set and how it evolved over time, key actors, their roles and motivations thus stimulating further investigations that helped to understand how the state placed the environment at the centre of state making.

I also engaged with international and regional agreements, scientific reports and technical guidelines by international environmental organisations such as RAMSAR, Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) secretariat and the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF). These international policies often influence national policy making and implementation, provide finances for environmental projects thus they are critical agents in rolling out the ideas and discourses behind many policy reforms and often collaborate with government environmental agencies either formally or informally. This was important in understanding where ideas come from, how they shape practice in different contexts and how they are shaped by local practices and interests. At the community level, I obtained several copies from KDT. Copies obtained include: CBNRM lease agreement between Tawana Land Board (TLB) and KDT; minutes of KDT annual general meetings; letters of funding for the refurbishment of Tsaro lodge; letters between TLB and KDT concerning lease renewal of NG19 and letters between KDT and Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO).

In addition, document review involved a literature search on scholarship in environmental governance, green state, environmental state, eco-state, political ecology, ecological modernisation, state theory and third world political studies. I also adopted a reverse grapevine approach, where I read literature referenced by other scholars. I always made sure that I kept track of scholarly articles in relevant scientific journals. I also delved into the existing academic and journalistic/public relations discourse around Botswana's exceptionalism. I engaged with the exceptionalism literature inaugurated in many ways by Abdi Samatar 'an African Miracle state' and the subsequent critiques and assessments of the exceptional African claim.

Furthermore, I obtained additional information from the internet and social media platforms such as government of Botswana (BW) Facebook page and Twitter accounts. I also followed with keen interest conversations on the unbanning of hunting in Botswana by the administration of president Mokgweetsi Masisi in local and international online news sources such as CNN and BBC. This enabled me to find out and fill the gaps (Gibson & Brown, 2009).

3.5 Data analysis and interpretation

Data analysis was simultaneously done with data collection. The first step towards analysing qualitative data is transcribing the interview data sets from various participants. Transcription of data began during fieldwork, whilst still fresh in my mind. There are various ways to transcribe interview data (see Edwards and Lampert, 1993) but for this research, the interviews were transcribed verbatim. That means, I reproduced the exact spoken words from audio recorded interviews in a written form in an Ms Word document to provide a detailed account of the interaction between myself and the respondents. I was more interested in the content of the interviews hence data was presented in a denaturalised format. That means that I excluded certain mechanics of speech such as emotional content e.g. coughs, laughter, sneezing, long pause etc. I checked the accuracy of all transcripts by reading them alongside the original recording and making changes as appropriate. It is through this process that I familiarised myself with the data set and searched for emerging themes from the responses to each of the questions asked. Verbatim transcription has been cited as critical to the reliability (Seale and Silverman, 1997) and to the validity and trustworthiness of qualitative research (Easton et al., 2000).

The next step was to code the transcribed data. Coding is a process whereby the researcher makes judgments about the meanings of continuous blocks of text (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). As suggested by Danzin and Lincoln (2000), the fundamental task associated with coding are identifying themes, building codebooks, and marking texts. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that there are two ways to approaching qualitative data analysis namely, the deductive approach or theoretical thematic analysis and the inductive or bottom-up approach. When using the deductive approach, the researchers usually organize data according to the research questions/objectives whereas the inductive approach is mainly driven by the data itself. For this research, themes originated from the data and were grouped in chronological order. In order to understand the production of the green state in Botswana, data was grouped under four

different periods of presidency covering the eras of Seretse Khama, Ketumile Masire, Festus Mogae and Lt. General Ian Khama. This periodization scheme allows us to trace shifts and continuities in wildlife conservation policies and practices but is also crucial for understanding the contribution of each president towards the greening process of Botswana. As such under each presidency, I paid attention to the wildlife policies, practices and institutions as well as actors behind each policy and institutional transformation and how the ideological orientation of the presidents facilitated the greening process. I employed content analysis to analyse documents such as legal and policy documents, speeches and letters.

3.6 Ethical considerations

University of Cape Town has stringent research guide in place that must be followed by researchers. This process requires the researcher to obtain Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from the relevant committee, in this case the Faculty of Science research ethics committee. Hence this research was ethically approved by the faculty of science research ethics committee (approval code, FSREC 22 – 2018, see Appendix A). In February 2018 I applied for a research permit from the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resource Conservation and Tourism (MENT). In Botswana, researchers cannot undertake research without a valid research permit even if it is for academic purposes. It is worth noting that fieldwork took place at the time the ministry had taken a decision to suspend issuing of research permits to researchers. The decision was taken out of realisation that international researchers and filmmakers fail to comply with statutory requirements of the research permits in Botswana. For this reason, I struggled at the beginning to get a research permit even though I am a citizen. I had to seek an endorsement letter from the ORI, an institution I am affiliated to as a staff development fellow in natural resource governance. Finally, upon arrival in Botswana in early April the MENT granted me a research permit (EWT 8/36/4 xxxx (172), see Appendix B). Before conducting an interview, consent was sought from respondents therefore written consent forms were agreed to and signed. In all interviews, respondents were granted confidentiality in order to ease full disclosure. In order to maintain this confidentiality references to individual in this thesis are formatted using codes and numbers that represent the organisation that the respondent is affiliated to (e.g. Department of Wildlife and national parks = DWNP official, Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources and tourism =MENT official, Department of Environmental Affairs = DEA, Politician= Pol) (see Table 3.1 for codes). The number assigned

to each respondent is according to the sequence of interviews conducted during fieldwork in 2018/19 e.g Interview2, DWNP official, 23POL.

3.7 Study limitations

I undertook data collection at a time when people of Botswana and the international community were embroiled in highly political, sensitive and difficult conversations about elephant conservation and management, the possibility of reintroducing trophy hunting by the new government of President Mokgweetsi Masisi, the controversial presidential Tourism Land Bank and the transfer of tourism concession scandal involving the Tawana Land Board (TLB) officials, Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) and the billionaire Richard Branson⁸. For this reason, government and land board officials were wary of my request to access some documents, for instance, documents relating to awarding of photographic tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta, the Tourism Land Bank policy guidelines. Revisions to the public service act and changes in the practice of public administration under the leadership of President Ian Khama (2008 – 2018) have restricted access to government records. Officials could lose jobs if they provide access to information without the express approval of their superiors. Officials were reticent to volunteer access to official documents or even to make a request on behalf of the researcher, especially if there is any hint of controversy. This applies even for documents that ought to be accessible to the general public. The behaviour of officials reflect the securitisation of the administration by former President Ian Khama (see Chapter Five) as well as the risks associated with commenting on controversies emanating from some of Khama's decisions and the reversal of these decisions by President Mokgweetsi Masisi, who took office on 1 April 2018. However, this limitation does not compromise the results of the study.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter explained the rationale for the methodological approach and methods I used to collect and analyse data to understand and investigate the development of wildlife conservation policies and institutional transformation over time in facilitating the greening of the Botswana

⁸ Four board members of the Tawana land Board were removed from office after challenging the decision to award a prime tourism spot in Moremi Game Reserve by the Minister of MENT Tshekedi Khama and Minister of Lands and Housing, Prince Maele.

state. The study adopted an interpretive approach which is based on qualitative instruments of data collection. Key informant interviews, observations, archival work and document review enabled me to understand how the greening process was carried out over time in Botswana through wildlife conservation policy. Green state literature often puts emphasis on the characters of the state but without paying attention to how these characters have evolved over time. Hence the production of Botswana as a green state is analysed and presented within historical periods of presidency from 1966 to 2018. This allows us to account for changes and continuities in Botswana's engagement with green discourse and practices and key drivers behind the greening of the state. The next chapter focuses on the role played by each of the presidents in the greening of Botswana (Seretse Khama, Ketumile Masire and Festus Mogae, 1966 to 2008). Their role is limited to wildlife conservation, which is a lens through which this thesis engages with debates and theories of the green state. The Ian Khama (2008 – 2018) era is treated separately in Chapter Five because it is embodied as a significant turning point, the consolidation of greening the Botswana state.

Chapter Four

Setting the green agenda: institutional transformation in wildlife conservation in Botswana

4.1 Introduction

Building on debates on the state-environment relations (cf. Chapter Two), this chapter traces the evolution of the alliance between state and non-state actors in the development of wildlife conservation policies, institutional transformation and practices in post-independence Botswana in the period 1966 to 2008 to account for the processes that enable the greening of the state. As noted in Chapter Three, the aim is not to write a biography of the presidents but to locate them within the evolving wildlife conservation policy and institutional transformation towards the greening of Botswana. This chapter does not include the presidency of Ian Khama (2008-2018) because it is an era in which Botswana experienced major transformation in wildlife conservation policy and practices that need to be explained in detail. Furthermore, Ian Khama's era provides material on which the argument of the thesis is anchored and also advanced (see Chapter Five).

The starting point for this chapter is that the ideological orientation of leaders has impact on the greening of the state. In the context of Botswana's liberal capitalist economy, the four presidents should be treated as political elite, who adopted different approaches towards greening the state. Their approaches also reflected changing strategies and paradigms in the protection and use of environmental resources. These strategies have produced uneven relations between the state and its citizens and also created space for the dominance of multinational companies in the wildlife-based tourism industry. The chapter is organised as follows. In the first part, the chapter considers the presidency of Seretse Khama (1966-1980). This section pays attention to how Seretse Khama, as the first president of the country, brought forth wildlife conservation into the national agenda after independence even though wildlife was not a priority during his presidency. The second part, which focuses on the longest serving President Ketumile Masire (1980-1998), highlights how the development of wildlife conservation policy coincided with global environmental strategies and the consequent reforms of environmental programmes in the country. The third part examines the internal restructuring of the Botswana state under Festus Mogae's administration (1998-2008), which re-aligned state activities with the green agenda. The last section concludes the chapter by capturing the main changes in wildlife conservation policy and institutional frameworks between 1966 and 2008.

4.2 SIR SERETSE KHAMA ERA, 1966 – 1980

Seretse Khama is the founding father of the modern nation-state of Botswana who served as the first post-colonial leader from 1966 until his death in 1980. He is also one of the founders of the ruling party, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), a party that has been in power for a continuous period of 53 years. A heir to the dominant Tswana group, Bamangwato chieftaincy, Seretse Khama was an educated elite who studied in South Africa and England at University of Fort Hare and University of Oxford, respectively. While studying in England Seretse married Ruth Williams, a white British woman. Their marriage caused controversy not only with the Bangwato tribal leaders but also with the neighbouring South Africa, which at that time had established a system of racial segregation, well known as Apartheid. Attempts were made by his uncle regent Tshekedi Khama and the government of South Africa to nullify the marriage.

The apartheid government in South Africa urged Britain to nullify the marriage and prevent Khama from assuming chieftainship. The marriage led to him being sent into exile in Britain (Rotberg, 2003) and later renouncing his right to chieftaincy. Although the Bamangwato initially opposed his marriage, they later – as a result of a series of *kgotla* meetings – accepted his wife and supported his reinstatement as a chief. Apart from being a chief and a president, Seretse was a well-known cattle rancher. Good (2008) estimates that Seretse owned about 30 000 cattle. In colonial and post-colonial Botswana cattle were a major source of wealth, social status and economic security (Parsons, 1981). Seretse Khama's system of governance was greatly influenced by his own experiences and educational background. This together with his love for cattle influenced the policies that were adopted by his government. Of relevance to this thesis is how Khama's government managed natural resources.

4.2.1 Centralised management of natural resources in post-independent Botswana

Botswana's exceptionalism is attributed to the successful juxtaposition of traditional and modern democratic institutions by the post-colonial leaders (Sebudubudu and Molotsi, 2011; Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016). Through such process, the leaders of independent Botswana were able to bring key natural resources such as land, minerals and wildlife under the control of the central state away from the traditional system of governance. During the pre-colonial and colonial era, the administration of land and natural resources were administered

under the traditional system of governance, with *dikgosi* (chiefs) enjoying total legitimacy and authority over resources in their respective tribal reserves around the country. That means, chiefs assisted by headmen had absolute powers in determining the patterns of resource access and use for their subjects hence the British colonial government recognised them as legitimate rulers. Therefore, under British colonial rule, chiefs became an extension of the colonial state (Mamdani, 1996). Despite this, their powers were curtailed through the promulgation of various laws such as the Chieftaincy Act of 1965, the Mines and Minerals Act of 1967 and the Tribal Land Act of 1968 that were promulgated Seretse Khama's government. Regarding the role of chiefs, Masire argued that:

The role of chiefs was almost nothing. If anything, it was inclined to be on the negative side. They were ambivalent. In the first place, they envisaged that when we become independent, we would only be reverting to the old times where each one would be a boss in his area. Now we as politicians felt the course, greatly opposed to this relegation of what had become a nation into tribal groups (Botswana National Archives and Records Services hereafter, BNARS. 15th May 1978).

Unlike other African countries that abolished traditional institutions after independence, Botswana did not go that route. For instance, Mozambique decided to get rid of traditional institutions whereas in countries such as Uganda, Lesotho and Ghana traditional institutions “became either too powerful or became a stubborn opposition to the success of the modern” state (Sebudubudu and Molutsi, 2011, p. 23). Swaziland decided to make new institutions subservient to the traditional ones and this has not worked well as the country has become bitterly divided and conflict ridden. In Botswana, it was a different case, laws and new institutions were built on chiefs' powers and authority while at the same fashioning a new role for chiefs. Chiefs were successfully incorporated into modern institutions even though their powers were curtailed. Taylor (2005 p. 50) argues that:

Whilst accorded respect and status, their role within Botswana was re-invented and chiefs became agents of the government at grassroots level, communicating at the *kgotla* (village assembly) information from the state for developmental purposes.

The first transformation of chief's powers came through the promulgation of the Chieftaincy Act of 1965. This legislation gave the president of the country the power to recognise or de-recognise the chief, making the chiefs subordinate to the central government (Taylor, 2005). In modern day Botswana, chiefs have their parliament in the form of House of Chiefs, which acts as an advisory institution with no legislative powers. The leadership of Seretse Khama advocated for the centralisation of natural resources for the development of the country. For this reason, land, diamonds and wildlife were nationalised by transferring them from the tribal authorities to the state. Regarding land, at independence the country's land tenure stood at 48% tribal land, 47% state land and 5% freehold (Taylor, 2005; Sebudubudu and Molotsi, 2011). To develop the country, the leadership was of the view that they needed to take control of land away from the chief's authority. Hence, in 1968 the government introduced the Tribal Land Act of 1968. This legislation created Land Boards as the custodian of tribal land allocation, administration and the recipient of any revenue generated from such land (Sebudubudu and Molotsi, 2011). The Land Boards initially included chiefs as non-voting members and depended heavily on traditional authorities for information about past allocations. In Chapter Six, I will show how this institution facilitates the allocation of green concessions in the Okavango Delta thus playing a crucial role in enabling the greening of a state at the local level.

Just like land, the same was done with ownership of mineral rights. The government introduced the Mines and Mineral Act of 1967 which vested all sub-soil resources in the state. Masire (2006, p. 200-201) asserts that "even before we understood our potential mineral wealth, we knew that vesting mineral rights in the state would be critical for both our overall economic development and our political unity and stability". The vesting of mineral rights in the state was made easy because most of the mineral deposits were situated in the Bangwato area, Seretse Khama's territory. It is argued that Khama negotiated with his tribe to cede mineral rights to the state so that mineral wealth can be equally shared with the whole nation. As a man respected by his subjects, it became easy for President Khama to consult and persuade other tribes to follow in the footsteps of the Bangwato (Masire, 2006). For this reason, the ownership of natural resources is legally vested with the state irrespective of who owns the land upon which they are found. The state is understood to be acting as the steward not only for the citizenry but also for future generations (Masire, 2016). This basic principle is equally true for wildlife. Diamonds and wildlife have become key resources for economic development in Botswana. It is worth noting that these resources are not in conflict with each other. Both are

controlled by multinational companies. For example, diamond production is controlled by Debswana, a joint venture partnership between De Beers and the government of Botswana. This coalition has successfully “mined and managed sales and shared revenues in such a way that it has benefited the country’s development programme in a sustainable way” (Sebudubudu & Molutsi 2011, p. 27). This partnership was necessary because at the time Botswana did not have the expertise to exploit the diamonds. The political leadership then accepted and entered into a partnership with De Beers with 15% of the shares going to the Botswana government and 85% to De Beers. In 2006, the two parties renegotiated this arrangement on 50 -50 partnerships for 25 years. However, the agreement between Botswana and De Beers remains a secret, even the parliament does not have access to its documentation. Only the executive has access to the negotiations. The wildlife-based tourism industry is controlled by multinational tourism companies. The immense wealth produced by both industries has not led to prosperity for all but the country is instead marked by disparities of wealth (Good, 2008; Hillboom, 2011; Ulriksen, 2017). A close analysis of the political economy of Botswana shows that most of the wealth is accumulated by the traditional Tswana elites i.e. bureaucratic, business and the ruling political elites – who often sit as board of directors in these influential companies. For instance, De Beers had at one point made financial contributions to the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) (Good, 2016).

Through the centralisation of key resources of the state, Botswana avoided the trap that many post-independent African states fell into – the resource curse. The resource curse literature postulates that economies that have abundant resources will experience negative effects such as unsustainable growth rate, rent seeking or conflict (Sachs and Warner, 2001; Badeeb et al., 2017). Resource curse can either be political or economic. A political resource curse associates resource wealth with rent-seeking, authoritarian rule, corruption and political instability (Ross, 2012). The argument is that, political elites from resource rich countries are bound to utilize resource rent for their personal gain and distribute it for the benefit of their immediate circles rather than investing it to upgrade infrastructure and sustainable economic development (Deacon, 2012). This causes social tensions and widens income inequalities. Economically, the main reasons why resource-based paths of development inhibit long run economic growth are traced to the Dutch disease phenomenon, the volatility of commodity prices and failures of economic policy (Sachs and Warner, 2001). There is compelling evidence from the resource curse literature that states in Africa such as Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC),

Mozambique and Nigeria have failed to convert resource wealth into economic growth let alone economic development.

Contrary to the resource curse literature, natural resource abundance has been a blessing to Botswana. The country's political elites pursued growth-promoting policies such as providing free public goods and ensuring macro-economic stability (Leith, 2005; Taylor, 2005). These policies were popular among the constituencies of the ruling party and brought direct benefits to the elites. Despite Botswana averting the resource curse, the country has not been able to diversify the economy, which remains heavily dependent on few economic sectors such as ecotourism and diamond mining (Hillbom, 2008, 2011). The reluctance to diversify the economy is accompanied by "significant poverty rates and extremely unequal resource and income distribution to prevail in the midst of plenty" (Hillbom 2008, p. 191, see also Good, 2017). Economic strategies put in place favours the political elites from the ruling party as well as bureaucratic and business elites who are well connected to the political elites. As a result, this has continued to widen the income and resource gaps between the rich and the poor (Good, 2008; Ulriksen, 2017). What follows is the analysis of how the presidency of Seretse Khama guided the development of wildlife conservation in the post-colonial period.

4.2.2 Crafting wildlife conservation policy

Botswana's wildlife conservation policy provides an avenue through which we can understand the ways in which the state has placed the environment at the center of state (re)making. At independence, wildlife was not an immediate priority during Seretse Khama's presidency as the political leadership was preoccupied with more pressing development priorities such as economic development, infrastructure, education and health. This is largely because, at independence, Botswana was undeveloped with no promising economic base to finance its own administrative costs. For instance, Masire (2006) estimates that at independence in 1966 approximately 90% of the population lived in poverty; literacy rate stood at around 25%; per-capita income was at US\$60 and infrastructure barely existed with around 10km of tarred road (Masire, 2006). As such the presidency of Seretse Khama was keen on establishing Botswana as a 'financially viable entity', (GoB, 1966), a mission that was achieved as witnessed by the rapid economic growth the country experienced. Khama asserted that:

when we attained independence in 1966, we had no economic base from which to proceed with the development of our country. Our chances of survival as a viable country were almost nil but we were not discouraged nor could we ever willingly return to the old days of colonial neglect. Having accepted the challenges of independence we had no alternative but to get down to work to make our independence a meaningful one (Khama, 1980, p. 323).

Seretse Khama's administration set the foundation for the transformation of Botswana from a poor to an upper middle-income country. The country achieved one of the fastest growth rates in per capita income among Third World countries between 1980-89 (Acemoglu et al., 2010). Its rapid economic growth has been at the center of debate among scholars and political practitioners alike. This has resulted in many assessments praising Botswana with Samatar marking the country an 'African miracle state' (Samatar, 1999).

As a cattle baron, analysts assert that Seretse was not sentimental about the protection of wildlife in his political career (Bolaane, 2004; Interview 4, Historian, 24th April 2018). Bolaane (2004) argues that Khama was more concerned with marketing and selling beef to European countries hence the cattle industry had to take priority. It is worth noting that the beef industry played a critical role in the political economy of Botswana before and after independence contributing over 40% to the gross domestic product (GDP) (Samatar, 1999; Faucus & Tilbury, 2000). As a result, the cattle sector had monetary, logistical and expertise from the government (Samatar, 1999). This is because the political elites had a homogenous interest in the cattle industry.

Wildlife was considered a threat to the beef industry, particularly because there was lack of knowledge and expertise in the control of foot and mouth disease (FMD). Cattle and beef exports to the European Economic Community (EEC) was the backbone of the national and rural economy. Furthermore, cattle were a major source of wealth, security and social status among Botswana although cattle ownership was skewed, with only 5% of the population owning about 50% of the national herd (Fidzani, 1998). Amongst the 5% of the population was the traditional Tswana elite i.e. the economic, bureaucratic and ruling political elites (Leith, 2005). While diamond mining does not conflict with the cattle or wildlife-based tourism industry there is tension between cattle rearing and the wildlife-based tourism industry. Both

cattle and wildlife are dependent on the same natural resource base of pasture and water (Rahm et al., 2006). This competition has been witnessed in areas with abundant water resources and grazing land such as the Okavango Delta. For many years the Ngamiland district which encloses the Okavango Delta has been susceptible to frequent outbreaks of cattle diseases such as foot and mouth disease and the cattle lung disease (Darkoh and Mbwaiwa, 2002). As a result of this, the value of cattle depreciated, and the beef industry struggled to access markets as required by EU regulations. The expansion of cattle posts were also viewed as a potential threat to wildlife in the Okavango Delta (Thompson, 1976; Perkins and Ringrose, 1996).

When debating the game policy, in relation to contending interests and priorities, during the legislative council (LEGCO) meeting in 1961, Khama noted that:

I have heard it expressed that we should allow these at one time, dreadful animals to roam the whole of Bechuanaland protectorate regardless of the harm they may do to our economy but the basis of this game policy is in relation to the cattle industry of this country which we all know is most important, it appears that some honourable members think that they have a choice and if in fact they have they must make up their minds whether they would rather breed wildebeest and various other objectionable animals like that or breed cattle. I feel that if we must agree that certain species of game do transmit or help transmit foot and mouth, we should do everything in our power to reduce them and stop this disease. I cannot see any reason why we should suddenly feel sorry for the poor animals (BNARS. 26 October 1961).

Although Seretse Khama was not sentimental about the protection of wildlife, he did not advocate for the destruction of wildlife. Khama argued that:

We do not want to destroy all our wildlife. We have to consider the fact that there are various people in this country who are very much attached to game, who have a soul, who appreciate beauty and love to see a springbok jumping all over the veld, even if they jump into a herd of prime cattle, infecting them with foot and mouth disease (BNARS. 26 October 1961).

It is worth noting that for Botswana to sell its beef to the European market, the EU requires the country to put in place stringent livestock disease control measures such as veterinary fences. In response to the conflict between wildlife and cattle, the government erected veterinary cordon fences to prevent the transmission of foot and mouth diseases and to restrict the movement of livestock into areas designated for wildlife use. By erecting veterinary fences, the government of Botswana was able to secure the tourism potential of the Okavango Delta which necessitated keeping the Delta cattle free as well as securing the Europe-bound Botswana beef exports from foot and mouth contamination (Kgomotso, 2013).

There were attempts to conserve the country's wildlife by Seretse Khama's government through colonial and new wildlife policies and protected areas. The country's biodiversity conservation policies can be traced from the British colonial administration. The British colonial government enacted the Fauna Conservation Act of 1961 – amended in 1979 – with the objective to regulate the high rates of commercial hunting, illegal poaching and trading in wildlife and wildlife products by foreigners (BNARS, 1987). This policy was adopted as a result of declining wildlife species such as elephants. Before the passage of this Act, the International Convention for Wildlife Conservation, popularly known as the London Convention of 1933 had already introduced the national park system in Africa (Spinage, 1991; Kameri-Mbote and Cullet, 1997) but the Convention had little impact on Botswana as the country had no national park⁹ but rather game reserves at independence.

Just like other African states, the protected areas system in Botswana is a product of colonial rule. In Botswana protected areas separating humans from their ancestral land were created between 1930 and 1965. The establishment of these protected areas alienated indigenous people from natural resources that had sustained them for centuries. At independence Botswana inherited several game reserves from the British colonial administration. These included the Gemsbok Game Reserve gazetted in 1932; Chobe Game Reserve (1961); Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) (1961) established to safeguard the nomadic and gathering lifestyle of *Basarwa* (San); and Moremi Game Reserve established by *Batawana* tribal leaders and expatriate conservationists in 1964. The establishment of game reserves in African countries

⁹ The difference between a national park and a game reserve is that a national park is established on state land whereas a game reserve is established on tribal land. However, there is no functional difference between the two since both fall under the same category of protected areas.

by the British colonial governments was a response to the adoption of the 1933 London convention to protect African wildlife.

After independence, the Seretse Khama government promulgated the National Parks Act of 1967, which formed the basis for the establishment of national parks in Botswana. The Act was predicated on and advocated a preservationist approach anchored on a western conservation ethic. This Act allowed Botswana to accord the internationally accepted level of state protection on land as well as on the animals within them. During his state of the nation address, Khama (BNARS. 03 October 1968) noted:

Legislation passed during 1967 to come into force this year provides for better control for the conservation of wildlife, the establishment and control of national parks, the control for tribesmen hunting on tribal land and control of hunting by residents on state land in the Ghanzi and Kgalagadi districts.

The National Parks Act came into effect on the 8th March 1968. Through this Act, it became possible to upgrade existing game reserves into national parks. For instance, the Chobe Game Reserve - created in 1961 - on unoccupied state land was upgraded into the country's first national park in 1968. This followed an ecological survey by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The FAO survey recommended the elevation of the reserve to a national park status and modification of its boundaries partly to resolve conflict both in land use and between wildlife and forestry departments to prevent timber exploitation (Spinage, 1991; Interview 51, Senior Wildlife official, 18th July 2018). Also, it is argued that the game reserve regulation had indicated government intentions to manage the area as a national park (Child, 1968; Spinage, 1991).

In 1967, the Department of Wildlife and National parks (DWNP) instituted an ecological study along the Boteti River – Nxai pan area. The ecological study was carried out by the American Fulbright ecologist scholar, Dale Birkenholz. In his study, Birkenholz observed wildlife migration from Nxai Pan to western Makgadikgadi along the Boteti and thus recommended that the Nxai Pan area be declared a national park (Spinage, 1991; Campbell, 2004). Birkeholz proposed that the western side of Boteti river and the area along the Nata-Maun road be set aside as a wildlife management area which could include hunting. Rather than consider

Birkeholz's proposal, the government decided to set aside the area as a game reserve, Makgadikgadi Pan Game Reserve. However, the proposal to declare both Nxai Pan a national park and Makgadikgadi Pans a game reserve were opposed by the Director of Veterinary Services who was of the view that the protected areas will inhibit the movement of cattle in those areas (Campbell, 2004). After lengthy discussions, Makgadikgadi Pans game reserve was declared in 1970 with Nxai Pan being declared a national park in 1971 (Spinage, 1991; Campbell, 2004). A recent study published in the journal *Nature*, proposed that all modern humans originate in Botswana around the Makgadikgadi Pans (Chan et al, 2019). They assert that:

By establishing mitogenomic timelines, frequencies and dispersals, we show that the LO lineage emerged with the residual Makgadikgadi-Okavango palaeo-wetland of Southern Africa (Chan et al., 2019, p.185).

In the same year that Nxai Pan National Park was established, the Gemsbok game reserve was given a national park status. In modern day Botswana, the Gemsbok National Park forms part of the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) between Botswana and South Africa. It is worth noting that national parks were established by an order of the President published in the government gazette and can only be created on state land or on land bequeathed or donated to the president or to another for the purpose of a national park and it is subject to appeal.

This was followed in 1971 by the establishment of two more game reserves: the Mabuasehube Game Reserve adjacent to the Gemsbok National Parks; and the Khutse Game Reserve adjoining the southeast border of the CKGR. In 1976, the boundaries of the Moremi Game Reserve were extended eastwards to connect with the southwest corner of the Chobe National Park and westwards to include the traditional protected area of the Chief's Island. This reserve was administered by a Fauna Conservation Society (FCS) of Ngamiland. By 1979, the FCS transferred the management of the reserve to the central government and this was partly due to the general policy of centralization of land and other resources as well as financial constraints experienced by the FCS to run the day to day operations of the reserve (Interview 4, Historian, 24th April 2018). When the transfer happened, it could not be given a national park status because the reserve is on tribal land. In 2013 a bitter debate ensued between the state and Batawana royals about ownership of the reserve as they sought to get back their land. The total land area reserved for protected areas in Botswana accounts for 17% (98 600 km²) of the

country's territorial land. The National Eco-tourism strategy for Botswana states that wildlife and wilderness areas are by far Botswana's biggest holiday tourism attraction particularly protected areas in the northern conservation zone that includes areas such as Moremi Game Reserve, Okavango Delta and Chobe National park.

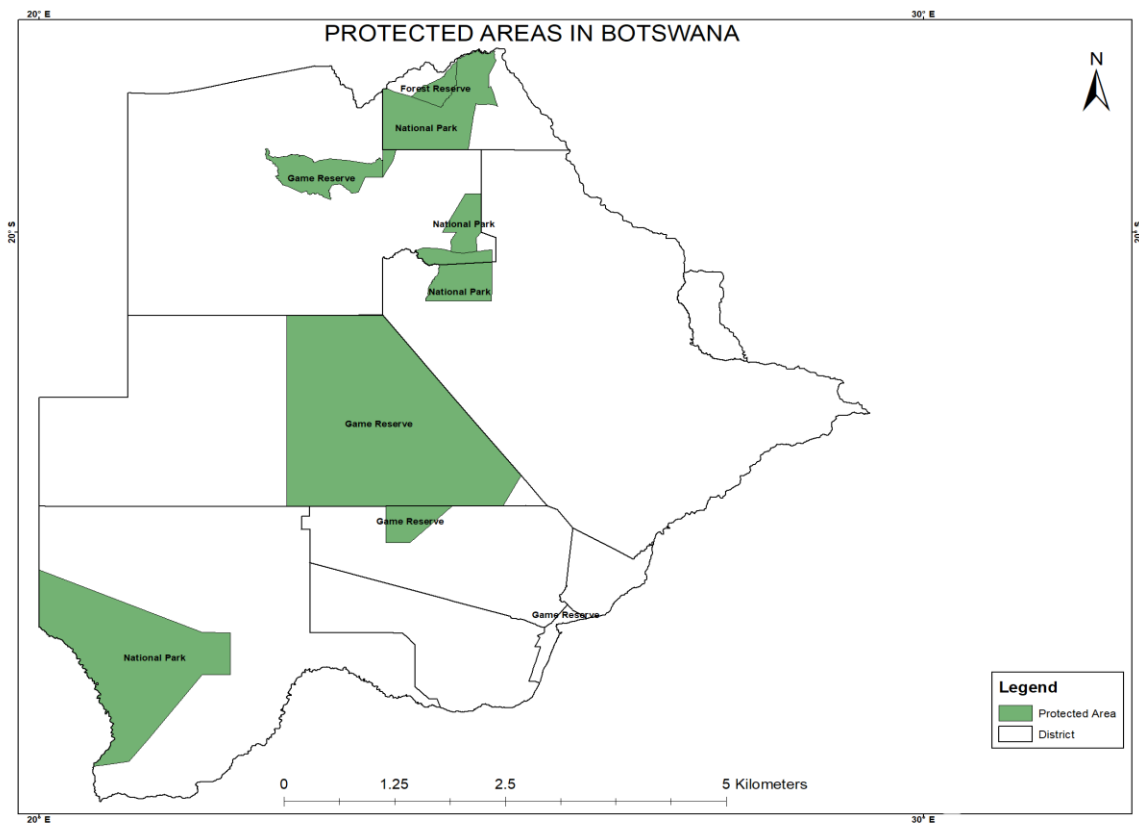


Figure 4.1 Map showing protected areas in Botswana (Source: Okavango Research Institute GIS lab, 2019)

Having been a victim of racial discrimination, Seretse Khama's government imbued the zebra (*pitse ya naga*) as an important national symbol. The black bars and white borders on Botswana's flag (see Figure 4.2) inspired by the colours of the zebra, depicts harmony between people of different races and ethnicity (Interview 5, former government spokesperson/historian, 30th April 2018). The symbolism of the zebra was more a reflection of Khama's ideology of racial equality and peaceful co-existence of various cultural groups than a pre-occupation with protection of wildlife. Two zebras adjourn the Botswana coat of arms (see Figure 4.3) and the national football team is nicknamed the zebras. Furthermore, the zebra is not a totem of any cultural group in Botswana. The coat of arms signalled the initial stages

of the state to pay attention to wildlife and to bring wildlife into the national agenda of the state.



Figure 4.2 Botswana coat of arms



Figure 4.3: Botswana flag

4.2.3 National conferences on environmental issues

The development of the country's wildlife conservation policy cannot be attributed to the Khama government alone as it was also influenced by external actors. Through various studies and conference participation, the government of Botswana invited new external actors into the country who had to help set and shape the conservation agenda of Botswana. For instance, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) with the assistance of, among others, Denmark, Sweden, the United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (USA), Germany, Netherlands, De Beers and Okavango Wildlife Society conducted various scientific studies on environmental issues and recommended programmes to curb environmental degradation in the country (Botswana Society, 1976). Subsequently, the Botswana Society¹⁰ convened several symposia among others the 1971 symposium on the sustained use of the Kalahari, 1976 symposium on the Okavango Delta and its future use and the 1978 on Drought. The symposia were financially sponsored by external

¹⁰ This non-governmental organisation was established in 1969 to advance knowledge of Botswana in all disciplines through lectures, workshops and symposia on vital questions of the country's national development. The organization publishes an annual peer reviewed journal *Botswana Notes and Records*. In its early days Botswana society had either the country's president or vice president as its chairperson.

organizations such as the British High Commission, United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural organizations (UNICEF), UNDP, United States Agency and International Development (USAID), Embassy of the USA, De Beers, Okavango Wildlife Society (Botswana Society, 1971, 1976, 1978). Technical presentations were made to the society by experts with links to these organizations and universities from the Global North with widespread participation of government officials. These symposia resulted in a well-informed body of opinions and directly informed and shaped government policies. For instance, the 1971 symposium on the sustained use of the Kalahari led to the formulation of the country's tribal land grazing programme and the Tribal Land Grazing Policy (TLGP) of 1975 that sought to reduce overgrazing through land zonation (Botswana Society, 1976; Government of Botswana, 1975). The TGLP categorized land into three zones namely commercial farming areas, communal grazing areas and reserved areas (Government of Botswana, thereafter GoB, 1975). The reserved area category was further divided into two: 1) areas reserved for future use by those with only few cattle and 2) areas reserved for alternative uses such as wildlife, mining and cultivation (GoB, 1975). The reserved area category for alternative use paved the way for the establishment of wildlife management areas (WMAs) which were endorsed by the wildlife conservation policy of 1986 under the presidency of Ketumile Masire.

Another important layer in the development of the country's wildlife policy was the 1976 symposium on the Okavango Delta and its future use that focused on wildlife conservation and tourism. It was in this symposium that stakeholders advised the government of Botswana to prioritise wildlife conservation and tourism in areas of the Okavango Delta since there was conflict between wildlife and cattle due to foot and mouth disease. Stakeholders encouraged the government to consider commercial tourism above livestock production in the Delta. The erection of veterinary fences noted earlier meant that cattle ranchers were denied access to water and grazing hence the shift towards developing commercial enterprise anchored on the high-cost low volume (HCLV) model (Botswana Society, 1976). One of the presenters at the symposium, Keith Thompson (1976, p.8) from the University of Waikato, New Zealand, noted that "Botswana encourages at least for the foreseeable future, high-cost, low density tourism, so as to minimize the detrimental effects of large number of visitors". This tourism strategy was practiced by Mr. Harry Selby¹¹, who operated the Khwai River lodge on the northern edge

¹¹ Mr Harry Selby is a renowned professional safari hunter in Africa. He started his professional safari hunting in East Africa before moving to Botswana in 1963.

of the Moremi Game Reserve in 1970. Johnston (1976) a presenter at the conference noted that Mr Selby had witnessed over-crowding in Kenya wildlife which spoiled wilderness areas thus his move to Botswana. Johnston (1976) argues that Selby went for the more expensive form of tourism, which consequently attracts less people but is based on the sound principle of the high cost and low volume trade. Sound because low volume means better controls, less disturbance to the environment and greater economic viability (Johnston, 1976). This tourism strategy laid the foundation for the dominance of the private sector and individual entrepreneurs in the country's wildlife economy, and for the development of the tourism policy of 1990 which was consolidated under the Masire's government. The main objective of this tourism policy was to ensure that tourism activities which are wildlife-based are carried out on an ecologically sustainable basis (see Section 4.3). The implementation of the tourism policy marked a significant shift from the beef industry to tourism. The existing cattle interest did not wither away but entrepreneurs shifted their focus towards tourism. Analyses of the political economy of Botswana reveal that the interests of some groups of people in the economic sectors of Botswana gained the most benefits from this shift (Makgala and Botlhomilwe, 2017; Mbaiwa and Hambira, 2020). As the tourism industry was already controlled by a small white expatriate elite, a strong alliance was formed between this sector and the traditional Tswana elite (Swatuk, 2005).

4.2.4 Genesis of Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP)

Conservation practices and policies are crucial for state-making in that they often – though – not always – transform the internal structure of the state. As with many other states, state agencies in Botswana are responsible for enacting and implementing green policies, spending and generating knowledge for the health of biodiversity and ecosystem (Duit, 2015). The Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) was created in 1967 to give effect to the National Parks Act of 1967. The creation of this entity should be credited to the father of the nation because as the head of state, he had constitutional powers to authorize the establishment of state institutions. DWNP formerly the game department was part of the civil service bureaucracy that Botswana inherited from the British administration. Under the colonial administration, the main function of the department was to control the troublesome elephant's due to the increase in elephant population in the Tuli Block. The elephants raided local peoples' crops and threatened people's lives and in retaliation people would kill these charismatic species so there was a need to protect the lives of local people as well as protect wildlife. A

similar trend can also be gleaned from Tanzania where the British colonial government established the same department in 1919 with the aim of controlling elephants (see Mkumbukwa, 2009).

Because of indigenous staffing shortage, Botswana relied on conservation expatriates' officers in senior advisory and administrative posts (Samatar, 1999). Located in Francistown, the department was led and managed by expatriates. Major Pat Bromfield and Graham Child were brought through the UNDP multi-lateral aid programme which was implemented by FAO. Major Bruce Kinlock undertook an assignment on behalf of the UK Ministry of Overseas Development to suggest how the department should be re-engineered and transformed (Child, 2009). It is argued that this group of expatriates together with Alec Campbell, a naturalized motswana formulated much of the departmental policy (Child, 2009). The Game department was renamed the DWNP in 1967 and its offices moved to the capital city Gaborone. By 1971 there were wardens and support staff stationed at Kasane, Maun, Francistown, Ghazi, Serowe, Molepolole and Tsabong. The DWNP continued to expand resulting in the department being represented throughout the country to adequately service the wildlife resource. DWNP provides an effective leadership and coordination role at the national and district level on all matters concerning wildlife and national parks.

At independence Botswana did not have a dedicated environmental conservation ministry (Interview 6, former MENT minister 24th April 2018). As such DWNP was housed under the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Investment. The government recognised that wildlife was an asset to be utilised towards achieving economic development (Interview 51, Senior DWNP Official, 18th July 2018). In 1976, the department was merged with the Tourism unit in recognition of the fact that tourism is and will continue to be a wildlife-based (Interview 51, Senior DWNP official, 18th July 2018). Therefore, the department was renamed the Department of Wildlife, National Parks and Tourism, with only 4 posts under the tourism unit.

Apart from coordinating wildlife and national parks, DWNP played a crucial role in promoting environmental awareness in the country in the 1970s. The department established a Conservation Education Unit in 1975 with the view of educating the nation on the importance of wildlife as an economically and aesthetically valuable national asset (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, hereafter MFDP, 1978). (Interview 58, former senior wildlife

official, 23rd July 2018). The unit was established as a response to the over-exploitation of wildlife by local people. The state recognized that the protection of the country's wildlife resource could not be guaranteed by prosecutions and incomprehensible restrictions. The first government in postcolonial Botswana believed that teaching people the value and benefits of thriving populations of wildlife was an essential preventative measure (MFDP,1978). An education programme, 'Tshomarelo Tikologo' (environmental conservation) was initiated in the Botswana national radio by the unit. The government also sought to improve rhino conservation through the reintroduction of 50 white rhinos in their ancestral range in Moremi and Chobe areas with the assistance of the Southern African Nature Foundation (MFDP, 1976, 1978).

Furthermore, this unit through the financial assistance of the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation introduced Wildlife Clubs in primary and secondary schools across the country (Interview 58, former Senior wildlife official, 23rd July 2018). According to Modise (1978, cited in Ketlhoilwe, 2007, p. 157), the objective of the unit was to "develop skills and attitudes necessary to understand and appreciate the interrelatedness between man (sic), his (sic) culture and his (sic) biophysical surroundings". The project enabled students to undertake specific educational and action projects in relation to their environment. These efforts by the Botswana government, through DWNP contributed to the public environmental awareness as a way of preparing the nation to be positive towards the green agenda (Ketlhoilwe, 2007).

Seretse Khama was instrumental in creating the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, a department that played a crucial role in developing an environmentally conscious behavior in the citizenry of Botswana. The efforts on wildlife conservation development during Seretse Khama's presidency illustrate the initial steps taken by the state to insert the environment into national agenda of the state.

4.3 THE PRESIDENCY OF SIR KETUMILE MASIRE, 1980 – 1998

The period 1980-1998 marks the presidency of Sir Ketumile Quett Masire, one of the respected leaders of Botswana. Ketumile Masire served as the vice president to Seretse Khama and took over the presidency upon Khama's death in 1980. Whilst the vice president, he oversaw the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP), an institution that has been credited for facilitating economic growth and development in Botswana (Samatar, 1999). Masire is a

graduate of Tiger Kloof in South Africa. In his book 'Memoirs of African democrat' he recalls how he suffered at the hands of his own chief Bathoen 2nd who hated and frustrated him simply because he was educated, modern and very successful in farming (Masire, 2006). This could have influenced him together with Seretse Khama to denounce chiefly rule. Besides politics Masire was a passionate cattle farmer and a game rancher. As a game rancher, he stocked zebras and ostriches on his farms (Masire, 2006). He was of the view that wildlife should be managed on a commercial basis hence his involvement in game farming (Masire, 2006).

4.3.1 Global environmental ideas and strategies

The presidency of Ketumile Masire coincided with two major catalysts of environmental policies, namely severe drought in the region and global environmental ideas and strategies such as the implementation of sustainable development and decentralised natural resource governance approaches. Nature conservation policy in Botswana emerged in part as a response to environmental degradation and drought experienced by the country in the 1980s. In its attempt to coordinate conservation efforts, the government of Botswana invited the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to conduct a Clearing House mission in 1983 (BNARS, 1990). The clearing house mission report reflected the importance of identifying measures that will ensure sustainability of renewable energy resource use and development and for the rational use of non-renewable natural resources (BNARS, 1990). Several environmental problems were identified by the report and these included water resources, degradation of rangeland pasture resources, depletion of wood resources, exploitation of veld products, pollution of air, water, soil and vegetation, depletion and conservation of wildlife resources and the need to improve environmental awareness (BNARS, 1990). Considering these environmental problems, sixteen recommendations were proposed and one crucial one was the need to prepare a national conservation strategy and this was readily accepted by the government. The National Conservation Strategy (NCS) was initiated with the financial and technical assistance of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), Swedish Sida, European Commission, USAID and UNDP in 1984 with the final policy approved by parliament in 1990. The NCS aimed to reverse natural resource externalities while achieving effective growth and national development on a sustainable basis (GoB, 1990).

The global discussions on environment and development that took centre stage at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 focused attention to the concept of sustainable development (SD) in the 1980s. According to the Brundtland report (1987), sustainable development is “development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs”. At the 1992 Rio Earth Summit national governments agreed to pursue sustainable development via Agenda 21. It is therefore not surprising that the government of Botswana infused sustainable development in its national development plans and conservation policies. In opening the Gaborone Game Reserve in 1988, Masire submitted that:

Botswana is firmly committed to two propositions; first that economic development and natural resource conservation are complementary rather than competing goals. Second, Botswana will pursue them both with rigour and determination.

The commitment of Masire’s government to sustainable development through environmental conservation was summarised in the 1989 budget speech by the Vice President of Botswana, the Hon. Peter Mmusi:

Concerning the environment, it is vital that our development be sustainable. Botswana has only finite quantity of groundwater, grazing land and forests. If we use up these resources faster than the nature can replenish them, production that relies on them will be lower in future years, lowering the standard of living of our sons and daughters.

In practice, four strategies were adopted to pursue sustainable development in Botswana during the presidency of Masire. These include the implementation of hunting licenses, wildlife conservation policy underpinned by sustainable development, community based natural resource management (CBNRM) programme and the consolidation of the high cost, low density model. In order to involve citizens in prudent wildlife utilisation, the Masire government implemented the Special Game License (SGL). The SGL was introduced under the 1979 hunting regulations. The licences were issued to persons whose traditional livelihoods depended on hunting and gathering of veld products, particularly those living in remote areas such as the *Basarwa* (BNARS, 1979). Masire commented that:

We are dedicated to improving the lives of our people in rural areas and creating more employment for our people. But we intend to conserve our resources wisely and do not destroy them. Those of us who happen to live in the 20th century is not more important than our descendants in centuries to come (cited in Global Sustainable Tourism Council, hereafter, GSTC, 2012)

The government held the view that the sustainable utilisation of wildlife would improve the welfare of rural households as a source of food in the form of animal protein, and as source of income through sales of trophies and curios (BNARS, 1988).

4.3.2 Wildlife management areas (WMAs)

To realize the economic benefits of wildlife, a Wildlife Conservation Policy was enacted in 1986. It encouraged the development of a commercial wildlife industry that is viable on a long-term basis, underlined the importance of wildlife towards economic development and called for the participation of citizens in wildlife-based tourism (GoB, 1986). The policy also set the tone for landscape conservation through the establishment of wildlife management areas (WMAs) whose primary focus is wildlife use and only activities that are compatible with wildlife are permitted (Interview 51, Senior Wildlife official, 18th July 2018). As noted earlier, the concept of WMA arose from the TGLP under Khama's government (BNARS, 1988). The wildlife conservation policy converted stretches of land designated as reserved under the TGLP. For their part, WMAs form a buffer between protected areas and agricultural areas. They also serve as migratory corridors to allow for the movement of wildlife. The WMAs were further subdivided into controlled hunting areas (CHAs) which today serve as the major economic land units leased as tourism concessions to private safari operators and local communities participating in CBNRM projects. The creation of WMAs ensured that wildlife resource was not displaced thus aiding biodiversity conservation and provided a platform on which eco-tourism could thrive. At the time of doing fieldwork in 2018, WMAs covered approximately 22% (116 000 km²) of land in Botswana (Interview 51, Senior Wildlife official, 18th July 2018; see GoB, 2013).

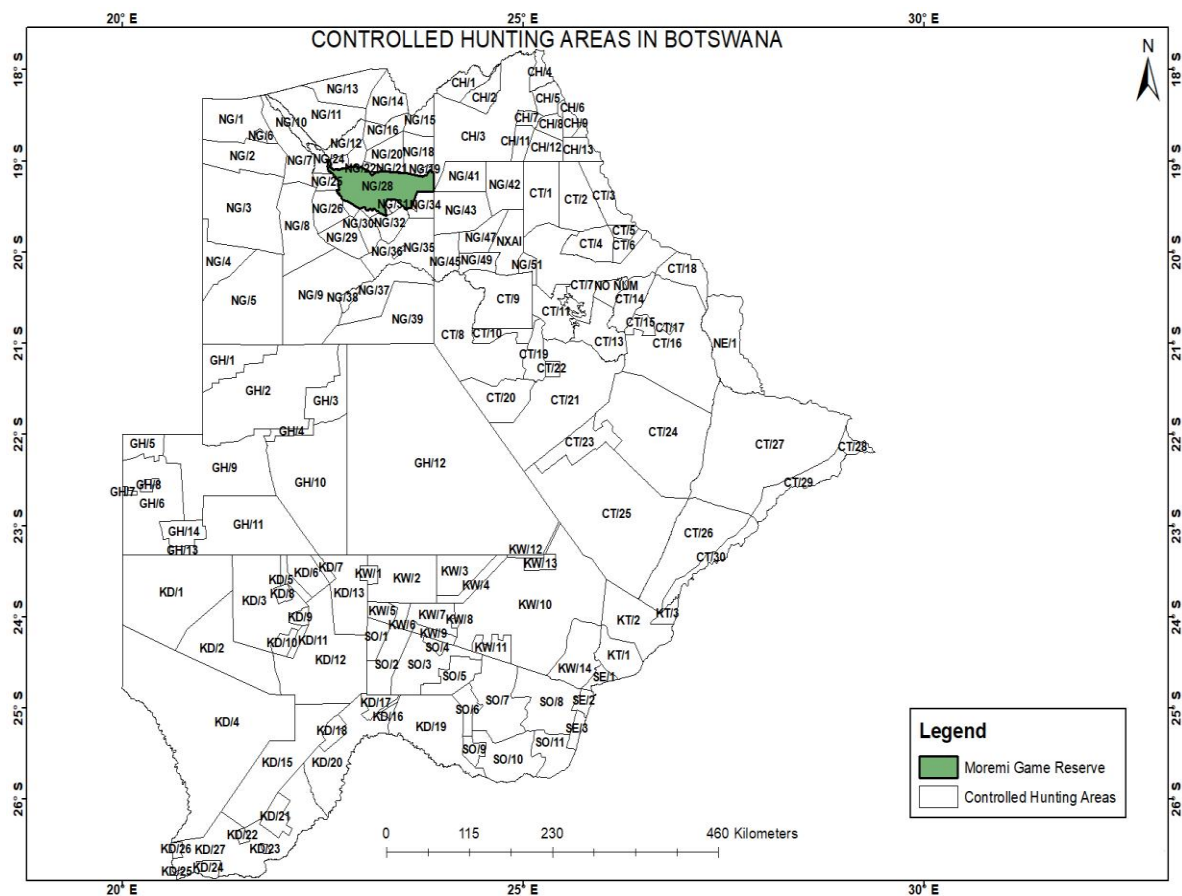


Figure 4.4: Botswana's wildlife management areas (Source: Okavango Research Institute GIS lab, 2019)

WMAs formed the basis for the devolution of wildlife management to local communities and the private sector to instil greater accountability of the wildlife resource. The dark side of colonial and post-colonial conservation has been accompanied by forced removals of indigenous populations from their ancestral lands by states thereby disrupting the deep-rooted patterns of resource use and management of resources of local people. Analysts argued that state centralised management failed to consider the multidimensional aspects of the environment and associated institutions (Ostrom, 1990, 2005). As such, efficient use of resources continued to face significant challenges rendering state policies ineffective and inadequate. It is often argued that effective conservation requires the full participation of all stakeholders, and that communities can participate effectively only if they derive socio-economic benefits from conservation. Therefore, WMAs became an important avenue for addressing the legacy of environmental injustice associated with colonial wildlife conservation by including local communities as important stakeholders in the management of natural resources outside protected areas.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a people centred approach in the form community-based conservation strategies such as CBNRM was promoted (Ostrom, 1990; Neumann, 2001; Agrawal, 2005). In theory, CBNRM entails the devolution of power and authority from the central state to the local communities and institutions in the management of wildlife. CBNRM was introduced in Botswana in 1989 as part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC's) natural resource management programme (NRMP) (BNARS, 1992). The Botswana NRMP was jointly funded by the government of Botswana and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (BNARS, 1992; USAID, 1996). The Botswana government contributed approximately US\$ 5 500 000 whereas USAID contributed US\$ 19 900 000 for a period of 8 years (1989 – 1997) (USAID, 1996). A pilot project of CBNRM was initiated in the Chobe Enclave in the northern conservation zone of the country (Thakadu, 2005). From this initiative, a community-based organisation (CBO) most commonly known as community trust in Botswana was established in 1993 with the registration of the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (Thakadu, 2005). The second CBNRM project created the Sankuyo Tshwaragano Trust registered in 1995. The project was implemented jointly by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) community extension unit and the NRMP project team which was led by the United States-based consulting firm, Chemonics, which provided the Chief of Party or team leader (Swatuk, 2005). They provided technical and financial assistance.

The other actors involved were IUCN, Global Environmental Facility (GEF) and Foundation of Netherlands Volunteers (SNV). Together these actors assisted in the formulation of CBNRM support and advocacy organisations which mainly represented CBOs in wildlife management. They established the Botswana Community Based Organisation Network in 1998 (BOCOBONET)¹²; the CBNRM support programme in 1999 and the National CBNRM forum in 2000. The IUCN acted as a secretariat for the national CBNRM forum.

The implementation of CBNRM in Botswana was important because it formed a basis for the greening of the state by including local communities as important agents in that process. In Chapter Six I demonstrate how the green discourses and practices have been invoked by local communities within the context of CBNRM and how local communities are important

¹² BOCOBONET is currently a defunct body. BOCOBONET was dependent on donor funding. As such the withdrawal of funding and lack of accountability weakened the organisation.

stakeholders in the greening of the state at the local level. The devolution of state power over wildlife is crucially important in the making of the state and in forging relations between the state and its citizens. It is a demonstration that the state cherishes democratic values, and it gives a good face of the state to the public even though this characterisation of the state has been questioned (cf. Chapter Two; Poteete & Ribot, 2011; Hoon, 2014). In Chapter Six I will show how the recentralisation of power and authority in wildlife management in Botswana has (re)shaped the relations between the state and its citizens in the Okavango Delta.

4.3.3 Green militarisation

The move towards militarisation of wildlife conservation was initiated under the leadership of Masire by then the commander of the Botswana Defense Force (BDF) Lt. Gen Ian Khama. It was prompted in part by waves of massive poaching in Botswana which was linked to liberation struggles in Southern Africa and organised raids for commercial biltong by South Africans living closer to the country's borders (DWNP, 1970; Henk, 2007). Lt. General Ian Khama (Interview 78, 4th March 2019) asserts that:

There was a single incident, and someone called notifying us about a poached rhino in the Okavango Delta and they asserted that it could be the last rhino, so I dispatched a group of BDF soldiers into the area and they found evidence of massive poaching.

As the commander of the BDF, Ian Khama brought in the secretive commando squadron of the BDF to assume anti-poaching mission in 1987 (Henk, 2007). President Masire was fully supportive of the anti-poaching efforts of the secretive commando squadron and authorised the BDF to play an active role in anti-poaching as poaching was considered a risk to national security and country's eco- tourism that depend on wildlife (Interview 78, Lt. General Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). In the early 1990s anti-poaching was extended to the rest of the BDF. In the next chapter I will demonstrate how the process of militarisation of wildlife conservation became intensified under the presidency of Lt. General Ian Khama (2008-2018).

4.3.4 Forced policy change towards saving the Okavango Delta

Environmental politics is constituted through contestations, conflicts and negotiations over interests, identities and values which often results in policy changes (Death, 2016). In the early 1990s the government of Botswana had the ambition to develop its water resources in the

Okavango Delta through the Okavango Integrated Water Development project (SOIWDP). The project commonly known as the 'Boro Dredging Project' was intended to supply water for domestic needs in Maun and Orapa, watering livestock and large-scale commercial irrigation. However, the project was vigorously contested with much success by Tshomarelo Okavango Conservation Trust (TOCT) and Green Peace International. TOCT, which mostly represented local tourism tour operators and local communities, opposed the project on the basis that the initiative would negatively impact conservation and tourism as well as alter traditional uses of resources by indigenous communities in the Okavango Delta (IUCN, 1992; Thomas, 2003). Green Peace International threatened to cause harm to Botswana's diamond export or lobby to reduce Botswana's European Commission beef quota (Thomas, 2003). With this in mind, the government of Botswana invited Green Peace International so they could conduct their own investigation into the project. Upon their visitation, Green Peace International advised the Botswana government to suspend the project pending further scientific inquiry (Thomas, 2003). An independent study was commissioned by the IUCN who recommended the termination of the project (IUCN, 1992). The recommendation was based on several environmental externalities. The contestation marked an important shift from exploitation of water resources towards conserving the Delta. The Okavango Delta is a fragile ecosystem. In a recent article published by the *Conversation*, Murray-Hudson and Dauteuli (2019) contend that any changes to the processes that form the delta will have an impact on the wildlife and local economic activities. It is quite important that management of the delta takes into account all components of the ecosystem. Today the Okavango delta is a premier safari and wildlife holiday destination contributing significantly to the national and local economy.

The democratic credentials of the administration of Masire paved the way for the negotiations between the various actors involved in the opposition to the project. When responding to a question in relation to water shortage in Maun in 1994, Masire asserted that:

I suppose this is where democracy conflict with development. We could have built a dam here a couple of years ago and there would be water galore but mainly because those who have interests in the tourism industry, they thought it was going to spoil the environment or bring in lots of people here to whet the appetite of government to build even more dams. So, there was Green Peace, there was the local people, they incited the local tour operators, they incited the people in the kgotla, and they all refused. So,

in a democratic setting, people must make their beds and lie on it (Masire, 1994 cited in Thomas, 2003, p. 222).

IUCN also lobbied Botswana to list the delta as a Ramsar site (BNARS, 1991). Botswana ratified the Ramsar convention in 1996. The mission of the Ramsar convention is to promote “the conservation and wise use of all wetlands through local, regional and national actions and international cooperation, as a contribution towards achieving sustainable development” (RCS, 2006, p.6). Furthermore, Green Peace International appealed to the government to establish the Okavango Delta Ecosystem as a world heritage site (BNARS, 1991).

4.3.5 High-cost low volume (HCLV) tourism model

One of the main outcomes of the wildlife conservation policy in Masire’s government was the consolidation of the model of high-cost, low volume tourism through the implementation of the Tourism Policy of 1990. Considering that the government of Botswana did not have expertise in ecotourism development, the industry has been driven by the private sector. The private sector has thus played a crucial role in the consolidation of the high cost low volume tourism which Botswana is well known for. The implementation of the Tourism policy of 1990 by the government of Botswana laid a foundation for the dominance of multinational tourism companies (Mbaiwa and Hambira, 2020). Multinational tourism companies have formed alliances with the traditional Tswana elites to ensure profit making and legitimacy. This partnership has prompted a shift in the role of the state as a central authority figure in wildlife governance to one of facilitator working in collaboration with multinational companies. As I shall show in the next Chapter, this has paved way for an increased role of the multinational companies in wildlife strategies and the distribution of concessions, which is guided by profit-making and environmental protection. The dominance of multinational companies in decision making resulted in policy outcomes that shift government control away from wildlife conservation and the distribution of concessions in the Okavango Delta.

The high cost low volume tourism model was first introduced in the Okavango Delta, where its elitism became visible (Mbaiwa, 2005, 2008). The World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) (2007, p.48) cautioned that “the focus on low volume, high value markets have fostered an image of exclusivity, even raising the spectre of apartheid-style segregation of facilities at its most extreme”. The Okavango Delta is well known for its sustainable tourism

practices. To illustrate, in 2010 the Delta won the Tourism for Tomorrow Award for destination management (BTO, 2013). Then in 2012 the Delta also became one of the Global Sustainable Tourism Council Early adopters, in recognition that the Delta was being managed in line with the GSTC destination criteria (Wilkinson, 2012). Sustainable tourism is further highlighted within the Okavango Development Management Plan (ODMP, 2007, p.124) with a vision “to strive for the development of a world class nature-based tourism destination that is economically sustainable and optimises benefits to local communities and the nation within agreed limits of acceptable change”. This focus on wildlife conservation and the policy articulation that supported it contributed to the greening of Botswana. In Chapter Six, I will show how this policy is enhanced by the private safari operator’s tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta.

4.3.6 National Conservation Strategy advisory board

To give effect to the NCS, the National Conservation Strategy advisory board and coordinating agency were established. The agency placed under the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing was developed with the technical assistance of IUCN. It was responsible for the overall implementation of the NCS. Furthermore, it was charged with coordinating the integration of environmental management into government planning. The agency initiated an environmental education program in the 1990s and has been instrumental in infusing environmental education (EE) and conservation issues into the primary and secondary school curriculum in collaboration with the Ministry of Education (Interview 16, DEA official, 28th May 2018). The overall aim of EE in Botswana is to produce citizens who are ecologically aware of and concerned with ecological problems for society to respond in an eco-friendly manner (BNARS, 1993; Dobson, 2007).

The creation of the NCS meant that governments departments had to re-align their policies and legislation with the new thinking of sustainable utilization of natural resources. For instance, DWNP reviewed the National Parks Act of 1967 and Fauna Conservation Act of 1961 and consolidated them into a single act, the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992. This act incorporated the provisions of the 1973 CITES which Botswana ratified in 1978. Further, DWNP began to prepare management plans for national parks and game reserves which were aimed at facilitating better management of wildlife resources (Interview 51, Senior Wildlife Official, 18th July 2018).

Masire's government aligned Botswana's model of ecotourism with the global sustainable development frame of the 1980s. Under his government, international support for CBNRM grew in the country, and wildlife conservation became central to environmental management in Botswana. This was recognized in the country's national development plans (NDP's) and the development of the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986. In the next section, I pay attention to the internal restructuring of the state that re-aligned state activities with the green agenda.

4.4 FESTUS MOGAE, 1998 – 2008

The third president of Botswana Festus Mogae is a graduate from the prestigious British university, Oxford University with qualifications in economics. Before ascending to the presidency, Mogae held critical influential positions such as Governor of the Bank of Botswana, permanent secretary to the president as well as being Minister of MFDP. He was also the board member of Debswana, a company which has been instrumental in Botswana's economic success. As such he had a wealth of experience in steering and managing Botswana's economy. In terms of greening the state, Mogae's economic experience guided the internal restructuring of the state in pursuit of the green economy anchored on the HCLV tourism model that was consolidated under Masire's administration.

Mogae is highly renowned for his vigorous and steadfast efforts in fighting against the HIV and AIDS pandemic that threatened the future of the country and its citizens. Despite the HIV/AIDS pandemic, President Mogae ensured stability and economic growth. In recognition of his good work as the president of the country, he won the Mo Ibrahim Prize¹³ for achievement in African leadership in 2008. His presidency was mainly characterized by the internal restructuring of the state in pursuit of a green agenda as well as embracing neoliberalism in conservation.

¹³ The Mo Ibrahim Prize established by Mo Ibrahim Foundation recognizes and celebrates African former Heads of States who have demonstrated exemplary leadership under challenging circumstances.

4.4.1 Neoliberal agenda

As an economist, Mogae embraced the neoliberalization of conservation by linking conservation with business. At the ‘conservation is good business’ symposium held in Washington DC in 2003, Festus Mogae said:

in our land use policy, we have made conservation a priority. These policies have ensured that the utilization of wildlife resources is sustainable. There is no doubt in my mind that conservation is good business (cited in AWF, 2003).

In practice, this meant the commercialisation of safari hunting took precedence over the SGL, the introduction of a communal quota system, and the establishment of joint-venture partnerships (JVPs) between community trusts and private hunting/photographic companies. President Mogae was of the view that the private sector is the engine of growth hence the promotion of public-private partnerships in CBNRM. The community trusts would sub-lease the resource use rights – the communal quota - to a private tour hunting operator at a fee. The expectations of JVPs are that they would enable better wildlife management and bring economic and material benefits to rural households. It was during Mogae’s presidency that the tourism sector became the second highest contributor to the country’s GDP and created thousands of jobs (Gaolathe, 2007). Wildlife-based tourism became a potential driver of economic diversification, environmental sustainability, community empowerment and job creation.

Mogae’s government involved Botswana in the establishment of southern African peace parks: large conservation areas straddling the borders of two or more countries with the aim of re-establishing or protecting the integrity of ecological systems, promoting peaceful co-existence among neighbouring nations, and providing an avenue for local economic development through ecotourism (Ramutsindela, 2007). Peace parks, also known as transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) have been described as a neoliberal project in that they are underpinned by a business model that treats habitats and wildlife as assets for the maximization of profits (Büscher, 2013; Ramutsindela, 2017). It is expected that TFCAs would enable tourists to move freely across international borders without a need for a visa hence expanding tourism in the participating nations. Literature on the neoliberalisation of conservation reveals

that this process transforms the state by rolling back the state, reregulation, and developing state-led public services along private lines (Brockington et al. 2012; Büscher, 2013). Botswana signed the first peace parks in post-apartheid Southern Africa, the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) in 1999. This was followed by the signing of memorandum of understanding for the creation of the Greater Mapungubwe and the KAZA in 2006 (Gaolatlhe, 2006).

4.4.2 Internal re-structuring of the Botswana state

The emergence of wildlife and environmental conservation policy necessitated the internal restructuring of the state. State managers are crucial in the greening process in that they have the powers to develop green institutions or to facilitate the transfer of such institutions for improved green governance necessary for managing the environment (Johnson, 2019). The absence of a dedicated environmental conservation ministry meant that the management of the environment was the responsibility of several departments in different ministries. For instance, the DWNP fell under the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Investment; the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) was housed under the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing; Forestry and Range resource was placed under Ministry of Agriculture (Interview 51, Senior MENT official, 11th July 2018). This resulted in fragmented approaches and lack of concrete action towards addressing negative environmental externalities. In realising the need to bring environmental issues under one roof for better coordination and implementation of green policies, strategies and programmes a Ministry of Environment, Natural Resource Conservation and Tourism (MENT) (formerly Ministry of Wildlife and Tourism (MEWT)) was created in 2002 (Interview 10, Minister of MENT, 24th April 2018). The minister of MENT notes that:

every act depends on the environment; hence the environment comes first. When you have a healthy environment, you will have a healthy biodiversity and tourism will be sustainable. Environmental sustainability is inevitable – the sustainability of wildlife and tourism depends on a healthy environment, hence the name of the ministry (Interview 10, 24th April 2018).

As part of an effort to coordinate environmental issues, the following departments were integrated into MENT: Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), Environmental Affairs (DEA),

Tourism (DOT), Meteorological Services, Forestry and Range Resources, Waste Management and Pollution and National Museum and Monuments. The Mogae administration established a corporate entity, Botswana Tourism Board (BTB) in 2004. This Board was established to facilitate the marketing and promotion of Botswana's tourists' attractions to the international community as well as to attract investors to the tourism sector. Furthermore, it was meant to classify and grade tourism accommodation facilities within the country to align them with the HCLV tourism model particularly in the Okavango Delta. In 2008 the entity was renamed Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO). In Chapter Five, I will show how the organisation has changed its role under the presidency of Ian Khama as part of the recentralisation process and how this redefined the relations of the state with citizens in Chapter Six.

Part of the rationalities for institutional restructuring emanates from the fact that Botswana as a signatory to international conventions such as CBD, the Ramsar, the country needed relevant institutions with environmental expertise to coordinate, develop and implement policies and strategies that align with agreed principles of these conventions. For instance, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) requires member states to develop national biodiversity strategy and action plans (NBSAPs). With the financial assistance of the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the government of Botswana established NBSAPs in 2004. The role of the NBSAP was to contribute to the long-term health of Botswana's ecosystems and related species and to encourage sustainable use of resources through the provision of a framework of specific activities designed to improve the way biodiversity is perceived, utilised and conserved (DEA, 2008; Kgomotso, 2013). The strategy was relevant for the fragile ecosystem of the Okavango Delta. The mosaic and variety of habitats found within the Delta is home to many fauna and flora. The project was financed by the GEF (US\$325,000.00) and the government of Botswana (US\$25,000.00) (MEWT, 2007). The project adopted the IUCN's Guide to the Convention on Biological Diversity and the WRI/IUCN/UNEP guidelines for preparing national biodiversity strategy and action plans (Kgomotso, 2013).

The pursuit of the Ramsar status in the Delta contributed to the restructuring of management structures in the Okavango through the formulation of the Okavango Delta Management Plan (ODMP) in 2007. The process was enabled by external funding. IUCN financed the project with a total of US\$1 million and provided technical backstopping through the provision of a technical advisor. Danish International development agency (DANIDA) assisted with

approximately US\$1.5 million; SIDA provided US\$720,000.00 and German Development Service (DED) contributed US\$190,000.00 (DEA, 2008; Kgomotso, 2013).

All the land use and resource management components of the project were funded by the government and coordinated by state agencies. The government contributed US\$3.5 million (DEA, 2008). The Ramsar organisation also partially funded the development of the ODMP. The ODMP vision was to create a “carefully managed, well-functioning ecosystem that equitably and sustainably provides benefits for local, national, and international stakeholders” (DEA, 2008, p. xvi). The overall goal of the ODMP was to “integrate resource management for the Okavango Delta that will ensure its long-term conservation and that will provide benefits for the present and future well-being of the people, through sustainable use of its natural resources” (DEA, 2008, p. xvi). This goal was supported by three strategic goals: a) to establish viable management institutions for the sustainable management of the Delta; b) to ensure the long-term conservation of the Delta and the provision of existing ecosystem services; and c) to sustainably use the natural resources of the Delta in an equitable way and support the livelihoods of all stakeholders. The DEA was tasked with the primary responsibility of overseeing the implementation of the ODMP (Interview 26, DEA official, 28th May 2018).

The ODMP has been considered as the initial step towards ensuring adaptive management for the Okavango Delta, as it takes into account the need to respond to the high level of uncertainty and complexity of the Delta ecosystem (Motsumi and Cassidy, 2012). Furthermore, it is claimed that the ODMP is the first plan to involve all resource stakeholders including local communities in the development of the plan (Magole, 2008). Although the ODMP has successfully been able to include all stakeholders in the planning process, the central government continues to dominate the actual decision making (Magole, 2008). This is at least in part because local entities lack the financial and human resource capacity to successfully implement plans such as the ODMP at the local level.

4.4.3 Environmental injustice

Mogae’s presidency was marred by his government’s attempts to relocate *Basarwa* (mostly referred as the San) from their ancestral lands in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) between 1998 and 2005 on the basis that people, and wildlife were incompatible in the reserve.

CKGR was promulgated in 1961 with the intention to safeguard the nomadic hunting and gathering lifestyle of the *Basarwa* and to prevent cattle farmers from moving into the area (Campbell, 2004; Child, 2009). Campbell (2004) asserts that George Silberbauer, then District officer was influential in the creation of the reserve. Campbell (2004, p. 59) notes that:

Silberbauer recognised the difficulties Bushmen underwent in their relations with other groups and particularly their inability to retain rights on land wanted by others. He worried about encroaching farming and sought to secure land for Bushmen on a permanent and legal basis. His main concern was that Bushmen be free to decide their own future in their own time.

In early 2001 the government decided to relocate the *Basarwa* from the reserve. There are at least three narratives on the removal of *Basarwa*. First, central to the relocation of *Basarwa* has been the government notion that *Basarwa* cannot live with animals in the reserve. Good (2008) is of the view that the government of Botswana viewed the lifestyle of the *Basarwa* as primitive. Mogae called *Basarwa* ‘stone age creatures’ who had no place in the modern world (Brown and Saunders, 2008). The government wished to provide better socio-economic services to *Basarwa* if they were outside of the reserve. As a result, in August 2001 the government threatened to cut off social services to the remaining *Basarwa* in the park as a way of forcing them to relocate (Good, 2008). The forced relocation from CKGR meant that *Basarwa* would be cut off from natural resources, especially hunting and gathering activities. Second, the relocation of *Basarwa* has also been linked by the desire of the government to start diamond mining following prospecting (Marobela, 2010; Vidal, 2014). Third, the relocation was also viewed as paving the way for tourism and conservation in the CKGR. The government argued that *Basarwa* were responsible for reducing the number of wildlife in the CKGR. In 2013, it was reported that half of the reserve was allocated to Wilderness Safaris, a multinational tourism company dominating Botswana’s booming ecotourism industry (Vidal, 2014). It can be argued that the relocation of *Basarwa* was strongly guided by profit making.

In response to this action by government, an NGO specialising in defending the rights of indigenous peoples worldwide, Survival International accused Mogae’s government of marginalising the *Basarwa* community. In 2006, after a prolonged legal battle, the Botswana High Court ruled that their removal was illegal (Brown & Saunders 2008). The court further

ruled *Basarwa* were “unlawfully despoiled of their possession of the land which they lawfully occupied in their settlements in the CKGR” by the government (Botswana High Court, 2006). Although the High Court ruled that government acted unlawfully in forcing *Basarwa* to relocate and asserted their constitutional rights to live in their ancestral land, the Botswana government still denies *Basarwa* the right to live freely in the reserve. The CKGR became a potent symbol of Basarwa territorial claims to wildlife areas and is often the focal point of deployment of historical memories in the contestation of land ownership.

The relocation of the *Basarwa* is a form of environmental injustice that would, in the view of green theorists, disqualify Botswana as a green state, because a green state delivers environmental justice (Saward, 1998; Barry, 2001; Eckersley, 2004). However, the relocation of the *Basarwa* shows how the government of Botswana is involved in the creation of green spaces even if that process involves the violation of the human rights of indigenous groups. Therefore, environmental injustice is relevant to the analysis of the green state in Africa as it is a manifestation of environmental histories and state making processes (Death, 2016). The top-down authoritarian control of local communities, land and the environment, sometimes through force is very much part of the model of greening in Africa. This case of the CKGR is important for thinking about how the relationships between the state and its citizens are shaped through the medium of the environment. These relations were more pronounced under Ian Khama’s presidency (see Chapter Five).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the context through which the process of greening emerges by tracing the development of wildlife conservation policy in the period between 1966 and 2008, which covers the presidency of Seretse Khama, Ketumile Masire and Festus Mogae. This chapter shows that the three presidents were instrumental in shaping the green agenda of the state through the development of the HCLV tourism model between 1966 and 2018. They also opened up the country to non-state actors who financed environmental-related programmes and facilitated the development of green institutions. Death (2016) argues that environmental issues are integral to the formation of the state in Africa. The state in Botswana has used the environment and conservation issues to build a neoliberal state through its eco-tourism model that promotes profit making and environmental protection simultaneously. Through this model,

the state in Botswana has positioned itself as offering a unique product in the Southern African region that resonates with aspirations of international conservation actors and upmarket tourists from the Global North. As I shall show in the next Chapter, this image that has been crafted between 1966 and 2008 was enhanced under the presidency of Ian Khama with state in Botswana viewed by international conservation NGOs as the ‘darling of conservation’ and ‘safe haven for wildlife’ in Africa (Great Plains Conservation, 2018; New York Times, 2019).

This chapter has demonstrated that the presidents’ ideological orientation provided fertile ground for the greening of Botswana. During the presidency of Seretse Khama, environmental policy was still at its infancy because the country was pressed with more economic development issues. Hence, wildlife protection was not an immediate priority. His leadership saw the formation of DWNP, formerly the game department that was inherited from the British colonial administration. The seed for Botswana’s high cost low volume tourism model which subsequent governments built on and enhanced, was sown under Khama’s government and consolidated under Masire’s presidency. The democratic ideals advanced by Masire’s government attracted the interest of international actors and donors who advanced the green agenda. Aklin and Urpelainen (2014) argue that democratization seemed to allow the expansion of national environmental regulation only under favorable international conditions. It is under Masire’s administration (1980 -1998) that the presence of international actors in Botswana was deepened and further extended as a result of environmental degradation in the 1980s and the adoption of the global sustainable development frame as evidenced by the implementation of CBNRM.

CBNRM emanated from the promotion of decentralized approaches worldwide and was mainly driven by donor agencies and international conservation NGOs who provided the financial and technical assistance in rolling out the program. It was an attempt to address the anomalies of protected area approaches that had alienated indigenous communities from the utilisation of wildlife resources. In important ways, CBNRM underscores the involvement of local communities in greening the state at the local level, especially in communal areas. This in turn shaped the relationship between the state and its citizens. The presidency of Festus Mogae (1998-2008) was characterised by the internal restructuring of the state through the creation of an important green institution, the environmental ministry in 2002. His economic perspectives

were important because they put Botswana on the green growth path. These green institutions were also critical in the sense that they provided an oversight on the implementation of CBNRM while also useful for creating laws and policies in line with international protocols and conventions. It was during Mogae's administration that tourism became the second largest economic sector after mining. The next chapter examines the transformation of the Botswana state under the administration of Ian Khama.

Chapter Five

The strengthened role of the state in wildlife conservation in Botswana

5.1 Introduction

For a long time, Botswana has been portrayed as an exceptional state and a beacon of democracy (cf. Chapter Four) without paying attention to how each of the presidents led the country and the roles each of them played in advancing environmental agendas. Despite the claim that it is a miracle and a democratic state, Botswana has undergone significant changes. Some of the profound changes were more visible under the presidency of Ian Khama (2008-2018) with respect to the militarization and greening of the state. The militarization of the state in particular has led political analysts to claim that Botswana has evolved into an autocratic state (Good, 2017; Seabo, 2018). This chapter focuses on the transformation of the state of Botswana through the lens of militarization of the state, militarization of wildlife and recentralization of state power in wildlife governance. Militarization of the state is understood as a style of governance in which former (and current serving) high ranking military officers are posted in senior positions in state and parastatal institutions. Such postings were used to build and discipline state institutions.

The militarization of wildlife entails the deployment of the military personnel and military grade-weapons in anti-poaching mission to protect wildlife by displacing unruly behavior within Botswana's green spaces. Although militarization of wildlife has been in place since the late 1980s in Botswana under the leadership of president Ketumile Masire (cf. Chapter Four), it took a profound turn during the time of Ian Khama. This process of green militarization during Khama's government should be contextualized beyond Botswana borders. It was part of the general trend towards ensuring the protection and safety of Africa's wildlife against the surge of commercial poaching and criminal syndicates that have targeted Africa's protected areas. The proliferation of commercial poaching between 2008 and 2016 undermined conservation efforts of countries as witnessed by states in Eastern and Southern Africa. As a result, the Ian Khama government operated at the time when protection of African wildlife was taking this important dimension. His military background enabled him to fit into and facilitate this process. Furthermore, there was a great interest by international conservation non-governmental organizations to protect African wildlife from commercial poaching and the illegal wildlife trade and this context gave Ian Khama a credible position to exercise his military

outlook. The processes of militarization of the state and wildlife involves command and control of resources and are crucial to the exercise and legitimation of state power.

Militarization also became a precursor to the recentralization of state power. Such recentralization is reflected in wildlife governance through the decisions to allocate resource royalties to a national conservation fund, to suspend hunting and to establish the controversial tourism land bank. These green decisions as the next chapter will show have altered the pro-community CBNRM approach. In the first part of this chapter, I foreground the ideological orientation of Ian Khama. This is crucial because it allows us to understand how his military background (re)shaped the state and strengthened the greening of Botswana. In the second part, I consider how his military outlook translated into the militarization of the state while the third section shows how militarization is reflected in the greening of the state. The fourth section pays attention to how Ian Khama reasserted state authority over decision making in wildlife governance in Botswana.

5.2 Ian Khama: ‘the preeminent environmentalist’ and the centralization of power

In order to discuss and understand the transformation of the state of Botswana there is a need to pay attention to the ideological orientation of Ian Khama that enabled the militarization of wildlife and centralization of power in wildlife governance. Good (2010, p. 318) summarizes Khama’s leadership style as relatively confined “to three areas alone: the military, chieftaincy and dynastic politics and state power, briefly at the highest level”. Ian Khama is the first son of the first president of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama who was the Paramount chief (*Kgosi*) of the Bangwato, one of the largest tribal groups in Botswana. Traditionally Ian Khama is the apparent heir to the Bangwato throne. In April 1979, Ian Khama inherited the chieftaincy position from his father becoming Kgosi Khama IV of Bangwato.

In terms of profession, Ian Khama is a renowned military man in Botswana. It is in the army where he built his name and enhanced his profile. He did his military training in Sandhurst Military Academy in Britain from 1972-74. Thereafter, Khama joined the newly formed Botswana Defense Force (BDF) in 1977 where he was appointed by his father as Brigadier and deputy commander of the BDF at the age of twenty-four (24), becoming the youngest to have served as brigadier in the history of Botswana’s army (Henk, 2007; Good, 2009). Twelve years later, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General and first commander of the army until

1998 when he resigned to join politics. Upon joining politics, Khama first stood for parliamentary elections in his constituency, Serowe North where he won a parliamentary seat. He was appointed as a Minister of Presidential Affairs on 1st April 1998. The next day, president Mogae appointed him as the vice president. Political commentators argue that Mogae brought Khama into politics partly to help unify the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) which at the time was riddled with factionalism (Taylor, 2005). It is understood that Mogae appointed Khama as the vice president based on the recommendation of the Schlemmer report. Molomo (2000, p. 101) claims that, the report advised that for the “BDP to improve its chances of winning the 1999 elections, it needed to bring into its fold a person with enough dynamism who was untainted by factional fights”. Despite being brought to unite the party, Sebudubudu and Bothomilwe (2015) argue that he went on to divide the party resulting in the new formation of the new party Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD)¹⁴.

Furthermore, it is said that Ian Khama joined politics on his own terms. He refused to relinquish his position as the Paramount Chief of Bangwato despite legislation his father introduced in 1972 that a chief ought to have resigned from chieftainship before qualifying for parliamentary elections (Good, 2009). He is quoted as to have made it clear that, “I am a *kgosi*. If you want me into politics, then do not ask me to follow Bathoen’s example of abdicating my chieftaincy” (cited in Good 2009, p.319). He ascended to state power in April 2008, thanks to the automatic succession provided for by the constitution, whereby the vice president assumes the presidency when the incumbent president steps down. Ian Khama stepped down from presidency after his 10-year term came to an end in 1st April 2018. As a leader, he has both fame and infamy, and despite being popular, he has been described as divisive by some observers (Lucas, 2011). In his leadership, he is a front man who is seen as forthright and decisive by some observers (Henk 2004) and as ‘authoritarian’, ‘autocratic’, ‘dictatorial’ by others (Good, 2010).

Not only is Khama a politician and military man, he is an avid wildlife conservationist. His interest in wildlife protection goes a long way back: he had been instrumental in advocating wildlife protection by bringing the army to conduct anti-poaching in the 1980s as highlighted in the previous chapter (Henk, 2006). He was a patron for international and locally based

¹⁴ This is an offspring of the ruling party BDP that was formed in 2010 by the disgruntled members of BDP who were against Ian Khama’s administration.

environmental non-governmental organisations (NGOs) including the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF), Kalahari Conservation Society (KCS) and the Khama Rhino Sanctuary. His commitment to wildlife conservation has earned him international acclaim. He has been called ‘father of conservation’, ‘preservationist’, ‘preeminent environmentalist’, the ‘unsung hero of conservation’ (Henk, 2007; Rihoy & Maguranyanga, 2010). He has received several awards from foreign based organisations including the Africa Conservation Award from the Safari Club of Washington (1991), the Paul Harris Fellow and Endangered Wildlife Statesman Award (2001), international conservation caucus Teddy Roosevelt International Conservation Award (2011), the 2014 Rhino Conservation Award for best political and judicial support and the Global Citizen awarded by the University of Wisconsin (2017). Having served on the board of directors for US-based Conservation International (CI), Ian Khama is currently serving as a distinguished fellow of CI. CI chairman Peter Seliigmann (2018) said in a statement on CI website that:

CI will tap into his vision, commitment and institutional knowledge to help preserve Africa’s rich resources. As a distinguished fellow Ian Khama will help African countries forge a more sustainable development path that involves boosting socio-economic progress of the people without destroying natural resources.

He will do so through the platform of the Gaborone Declaration for sustainability in Africa (GDSA), an initiative aimed at bringing together African countries to mainstream sustainable development principles and practices in their development agenda. CI manages the GDSA on behalf of the Botswana government. The next section will show how Ian Khama’s militaristic outlook is reflected in the state as well as wildlife conservation.

5.3 Militaristic outlook of the state of Botswana

For a long time, Botswana has been portrayed as a frontrunner in democracy and good governance, with analysts labelling the country as a success story - ‘An African Miracle’ (Samatar, 1999). However, political commentators have questioned this outlook. Critics are of the view that democracy regressed into autocracy under the leadership of former president Ian Khama (Good and Taylor, 2008; Good, 2010; Botlhomilwe et al., 2011). When questioned about Botswana at the African leadership forum in Tanzania in 2014, former president Festus Mogae said, “in my country we are regressing”. By this he referred to the authoritative rule of

Ian Khama, which is ascribed to his military background where the chain of command is the norm (Good and Taylor, 2008; Good, 2009, 2016; Molebatsi and Sello, 2018). Therefore, it is not surprising that militarization became the cornerstone of Khama's administration and manifested in many ways.

Upon ascending to state power in 2008, Ian Khama established a state spy security agency, the Directorate of Intelligence and Security Services (DISS). Prior to the establishment of DISS, the state was dependent on the Military Intelligence (MI) at the BDF and the ad-hoc inter agency cooperation structure, the Security Intelligence Services (SIS) formed in 1998 (Gwatiwa, 2015). The SIS was made up of personnel from the military and Botswana Police. In addition, the Botswana Police had its own intelligence units such as the Special Branch, the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), the Serious Crimes Squad and the diamond and Narcotics Squad (Gwatiwa, 2015). Thaga (2005) is of the view that the security intelligence played overlapping roles. Gwatiwa (2015) asserts that the role of the SIS was primarily domestic and very limited in their legal and resource aspects.

The DISS established by the Intelligence and Security Service Act of 2007 came into effect on 1st April 2008, when Ian Khama assumed the presidency. Good (2016) claims that the spy agency became the hallmark of Khama's rule. The agency was charged with the key responsibility of national security, advising the government on internal and external threats. The aim of the agency was to investigate, gather and coordinate information on national security issues (Gwatiwa, 2015). DISS has the power to arrest, seize and detain without warrant (GoB, 2007). This spy agency was housed under the Office of President hence they reported directly to the president. It was mainly composed of former Military Intelligence (MI) staff from the BDF (Good, 2010; Gwatiwa, 2015). At the top, was Colonel Issaac Kgosi, former director of MI and a very close friend of Ian Khama. He served as Khama's private secretary when Ian Khama was the vice president. Since its operation the agency has been charged with unlawful surveillance and extra-judicial killings of citizens (see Good 2009, 2010). Individuals have been detained, assaulted and murdered. Print media reports (Mmegi, Sunday Standard, Botswana Gazette) indicated that 12 shooting incidents involving DISS occurred between April 2008 and March 2009 with 8 people losing their lives. One incident that comes to mind, is the high-profile shooting case which involved the killing of John Kalafatis on the evening of March 13th, 2009 (see also Good, 2017). The local media news reported that Kalafatis was brutally

shot and murdered in his car by undercover DISS agents (Sunday Standard, 2009). Four security agents were convicted of murder by the courts with one sentenced to 3 years imprisonment while others were sentenced to 11 years imprisonment. Hardly three months in prison, Ian Khama shocked the nation when he pardoned the security agents who were then later absorbed into the army. The execution of Kalafatis brought fear into society. There was distrust of each other in society because you never knew who was an undercover DISS operative. The DISS became one of the most powerful and feared state agencies in the country. The Media Institute for Southern Africa (2009) noted that during Ian Khama's reign, a cloud of fear had descended on civilian life, impacting on freedom of expression. For instance, the DISS was accused of threatening those who spoke out against the President (Sunday Standard, 2009).

Ian Khama militarized the civil service by appointing former high-ranking military officers into key bureaucratic institutions to consolidate state legitimacy and to bring about discipline in state institutions (Good, 2009). Some of the military appointments into the bureaucracy include: Colonel Silas Motlalekgosi (Commissioner of Prisons), Lt. Colonel Moaohi Modisenyane (General Manager, Central Transport Organisation), Colonel Leke Ovuya (Manager of the biggest government hospital, Princess Marina), Colonel Duke Masilo (deputy senior private secretary to the president) and Brigadier George Tlhalerwa (Senior private secretary to the president). Furthermore, former military personnel became part of the cabinet. Notable examples include: Lt. General Mompoti Merafhe (vice president), Brigadier Ramadeluka Seretse (Defence, Justice and Security) and Captain Kitso Mokaila (Environment, Wildlife and Tourism). This gave the impression that competence, merit and experience did not matter. For as long as one was the preferred choice – loyal and had military background – they would easily get an appointment over those qualifying for the position. Molomo (2001) asserts that the militarization of the state invariably leads to the strengthening of authoritarian rule and the erosion of democratic practices.

Good (2009) claims that Ian Khama surrounded himself with a trusted group of loyalists often within the family and close friends. This group of people were elevated to higher and influential positions in government. From within the family, Tshakedi Khama the younger brother was appointed the Minister of Environment; Sheila Khama and Rose Seretse cousins to Khama through marriage became head of De Beers Botswana and director of the directorate corruption

and economic crimes (DCEC) respectively. Close and trusted friends include amongst others Thapelo Olopeng (also a former military man) was appointed the Minister of Youth, Sports and Culture and Pelonomi Venson Moitsoi became Minister of Communications. As a former army general and commander in chief of the armed forces, Ian Khama knew very well that to captain the ship he needed unquestionable loyalty. Therefore, surrounding himself with trusted loyalists from the army, friends and family members, was aimed at elevating bureaucracy and submissiveness as well as consolidating power. Basically, this was a patronage network.

Not only did Khama militarize the civil service, his government increased defense and military expenditure. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Botswana had the highest percentage increase in military spending between 2015 and 2016 than any other country in Africa. Botswana's spending grew by 40% in 2016 (SIPRI, 2016). In 2015, the Ministry of Defense, Justice and Security got a development budget of P1.32 billion with the amount increased to P3.59 billion (Mathambo, 2015, 2016). The bulk of the money was received by the BDF to cater for the provision of defense equipment, communication equipment and infrastructure in order to improve BDFs security capabilities (Mathambo, 2015, 2016). According to local private media reports Botswana had shown interest in procuring Gripen fighter jets for the BDF towards the end of 2016. In 2017, Ian Khama went for a state visit in Sweden with the aim of finalizing a deal to acquire the Gripen fighter jets. When asked by Swedish journalists on why Botswana needs Gripen fighter jets, Ian Khama said:

we have responsibility to provide rapid reaction to every corner of our country if they feel threatened. We must use equipment that we think is suitable as a deterrence and for the defence of our country (Khama, 2017).

Khama's reliance on close loyalists influenced his leadership style, elevating his reclusive, divisive and dynastic characteristics. It is claimed that he excluded established institutions and processes from running the government. Following this logic, Good (2009, p. 320) concludes that two characteristics of Khama's highly personalized rule stand out – "his reliance on edicts or directives and decision by caprice". Although Ian Khama promised the nation of Botswana to uphold the principles of democracy such as consultation, he unilaterally pronounced policy positions of the government. To illustrate this, in 2008 he restricted the operating hours of outlets that sell alcoholic beverages. As if that was not enough, he used his presidential power

to issue a presidential directive unilaterally imposing a thirty percent levy on the price of alcohol without taking into consideration the long-term impacts of such a decision on the affected stakeholders such as the entertainment industry. Commentators are of the view that Ian Khama acted on his dislike for alcohol (Bothomilwe and Sebudubudu, 2015; Good, 2016).

Khama also unilaterally pronounced a salary adjustment of 3% in 2011 at a *kgotla* meeting while a consultative process at the Public Service Bargaining Council (PSBC) was ongoing. In 2011 the public-sector embarked on a nationwide strike that lasted for two months. This strike which nearly brought Botswana's economy to its knees was motivated by inadequate working conditions of public servants. Furthermore, the public servants have not had a pay increase for three years. As a result, the public-sector unions demanded a pay rise of 16 percent which they soon cut to 12 percent (Makgala and Malila, 2014). Commentators are of the view that Khama ignored the PSBC whose duty was to negotiate salaries of public service employees and their conditions of service (Makgala and Malila, 2014; Interview 13, POL, 28th April 2018). PSBC is made up of the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM) on behalf of government and public-sector unions on behalf of civil servants. Instead of meeting with union leaders to hear their demands, Khama went around the country consulting with non-working protesters comprising of old age pensioners at the *kgotla* where conversations are held. While the negotiations were underway, Khama shocked the nation when he pronounced a three percent salary increase at one of the *kgotla* meetings. It is alluded that, he stated that even if the strike can continue for five years, he would not change his position (Makgala and Malila, 2014). To further frustrate the efforts of the public-sector unions, DPSM implemented a no work no pay rule. In certain instances, some people lost their jobs. Consequently, this caused the strike to end with no results as many civil servants feared that they could be next on the line. In September 2019, a month before the general elections in Botswana the new President Mokgweetsi Masisi announced in a *kgotla* meeting in Lobatse that his government will reinstate all the workers who were fired during the 2011 strike (BW Government Facebook page, 2019). The announcement by President Masisi could be attributed as a campaign strategy to win the 2019 October elections.

General Khama is also known for his strong aversion to opposing views. His critics, especially those in government were made to apologize to him. In response to the new liquor regulations, one of the BDP MPs Botsalo Ntuanane noted that Botswana was drifting towards a

‘fundamentalist state’ (Sebudubudu and Botlhomilwe, 2011). The youthful MP was forced to apologize to Khama. Another former BDP MP Pono Moatlhodi was forced to detract his words after raising concerns about militarization of the civil service (Sebudubudu and Botlhomilwe, 2011). Julius Malema, the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in South Africa was put on a visa requirement entry list into Botswana presumably because he called for Botswana’s isolation. He must apply for a visa though he holds a diplomatic passport. Others who have been given visa restrictions include Gordon Bennet - who represented *Basarwa* on their CKGR case against government - as well as Survival International director Steven Corry. In the military, discipline is the cornerstone of rule as it implies abiding and complying with commands with no or little questions - too much questioning and interrogation might be interpreted as insubordination.

5.3.1 Presidential powers of the president of Botswana

Ian Khama exploited the constitutional provision that sanction the concentration of power in the presidency to promote policies and actions aligned to his interest and style of governing the country. As this Chapter shows, he ruled the country through directives and had more control in policy formulation. Section 47, sub section 1 and 2 of the constitution empowers the president to take decisions on his own. The section stipulates that:

The executive power of Botswana shall vest in the president, who shall unless provided, act in his own deliberate judgment and shall not be obliged to follow the advice tendered by any other person or authority.

Furthermore, the cabinet only plays an advisory role to the president. Section 50 (11) of the constitution (1966) asserts that:

The cabinet shall be responsible for advising the president in respect to the policy of the government and with respect to such matters as they may be referred to it by him/her.

However, there is no constitutional requirement for the president to follow the formal advice or views of the cabinet or parliament; nor is there any constitutional basis for legitimate challenge to the president’s decision making or rule (Molomo, 2000). In exercising his

governing powers, the president is not accountable to any state institutions even parliament. The constitution also affords the president absolute immunity from prosecution for both private and official functions. Section 41 (1) of the constitution of Botswana states that:

Whilst any person holds or performs the functions of the office of the president no criminal proceedings shall be instituted or continued against him in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him either in his official capacity or in his private capacity and no civil proceedings shall be instituted or continued in respect of anything done or omitted to be done his private capacity.

To illustrate this constitutional clause, I refer to the case in which Gomolemo Motswaledi, the secretary general of the BDP challenged the authority of Ian Khama to suspend him from the party. In 2009, Khama allegedly suspended Motswaledi from the party because of indiscipline. It is thought that Motswaledi was a member of the *Barata-phathi* (we love the party) faction that opposed Khama's style of leadership. Following his suspension from the party, Motswaledi instituted a lawsuit against Ian Khama not as the president of Botswana but as the leader of the BDP. Khama argued that he took the decision in his private capacity as the leader of the party. Taking into consideration section 41 (1) of the constitution of Botswana, the High Court of Botswana dismissed Motswaledi's case arguing that the head of state cannot be sued in both his official or private capacity. The ruling was also upheld by the Court of Appeal in Botswana.

The over-centralisation of power in the institution of the presidency impedes democratic practice. It opens an opportunity for the president to exercise more control in policy formulation and allows for the abuse of state resources for personal gain. As Good (2010, p. 363) argues "objective, rational and institutional norms are often ignored, while the personal, subjective and the irrational are relied upon". As the president advances their own interest, transparency and accountability are affected resulting in erosion of trust and legitimacy in the eyes of the constituents they seek to serve. Centralized powers in the office of the president led to the development of features of 'authoritarian liberalism' in Botswana (Good, 1996, 1997; Taylor, 2003). Although Ian Khama's predecessors served under the same constitution, they did not exercise their powers with the same intensity as Ian Khama (Bothomilwe et al., 2011). His military background as argued elsewhere (Good, 2010; Seabo, 2018) and in this thesis

became a precursor to the centralization of power which resembles authoritarian rule. In an authoritarian rule the chain of command and control is a norm. In what follows, I consider how Ian Khama enhanced the greening of the state through the militarization of wildlife conservation.

5.4 Greening by militarization

In this section I focus on how the state of Botswana under the tutelage of President Ian Khama deepened the greening of the state through militarization of wildlife. Greening by militarization constitutes an important aspect of the greening of Botswana but this should not be seen in isolation as there were other similar processes taking place in Southern and East Africa concerned with the protection of wildlife between 2008 and 2016 in Africa (Lunstrum, 2014; Duffy, 2014, 2016; Massé and Lunstrum 2016 Hübschle and Jooste, 2017). The question becomes what explains the intensification of green militarization in recent years by African states? The answer is not as simple as one may assume but commentators in geography and conservation studies attribute the intensification of green militarization to commercial poaching. Commercial poaching is in part driven by the rise in illegal wildlife trade of the rhino horn and ivory in the black market in Asian countries, especially China and Vietnam (TRAFFIC, 2009, 2012). The rhino horn is in demand in these regions because they are considered to have medicinal properties. In addition, Masse et al. (2017) note that rhino horn and ivory as often displayed as a sign of wealth. According to Masse et al. (2017) ivory costs USD1,000 – 2,000/kilogram on the black market while the rhino horn stands at \$40,000 – 70,000/kilogram. The UNEP and INTERPOL report (2016) estimates that illegal wildlife trade globally stands at \$7 – 23 billion per year.

The wave of commercial poaching has hit African states hard as evidenced by the spikes in rhino and elephant poaching in recent years. South Africa, a country that holds a vast majority of the world's rhinos lost over a thousand rhinos due to poaching between 2014 and 2016 (Molewa, 2015; IUCN, 2016). Similarly, deadly trends have followed the African elephant where poaching along with habitat loss translates into a yearly loss of eight percent. There are fears that the population may be halved within a single decade (Chase et al., 2016). It is estimated that three quarters of elephant poaching takes place in Central and Southern Africa with one quarter in East Africa (UNEP and INTERPOL, 2016).

The response of the global community and individual countries has grown in proportion to the problem. Governments of end-user countries like China and Vietnam are working to curb demand for wildlife products (TRAFFIC 2017). National and international efforts and cooperation aimed at combatting the transit and movement of wildlife products has also increased (DEA 2016). Despite the various international interventions, the use of military tactics in anti-poaching efforts has become more pronounced in protected areas in countries in Eastern and Southern Africa (Lunstrum 2014; Hübschle and Faull 2017). Militarized response by countries means that states have declared war on poaching (Duffy et al., 2015). This has made protecting African wildlife a dangerous business as poachers use sophisticated military hardware such as high-caliber hunting rifles, large ammunition and even helicopters (Lunstrum, 2014; UNEP and INTERPOL, 2016).

The debate on green militarization is polarized amongst conservationist and scholars in political geography and conservation studies. On one side, are scholars who consider green militarization as an appropriate and legitimate approach to reducing commercial poaching (Henk, 2005, 2006; Hübschle and Jooste, 2017; Mogomotsi and Madigele, 2017; Jooste and Ferreira, 2018). The use of forceful approaches can reduce poaching leading to growing wildlife numbers. Conversely, critics consider this trend to be morally unjust and problematic for several reasons (Duffy et al., 2015; Duffy et al., 2019). Firstly, scholars argue that proponents of green militarization fail to account and understand how and why people engage in poaching. Secondly, studies have failed to consider how local communities living in proximity to protected areas have experienced green militarization. Thirdly, Duffy et al. (2019) argue that we need to consider the experiences of rangers and possible impacts on their families and wider social networks. Fourthly, scholars need to analyse political economy of militarized conservation and think through challenges of conservation in contexts of armed conflict. The conclusion that is drawn by the authors is that a coercive agenda will have very limited prospects of success in the future (Duffy et al., 2019).

5.4.1 Greening Botswana through the militarization of wildlife

For now, I turn to green militarization within the context of Botswana, a country that has a flourishing healthy wildlife population. Wildlife is central to Botswana's burgeoning tourism industry and features prominently in the country's international conservation profile with elephants as the flagship species. Botswana currently holds approximately 130,000 elephants,

about a third of Africa's entire elephant population (Chase, 2011). These charismatic megafauna species has significantly contributed towards the economy of the country. Furthermore, wildlife is central to the CBNRM programme where local communities can sustain their livelihoods. With such a flourishing population of elephants, the country is prone to poaching just like other African countries with mega charismatic species. To protect its wildlife, Botswana deploys the army, the Botswana Defense Force (BDF) in its anti-poaching missions.

The BDF has been involved in anti-poaching since the late 1980s and Lt. Gen Ian Khama who commanded the army played an instrumental role in the deployment of the BDF in protecting wildlife (Henk, 2005, 2006; Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). According to Ramutsindela (2016, p. 165) the deployment of the BDF in anti-poaching mission "developed in the context of liberation struggles in Southern Africa that involved the violation of Botswana's borders by actors involved in liberation struggles from neighboring states and counter-insurgency" (see also Henk, 2006). The socio-political conditions in Angola, Namibia and South Africa gave rise to poaching and proliferation in smuggling of illegal firearms through Botswana borders. Henk (2007, p. 49) contends that "weapons, rebels and predatory criminals flowed freely across the regions borders' resulting in proliferation in organized poaching in Southern Africa". As the liberation wars intensified Botswana's northern territory became a hunting ground for transnational poachers (Interview, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). Ian Khama argues that poachers wiped out nearly all the rhinos in Botswana with only five rhinos left in the Okavango Delta (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). In view of this, a decision was taken in consultation with President Masire in 1987 to deploy the BDF in anti-poaching mission to secure a resource that will benefit the country going into the future. Ian Khama argues that the decision to deploy the army was a rational move that has helped to safeguard the booming ecotourism industry that is heavily dependent on wildlife. The poaching of rhinos also led to the establishment of the Khama Rhino Sanctuary in 1992, a few kilometers from Serowe, Ian Khama's home village.

The BDF started the anti-poaching operation in October 1987 in the Kwando-Linyanti area along the northern border with Namibia. This mission was conducted by the secretive Commando Squadron of the BDF (Henk, 2007; Bugday, 2014; Interview, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). By the year 1989, the BDF broadened its anti-poaching mission by extending it

to the rest of the army. At the time when Ian Khama left the BDF, over 1000 soldiers were dispatched into the country's national parks and game reserves. The defense force has been able to thwart mega-fauna poaching within the country (Henks, 2005, 2007). Furthermore, the BDF disciplined and pervasive presence has "re-established a perception of security among a population once very sensitive to armed poachers and among a jittery tourist clientele" (Henks, 2005, p. 281; see also Mogomotsi and Madigele, 2017). Henks (2007) has lauded the BDF anti-poaching as a success model on how to deal with poaching, with Botswana being labelled as a safe haven for wildlife. Furthermore, Botswana has been ranked number one in the world for its efforts towards conserving mega-fauna (Lindsey et al., 2017).

The spikes in rhino poaching in Southern Africa between 2008 and 2016 provided a fertile ground for the Ian Khama government to intensify its efforts in anti-poaching. Neighboring countries were hard hit by poachers, with South Africa leading the pack. In 2008, 83 rhinos were poached in the Kruger National Park with numbers reaching 1,215 in 2014 and slight decline to 1,175 in 2015 (Mathieson, 2016). Namibia and Zimbabwe lost 80 and 50 rhinos respectively (Mathieson, 2016). With the proliferation of rhino poaching in neighboring countries, especially South Africa, efforts were made by the government and the private sector to relocate rhinos from densely populated areas that are attracting poaching to Botswana where poaching is virtually non-existent. Botswana is seen as a country in which rhinos have a safe haven (Interview, Botswana National Rhino Coordinator, 5th May 2018). By the end of 2017, Botswana had received over 200 rhinos which were sent out into the wild in the Okavango Delta (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). The translocation of rhinos to Botswana meant that the country could become the next hit by poachers (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). In 2012, Ian Khama asserted that:

Recently, we have learnt with alarm of the senseless and tragic destruction of rhinos by poachers in South Africa, where last year alone more than 400 rhinos were killed by poachers and poaching continues to date. We are also aware that these poachers are now eyeing Botswana rhinos as their next target. It has come to our attention that some have dispatched a covert expedition into Botswana to locate rhinos for poaching operations. We have responded by adopting measures which include the declaration of such individuals prohibited immigrants. We are and will continue to use our security forces to protect our rhinos and general wildlife. They should be warned that coming

into Botswana to poach would be a very high-risk undertaking. This is a warning that in this country, wildlife protection is a national priority (Sunday Standard, 2012).

With its economy dependent on only a few main sectors (including high-end tourism), the Botswana state has made it its explicit purpose to protect these sectors at (nearly) all costs. As the president, Ian Khama strengthened anti-poaching efforts by deploying additional law enforcement agencies in conjunction with the BDF and DWNP. At the time of doing fieldwork in March 2019, the security agencies involved in wildlife protection included: the DISS, Botswana Police Service (BPS) and Botswana Prisons Services (BPS). Each security agency has been attached to a different national park and game reserves across the country with the BDF mostly securing the northern conservation estate, Okavango Delta and Chobe National Parks¹⁵. The DWNP anti-poaching unit (APU) were staffed, trained and armed with military grade (arms) weapons. The DWNP were brought in for a specific reason, to protect and ensure the safety of relocated rhinos in the wilderness areas of Okavango Delta (Interview, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). A specialised para-military protection and intelligence gathering unit, the Elite Rhino Squad was set up in 2014 within the DWNP. An estimated 48 million Pula (\$5 million) was set aside for acquisition of equipment and training of personnel in the unit (Bloomberg, 2015). Minister of Environment, Tshekedi Khama stated that:

The harder we hit back, the less motive they have. It's about hitting back harder than what they hurt us with (cited in Bloomberg, 2015).

The Ministry of Environment appointed a former military man, Major General Otisitswe Tiroyamodimo as the director of DWNP. The appointment of Tiroyamodimo was motivated by his military background and experience in anti-poaching whilst in the BDF (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). Ian Khama noted that:

the wildlife department needed to be more of a disciplined organization as compared to the past because of the kind of para-military operations they are conducting. As such some kind of regimentation needed to be imposed in DWNP.

¹⁵ For security reasons, I was unable to get details regarding deployment of security agencies in national parks, that is where each security agency has been deployed.

As a rule of engagement, the government of Botswana implemented an unwritten controversial shoot to kill policy, targeting suspected poachers. The policy aims to deter suspected poachers from entering Botswana (Mogomotsi and Madigele, 2017). Tshekedi Khama claims that:

The policy is meant to send a clear message to say if you want to come and poach in Botswana one of the possibilities is that you may not go back to your country alive.

Tshekedi Khama made it clear that poachers should carry their identity cards so that in the case of confrontation they could notify their next of kin. The policy is considered as the most aggressive step towards wildlife conservation. Critics have argued that such policy is lethal as it violates the right to life as poachers are denied the legal process to prove their innocence (Neumann, 2004). Shoot to kill is often applied when the threat is high, so one shoots to kill in order to protect themselves. Mogomotsi and Madigele (2017, p. 55) are of the view that shoot to kill is justifiable as per the constitution of Botswana. They argue that:

The shoot to kill policy is arguably justified in terms of Section 4(2)(d) of the constitution, which provides that a person shall not be regarded as having been deprived of his or her life in contravention of Section 4(1) of the constitution if he or she dies in order to prevent the commission by that person of a criminal offence, or if he or she dies as the result of a lawful act of war.

The anti-poaching operations of the BDF has in the past increased border tensions between Botswana and Namibia. Media reports indicated that 30 Namibians and at least 22 Zimbabweans have been killed in Botswana anti-poaching operations in the last two decades (Mail and Guardian, 2016). This scenario led to a simmering relation between Namibia and Botswana. The two countries have had territorial disputes with regards to the ownership of Sedudu/Kasikili Island in which both countries claimed ownership of the island. The disputed island was given to Botswana by the International Court of Justice. Next, I discuss the recentralisation of power in wildlife governance under the administration of Ian Khama.

5.5 Recentralization of power in wildlife governance

In this section I pay attention to how Ian Khama's government expanded or recentralized state power in the wildlife sector. As noted in the previous chapter, Botswana implemented decentralized approaches to wildlife management in the form of CBNRM in 1989 under the leadership of President Masire. CBNRM devolves authority and power over natural resources to local communities. It allows communities the autonomy to make decisions regarding the use of natural resources such as wildlife in their locality. However, in the last decade wildlife governance has been dominated by top-down approaches where decision making has been taken by the state. Poteete and Ribot (2011) calls this 'repertoires of domination' which is defined as "sets of routine claims making actions available to actors as they seek to gain, expand or defend positions of dominance vis-à-vis particular types of actors" (p. 440). The recentralization of power was evident under the leadership of Ian Khama through government decisions to allocate resource royalties in the national green fund and presidential decrees to suspend hunting and establish the tourism land bank.

5.5.1 National green fund

Under Ian Khama's presidency, the government of Botswana established a consolidated green fund commonly known as the National Environment Fund (NEF) in 2010. The fund was set up to finance community-based conservation projects related to environmental protection, sustainable use of natural resources, climate change mitigation and adaptation, waste management and pollution control country wide (Interview 66, MENT official, 22 July 2018). It is meant to ensure access to enough resources to maintain and enhance environmental-related activities, especially where they concern civil society involvement (MFDP, 2013). The green fund is not unique to Botswana. Countries such as South Africa have established similar funding initiatives which aims to transform the country's economy towards a green economy by investing in innovative projects that will help realise a low-carbon, resource-efficient and climate resilient future (Molewa, 2017). The fund also assists South Africa in achieving its international commitment, particularly the sustainable development goals (SDGs).

Botswana's NEF evolved from parliamentary debates on CBNRM policy in 2007. Botswana legislators mostly from the BDP criticized the government of Botswana for limiting wildlife beneficiation to local communities participating in CBNRM initiatives. Benefits from wildlife were seen as analogous to diamonds to be shared equally by the nation. As shown in Chapter

4, diamonds have been critical for Botswana's post-colonial development as the nation's mineral reserves were used to drive economic growth and development for the country rather than benefit communities in which the diamond deposits were found (Poteete, 2009; Hoon, 2014). During the CBNRM policy debate, one of the BDP Members of Parliament, Hon. Botsalo Ntuane argued that:

any legislation that promotes separate ownership of natural resources only serve to sow the seeds of national discord. Any semblance of separate ownership and preferential treatment, no matter how well meant, is injurious and engenders a sense of injustice. Agitators who resent having to share resources on equal terms with everyone will be provided with enough reason to preach the gospel of resource chauvinism (cited in Hoon, 2014, p. 61).

Through this debate, the BDP members of parliament sought to reinforce their political agenda of national beneficiation from natural resources that has contributed to the development of the country hence calling for the centralisation of CBNRM rents. CBNRM contradicted the fundamental national building ideals of Botswana where all-natural resources regardless of where they are located should benefit all citizens rather than a section of citizens where resources are found (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). This means that the BDP politicians wanted CBNRM benefits to be treated the same as diamonds without considering the challenges that local communities experience in managing wildlife. For instance, local communities are involved in day to day conflict with wildlife, as one of the respondents noted "wildlife kills us, it destroys our crops" as opposed to diamonds that do not pose any threat to human life. However, the debates called for the recentralization of wildlife rents from CBOs through the CBNRM Policy of 2007. This policy became more pronounced under the administration of Ian Khama. The CBNRM policy became more of rent-seeking with the state taking a larger share of revenue (65 percent) generated by local community-based organisation (CBOs) and 35 percent retained by the CBOs. The 65 percent share is then distributed nationally for conservation projects through the NEF. It should be taken into account that the criteria for the ratio is unknown. Since its establishment the NEF has provided support to a total of thirty-seven projects with a total of US\$ 2,899,066.47 (GoB, 2018).

5.5.2 Suspension of trophy hunting

The year 2014 marked a significant shift from sustainable utilisation to a preservationist approach in wildlife conservation practice in Botswana. During his state of the nation address in November 2013, President Ian Khama announced an indefinite suspension on hunting in all controlled hunting areas save for private land with effect from 1st January 2014 (BNARS, 2013). Many argue that the hunting ban was a presidential directive with no consultation with the affected stakeholders (LaRocco, 2016; Mbaiwa, 2018; Interview 51, Senior Wildlife Official, 11th July 2018). The reasons for the hunting ban are many (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). Firstly, hunting did not generate as much money compared to photographic tourism as hunting is seasonal whereas photographic tourism runs throughout the year. Lindsey (2010) argues that hunting generates 15% of tourism revenues from only 1% of tourist arrivals, making it one of the lowest forms of tourism in Botswana. Additionally, safari hunting contributed 0.13% to Botswana's GDP. In terms of job creation, hunting employs less people in comparison to photographic safaris.

Secondly, it was implemented to deal with poor hunting controls and ethics by hunters. Khama is of the view that hunters abused the system of quotas by exceeding the animal quota's given to them. They hunted more animals than what they were allocated thus threatening wildlife populations. In addition, hunters who had concessions in proximity to protected areas tended to lure wildlife into their concessions with provision of water and food in order to attract animals with high trophy qualities. Countries such as Kenya banned hunting in 1977 due to poor hunting controls and ethics on the part of the hunting industry that contributed to wildlife decline (Outoma, 2004; Lindsey et al., 2006). Overhunting and corruption were alleged in Kenya's hunting industry (Booth, 2005). Lastly, the hunting ban was meant to prevent confrontation between hunters and the BDF anti-poaching units. Ian Khama (Interview 78, 4th March 2019) noted that:

There was a situation whereby if you had to do anti-poaching as we were and you had hunters shooting all over the place the people on the ground did not know whether the shots they are hearing on the ground are coming from poachers or legal hunters. So, you had a situation whereby and it happened when I was in the BDF where hunters were confronted because people thought that they were poachers so to avoid an ugly situation like this it was designed to do that.

The official justification given by the government was that there was an observed decline in wildlife populations of some species. Elephant Without Borders (EWB) argued that the wildlife population in Botswana has been decimated by hunting, poaching, human encroachment, habitat fragmentation, drought and veld fires (Chase, 2011). Chase argued that 11 species declined by an average of 61% since 1996. This included ostrich numbers (declined by 95%), wildebeest (by 90%), tsessebe (by 84%), warthogs and kudus (by 81%), and giraffes (by 66%). A ministerial press release statement indicated that the decision came into effect due to the “realization that the shooting of wild game purely for sport and trophies is no longer seen to be compatible with either our national commitment to conserve and preserve local fauna or long-term growth of the local tourism industry” (MEWT, 2013). In keeping with international trend, the government argued that the ban will facilitate the sustainable growth of the tourism sector, as hunting zones are converted into photographic areas (MEWT, 2013). With the resultant move to photographic tourism, Botswana was to attract ethical tourists to complement the high cost low volume tourism model. The ban on hunting received wide applause within the international conservation community. Animal rights and welfare groups were of the view that hunting ban would save wildlife species as they consider hunting to be immoral and that it pushed species further towards extinction (Lindsey et al., 2006).

Despite many international accolades, the decision was highly contested by hunting safari operators, academics and local communities. For hunting safari operators, hunting is a conservation tool that facilitates the maintenance of biodiversity as well as a human-wildlife conflict mitigation measure (Lindsey et al., 2006; Interview 18, Trophy hunting safari operator, 11th May 2018). In addition, hunting was practiced in marginal low-density areas where photography was not viable (Interview 18, Trophy hunting safari operator, 11th May 2018). Academics questioned the credibility of the EWB survey, citing deficiencies in the methodology. Botswana had not carried out a wildlife census since 2005. For local communities, trophy hunting was a crucial component of CBNRM that generated a substantial amount of money. Therefore, the hunting ban shaped the relations between the state and its citizens in that it altered the pro-community CBNRM approach and led to loss of income and jobs for local communities as I shall show in Chapter Six (LaRocco, 2016; Mbaiwa, 2018; Blackie, 2019). Local communities that relied on hunting for income were encouraged to convert to photographic tourism.

Critics saw the ban as politically motivated arguing that it sought to safeguard the interests of Ian Khama in the non-consumptive tourism business to which he is highly connected (LaRocco, 2016; Interview 18, Trophy hunting safari operator, 11th May 2018). Local media reports (Sunday Standard, 2017) claim that Ian Khama made the decision to suspend hunting at the instigation of Wilderness Safaris and National Geographic filmmaker, Dereck Joubert, with whom he shares same photographic tourism business interests. Khama is a shareholder in wilderness safari and is also a close acquaintance of Dereck Joubert. President Ian Khama awarded both Wilderness Safaris and Joubert the Presidential Order of Meritorious Service in 2015 for their role in wildlife conservation in Botswana. He also maintained tight control over MENT by appointing his younger brother as the Minister. A trophy hunting safari operator (Interview 18, 11th May 2018) commented that they had privileged access to political power hence they were able to influence him. The photographic tourism industry is controlled by a small, white and foreign elite, but alliances are growing between this group and the traditional Tswana elite (i.e. the bureaucratic, business and political elite) (see Swatuk, 2005).

5.5.3 Tourism Land Bank

The move towards non-consumptive tourism marked the beginning of the controversial Tourism Land Bank. In January 2014, the Ministry of Lands and Housing (MLH) issued a savingram directing the reservation of forty-four (44) tourism sites to MENT. The savingram (MLH 1/11/11 (23) stated that:

Acting in accordance with the provisions of the Tribal Land Act, Section 11 Sub Section 2, His Excellency the President has directed some tourism sites be transferred to the central government with immediate effect (MLH, 2014).

Historically the concept of the land bank was initially developed to rehabilitate abandoned land that no private party would take on or perhaps because of unpaid taxes or contamination. In Botswana, the most aesthetically appealing and productive areas of tourism land countrywide are reserved for foreign direct investors. The tourism concessions were transferred from Land Boards¹⁶ to the parent Ministry of Lands and Housing. The reserved tourism concessions were

¹⁶ Land Boards are elected bodies that are responsible for administration and equitable allocation of land resources for various developmental activities.

then given to the Ministry of Environment, with BTO becoming the champion of the land bank, an unpopular move deemed by some as a violation of Botswana's land administration (Interviews 26, Regional wildlife officer, 23rd May 2018; 21, TLB official, 18th May 2018; see Blackie, 2019). Ian Khama argues that the land bank was meant to speed up or facilitate the development of the tourism sector through the maintenance of an adequate and constant supply of land for tourism activities (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019).

Prior to the implementation of the Land Bank, tourism concessions were put out to tender by the land boards. Interested stakeholders would submit proposals and management plans to land boards and a rigorous process of evaluation conducted by an independent panel of experts who did not know the identity of the tender. Recommendations were then made to the relevant land board which made the final decision on allocation (more discussion on this in Chapter Six). The allocation was based on merits of the proposals. Where a concession belonged to local communities, the local community trust would become part of the evaluation process. As I will show in Chapter Six, the local community trust would sub-lease the concession to a potential investor who in return will pay a fee for utilizing the concession.

With the advent of the Land Bank, BTO retained the decision-making power in the administration of tourism land concessions to foreign investors and tourism multi-national companies. As discussed in Chapter Four, this agency was created for marketing Botswana's tourism to the international community and to facilitate enterprise development of ecotourism in Botswana. The presidential Tourism Land Bank meant that they had an additional role in allocating tourism concessions countrywide which were previously allocated by the Tribal Land Boards. Some local community concessions such as those owned by Mababe and Sankoyo were respectively withdrawn from these communities without consultation with the communities (Interview 44, Sankuyo Chief, 4th July 2018). The rights of communities to negotiate with an investor of their choice were taken away; forcing them to accept whichever investor the BTO chose for them (Interview 22, Executive member Sankuyo Trust, 21st May 2018; see Chapter Six). When asked why BTO is in control of concessions, Ian Khama argued that:

The land boards do not understand how the tourism business works. BTO has the knowledge on the tourism industry so they can monitor and police the operators something that land boards lack (Interview 78, 4th March 2019).

Ian Khama is of the view that land boards gave tourism operators short term leases which caused a lot of insecurity in the tourism industry as operators did not know whether their lease would be renewed when it expires. According to the Tawana Land Board (TLB) official (Interview 21, 18th May 2018) regulations allow for tourism concessions to be leased to operators for 15 years. Private safari operators in the photographic industry claim that the 15-year period is short as the logistics and administration to set up a tourism enterprise in the wild is expensive. Furthermore, it is claimed that the reinvestment of profits in wildlife concessions is constrained by the 15-year leases (Interview 78, Ian Khama, 4th March 2019). A decision was taken for BTO to award tourism operators longer leases of up to 30 – 50-year leases.

One respondent noted that in certain instances the Minister of Environment often renewed leases of multi-national tourism companies without any challenges. Tshekedi Khama as Minister of Environment and young brother to Ian Khama micro-managed the BTO (Interview 23, Tourism consultant, 20th May 2018). BTO reported directly to Tshekedi Khama, thus he was able to influence the day to day operations of the organization. As the minister, he was responsible for appointing the board of directors and the Chief Executive Officer (CEO). It is understood that BTO operated without board of directors since April 2015. The board of directors is the only governing body of BTO and should be responsible for all the decisions and can only engage the minister for guidelines (BTO Act, 2009). As it stands, it is extremely difficult for indigenous Batswana to get into luxury safari tourism. A standard lease agreement contains a right of refusal clause which gives the incumbent tenant the right to match the price of a third-party vying to replace him/her in a concession area. If the tenant's lease is not renewed and must vacate the site, s/he has to be fully compensated for infrastructural developments that in most cases would have been carried out over an extremely long period of time at a prohibitive cost. Therefore, extending the lease period would mean that the tenants spend more money making it even more difficult for citizens to replace them.

The Tourism Land Bank has the potential to favor or open possibilities for land accumulation by billionaires and tourism multi-nationals. In March 2018, media reports allegedly indicated

a desire by MENT to allocate lucrative tourism land to British billionaire Richard Branson (Serite, 2018). Earlier that month, Branson had made a courtesy visit to President Ian Khama, after which an instruction was issued to the Tawana Land Board (TLB) officials directing them to allocate Branson some portion of land in Moremi Game Reserve (Interview, 22, TLB official, 18th May 2018). The TLB official said:

we did not do as we were instructed by the Minister of Environment and the Minister of Lands and Housing because we had to follow the due procedure as per the Tribal Land Act. You should note that Moremi Game Reserve is tribal land hence we needed to consult first with the BaTawana chieftaincy. Again, we did not understand why they wanted the deal to be done before the 1st April 2018.

It is claimed that Tshekedi Khama (Minister of Environment) and Prince Maele (Minister of Lands and Housing) travelled to Maun from Gaborone to try to convince the TLB officials to allocate a prime concession to Branson before President Ian Khama vacated the office in 1st April 2018 (Interview 22, TLB official, 18th May 2018). Upon their return to Gaborone, four land board officials were dismissed from work by Maele on the 29th March 2018 for declining to allocate land to Branson. The allocation of sites to multinationals and billionaires will further contribute to high revenue leakages (Mbaiwa, 2005). As it stands, the tourism industry is mainly in the hands of foreigners who take over 70% of earnings (Mbaiwa and Hambira, 2020). The recentralization of tourism concessions can be attributed in part to the government of Botswana's intention to consolidate the high cost low volume tourism model in which the country is marketed and branded as offering a unique wilderness product that appeals to the international community. To achieve this, there was a need to establish such an instrument that would attract foreign direct investment into tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta because private companies often have the financial and technical skills that could complement the high cost low volume model that Botswana promotes. In other words, they have the means to implement technological innovation that minimizes environmental impacts while at the same time promoting economic growth whereas local communities do not possess such capacity.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the transformation of the state in Botswana under the presidency of Ian Khama, a crucial moment in the consolidation of Botswana as a green state. The chapter has demonstrated the ways in which Khama defined state authority over wildlife thereby deepening the greening of the state. The chapter affirms that resource governance is embedded within the politics of the state. This means that resource governance is often a mirror image of the state. The militaristic outlook of the president Ian Khama aided militarisation of the state, wildlife conservation and recentralization of state power in wildlife governance.

Green militarization, an attempt to enforce the green agenda constituted a very important element in the greening of Botswana. The intensification of green militarization came at a time when the world was facing an international crisis in environmental crime as a result of increased commercial wildlife poaching that threatened the survival of mega charismatic species. Commercial poaching also threatens the security and economy of the country. With Botswana highly dependent on tourism for its economy, it was not surprising that the Botswana government under the leadership of former military head Ian Khama intensified its efforts to protect the country's environmental assets.

The Botswana state has revealed authoritarian leanings in wildlife conservation through government decisions to allocate resource royalties in NEF; the presidential decision to suspend hunting and establish tourism land bank. These decisions are illustrative of Ian Khama's centralized and personalized decision making in resource management (Hoon, 2014). This is characterised by lack of engagement with local stakeholders and the reluctance to devolve power because it would mean leaving highly lucrative industry in the hands of the local people. These decisions and the attendant shifting of authority have not only reduced local autonomy over wildlife but have also opened new avenues for tourism private sector dominance in the wildlife sector. The next step is to show through a case study of Khwai how relationships between the state and its citizens are shaped through the medium of tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta.

Chapter Six

State-citizen relations in the wildlife sector

6.1 Introduction

The transformation of the state of Botswana has brought various changes in wildlife governance and forged new relations between the state and its citizens at the local level, where control and access to natural resources is fiercely contested. This chapter demonstrates how the process of greening is entrenched in tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta and how this in turn shapes state-citizen relations. Tourism concessions are units of economic production and control leased out by the government of Botswana to local communities and the private sector for profit making either for consumptive or non-consumptive use. Concessions in the Okavango Delta conform to a business model that promotes profit making and the protection of the environment simultaneously. In this regard, a tourism concession is an important model that the state has put in place to practice and enforce the green agenda that ensures capital accumulation. This process is dependent on the protection of environmental assets from exploitation by locals. For instance, concessions place restrictions on land use: they forbid the creation of new settlement, cultivation, and keeping of domestic animals. This way, they are instrumental for the greening of the state at the local level. The greening process in the Okavango Delta unfolds in two main ways, namely, i) the participation of local communities through the CBNRM programme and ii) the involvement of the private safari tourism operators.

The CBNRM initiative considers local communities as important agents in implementing the green agenda in far-flung remote areas. Local communities facilitate the greening process by embracing the programme as important for the sustainable use and management of resources and generating socio-economic benefits such as eco-based revenue, jobs, and infrastructure. Local communities are targeted for implementing the green agenda through CBNRM because they are often considered as a site of least resistance for at least two reasons. First, there is no mobilised civil society in far-flung areas that can fight for the rights of local communities if government undermines them. Second, CBNRM brings rewards to local communities to entice them to agree to practice the green agenda with the promise that they will generate profits if they sustainably manage the resources. Thus, CBNRM is part of the nation-wide business model that promotes profits and environment protection. The private sector is there to reinforce the green agenda because locals do not always have enough financial resources to implement

the latest technological innovation that minimises environmental impacts on a fragile ecosystem such as the Okavango Delta.

The emergence of the green state is not without contradictions. Craig (2018, p. 1) noted that the state is a paradoxical force for and against ecological crisis in that it pursues domestic and global environmental policies while it also seeks to “reestablish profitable models of capital accumulation and economic growth”. The central government often wants to develop local communities who are located in fragile environments such as the Okavango Delta. The development paradigm has the potential to harm the resources that are important for greening the state. In Botswana, these contradictions played out through the marginalization of local people in the ecotourism enterprise, which has created tension between the state and local communities in the Okavango Delta. The tension is caused by state resistance to decentralise control of financial rewards in wildlife management from the state to its citizens as well as the recentralization of control in allocation of tourism concessions in the Delta. This has limited the autonomy of local communities in decision making and opened new avenues for private sector accumulation. This is typical of the consequences of state-driven greening processes in the Global South, where they are not able to deliver environmental justice. It is important to note that developed countries do not have to deal with such contradictions hence they are able to prioritize environmental justice.

This chapter consists of three substantive sections. In the first part of this chapter, I demonstrate the ways through which the process of greening has unfolded at the local level within the context of CBNRM and private sector involvement in concessions in the Okavango Delta. The second part of the chapter explores how community concessions through CBNRM mediate the relations between the state and its citizens using the case study of Khwai village in the Okavango Delta. I do so by exploring the shifting of authority in allocating user and management rights in NG19, a tourism concession area awarded to Khwai Development Trust (KDT) by the Tswana Land Board (TLB) in 2002.

6.2 The greening process in tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta

In this section I focus on how greening of the local level is achieved in tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta. To facilitate the protection of environmental assets and green growth, the government of Botswana has adopted two instruments namely, CBNRM programme and

private sector involvement. The government of Botswana has divided concessions into various forms of wildlife utilization – multipurpose, consumptive or non-consumptive use (Interview 60, Senior DWNP Official, 20th July 2018). These concessions are leased out to either local communities under the CBNRM programme or private tourism safari operators by the relevant land authority. Where a concession is situated on communal land, the respective regional tribal land board becomes the appropriate land authority and usage rights are provided for by the Tribal Land Act of 1968 (amended in 1993). Tribal land in Botswana is communally owned hence it is held in trust for communities by a regional tribal land board. For instance, communal land in the Okavango Delta is held in trust by the Tawana Land Board (TLB). As such TLB is responsible for granting resource use leases to the various stakeholders in the Delta. Concessions on state land, are granted by the central government through the Department of Lands. For identification purposes, concession areas are given codes depending on where they are situated in the country. For instance, in the Okavango Delta concessions are given NGs (Ngamiland) as their code; those in Chobe region is CHs, Kgalagadi is KD (see Figure 6.1). The instruments to achieve the green agenda are discussed further below.

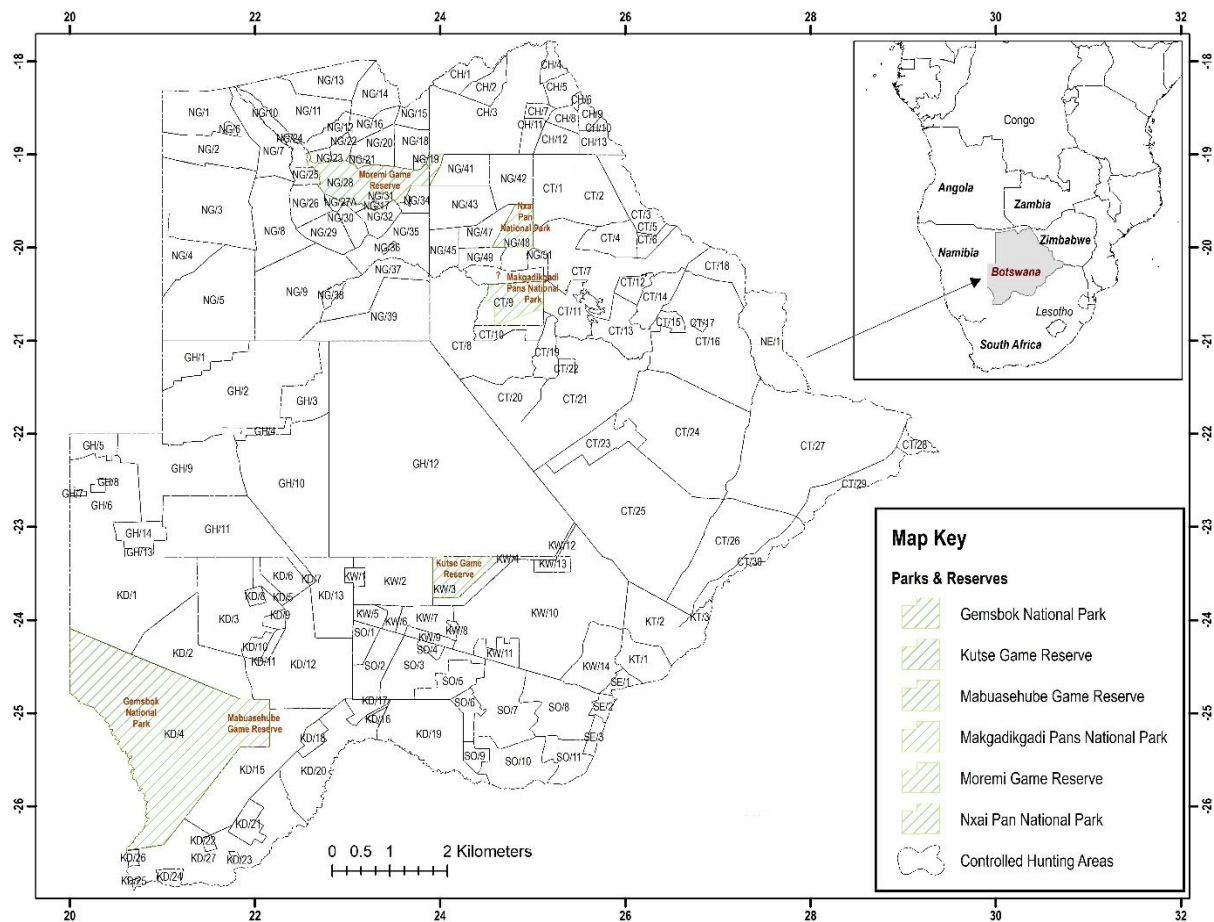


Figure 6.1: Map showing concessions in Botswana (Source: Okavango Research Institute, 2019)

6.2.1 Greening the Okavango Delta through the CBNRM programme

CBNRM in Botswana was implemented as part of the global move from fortress conservation that had alienated local communities from natural resource use and beneficiation. Here, CBNRM involves devolution of power and authority to manage wildlife from central government to local communities in the Okavango Delta. The model predicts that if communities are given management responsibility over their local natural resources and obtain socio-economic benefits, they will be encouraged to use these resources sustainably so that both conservation and rural development goals can be achieved simultaneously. This means that local communities are critical agents in facilitating the greening process at the local level with the promise that they will derive socio-economic rewards such as income, jobs and infrastructure that will enable them to uplift their livelihoods. In Botswana CBNRM was externally implemented by donor agencies in 1989 (cf. Chapter Four). There are other similar initiatives taking place in Eastern and Southern Africa such as the Communal Area

Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe, conservancies in Namibia and wildlife management areas (WMAs) in Tanzania.

For communities to implement the green agenda and enjoy the financial rewards that comes with CBNRM they must have a community trust. A community trust is a legal institution that represents and safeguards the interests of their community in sustainable wildlife use and management. The setting up of a community trust is facilitated by the technical committee comprising of representatives from the land board, DWNP and the district council. The community trust is legally governed by the constitution and must show proof of fair representation and accountability (Cassidy, 2000; Rozemeijer, 2009). A board of trustees is elected to represent the community and carry out day to day CBNRM activities on behalf of the community. The general membership of the trust consists of all members of the village/s that wish to be part of the CBNRM programme. Some examples of community trusts in the Okavango Delta include but are not limited to Khwai Development Trust (KDT), Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT), Mababe Zokotshana Development Trust (MZDT) and Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust (OKMCT) which represents several villages.

Once a community trust is formed, the community is granted a 15-year resource lease over a concession in their respective communal land by the Tawana Land Board (TLB). For instance, Khwai Development Trust (KDT) has been granted a resource lease for concession area NG18 and NG19. The resource lease specifies the rights and responsibilities of the lease holder. The resource lease does not confer ownership over the land but rather it gives exclusive rights to use a concession area for commercial purposes to earn profit and protect the environment (Rozemeijer, 2009). In addition, the community trust must prepare and implement a management and land use plan for the area, which must be acceptable to government.

Once the resource lease has been granted by TLB, the community can be awarded a wildlife quota for hunting purposes by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) based on the annual animal census data. Although local communities used to comment on the draft quota, they do not have control over the final wildlife quota. It is for this reason that Arntzen et al. (2003) argue that in 2002 communities stopped commenting, as their comments were rarely incorporated. Legally, the community decides how to use the quota. The trust may choose to directly manage and use wildlife, sell or auction access rights to members or non-

members in exchange for cash. The lack of local capacity to run the high-end hunting safaris have forced local communities to tender out the quota to private hunting operators to maximize its income from wildlife.

For photographic tourism concessions, community trusts sub-lease or enter into a joint venture partnership with the private photographic safari operators. The Joint venture partnerships (JVP) guidelines (1999) prepared by the DWNP recommends a 1-1-3-5-5-year contract model. That is, the first and second sub-lease should last for a year, the third for 3 years and fourth and fifth each five year (Interview 49, CBNRM coordinator, 11th July 2018; see Blackie, 2019). The justification for this contract model is to try and protect community trusts from being trapped with an undesirable partner or in an undesirable contract (Gujadhur, 2001; Interview 24, Regional wildlife coordinator, 22nd May 2018). JVPs encourages partnerships that exhibit the correct mix of financial strength, requisite experience and strong empowerment credentials. Through such partnerships, it is hoped that local communities will gain necessary managerial skills that will allow them to run their own community tourism business efficiently. However, it has been noted that the JVP system is weak and that there is no significant transfer of entrepreneurship and managerial skills between safari hunting companies and communities (Mbaiwa, 2015). Instead of being at the forefront of the tourism business in their areas, the trust has been turned into a landlord with no evidence of them becoming owners (Mbaiwa, 2015).

The profits derived by local communities from lease agreements has allowed communities to invest in tourism infrastructure (see Figure 6.2) and provide direct community benefits. Profits have been used to cover funerals and provide funding for scholarships, old age/destitute, small scale business, sports, construction houses for the needy and household dividends. However, there is compelling evidence that CBOs have been plagued by financial mismanagement and abuse of power by the board of trustees (Arntzen, 2003; Thakadu, 2005; Mogende and Kolawole, 2016). For example, in the year 2001 a total of P99,461 and P18,984 could not be accounted by Mababe Zokotshana development Trust and Sankuyo Tshwaraganyo Management Trust respectively (Mulale, 2005; Rihoy and Maguranyanga, 2010). In the Khwai Development Trust (KDT), close to a million pula went missing from the trust account as I shall show in the next section. Often these funds tend to be appropriated by the board of trustees. The reason for this is not far-fetched; CBNRM was foisted on communities, thus

becoming a ‘foreign import’ project (Rihoy and Maguranyanga, 2010; Mogende and Kolawole, 2016), which has not considered the local contexts and systems in place. The board of trustees usually consist of uneducated young people who do not have the necessary skills in business and financial management (see Twyman, 2001, 2020). The lack of financial expertise means finances are misused or inefficiently allocated.



Figure 6.2: Wooden Bridge in a community concession (Source: Author, 2018)

The question to be asked is how do local communities protect environmental assets in their concessions in the Okavango Delta? The protection of environmental assets, namely wildlife and other natural resources such as thatching grass and veldt products have been practiced through the implementation of Management Oriented Monitoring System (MOMS) (Interview 31, Community Escort Guide, 29th May 2018). This a community-based tool that allows information on biodiversity to be collected in a user-friendly, simple and practical manner. It involves the collection of data using an event book and various types of registration cards for recording observations of wildlife. These event books are used by community escort guides (CEGs) who record wildlife sightings, rare and endangered species, mortalities, meat harvesting and problem animals.

CEGs are members of the community who have been employed by community trusts to enforce conservation rules and practices in their respective community concessions. They are trained by DWNP and often conduct routine patrols, anti-poaching and wildlife resource monitoring in their concessions. In hunting concessions CEGs escort hunting safari operators to ensure good hunting controls and ethics from hunters. That means that they ensure that hunters abide by the hunting quota, whereas in photographic concessions, they ensure that photographic activities do not harm the pristine nature of the Okavango Delta either through waste-disposal, off-road driving or any other environmental harmful activities (Interview 31, CEG, 29th May 2018). CEGs are empowered to act in the event that rules are not followed. In case of illegal hunting, they can arrest the culprit and hand the person to the Botswana Police Service (BPS). They have also put signage in their concessions to alert people of what is allowed and not allowed (see Figure 6.3). If a community member fails to observe conservation rules set by the community such a member maybe suspended from deriving benefits from the CBNRM program in their village until such a time an assessment has been made by the trust that the person has redeemed him/herself (Interview 29, Headman, 27th May, 2018). Such measures encourage members of the community to use resources sustainably. Interviews with regional DWNP officials reveal that unsustainable practices such as illegal offtake of species have lowered in areas where CBNRM is taking place. Recorded incidents of illegal hunting declined from a high of 23 in 1998 to 5 in 2006 (Mbaiwa et al., 2011). The case of CBNRM demonstrates that by recognizing local rights to land, the CBNRM program enables communities to police their own resources and enforce the green agenda within their concession area because they have tasted the fruits hence this enhances the greening of the state at the local level.



Figure 6.3: Signage of no poaching in a community concession (Source: Author, 2018)

6.2.2 Private sector concessionaires and their green practices

In this section I pay attention to how the private sector participates in the process of greening through photographic concessions in the Okavango Delta. Photographic tourism concessions for the private sector in the Okavango Delta are administered by the Tawana Land Board (TLB) via a tender system. TLB advertises tenders for concessions in which various companies submit their bids. The tenders are open to all companies that have an interest in managing the respective concession. The bids are evaluated and ranked across a range of criteria including environmental conservation, financial performance, corporate social responsibility by a tender evaluation committee made up of an independent panel of experts (Interview 22, TLB official, 21st May 2018). The system is designed to attract the most competent operators, and to ensure that the local communities, and the country, derive maximum benefit from the use of its resources for tourism. This panel makes recommendations to the TLB which makes the final decisions on who wins the tender. The Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) is charged with the responsibility to attract investments in photographic tourism although their role has been modified to allocate concessions to the private sector under the administration of Ian Khama as I shall show in the next section.

Private sector operators pay concession rental, resource royalty fees, sales tax on accommodation receipts, income tax and per-bed night levy to the central government. Companies leasing the concessions must adhere to strict guidelines designating the use of the leased concession. For example, a concession may be allocated 20 beds and 45 kilometres of game drive roads. This is meant to complement and consolidate the high cost low volume photographic tourism strategy by the government of Botswana. Concession operators pay high annual fees for each vehicle, aircraft and boats used within the area. Private safari operators must empower and employ locals thus reinforcing the policy of involving and benefiting the communities living in and around concessions. They also undertake cooperate social responsibility (CSR). Concessions are evaluated during their concession term about fulfillment of these conditions and overall management practices. Infringement of any of these requirements carries penalties such as non-renewal of the lease.

Private safari photographic operators that operate luxury tourism in the Okavango Delta include Ker and Downey, Desert and Delta, &Beyond, Great Plains, Aberkrombie and Kent and Okavango Wilderness Safaris (OWS) just to name a few. The private sector has been influential in pioneering the use of semi-permanent structures which in principle could be removed at the end of the concession period (i.e. no above ground cement is used) (Interview 23, BTO official, 21st May 2018). A set of greening practices are identifiable in photographic luxury tourism concessions leased to the private safari operators, which is closest to the ecological modernization (EM) ideal of a green state. EM calls for the implementation of the latest eco-friendly technological innovation that minimizes environmental impacts while promoting economic growth. The implementation of such technology requires financial and technical capacity, which the private sector is endowed with. The private safari tourism operators in Botswana have implemented energy efficient technology that minimizes environmental impacts thereby complementing the HCLV tourism model in Botswana. For the purpose of fleshing out some of the identifiable green practices in private safari concessions I draw on examples from Okavango Wilderness Safaris (OWS), a subsidiary of Wilderness Safaris Holdings. OWS is one of the biggest ecotourism companies in Botswana, operating approximately twenty-two (22) luxurious lodges. Wilderness Safaris Holdings operates lodges/hotels in other African countries including Namibia, South Africa, Rwanda, Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Wilderness Safaris prides itself as an ecotourism company dedicated to sustainable tourism.

OWS operations are guided by its 4Cs- commerce, community, culture and conservation. In relation to the protection of the environment, OWS aims to reduce energy consumption and fuel use in all their concessions in the Okavango Delta (Interview 13, OWS official, 11th May 2018). The company has since shifted away from the use of fossil fuels to solar energy in all their lodges and camps. In the past, Wilderness Safaris has been using diesel fueled generators for energy supply which is not environmentally friendly particularly in the fragile ecosystem of the Okavango Delta (Mbaiwa et al., 2018). In 2012 the company decided to use solar energy for the provision of electricity and hot water via solar panels and inverters (see Figure 4; Interview 13, OWS official, 11th May 2018). A representative from OWS noted that:

The un-spoilt wilderness in which we operate is fragile so our footprint has to be light and gentle to minimize any negative impacts that our operations might have on the environment (Interview 15, OWS official, 14th May 2018).

The move away from fossil energy, means that the risk of fuel spillages is avoided in the fragile Okavango Delta. Wilderness Holdings (2015) notes that between 2012 and 2015, it managed to reduce carbon emissions by 16% from 0.097 to 0.081 tons of CO₂ e per bed night. Furthermore, wastewater (sewage and grey water) is treated in an above ground sewage plant ensuring that the water is clean before being allowed to enter the environment. In order to reduce overuse of bottled water, reverse osmosis filtration is done on site to provide guests with high quality water.



Figure 6.4: Solar power system in OWS concession (Source: Wilderness Safaris, 2018)

6.3 SHIFTING ARRANGEMENTS IN ALLOCATION OF CONCESSION AREAS

With increased added financial value in photographic concessions in the Okavango Delta, the state is reluctant to give local communities full ownership of tourism concessions. Instead the Botswana state through the recent presidential policy changes, that is the tourism land bank, aims to reclaim lucrative tourism concessions from local communities. That means that the control of photographic concessions is being reconsolidated under state control with concessions being granted by the central state. The move to recentralize the allocation of concessions away from the tribal land boards to the central state has significantly altered the relations between the state and local communities in the Okavango Delta. The changes happening at the local level are mainly informed by or responsive to the national policy changes. In this section I focus on the shifting arrangements of allocation and control of concession areas in the Okavango Delta. The authority to grant photographic tourism sites underwent a significant transformation in 2014 under the presidency of Lt. General Ian Khama. As discussed in Chapter Five approximately 44 tourism sites countrywide were transferred from the authority of the land boards to the central government in the Ministry of Environment through the presidential tourism land bank. Whilst the hunting ban was in effect, all hunting concessions were converted into photographic concessions nation-wide. Mbaiwa and Hambira

(2020) estimate that a total of 22 hunting concessions in the Okavango Delta were duly converted into photographic concessions.

Previously, concessions in the Delta were under the administrative authority of the Tswana Land board (TLB) but the process changed with the introduction of the tourism land bank as discussed in Chapter Five. The administrative authority for photographic concessions now lies with the Botswana Tourism Organization (BTO) in the Ministry of Environment, an unprecedented move deemed by others as a violation of Botswana's land administration (Interviews 21, TLB official, 21st May 2018, Khwai councilor, 27th June 2018; 24 DWNP regional official, 23rd May 2018). This move by the state as discussed in Chapter Five was to enhance foreign direct investment in wildlife-based photographic tourism, a sector that is already dominated by foreign companies (Mbaiwa, 2005; Mbaiwa and Hambira, 2020). These companies typically have connections to international markets and start-up capital to reinforce the green agenda that local communities do not possess. This translates into 'foreignization of green spaces' in concessions surrounding local community settlements. The replacement of the land board as an authority to administer concessions has caused friction between the state and local communities as I shall show in the case study of Khwai village.

This process of recentralization created tension and intensified hostile relations between the state and local communities and has caused friction between private safari operators and local communities in the Okavango Delta. Some community concessions in the Okavango Delta have been placed in the Land Bank (Mbaiwa and Hambira, 2020). For instance, NG19 for the Khwai community which includes a luxury photographic site has been included in the land bank as I shall show in the next section. The land bank gives BTO the power to sign leases with private operators in community concessions without the involvement of the relevant community trust. With such an arrangement, resource royalties generated from leasing community concessions is directly channeled to the central government through BTO rather than the community. Next, I show how the involvement of the state in CBNRM operations has altered the state-citizen relations in the wildlife sector using the case study of Khwai settlement.

6.4 Evolving state-citizen relations in WMA NG19, Khwai village

I present the case of Khwai to demonstrate how the relationships between the state and its citizens are shaped through the medium of concessions in the Okavango Delta. Khwai settlement is situated in concession area NG19 on the northern part of the Moremi Game Reserve and along the Khwai River (see Figure 6.5). Due to the availability of permanent water in the riverbed, Khwai has been an exceptionally rich area for wildlife. The Khwai community mainly comprises of the Bugakghwe or RiverBushmen people, a *Basarwa* (San) group, one of the most marginalized ethnic groups in Botswana (Taylor, 2000; Good, 2008; Marobela, 2010). There is a long history of evictions of the Basarwa from their ancestral lands to pave way for the protection and conservation of wildlife. As a result of these evictions the government has curtailed their wildlife-based livelihoods (i.e. hunting and gathering) which mainly defines their ethnicity. This has resulted in tense and untrusting relations between the government of Botswana and the Basarwa community. The eviction of marginalized groups is not only unique to Botswana but has also been taking place in other African states. For example, Maasai pastoralists were relocated from the Serengeti National Park, Mkomazi Game Reserve and Ngorongoro Conservation areas in Tanzania (Brockington, 2005), Wameru agro-pastoralists were evicted from Arusha National Park (Neumann, 1998).

The Basarwa of Khwai are no exception to evictions. They were relocated from the Moremi Game Reserve in 1964 (Bolaane, 2004; Mbaiwa, 2005). Taylor (2000) narrates how people's houses were burnt down to make sure that they do not return to the park. An elderly informant of Khwai who was there when the relocation happened explained that:

We were evicted from our land by the government. There was a perception that Basarwa are utilizing wildlife unsustainably, so we were evicted to pave way for protection of wildlife. I do not understand why people kept on saying that we were depleting wildlife but look now wildlife numbers have drastically increased particularly elephants and buffaloes. These animals now continue to threaten our lives and livelihoods. As we speak today, the government and white operators are benefiting more from our deeds. We have always used wildlife in a more sustainable manner, conservation runs in our blood (Interview, 30th May 2018).

Khwai village was established to accommodate the resettled families of Basarwa from Moremi Game Reserve. In the process of their relocation, Basarwa lost access to natural resources within the game reserve. One informant noted that they could enter the park via transit only or as game guides (Interview, Khwai resident, 30th May 2018). Taylor (2006) laments that the government tried several times to relocate Basarwa from Khwai without much success. Since their area is situated in a flourishing WMA, the government “regarded their presence in an area with high wildlife densities on a tourist route as antithetical to wildlife conservation and tourist development” (Taylor, 2006, p. 56). I recall in 2013 when I first visited the Khwai community as a research assistant, rumours circulated around the village that the government of the day was planning another relocation. The relocation from the reserve created tension between the state and the Khwai community.

The relationship between the Khwai community and the Botswana state is further shaped by the presence of private safari photographic operators situated in and around Khwai village. At the time of their relocation to Khwai, NG19 concession area consisted of three prime photographic tourism sites – Tsaro lodge, Khwai River lodge and Machaba lodge – which were leased to private safaris by the land board. Tsaro lodge was eventually given to the Khwai community in 2002 as I shall show in the next section. The presence of safari operators has caused bitterness. It is argued that residents have not come to terms with the game reserve, the area status as a WMA and the presence of safari companies (Bolaane, 2004; Mbaiwa, 2005).

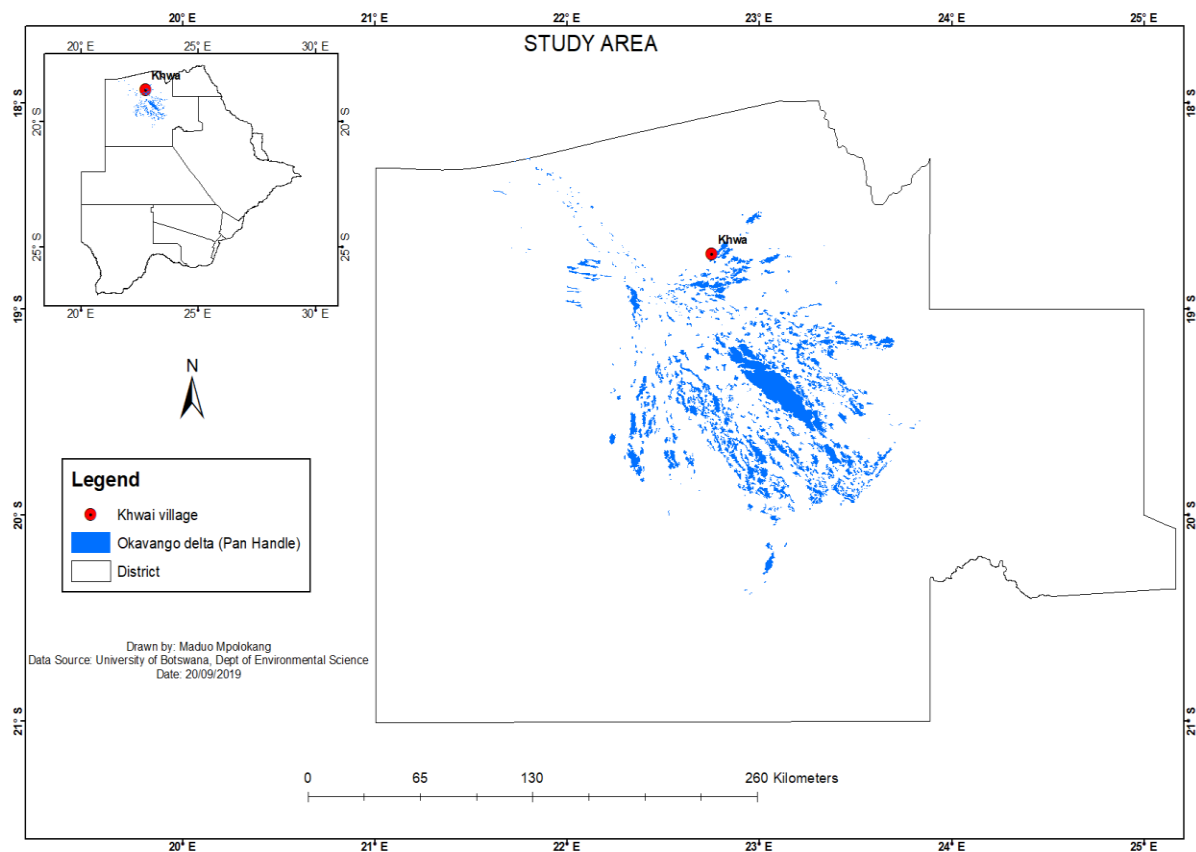


Figure 6.5: Map showing Khwai village in the Okavango Delta

The state-citizen relationship is multidimensional in nature. They border on the political, economic, social and civil spheres. What shapes or defines state-citizen relations in the context of CBNRM is the devolution of power, rights and responsibilities in the management of wildlife resources from the central state to the local communities. This process of devolution of power over resources demands a democratic and accountable government, an engaged and informed citizenry. Therefore, by state-citizen relations I mean moments when the state transfers power and rights over resources to local communities to pursue the green agenda and is dismantled as the result of the behavior of the state. When the state gives local communities power and rights over resources it gives the state legitimacy and a democratic outlook. This creates trust between the state and its citizens as they are able to collaborate together to pursue the green agenda with the promise that local communities will derive profits from the collaboration. When the state takes away that power and rights over the resources through financial costing and recentralization of control over concessions it tears apart the relations between state and its citizens resulting in tension and hostility.

When CBNRM was introduced in the early 1990s, the Khwai community became the first to be approached to participate in the initiative by the national resource management project (NRMP). The low human population of Khwai in relation to wildlife, flourishing wildlife populations and the location of Khwai on existing tourist routes made Khwai appealing for CBNRM (Taylor, 2000, 2006). With these factors, the area was believed to have the highest tourism economic potential (Taylor, 2000; Interviews 50, DWNP official, 11th July 2018; Historian, 24th April 2018). Therefore, the Khwai community was requested to establish a community trust and enter into a JVP with a commercial safari operator, John Calis Hunting safaris who could develop the areas tourism potential and pay royalties to the community (Bolaane, 2004; Taylor, 2006; Interview 50, DWNP official, 11th July 2018). Despite a promising proposal by the implementers of CBNRM, the residents did not agree with the idea. The residents saw the proposal as part of a strategy by government to compromise their access to land. They did not want to relinquish control of their land to an outsider (Interviews 50, DWNP official, 11th July 2018; Khwai headman, 30th May 2018). Therefore, the question of access to traditional land and its resources characterized the Basarwa's response to the government's CBNRM initiative (Bolaane, 2004).

CBNRM presented an opportunity for the Khwai community to claim land rights (Interview 4, Historian, 24th April 2018). With the assistance of the University of Botswana lecturer Dr Emang Gaborone, the community established a land committee, Khwai Interim Management Committee (KIMC) in 1994 (Taylor, 2000; 2006). With much success, they requested the Minister of Local Government and Lands to transfer all NG19 tourism photographic concession sites to the Khwai community (Interview 22, KDT assistant manager, 21st May 2018; Tawana and Chobe Land Board Management Plan, 1996). As alluded to earlier, NG19 consisted of three luxurious photographic tourism sites namely Tsaro lodge, Khwai River lodge and Machaba Lodge which were in the hands of the white safari operators. The Khwai community wanted to gain management rights over the lodges in NG19. The Minister of Local Government and Lands agreed in principle to a phased takeover of the management of the photographic tourism sites in NG19 (Tawana and Chobe Land Boards Management Plan, 1996). The lodge sites were to be transferred over to the Khwai community when their respective leases expired. Tsaro lodge had a lease valid until 2001; Khwai River lodge 2021 and Machaba lodge was operating without a formal lease (Interview 22, KDT assistant manager, 21st May 2018; Tawana and Chobe Land Board Management Plan, 1996).

For the Khwai community to get management rights over tourism sites in NG19, they were requested to form a community trust. However, the formation of the community trust was delayed. The community proposed an exclusive Basarwa community, discriminating against other ethnic groups. This meant that other ethnic groups residing in the village could not participate nor benefit from the trust (Interview, 50 DWNP official, 11th July 2018). This was in reaction to the progressive dispossession they had experienced and a historical process of alienation from political and economic processes by the dominant Tswana groups (Bolaane, 2004; Interview 4, Historian, 24th April 2018). One elderly informant noted that as Basarwa the government of Botswana had never treated them as people (Interview, 30th May 2018). They also saw this as a means of protecting their village from becoming dominated by outsiders (Interview 43, elderly Khwai resident, 30th May 2018). However, their proposal to limit the trust to Basarwa only was ethnically divisive and was denied by the land board and wildlife department hence the delay in registering the trust (Interview 49, CBNRM coordinator, 11th July 2018). As highlighted in Chapter Four the Botswana state under the presidency of Sir Seretse Khama adopted a non-ethnic discriminatory stance. All citizens are Batswana and have the right to apply for land everywhere they wish to. The land board and DWNP advised the community to make the trust inclusive to which they agreed resulting in the formation of the Khwai Development Trust (KDT) in 2000.

Following the formation of KDT in 2000, the wildlife department granted KDT their first annual wildlife quota. Instead of sub-leasing their resource use rights to a joint partner, KDT decided to have full control over their wildlife quota. They conducted an animal-by-animal auction for safari hunters. Boggs (2004) argues that safari hunters were not satisfied with the KDT auction system hence they lowered their bids after the first year. In 2002, KDT decided to auction the entire quota to a single company (Boggs, 2004). It is estimated that KDT generated over P3,000,000 from their commercial wildlife base joint ventures (Taylor, 2000; Mulale, 2005; Mbaiwa, 2005). In addition, jobs were created for residents between 2000 and 2002. However, due to lack of capacity to manage funds, huge sums of money were unaccounted for, mismanagement became pervasive and over P1,000,000 remained unaccounted for in 2003 (Mulale, 2005; Rihoy and Maguranyanga, 2007). I remember in 2013 whilst a research assistant when I attended the KDT annual general meeting, the internal auditor noted that close to half a million pula was misused by the board members of the trust

who claimed unnecessary board meeting sitting and travel allowances. This caused mistrust between the board of trustees and the general membership of KDT. For this reason, DWNP suspended the allocation of the wildlife quota to KDT in 2003. DWNP required KDT to account for mismanagement of funds before a quota could be issued. KDT reported the matter of mismanagement of funds to the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) for investigation (Mulale, 2005).

Prior to the 2004 national elections, things took a different turn. In July 2004, just a month before elections, the Minister of Environment and the new Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) parliamentary candidate for Chobe held a political rally in Khwai (Rihoy and Maguranyanga, 2004, 2010). At the rally, the BDP parliamentary candidate produced a quota and returned it to the community of Khwai. The candidate member of parliament (MP) won the parliamentary seat. Khwai has been under the opposition party. Tactics were used by politicians to manipulate wildlife resources for political gain; the BDP politicians used the wildlife quota to dispense patronage to a local clientele (Rihoy and Maguranyanga, 2010). The politicians used their political power to bring back the quota despite KDT's failure to meet technical bureaucratic requirements of DWNP.

The mismanagement of funds was also taking place in other community-based organisations. The reason for the mismanagement of revenue is not far-fetched. CBNRM was a foreign project that did not consider the conditions of local communities in remote areas. Since CBNRM is based on accumulation of capital to improve the livelihoods of local communities, locals did not have financial and technical skills to manage their operations thus leading to the misuse of funds. The mismanagement of funds became an opportunity for the government of Botswana to reassert control over wildlife, a resource that they never intended to give away to locals in the first place. In 2001, the Ministry of Local Government issued a Savingram directing all revenue to be transferred from community trusts to district councils (Rihoy and Maguranyanga, 2007, 2010). This rent-seeking behaviour by the state was opposed with much success by the National CBNRM forum steering committee. The committee argued that the government had no legal right to instruct legally registered community trusts to transfer their funds to the district councils (Kgathi and Ngwenya, 2005).

However, in 2007 through the CBNRM policy, the government of Botswana eventually managed to recentralise control over wildlife revenue. The government of Botswana infused a 65/35 percent clause, meaning that 35 percent of revenue would be retained by the community trusts whereas 65 percent would be directed to the central government. As noted in the preceding chapter, the 65 percent was placed in the National Environmental Fund (NEF) to be distributed nationally for conservation related projects. It should be noted that local communities were not consulted before this decision was taken by government. Contrary to the objectives of CBNRM that aims to devolve power to local communities, the implementation of the 65/35 percent clause undermines the relationship between the state and its citizens. In the eyes of the locals, the state of Botswana is not democratic and accountable when it comes to management of resources of high value such as wildlife, resulting in distrust between the state and local communities. Rent-seeking behaviour of states in community-based conservation is also taking place in Eastern Africa in countries such as Tanzania. There are similar trends of recentralising control over natural resources cancelling out attempts to support rural livelihoods through devolution of rights to resources (Nelson, 2010; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012; Benjaminsen et al., 2013; Bluwstein et al., 2016).

In 2002, management rights over Tsaro Lodge were eventually transferred to KDT as promised by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (Tawana and Chobe Land Boards Management Plan, 1996). Tawana Land Board (TLB) authorized a 15-year lease to KDT effective 10th January 2002 to 11th January 2017 (Head Lease Agreement between KDT and TLB, 2002). Tsaro lodge is a luxury photographic tourism site covering an area of 5ha. The Lodge is a 16-bed facility with 8 chalets (see Figure 6.7). It is located in the south west corner of WMA NG19 on a plot abutting the northern boundary of the Moremi Game Reserve. Before being given to Khwai in 2002, the lodge was operated by Chobe Holdings (Pty) Ltd. For the first part of this section, I draw on work from Poteete and Ribot (2011) on description of events between TLB and Chobe Holdings relating to arguments for the extension of the lease for Tsaro lodge by the company. The authors have extensively perused the letters from the land board and Chobe Holdings.



Figure 6.6: Tsaro Lodge (Source: Author, 2018)

Before initiating the process to transfer management rights of Tsaro lodge to KDT, the land board gave Chobe Holdings a notice advising the company that their lease would not be renewed when it expires. Despite the notification, the company challenged the decision (Poteete and Ribot, 2011). The company presented their case to national politicians, the TLB and KDT with the aim of getting an extension of the lease from the land board as well as compensation for fixed improvements from KDT (Poteete and Ribot, 2011).

Chobe Holdings engaged then member of parliament who was also part of the cabinet, Jacob Nkate. In their letter to Nkate, the company presented various reasons as to why their lease should be extended. Firstly, the company noted that the 15-year leases for tourism in community managed areas are much shorter than the 50-99-year leases for other commercial sectors. Secondly, the company argued that benevolent landlord would give rights of first refusal to the current leaseholder even in the absence of a legal requirement to do so. Thirdly, they noted that it had invested substantially in refurbishing the lodge. Fourthly, the company claimed that TLB had provided inadequate notice of the termination of the lease (Poteete and Ribot, 2011, p. 442). The company also dismissed KDT as lacking both capacity and authority to make decisions. It nonetheless launched negotiations with the community to get partial compensation for fixed improvements (Poteete and Ribot, 2011, p. 442). However, KDT did not support the proposal.

With these arguments, Chobe Holdings requested the central government to nullify the land board decision to transfer management rights over to KDT. However, their request was unsuccessful with the government upholding the land board decision. Despite the ruling by government, Chobe holdings continued with the day to day operations of the lodge. The

company then argued successfully for a delay in vacating the premises to avoid disruptions for the tourists (Poteete and Ribot, 2011). Poteete and Ribot (2011) claim that the company vandalized the property when they left the lodge as an act of sabotage.

In January 2002, KDT managed to secure management rights over Tsaro lodge. Before they could operate the lodge, KDT was required by the TLB to produce a management plan for the lodge. Six months down the line, the lodge was still not operational. In June 2002, Ian Khama then vice president of Botswana visited Khwai and sought to intervene to get Tsaro lodge operating. Poteete and Ribot (2011, p. 443) argue that Ian Khama “entered the scene as a defender of national interest in keeping tourist facilities operational”. As discussed in Chapter Five, Ian Khama has business interests in the tourism industry in Botswana, with shares in some of the biggest tourism companies such as Wilderness safaris. Ian Khama was of the view that KDT should get into a strategic partnership more of a joint venture with Chobe Holdings to manage the lodge and speed its reopening. In addition, he wanted Chobe Holdings to be given right of first refusal before launching an open bidding process for management of the lodge (Poteete and Ribot, 2011, p. 443).

By 2006, the lodge was still not operating despite the vice presidents attempt to intervene in re-opening of the lodge. Since the lodge was vandalized by Chobe Holdings when they vacated the premises, KDT requested funding from the Global Environment Facility’s (GEF) Small grant program to refurbish the lodge and get it operating. As one ex-member of the board of trustees explains:

We renovated the lodge at a cost P2.5 million with the assistance of UNDP GEF, small grants program. However, the government refused to give us a tourism licence to operate the lodge though they had advised us to re-build the lodge (Interview, 29th May 2018).

The failure to get the lodge operational is attributed in part to the use of bricks and mortar in the construction of the lodge which was initially approved by the Department of Tourism and Department of Environmental Affairs (Interview 22, KDT assistant manager, 21st May 2018; see Figure 6.8). As part of green branding the new regulations for the Okavango Delta Ramsar site (ODRS) encourages concessionaires to build lodges that do not have adverse aesthetic,

ecological or physical impacts. Therefore, concessionaires are only allowed to construct semi-permanent structures without mortar and brick. It is within this context, that the government advised KDT to put the lodge up for a tender so that the company that wins the tender will bear the costs for demolishing it and building a new lodge with semi-permanent structures (Tsaro Lodge tender guidelines, 2014). It should be noted that such structures require massive financial investments that the private sector poses.



Figure 6.7: Tsaro lodge Chalets built with brick and mortar (Source: Author, 2018)

In 2013, KDT approached BTO with the aim of getting assistance from the tourism parastatal in identifying a prospective investor. KDT wanted an investor whom they could trust and enter into a joint-venture partnership to operate the lodge. The ex-board member noted that:

The Khwai community unanimously resolved that their preferred option for operating Tsaro lodge would be to lease it out to an investor. This came also after then President Ian Khama visited Khwai and was very concerned that the lodge was not operating (Interview 27, 29th May 2018).

According to KDT informants, BTO was to shortlist and recommend three companies (Interview 22, KDT assistant manager, 21st May 2018). That means, the role of BTO was to facilitate the tendering process for Tsaro lodge on behalf of the trust. With this arrangement in place, the successful bidder was to enter into a lease agreement with KDT. With a few years remaining on the KDT lease over Tsaro lodge, BTO advised KDT to obtain a new lease from TLB (CEO (503/03/2013))¹⁷. As such KDT wrote a letter to the TLB secretary requesting the lease extension for Tsaro lodge. The letter reads as follows:

The request for lease extension is based on the fact that we are in the process of sub-leasing the lodge and we have been advised that it would be next to impossible to find an interested bidder with the few years remaining on the lease.¹⁸

In response to the letter, the land board resolved that the lease be terminated with immediate effect and the trust be issued with a new tourism lease (TLB/B/11/28 II (80))¹⁹. However, events took a different turn in 2014 with the implementation of the controversial presidential tourism land bank. The tender (tender No. 109/110314/NG19 (2)) for Tsaro Lodge was awarded to Kgori Safaris (Pty) Ltd, a company jointly owned by the BDP politician Jacob Nkate. Instead of recommending Kgori Safaris directly to KDT, BTO recommended the company to the permanent secretary (PS) of Ministry of Environment. The company had attained the highest overall score of 75.64% in the tender evaluation. The trust was represented by the trust accountant who was part of the evaluation committee and the Khwai Kgosi as the observer elected by the community to witness the proceedings. Then PS Neil Fitt awarded Kgori Safaris subject to the company providing proof of consent to source funds, a revised corporate social responsibility (CSR) plan and details on staff welfare in particular staff ablutions (EWTC 6/33/9/1/ 1 (48))²⁰. The existing mortar and brick structures built by KDT were to be decommissioned within 5 years from the time of operation and replaced by semi-permanent structures. This reflects that the government puts its faith in the private sector to reinforce the green agenda since they have the financial power to implement greener conservation practices as compared to local communities.

¹⁷ Copy of BTO letter dated 04th March 2013.

¹⁸ Copy of KDT letter dated 05 March 2013.

¹⁹ Copy of TLB secretary letter dated 28th March 2013.

²⁰ Copy of MEWT letter dated 15th October 2014.



Figure 6.8: Signage of Kgori Safaris at the entrance of Tsaro Lodge

Kgori Safaris signed a new lease for Tsaro lodge with BTO and not KDT even though KDT had a lease running until January 2017. That meant that there were two leases running concurrently. TLB backed out on their earlier promise to get KDT a new lease, forcing KDT to approach the High court for redress. By the time I completed my fieldwork in Khwai village in July 2018 the matter was still at the High court. One executive member noted:

We were told that Tsaro Lodge is now part of the Land Bank hence our lease will not be renewed. We were very shocked because that was not part of the plan when we approached BTO. We do not know anything about this Land Bank. We heard that the operator will only negotiate with the central government and not us (Interview, 29th May 2018).

The Attorney General (AG) representing the land board argued that after KDT notified the TLB of their intention to renew the lease, there was a directive by former president Ian Khama to transfer land used for photographic tourism to the central government through the tourism

land bank in 2014 (Botswana Gazette, 2015). The AG argued that KDT became an active participant in the sub-leasing of NG19. They consented to land being leased to someone else. What worries the community of Khwai is that Kgori Safaris will enter into the lease agreement with the government through BTO. That means, Kgori Safaris will directly pay royalties to the central government and not KDT. With this arrangement, they do not have a say on how things should be conducted on their concession site. To members of the KDT, Tsaro had been hijacked by BTO.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of concessions in greening the state in Botswana. Concessions place high value in profit making and in the protection of the environment. We see the greening of the state in the Okavango Delta which is the case study presented in this chapter in two forms namely the implementation of the CBNRM programme and the involvement of the private sector. Through the devolution of power and rights over wildlife resources, local communities are important agents in rolling out the green agenda on communal land. The devolution of power and rights over wildlife resources by the state to local communities in concessions has created unhealthy relations between the state and its citizens. The case of Khwai village reveals that the concession is not stable. The state is reluctant to give away power and rights over Tsaro lodge to KDT, but this does not come straight but rather through powerful government instrument, the presidential tourism land bank. The presence of BTO and absence of the Tawana Land Board in control of concessions has caused friction between the state and the local community of Khwai. The process of the land bank has deepened the processes of alienation from land and resources that surrounds Khwai, fuelling a source of bitterness in the community. Even if the state is reluctant to give away power and rights over the resource, communities continue to press for the green agenda on their own because they have tasted the profits that comes with managing this high value resource. The case of Khwai hints that the greening process is accompanied by environmental injustice. That is to say that the top down control of concessions by the Botswana state is not a democratic and accountable process. In pushing for a green economy and the greening of the state, the government of Botswana is determined to override CBNRM principles by involving the private sector in community concessions without due processes being followed. This is because the government considers the private safari companies to have financial muscle that enables them

to adopt greener conservation practices that feeds into and complement the high cost low volume tourism model that was adopted in the year 1990.

Chapter 7

Is Botswana a green state?

7.1 Introduction

This study set out to understand the greening of Botswana as a state and how this process unfolded over a long period of time. I deploy the concept of the green state to pay attention to the complex processes that enabled the greening of Botswana as a state through the lens of a changing wildlife conservation policy and practices. I do so by investigating the role of political leaders, that is the presidency, in influencing and shaping the greening of the state between 1966 to 2018, a period that covers the administration of Seretse Khama, Ketumile Masire, Festus Mogae and Ian Khama and how this in turn defines or shapes state-citizen relations in the country. The process of greening in Botswana has been achieved through the wildlife economy. Since independence, environmental protection has transformed environmental governance and significantly contributed to state-building in Botswana.

In this concluding chapter, I revisit the concept of the green state and draw out key insights on the greening of the state using the specific case of Botswana's wildlife sector. The case of Botswana challenges the normative assumptions that informs the debates on the green state which have excluded African states from the analyses of the green state. I begin the chapter by demonstrating the importance of analyzing the greening of the state in terms of processes rather than emphasizing ecological outcomes as put forward by theorists of the green state. I argue that the greening of the state hinges on processes by the which the state interacts with non-governmental organisations, civil society, the private sector and international agencies and regimes to enact environmental reforms aimed at environmental sustainability. Such interaction maybe initiated by the state or by non-state actors who are determined to pursue an environmental agenda or to implement environmental strategies through organs of state institutions. Four key insights are drawn from the greening process of Botswana to summarize the main findings of the study. Firstly, transnational networks are critical in facilitating environmental reforms that consequently leads to the greening of the state. Secondly, the greening of the state entails political processes that shape environmental reforms. Here political leaders are critical agents in the greening of the state. Thirdly, the greening process necessitates the internal restructuring of the state by establishing relevant institutional structures necessary to drive the green agenda. Fourthly, the greening process in Botswana resulted in negative state-citizen relations in the wildlife sector.

7.2 Greening of the state

To facilitate the analysis the green state of Botswana the study applied the theory of the green state to the African context to investigate the ways through which the green state is produced. The theory of the green state considers the state as an agency in fostering environmental sustainability and as a critical instrument for solving environmental problems. The concept of the green state offers us an opportunity to reflect on how the state engages with environmental issues at the national and subnational levels to achieve an ecologically sustainable society. A green state is a state that strives to achieve environmentally sound behavior by aiming for political, economic and institutional change based on ecological rationality (Dryzek et al., 2003). Green state theorists tend to over-emphasize the greening of the state in relation to the environmental outcomes that are measured in economically developed democracies in the Global North.

The focus on environmental outcomes by green state theorists has turned a blind eye to environmental governance and politics in the Global South. In Africa, this omission ignores that countries on the continent are involved in protecting the environment and have also embarked on various environmental reforms. Theorists of the green state are of the view that developing nations do not have attributes that would qualify them to be analysed through the theory of the green state (Sonnenfeld and Mol, 2002; Eckersely and Barry, 2005; Mol, 2016). The lack of attention to the developing world is derived from the strongly held view that states in the Global South have weak, failing or failed state capacity whereas the green state in the Global North is post-materialist and therefore able to pursue environmental justice. Against this backdrop, countries in Africa like Botswana would not qualify to be a green state according to green theorists. As such the normative view that informs much discussions on the green state limits the space for exploring many and varied actions carried out by the state like Botswana and many others in the Global South.

The focus on the ecological outcomes misses out on understanding a crucial aspect in the analysis of the green state, namely the processes that produce the green state. Therefore, I look 'beyond the usual suspects' for the analysis of the green state by paying attention to these processes in the African context using Botswana as an example. These processes are important for understanding state efforts towards addressing environmental challenges. It allows us to understand how green state policies and institutions are formulated, sustained or broken over

time. Furthermore, it helps us to understand the main drivers of and the motives for environmental reforms in a country. In the domain of conservation, African states have embarked on processes of state greening through various strategies such as green militarization, transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) and community-based conservation (CBC). These strategies invoke green discourses within the politics of the state. In addition, the discourses underpin international and multi-lateral agreements to which many African states are signatories.

Environmental discourses and practices in Africa suggest some element of greening taking place on the continent. As we noted in Chapter Two and Four wildlife conservation programs have been driven by the interaction of state and non-state actors and global environmental regimes; suggesting that the green state in Africa is not an autonomous bureaucratic institution. Wildlife conservation has enabled the state to deepen and extend state power particularly in rural Africa, where wildlife resources are located and where state authority has been marginal. Considering this perspective, the greening of the state is not only confined to economically developed countries. The challenge to green theorists is to find various ways and different contexts in which many countries in the Global South are playing their role – however limited this might be – in trying to solve environmental problems.

7.3 Key insights on the greening of the state from Botswana's wildlife sector

Key insights that can be drawn from the greening of Botswana as a state through the lens of wildlife conservation policy and practice include: the convergence of the interests of external and domestic actors towards facilitating environmental reforms, the political processes that shape environmental reforms, and the link between environmental (in)justice and the green state.

7.3.1 Convergence of state and non-state actors in greening the state

Green state theorists have paid less attention to the importance of the interaction between the state and external forces in the production of green states. The case of Botswana demonstrates that the environmental policies the country pursued were not an initiative of government alone, they are instead a product of the interaction between state authorities in Botswana and external actors such as non-governmental organisations, civil society, the private sector and

international interest groups that interacted with the state between 1966 and 2018. Although the state formalizes and administers environmental policy through its agencies, such policy is conceived and shaped through vertical and horizontal networks (Death, 2016a; Johnston, 2017, 2019), where either the state or non-state actors initiate the interaction to pursue an environmental agenda.

The case of Botswana demonstrates that the country would not have embarked on the greening process without the involvement of non-state actors. Non-state actors have significantly influenced and shaped conservation agendas and outcomes that impact on the state whereas the state has provided an enabling policy environment. It is critical to note that the greening process cannot be complete or effective without an enabling policy environment. The changing wildlife conservation policy and practices in Botswana served as a medium for the interaction between domestic and international actors and interventions. In the case of Botswana, environmental agendas of and actions by non-state actors coincided with the state's desire to experiment with and to develop a high cost-low volume (HCLV) tourism model that safeguard the country's environmental assets, namely wildlife and wilderness areas. This model aims at minimizing environmental impacts while at the same time promoting economic (green) growth by attracting few high paying tourists to Botswana's wilderness destinations such as the Okavango Delta. In other words, these are spaces for those who can pay (very handsomely) for the experience.

Non-state actors have influenced the conservation agenda in Botswana in many ways. First, they helped in setting and rolling out conservation ideas as well as financing environmental programmes and providing technical backstopping. For instance, the suggestion for Botswana to adopt the HCLV was initiated by non-state actors at the symposium held by the Botswana Society (cf. Chapter Four). This green conservation ethos was consolidated by the implementation of the Tourism Policy of 1990. In turn, the policy enhanced the regulatory power of the state to protect the pristine and fragile environment in areas such as the Okavango Delta. It is worth noting that this policy has largely been driven by the private tourism sector because they have the adequate financial resources to implement environmental-friendly technological innovation in concession areas, which are instrumental for greening the state (cf. Chapter Six). The discourse and practices of international organizations and global environmental regimes account for the implementation of community-based natural resource

management (CBNRM), which is anchored on the concept of sustainable development. CBNRM emanated from the promotion of decentralized approaches worldwide and was facilitated mainly by external donors such as USAID (cf. Chapter Four). This approach considered local communities to be critical agents in implementing the green agenda at the local level on communal land. The influence of transnational forces can also be gleaned from the creation of the TFCAs. The TFCA initiative in Southern Africa has largely been driven by the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) and contributed significantly to the emergence of a transnational African green state where states cooperate together towards a common goal of managing transboundary natural resources such as wildlife. Botswana is currently part of the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP), the KAZA and the Greater Mapunbungwe TFCA. The idea of TFCA has thus been mainstreamed into the Wildlife Conservation Policy since 2013. For instance, the policy aims to “facilitate the development of TFCAs and other transboundary management initiatives to promote regional integration in conservation and economic benefits” (p. 14).

Second, non-state actors have provided the much-needed data on the status of biodiversity that required the active participation of the state. For instance, the Elephant Without Borders (EWB), a USA linked NGO based in Botswana conducted a wildlife census in 2011 on the status of wildlife populations in the country in conjunction with DWNP, in which they observed a decline in wildlife populations of some species (cf. Chapter Five). Based on the EWB report, the former president of Botswana Ian Khama took the decision to suspend hunting in January 2014. The hunting ban served to promote and further reinforce the commercial interests of the photographic industry which is highly politically connected.

Third, international environmental organisations have directed environmental policy through lobbying, putting pressure on the state to adopt particular environmental plans or strategies. For example, the protection of the Okavango Delta and Botswana’s tourism interest are associated with pressure from Green Peace International and local actors, who saw the move to stop the constructions of dams in the Delta – which were intended to supply water to surrounding areas in the 1980s (cf. Chapter Four) – as a threat to biodiversity and as an economic asset. Green Peace International and IUCN lobbied the government of Botswana to list the Delta as a wetland of international importance in 1996 as well as for its inscription as a world heritage site in 2014.

Fourth, the role of the private sector is not fully acknowledged in the scholarship on the green state yet it plays an important role in driving the green agenda. The case of Botswana demonstrates that the private sector in tourism has significantly influenced and directed the development of luxurious tourism that is dependent on green branding in the Okavango Delta (cf. Chapter Six). The private safari tourism operators have substantially invested in green ideas, green technologies (e.g. solar energy, mobile safari electric car) and programmes that contribute to environmental solutions while at the same time generating wealth. This is because the private sector has the financial capacity to implement technological innovation that tackles environmental problems. The types of technological innovations implemented by the private sector is identical to the ecological modernization type of a state. The implementation of green technologies and programmes has since improved the quality standards of tourism destination in Botswana as well as how such areas are marketed and promoted but also contributed significantly to the GDP of the country (Spenceley and Snyman, 2017). Furthermore, the private sector has enhanced the conservation of rhinos, an endangered species in the Okavango Delta. In collaboration with the state and neighboring states, the private sector has enabled the relocation of the rhinos from South Africa to the Okavango Delta between 2015 and 2017. The influence of non-state actors in Botswana's environmental conservation policies accounts for the variation in the depth of the greening process.

7.3.2 Political leadership in the greening of the state

Analyses of the green state have yet to fully appreciate the role of leadership (green managers) in shaping environmental reforms. This calls for the need to look beyond the technical operation of national agencies, to reflect on the role played by political leaders in promoting green discourses and practices. This is important as the greening of the state entails political processes that shape environmental reforms. State leaders are crucial in that they can facilitate or resist environmental reforms and changes in institutional structures. State leaders authorize policies that in turn impact on the state as well as the international profile of the state. It is widely acknowledged among scholars in international relations, political science and economics that political leadership matters most at times of crisis or when international conditions are fluid or when the economy of the country is in turbulence (Keller and Yang, 2008; Dyson and Briggs, 2017; Mintz and Tal-Shir, 2019). Whenever there is a crisis, citizens look up to the leadership of the country to act decisively. Hence, presidents determine and

shape policies and behavior of states either through the mandate of ruling political parties or by their own initiatives. Ascendancy to state power by a new president or prime minister raises the prospect of changes in policy decisions and the state's approach to environmental questions in part due to differences in personality traits. In addition, political leaders also command public attention, which in turn shapes state-citizen relations.

I contend that political leadership is a critical driver in greening the state. They are part and parcel of the process in that they can strengthen, interrupt, constrain or slow the process of greening. They also articulate the green agenda and have the authority to pursue such an agenda through the organs and structures of the state. The case of Botswana shows that the four presidents, Seretse Khama, Ketumile Masire, Festus Mogae and Ian Khama have been instrumental in shaping wildlife policy that guided the development of the luxurious high-end tourism between 1966 and 2018. Their ideological orientation provided a fertile ground for the greening of Botswana.

The presidency of Ian Khama was a crucial moment in the greening process of the state: he strengthened wildlife policy, realigned the wildlife economy with political power, and profiled the green image of the state in international platforms. This profile is evidenced by the green-related awards he received from environmentally minded organisations and institutions. His presidential decision to temporarily suspend hunting in early 2014 (cf. Chapter Five) was widely applauded by the international conservationists and animal rights groups. However, the decision was not well received by those in the hunting industry and local communities, who have been benefiting from hunting. Writing on his blog about the Kasane conference on illegal wildlife trade, which was attended by 32 countries in 2015, the EU and international NGOs, the British High commissioner to Botswana, Nick Pyle commented that:

The involvement of His Excellency President Khama demonstrated the real African leadership on this issue that the UK was looking for when we launched the illegal wildlife trade initiative in London in February 2014 (2015).

This statement by the British High Commissioner to Botswana demonstrates that the greening process does not work in isolation from the international community. Rather it is shaped by the interaction between the state and the international community as non-state actors. With the

hunting ban in place, Botswana became a global leader in conservation and the number one tourism destination in Southern Africa because of its unique product that appealed to tourists from the Global North. As the policy gets more strengthened on environmental issues, the greening of the state becomes more visible as a process.

Not only did former President Khama ban hunting, he also reinforced the protection of wildlife through militarization. At the height of increased commercial poaching in the Southern African region and illegal wildlife trade across the world, Ian Khama strengthened the military by bringing more security agencies into wildlife conservation. His administration also armed the DWNP anti-poaching unit with military weapons. At the same time, the government sanctioned the unofficial use of the shoot-to-kill policy to deter poachers. Khama's military background enabled him to promote green militarization in Botswana. With Botswana dependent on a few sectors of the economy such as high-end tourism and considering the risk poaching poses to the national economy and security, it is not surprising that the Botswana government under the presidency of Ian Khama protected wildlife seemingly at all cost (Ramutsindela and Büscher, 2019). It is under this condition that Botswana earned a global reputation as Africa's wildlife safe haven that saw many rhinos relocated to the country for safe keeping in 2015. Ian Khama's international conservation awards attest to his leadership in strengthening wildlife protection and steering environmental conservation (cf. Chapter Five). It is for this reason that this thesis argues that the greening process was enhanced under the presidency of Ian Khama.

The new government under the presidency of Mokgweetsi Masisi also attests to the importance of political leadership in shaping green agendas. While international conservation actors and photographic tourism operators in Botswana were happy with the increased pace of the greening process of the state through wildlife under Ian Khama, at the end of his rule there are emerging signs of slowing down some of the elements of the greening process under the administration of the new President Mokgweetsi Masisi. Shortly after ascending to power in April 2018, Masisi unraveled his predecessor's policies. For example, he disarmed the DWNP anti-poaching unit with certain military grade arms. Masisi stated that the move was in line with existing legislation which does not allow the department to use such military grade arms (Masisi, 2018). President Masisi further slowed down the process of greening by lifting the hunting ban in August 2019. The official reason for lifting the moratorium on hunting was primarily based on the observed increase in human-elephant conflict in conservation areas in

the northern part of the country apparently due to the high wildlife populations in the area (GoB Facebook page, 2018). The government of Botswana explained that the country had experienced a thriving elephant population estimated at 130,000 against a 54,000 carrying capacity. This large population of elephants had created an ecological imbalance in their natural habitats and caused damage to local communities and placed a strain on natural resources such as water and vegetation (GoB, Facebook page, 2018).

The reversal of the hunting ban was not well received by the international community. The international community claimed that Botswana was regressing; calling the lifting of the ban unethical while others referred to it as 'Blood law' (Joubert, 2019). International conservationists were of the view that such a move by Botswana will harm the country's international reputation of conservation that will in turn affect the economy of the country. Many chalked it up to a populist ploy to win votes ahead of the national elections in October 2019. A similar situation regarding the role of political leadership in greening the state can be gleaned from the United States of America (USA) where President Donald Trump reversed some of the policies put in place by his predecessor Barack Obama. It is under Donald Trump's administration that the US pulled out of the climate change Paris Agreement. In simple terms, political leaders matter in the greening process of the state.

7.3.3 State restructuring for greening Botswana

The greening of the state is not complete without the necessary specialized administrative institutions. Green institutions enable effective green governance necessary for managing the environment and for restructuring human-environment relations (Johnston, 2019). They consist of environmental ministries and agencies "populated with a cadre of public officials with explicit responsibility for environmental protection" (Duit et al., 2016, p. 16). These institutions coordinate and administer green laws and policies within the territory of the state and become involved in managing transboundary environmental issues with other states. They are also able to facilitate the ratification of various environment-related treaties and collaborate with various institutions such as research organisations in providing green knowledge and expertise necessary for making informed decisions on environmental matters.

The case of Botswana demonstrates that internal restructuring of the state was crucial for greening the state. Botswana did not have an environmental ministry until 2002. This resulted

in fragmentation and weak approaches for tackling environmental issues. In 2002, institutions of the state were restructured to align their functions with the wildlife economy. With the assistance of IUCN, the Botswana government established a strong and dedicated environmental ministry in 2002, which housed several departments. This ministry is tasked with the responsibility of overseeing environmental and natural resource management and guiding the development of the wildlife economy. A number of departments including Department of National Parks (DWNP) and of environmental affairs (DEA) were placed under this ministry. To promote and guide the development of the luxurious ecotourism model that simultaneously promotes profit making and protection of the environment, the Botswana government established a parastatal, Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO). This organization plays a crucial role in developing and implementing ecotourism guidelines that aspire to international ecotourism standards that promotes green branding. These guidelines monitor and steers the business activities of the private sector as well as local community trusts in the Okavango Delta. The Ministry of Environment is one of the biggest ministries in Botswana due to its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is anchored on the protection of environmental assets, namely wildlife. Reflecting the increased central role of wildlife conservation in the country's national development planning, the budget for the ministry of environment has grown over the years from just P226,675,530 in 2002/03 financial budget to just P756,120,180 in 2018 with the DWNP being awarded the lion share of the ministry budget over the years (MENT, 2018).

7.3.4 State-citizen relations in the greening process of Botswana

Poverty, under-development and environmental injustice pose a serious threat to achieving environmental sustainability. According to theorists of the green state, such a state prioritizes environmental justice and tackling poverty (Eckersely, 2004). However, environmental governance in Africa has to confront the sharp contradictions between socio-economic development and delivering the green agenda as determined by environmental organisations in the Global North. More often environmental protection takes priority over the livelihoods of ordinary citizens. For instance, environmental governance often limits access to natural resources by local communities that are dependent on them for their survival – which reflects trends in the colonial era of environmental injustice (Garland, 2008). Environmental injustice is ascribed to unequal power relations within the state where local communities become losers

and political elite's winners. As such, the greening process in Africa is characterized by negative state-citizen relations. However, these relations do not serve as a barrier to the emergence of a green state (Chandrashekeran et al., 2017). As Death (2016a) argues, this should have a central place within empirical accounts of the ways in which states in Africa have sought to govern natural resources within their territory.

The case of Botswana demonstrates that the process of greening the state through the wildlife sector has brought about changes in wildlife governance and in the relationships between the state and local communities at a local level, where struggles over concessions and wildlife resources are contested. The study considered the relationship between the state and its citizens within the context of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). As such CBNRM is an important vehicle through which local communities can participate in facilitating the greening process in the Okavango Delta. What defines the relationship between the state and local communities in the greening process at the local level is the devolution of authority and management responsibilities over concessions from the central government to local communities usually by granting local communities resource rights. The premise is that local communities will be able to effectively manage their concessions sustainably and participate in the green agenda because they are able to reap socio-economic benefits such as income, infrastructure, employment and the like.

The case study of the Khwai community in the Okavango Delta has demonstrated that the relationship between the state and its citizens in the context of CBNRM is fluid and tense (c.f. Chapter Six). This situation manifests itself in two important ways. Firstly, the central government partially granted local communities resource user and management rights over concessions in order to harness their cooperation in the implementation of CBNRM in the mid-1990s. Local institutions such as land boards, district councils were brought in to facilitate the granting of user and management rights over concessions in collaboration with DWNP and local communities. In the eyes of local communities CBNRM was an opportunity to reclaim authority over land that they had previously lost due to evictions from Moremi Game Reserve. Through CBNRM, local communities with the support of local government agencies were able to make decisions on how they manage their concessions, whom they can enter into partnership with to develop their product, and how they distribute profits generated from the use of concessions. With collaboration with government, local communities have been able to

reinvest their profits to improve their livelihoods as well as the provision of infrastructure. They have also been able to protect the environmental assets which are important for providing income in their concession.

Secondly, state-citizen relations were significantly altered between 2008 and 2018 as a result of the rent-seeking behaviour of the state and recentralization of decision-making power from local institutions such as land boards to central government. This recentralization of decision-making power came with the introduction of the presidential Tourism Land Bank under the presidency of Ian Khama, which created friction between the state and its citizens in the Okavango Delta. Through the tourism land bank, several aspects of decision making on CBNRM, particularly granting of tourism concessions leases, was moved from the land boards/local communities to the BTO. That meant that, the allocation of prime photographic tourism concessions in the Okavango Delta were recentralized, controlled and restricted by the state resulting in hostile relations between the state and citizens in Khwai as their concession was placed under the Tourism Land Bank. Through this process the land bank deepens the processes of alienating land and resources from local communities. This has created tension between citizens and the state. The recentralization of decision making in management rights over photographic concessions was in part due to reinforcing the HCLV tourism model in which marketing and branding Botswana as a prime wilderness destination took precedence under the presidency of Ian Khama. As one of the government officials commented:

CBNRM is dead in Botswana. Decisions are made by the highest office in the country, particularly that wildlife is high stake resource and they have interest in the tourism industry. This resource has always been centralized since independence and the state has never wanted to give ordinary citizens a stake in the tourism industry particularly in lucrative sites in the Delta (Interview 70, DWNP, 27th January 2019).

In its pursuit of green growth, the government of Botswana acts on behalf of private capital but undermines the aspirations and interests of local communities (Molomo, 2008). However, local communities have been able to contest government decisions because they have tasted the fruits that come with managing wildlife even though the state never intended to give over rights to local communities in the first place. Therefore, the greening process at the local level is exclusive and not accountable. This affirms Death's (2016a) argument that the top-down

authoritarian control of people, land and environment are very much part of the greening process in Africa.

7.4 Concluding remarks

This thesis has traced the evolution of wildlife conservation policy in Botswana between 1966 to 2018, a period that covers the presidency of the founding father of the nation to his son Ian Khama to understand the complex processes that enable the production of the green state. This thesis makes two main contributions to the green state debates. First, it demonstrates that the process of greening unfolds over time within the context of a developing country and that this process opens avenues for expanding analyses of the green state beyond countries in the Global North. The case of Botswana showcases the importance of analyzing the green state in terms of processes that facilitates or limits state efforts in tackling environmental issues. The thesis highlights that the focus by green state theorists on ecological outcomes which tends to be measured well in economically developed democracies have overlooked many and varied green actions carried out by states in developing countries. The focus on processes that enable green state formation challenges conceptions of the green state and offers a platform for including more developing countries in the analysis of the green state. Secondly, the thesis demonstrates the importance of political leadership i.e. heads of states, in shaping green discourses and practices. Political leaders are drivers of the greening process: they can strengthen or slow down the greening process.

The analysis of Botswana's wildlife sector shows that the country is in the process of greening. The greening process of Botswana has been enabled by the interaction of state authorities and international agencies and actors who financed environmental-related programmes and facilitated the development of green institutions. The greening process manifests in two main ways. First, the four presidents were instrumental in shaping the wildlife policy that guided the development of the high cost low volume tourism industry that became a contributor to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country, and their ideological orientation enabled this to happen. However, the presidency of Ian Khama stands out as the peak of the greening of Botswana because it realigned the wildlife economy with political power. Second, the institutions of the state were restructured so that they would align state activities with the green agenda. Moving forward, this thesis calls for more empirical analyses from cases in the African

region to enrich the debates on the green states. This would allow us to draw on similarities and differences on greening in countries in the Global South.

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APPENDIX A: RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
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19 March 2018

Mr Emmanuel Mogende
Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences

RE: Africa's miracle state: translating state governance into wildlife governance in post-colonial Botswana

Dear Mr Emmanuel Mogende

I am pleased to inform you that the Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee has approved the above-named application for research ethics clearance, subject to the conditions listed below.

- Implement the measures described in your application to ensure that the process of your research is ethically sound; and
- Uphold ethical principles throughout all stages of the research, responding appropriately to unanticipated issues: please contact me if you need advice on ethical issues that arise.

Your approval code is: **FSREC 22 - 2018**

I wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Signature removed to avoid exposure online

A/Prof Rachel Wynberg
Chair: Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee

Cc: Prof Maano Ramutsindela (Supervisor)

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH PERMIT

TELEPHONE: 3914955
TELEGRAMS: MENT
TELEX:
TELEFAX: 3951092
REF: EWT 8/36/4 XXXX (172)



MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT, NATURAL
RESOURCES CONSERVATION & TOURISM
PRIVATE BAG BO 199
GABORONE
BOTSWANA

ALL CORRESPONDENCE MUST BE ADDRESSED TO
THE PERMANENT SECRETARY

Emmanuel Mogende
Department of Environmental & Geographical Science
Private Bag X3
University of Cape Town
South Africa

09th April 2018

Dear Sir/ Madam,

RESEARCH PERMIT: EMMANUEL MOGENDE

We are pleased to inform that you are granted permission to conduct research, for a study entitled **Africa's miracle state: translating state governance into wildlife governance in post- colonial Botswana.**

The research will be conducted in these villages – **(Sankuyo, Maun, Mababe, khwai, Shakawe, Moremi Game Reserve) – Ngamiland District and Gaborone area.**

This permit is valid from the **01st May 2018 to 31st April 2021 (Three years Only)**

This permit is granted subject to the following **conditions:**

1. The permit does not give authority to enter premises, private establishments or protected areas. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.
2. You conduct the study according to particulars furnished in the approved application and / or proposal taking into account the **above conditions.**
3. Government of Botswana shall be duly acknowledged in **all research outputs.**
4. Copies research outputs from the study shall be deposited directly with Department of Wildlife and National Parks and Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation & Tourism HQ.
5. Failure to comply with any of the above conditions may result in the

immediate cancellation of this permit.

6. This permit is **not transferable.**

Yours, Faithfully

signature removed

Ditiro K. Modibedi

FOR PERMANENT SECRETARY

- cc. Regional Wildlife Officer – Ngamiland & Gaborone HQ
Director, Department Of Wildlife National Parks



Our Mission: *To protect the environment; Conserve the country's renewable and natural resources; Derive value out of environment for the benefit of Botswana*



APPENDIX C: GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR KEY INFORMANTS

A. Governance

1. What does good governance mean to you?
2. What makes good governance over natural resources?
3. How should natural resources be governed?
4. Who should govern natural resources and why?

B. Leadership and natural resource governance

1. How would you describe the leadership of Sir Seretse Khama; Ketumile Masire; Festus Mogae and Ian Khama? Probe: why do you say that? What did they do?
2. Did the governance of natural resources differ under each of these leaders? If yes, what were the changes? If no, why were there no changes?
3. How has each leader influenced Botswana's wildlife policy? Probe: How did they pursue wildlife policy.
4. Is there any difference or similarity in the way they pursued wildlife policies?
5. What do you think was the state vision for wildlife at independence?

C. Institutional arrangements

1. How were natural resources governed before independence?
2. How did state leaders of Botswana rearrange traditional and colonial institutions in natural resource governance after independence?
3. How did this play out in the governance of wildlife?
4. What is the role of tribal authorities in wildlife governance in modern Botswana?
5. How does the state involve tribal authorities in wildlife governance?

D. Public-private relations in wildlife governance

1. What is the role of the private sector in wildlife in Botswana?
2. How does the state involve with the private sector in wildlife governance?
3. When did private companies start operating in the Okavango Delta? Probe: How did they go about setting up their operations?

4. How do private companies acquire land in the Okavango Delta?
5. What is the role of the state in facilitating the acquisition of prime spots by private companies in the Delta?
6. When did we start to see the influx of private tour operators in the Okavango Delta. Probe: Why do you think that happened?
7. To what extent has the private sector influenced wildlife policies in modern Botswana?
8. Why has the state decided to pursue public-private partnership in wildlife based tourism?
9. What effect has public-private partnership or privatization had on local communities in the delta?
10. What frameworks regulate private sector operations in wildlife governance in the public interest?
11. What role do government institutions play in the public-private partnership? And what is their relationship with the private sector?

E. State-society relations

1. What is the role of local community in management of wildlife?
2. How does the state involve with local community in wildlife governance?
3. What support does the state give to local communities in governance of wildlife?
4. To what extent has power and authority of management of wildlife devolved to local communities? And what impact has this had on popular control?
5. Is there tension between local communities and the state in CBNRM? If so, why?
6. Why do you think the state favors centralization over decentralization of natural resources?
7. How do state decisions on wildlife impact on local communities?
8. Who decides on partnerships between local communities and private sector?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW TEMPLATE: LOCAL COMMUNITIES – KHWAI

A. Good governance

1. What does good governance mean to you?
2. What makes good governance over natural resources?
3. Who should govern natural resources and why?

B. Leadership and natural resource governance

1. How would you describe Sir Seretse Khama; Ketumile Masire; Festus Mogae and Ian Khama?
2. How has each leader influenced Botswana wildlife policy?
3. Did the governance of wildlife differ under each of these leaders? If yes, what has changed? If no, why were there no changes?

C. State-society relations

1. How would you describe the relationship of the above leaders of Botswana with your local community in wildlife governance?
2. Has there been any change with regard to how state leaders relate with local communities in wildlife areas?
3. How has state decisions on wildlife affected your local community?
4. Who decides on partnerships between local communities and private sector operators?
5. Why do you think the state favors centralization over decentralization of natural resources?
6. What are the challenges that your community face in wildlife governance?