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"We Are Struggling"
Gender, Poverty And The Dynamics Of Survival Within Low Income Households
In Botswana

by

Godisang Mookodi

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Graduate Department of Sociology
University of Toronto

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"We Are Struggling"
Gender, Poverty And The Dynamics Of Survival Within Low Income Households In Botswana

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1999
Godisang Mookodi
Graduate Department of Sociology
University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

The examination of the characteristics of poverty and life chances, focusing on the gender of the head of the household, has been the subject of increasing academic research in recent years in developing countries. The study of domestic units primarily headed/supported by women in Botswana is of particular interest, given their exceptionally high incidence. Census and household surveys reveal that almost half of all households in Botswana are headed by women, and that a significant proportion of them fall in the lowest income categories.

This study examines the causes and manifestations of poverty among female-headed households in Botswana. At the macro-level, the analysis of secondary sources assessed the manifestations of gender inequality and poverty within the context of economic and cultural change. The empirical study was situated at the micro-level, investigating the implications of household organisation and individual gender relations of economic production and social reproduction on the life chances of women and their dependants. The study was conducted within a pool of low-income female and male headed/supported households in a rural village and the Capital City, comparing similarities and differences in their composition, sources of income and survival strategies employed by women and men within them.
The discussions with women and men pointed to the complexity of domestic organisation and the significance of gender hierarchies that are often obscured by focusing on discrete notions of ‘household’ and ‘headship’, and economic measures of poverty.

The findings show that while poverty among households that are primarily supported by women may be due to high age dependency ratios and the paucity of income earners, it is also due to the contradictory implications of the social construction of gender, and relations of extra-marital parenting in contemporary Botswana.
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INTRODUCTION

Approximately one-quarter or more of households in Africa, the Caribbean, North America and parts of Europe are headed by women. Globally, the proportion of female-headed households is rising because of increased levels of marital dissolution (through abandonment, separation, divorce, or death), migration and non-marital childbearing. Available data suggest that households headed by women are poorer than those headed by men. In many countries females who head households with young children are limited in their employment opportunities, in part due to the absence of a spouse to share family responsibilities. (Population Reference Bureau: *Women of Our World, 1998*)

Female-headed households have gained prominence in the discussion of gender and poverty in developing countries among social scientists and within the policy environment. Evidence compiled over the last three decades (Buvinic and Youseff 1978; Buvinic, Lycette and McGreevey 1983; United Nations 1991, 1995) points to the prevalence of female headed households in developing countries, and indicates that these households are disproportionately represented in the ranks of the poor. Poverty among female headed households has been directly linked to women’s lower participation within wage work, as well as their limited access to resources due to systemic socio-cultural and economic gender inequalities.

Comparative statistics compiled by the Population Reference Bureau (1998) and United Nations Agencies (1995) indicate that Botswana has the highest proportion of female-headed households in the world. The findings of the most recent Household Income and Expenditure Survey conducted between 1993 and 1994 in Botswana showed that forty-seven percent of all households in the country were headed by women. Analyses of household survey data (Government of Botswana 1988b, 1995b; BIDPA 1997a) show that a higher proportion of female headed households live in poverty than their male counterparts due to their higher dependency ratios and the paucity of income earners within them.
Studies on the socio-economic status of women in Botswana (Bond 1979; Izzard 1979; Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Driel 1994; Motts 1994) have attributed the high incidence of female headed households to the declining significance of marriage as a basis for family formation during much of the twentieth century, and the prevalence of extra-marital pregnancy and single motherhood. These studies indicate that gender inequality in contemporary Botswana is based in patriarchal cultural practices that subordinate women to men within the macro-societal and micro-domestic contexts.

While the disaggregation of household data by the gender of the household head has achieved the primary objective of promoting women’s visibility within the context of development planning and policy analysis, a growing body of literature is questioning the conceptualisations of headship within the context of household surveys, on the grounds that they obscure the complexities of household organisation, resource provision and decision-making. A number of feminist scholars (Folbre 1986; Rosenhouse 1989; Varley 1996; Kabeer 1997) have questioned the extent to which aggregate measures of household economic welfare depict the reality of access at the individual level.

Feminist researchers (Folbre 1986; Beneria and Roldan 1987; Fox 1988, 1993; Wolf 1990, 1992; Varley 1996; Kabeer 1997) have pointed to the importance of examining the links between economic conditions, social sex-gender systems, women’s and men’s gender ideologies, and their daily strategies for survival in different cultural settings. Case studies conducted in African, Asian and Latin American countries point to the complexities of internal household organisation and gender differentiation that are not captured by quantitative methodological approaches. They show the strength of in-depth qualitative enquiries in capturing the social dynamics of poverty and survival focusing more on the roles of individuals as social agents.
The Aims And Objectives of the Study

This study examines the link between the socio-economic status of women and poverty within households in Botswana. This study hypothesises that gender-based differentiation in economic welfare centres on women's and men's ability to generate income for themselves and their dependants. While ability may be determined by individual human capital and the availability of opportunities for income generation, it is also due to the different experiences and degrees of choice that women and men have as social actors within consensual relations, as parents and in their relationships with family members.

The theoretical framework is shaped by feminist approaches to the study of gender inequality. Feminist scholars (Gittins 1985; Folbre 1986; Bruce and Lloyd 1997) posit that families and households are loci of co-operation and conflict. While individuals within domestic units co-operate for survival, the participation is not equal, but is based on socially based hierarchies of gender and age. Many posit that a holistic understanding of women's socio-economic status can be gained by examining the interface between cultural and economic processes at the societal level and gender relations of economic production and social reproduction. Gender relations of economic production refer to the participation of women and men in paid work and other pursuits that provide consumption income. Social reproduction relates to the performance of unpaid housework and other activities which are necessary for the daily sustenance of individuals within families and households (Laslett and Brenner 1989; Fox 1988, 1993).

The empirical study began with a screening survey that was aimed at selecting a sample of low-income female and male headed households in Manyana, a small village in the southeastern part of the country, and in two low-income areas in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana. The screening survey provided a pool of 128 households from which forty were identified for further study. In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants within the households. The primary objective of the qualitative interviews was to gain insight into the different factors
that serve to limit the life chances of individuals within these domestic units, focusing specifically on gender relations of production and social reproduction. This was accomplished by examining the sources of livelihood and the survival strategies of the respondents within the households, as well as their experiences and attitudes regarding marriage, consensual relationships and parenting.

The Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the body of studies on gender inequality, household organisation and life chances within different cultures. The focus of the study is particularly relevant at a time when there is a shift in feminist scholarship from reliance on grand theories of gender inequality and women’s subordination (e.g., universal theories of patriarchy; women and development) to the examination of the unique conditions that create and perpetuate gender inequality and life chances within different cultural contexts.

This investigation is timely within the context of Botswana, where households and the gender of the head of the household are the primary units of analysis in the study of poverty and life chances in policy-related research and in the social science literature. This study reviews the theoretical and methodological approaches employed in these analyses with a view to making recommendations for future research on domestic organisation and policy measures to investigate and alleviate poverty.

Finally, much of the research on the socio-economic welfare of female-headed households in Botswana has focused primarily on women as subjects and informants. This investigation employs a gendered approach to household organisation and life chances by comparing the roles that women and men play as social actors within the processes of economic production and social reproduction.
Thesis Outline

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One provides a socio-economic profile of Botswana, tracing the evolution of Tswana social, political and economic organisation from the pre-colonial era to the present. The discussion points to the far-reaching impact of the South African migrant labour system during the early part of the twentieth century on pre-capitalist social and economic systems.

While Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world at the time of independence in 1966, the discovery of mineral deposits -- particularly diamonds in the early 1970's -- fuelled rapid economic growth that facilitated the creation of employment and government investment in social services. The chapter concludes by showing that, in spite of impressive economic performance and political stability, a large proportion of the population lives in poverty, with the depth of income poverty being greater among female headed households.

Chapter Two reviews the literature on household social and economic organisation and gender inequality. The chapter begins with a discussion of sociological structural-functional approaches to the study of domestic units, and neo-classical economic models of household organisation. This is followed by a description of the ways in which aggregate measures of household income and expenditure have come to form the basis of the analysis of economic welfare of populations in developing countries.

The discussion traces the evolution of the concept of female-headed household within the context of policy research in developing countries. The chapter outlines some of the critiques of unitary approaches to household organisation levelled by feminist scholars. We point to the utility of theoretical approaches that focus on the interface between gender differentiation -- the roles that women and men fulfil within the realms of economic production and social reproduction within households, and their implications for the welfare of dependants. The chapter also provides insight into the economic welfare of female headed households in
different cultural contexts, pointing to the challenges encountered in linking gender differentiation with poverty by focusing on the gender of the household head as the primary unit of analysis.

Chapter Three reviews the literature on household economic welfare and gender inequality in Botswana. While much of the debate on household poverty has been based on the findings of household surveys and different typologies of female headship, a number of scholars have questioned the utility of household headship as an indicator of economic welfare within the context of Botswana due to the fluidity of consensual relationships and household membership. Several scholars have illustrated the importance of linking macro-social and economic shifts to patterns of gender differentiation amongst individuals over time to arrive at a more holistic understanding of their economic welfare and life chances.

Chapter Four describes the research design beginning with a justification of the choice of method. Rather than seeing qualitative and quantitative research methods as mutually exclusive, it is argued that qualitative studies provide social scientists and policy makers with the opportunity to review conceptualisations of gender, households and poverty through the lived realities of individuals. The chapter also provides a profile of the research sites, the process of sample selection and the research instruments, as well as a brief description of the process of data analysis.

Chapter Five presents a profile of the forty residential units that were selected for study in Gaborone and Manyana. The profile points to high dependency ratios among the households, particularly among female-headed households in the rural sample. The chapter also gives a profile of the demographic characteristics of the key informants in the study. Most of the respondents (both male and female) had no formal education, with a few having basic literacy, primary and junior secondary education. The majority of the individuals were not employed in the formal sector, and relied on casual work, self-employment, assistance from family members and government welfare provisions.
Chapter Six presents the findings from the in-depth interviews that were conducted with individuals within households, and with community workers in Manyana and Gaborone. The in-depth interviews revealed the complexity of household organisation and gendered notions of authority and power within the context of Tswana culture. The accounts of women and men focused on the impact of rapidly changing social and economic conditions on their personal welfare, their survival strategies over time, as well as the problems they face in providing for themselves and their dependants.

Chapter Seven summarises and discusses the major findings of the study and spells out the theoretical and methodological implications arising from the enquiry. The chapter also provides recommendations for policy formulation and future research on gender differentiation, poverty and life chances.
Figure 1-1: Map of Botswana

Map of Botswana

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA
Chapter 1. The Country And People Of Botswana

1.1 Introduction

Botswana is a landlocked country in the centre of the Southern Africa Plateau. The country shares borders with Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Namibia. The total land area of 582,000 km², makes the country approximately the same size as France, the Netherlands and the US state of Texas (Botswana Government 1991a; Gulbrandsen 1996). According to the most recent census (1991) the population of Botswana was 1,326,796 (Government of Botswana 1991a).

The country’s proximity to a sub-tropical high pressure belt renders much of the land semi-arid and arid. The average annual rainfall ranges from over 650 mm in the north-western Okavango region to less than 250mm in the south western desert region, and about 550 mm in the rest of the country (Gulbrandsen 1996: 17). The combination of high temperatures and bright sunshine (8 - 10 hours daily) result in high evaporation rates which range from 1.8 metres to over 2.2 metres of surface water annually (ibid). The country frequently experiences droughts that last between 2 and 6 years.

Much of the western part of Botswana, which amounts to two-thirds of the surface terrain, is covered by the sandy soil of the semi-arid Kgalagadi desert with sparse vegetation and very little surface water. The eastern part of the country is located next to the Limpopo drainage system, which supports several rivers. The availability of surface and ground water in the eastern region makes it more conducive for human settlement, accommodating more than three-quarters of the population of the country in one third of the land. The eastern region also incorporates the railroad, much of the physical infrastructure, and industry.

Botswana’s macro-economic performance has been heralded as unusual and exemplary within the Africa region. The country’s economy has rapidly progressed from abject poverty at the time of independence in 1966, to currently being one of the few ‘middle income countries’ on the African continent (Government of Botswana, UNDP and UNICEF 1995; World Bank
Botswana’s relatively robust economic status is in direct contrast to the many African states which have experienced rapid declines in their Gross Domestic Products since the 1980’s and have had to adopt structural adjustment programmes recommended by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The country’s impressive economic performance has been attributed to four factors: sustained economic growth fuelled by the mineral export industry, political stability based on a multi-party democracy, sound economic planning, and a decentralised administrative system of governance and planning that operates at national, district and local village levels. Botswana’s economic successes are reflected in social welfare indicators, for example, the achievement of over eighty percent enrolment in primary education, as well as low maternal and child mortality.

Against the background of economic progress, however, the country’s highly skewed income distribution presents a serious challenge to development efforts. A breakdown of total income distribution during the most recent Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES 1993/94) showed the richest twenty percent of the population enjoying 59 percent of total income, whilst the middle and bottom (poorest) forty percent account for 29 and 12 percent respectively. A study on poverty conducted by the Botswana Institute for Policy Development Analysis (BIDPA) in 1996 indicated that 38% of Botswana’s households and 47% of the total population was living in poverty (BIDPA 1997a) with the degree of income poverty being higher among women and female headed households.

This chapter provides a socio-economic and political profile of Botswana. Section 1.2 gives insight into aspects of social, economic and political organisation from the pre-colonial era to the present. Section 1.3 provides an overview of current macro-economic, demographic and social indicators. Section 1.4 presents current employment trends. Section 1.5 provides an overview on poverty and gender inequality.
1.2 Historical Background

Historical accounts (Tlou and Campbell 1984; Schapera and Comaroff 1991) indicate that the original inhabitants of the area covering present-day Botswana were the Khoisan (also referred to as the Hottentots, Bushmen or Basarwa) who subsisted on hunting and gathering. The area was later occupied by Tswana agro-pastoralists.

The Tswana are a sub-group of the Sotho people; a division of the larger Bantu group that migrated from the rain-forest areas around modern-day Cameroon about 4,000 years ago (Tlou and Campbell 1984). The movement of several factions of the group to various destinations in east and southern African region took place over several thousands of years. The Sotho finally settled in areas of Botswana and South Africa by the 17th century, where they split into various groups including the Tswana of Botswana and South Africa (Alverson 1987; Schapera and Comaroff 1991; Parsons 1993).

The Tswana who settled in present-day Botswana are comprised of eight principal sub-groups. Seven of the groups: BaKgatla, BaKwena, BaNgwaketse, BaNgwato, BaTawana, BaTlokwa and BaRolong are direct descendants of the original Sotho migrants. The eighth group, BaLete, are descendants of the non-Tswana Ndebele who have assimilated Tswana customs and languages (Colcough and McCarthy 1980). While there are variations in dialects among the groups and localised components of culture, the Tswana have been described as ‘culturally homogeneous’ in terms of their base beliefs and customs (Alverson 1987; Schapera and Comaroff 1991; Gulbrandsen 1996).

The area was also inhabited by several smaller subjected non-Tswana groups including the Kalanga in the north-east, the Herero in the West, the Yei and the HaMbukushu in the north-western part of the country. Whilst many of the original Khoi-San were driven into the desert by the early Tswana immigrants, some were incorporated into various Tswana sub-groups (Colcough and McCarthy 1980; Tlou and Campbell 1984).
1.2.1 Pre-Colonial Tswana Political, Social and Economic Organisation

Historical and anthropological accounts (Alverson 1978, Tlou and Campbell 1984; Schapera and Comaroff 1991) describe the early Tswana (17th to 19th century) societies as politically and economically stratified along class and gender lines.

Political Organisation

Tswana societies were politically stratified into two broad layers; the leadership, and the subjects or commoners. Each Tswana principal sub-group (*morafe*) was politically independent, managing its own affairs under the centralised leadership of a chief (*kgosi*). The chieftainship was male-centred, with succession being passed down to male descendants within the leadership lineage of each *morafe*. *Dikgosi* (plural of *kgosi*) presided over the different spheres of tribal life, including the development of public policy and the maintenance of social order. Some examples of the duties of *dikgosi* were: the regulation and distribution of tribal land, arbitration over all civil and criminal cases, the allocation of communal land, and the mobilisation of the community for public activities such as contributing to the central grain supply, as well as for defence when necessary. Chiefs were also responsible for presiding over significant traditional rituals such as prayers for ‘rainmaking’ and thanksgiving following the harvest (Schapera 1970; Schapera and Comaroff 1991).

*Dikgosi* were assisted in these roles by a group of confidential advisers that often included their senior paternal uncles and brothers. Decisions were usually taken after consultation with a wider group consisting of male leaders of the various lineage groups (*dikgosana*) in the traditional tribal council forum. *Kgotla* meetings were male domains where the leaders solicited public opinion on matters pertaining to governance and social welfare. While the political system was essentially democratic, *dikgosi* wielded a large amount of personal economic power by way of elaborate tribally-based tribute systems through which they
received hunting spoils, harvested grain and appropriated stray cattle (*matimela*) that were not claimed by their subjects.

**Economic Organisation**

The principal crops grown by the Tswana were drought resistant cereals such as sorghum and millet, supplemented by varieties of melons, squashes and wild berries. In addition to crop cultivation, many engaged in animal husbandry, rearing cattle and small stock (goats, sheep and fowls) for consumption. Subsistence crop cultivation was undertaken at the fields (*masimo*), cattle were kept at separate grazing posts (*meraka*), while some small stock such as goats and sheep were kept in corals that were located in close proximity to homesteads in the village. Tswana families traditionally maintained three homesteads: one in the village, another at the agricultural fields and the other at the cattle post. Agricultural activities were carried out in communal tribal lands. Wealth was measured in terms of ownership of cattle, which were used for bartering, ploughing, and the payment of bridewealth (*bogadi*).

Most groups practised the feudal *mafisa* system wherein the labour of poor kinspeople and enserfed groups (*malata*) such as the San and BaKgalagadi was procured for livestock herding by wealthy cattle-holding families; many of whom belonged to the leadership lineage. On the one hand, the *mafisa* system was a potential means of upward social and economic mobility whereby the herders were given the opportunity to own cattle received as payment for their labour. On the other hand, however, the system formed the basis for socio-economic stratification, wherein the labour of the poor was exploited for agricultural and domestic use (Schapera and Comaroff 1991; Gulbrandsen 1996; Tsie 1995).

Subsistence economic activities among Tswana groups also included the hunting of small game such as bucks and birds, making clothing items from the skins of domestic and wild animals; ornaments such as necklaces and bangles, as well as making clay pots and baskets for food storage. The little amount of trade that took place was primarily in the form of bartering of
agricultural produce between households. Individuals only started trading hunting spoils for western-made goods with foreign traders during the nineteenth century (Gulbrandsen 1996).

**Households and Lineage Groups**

*Lolwapa* (the homestead or household) was the smallest unit of social and economic organisation within each group. The homestead typically contained one or more huts, a granary and a small enclosure where goats and sheep were kept. Residents of the *lolwapa* often included a nuclear family consisting of a husband, his wife or wives, their unmarried children, and in some cases, their married sons and their respective families (Schapera and Comaroff 1991).

Anthropological accounts (Schapera 1933; Schapera and Comaroff 1991; Gulbrandsen 1996) indicate that men were the recognised heads of family-households. Each ethnic group was divided into kinship lineage wards, which consisted of a number of family groups. Membership in these family groups was passed down through males, with the most senior male in the lineage ward being regarded as the elder and primary decision-maker.

The division of labour within each household was organised by age and gender. Women assumed responsibility for raising children, and the performance of domestic chores that included building the walls of huts with mud and cow dung, providing thatch for roofing, fetching water from the river, cooking and cleaning, and performing the majority of arable agricultural tasks which included bird-scaring, weeding and harvesting crops.

Men were primarily responsible for animal husbandry, ploughing the agricultural lands with teams of oxen or donkeys, and constructing the roofs of traditional huts. The gender division of labour among children generally followed that of adults, with young girls performing domestic duties, while their male siblings would be sent to the cattle posts to tend livestock for months at a time (Schapera and Comaroff 1991).

Tswana groups had gender-specific rites of passage that served to prepare young persons for adulthood and to control pre-marital fertility. Young adolescent males would undergo
bogwera, which included circumcision and seclusion in the wild, during which time they would be taught survival tactics as well as tribal laws and customs. Pubescent girls would undergo bojale in the village, through which they received formal instruction which prepared them for the assumption of domestic and agricultural chores, as well as appropriate sexual behaviour upon marriage. Following the initiation procedures, young women and men were allocated into age-sets called mephato, which were utilised for the mobilisation of labour for communal activities undertaken within the kinship lineage and community.

Women of each kinship lineage were collectively responsible for mobilising labour for certain communal agricultural activities, as well as providing labour for providing food during weddings, funerals and other public ceremonies. Men would participate in public affairs regarding defence, marriage negotiations and funeral arrangements.

Marital and Inheritance Practices

Polygamous marriages were relatively common among Tswana groups prior to the advent of Christianity. Marriage in traditional pre-colonial Tswana groups was a lengthy multi-stage affair arranged through families rather than by individuals. Individuals typically married soon after undergoing initiation rites.

Marriage negotiations were initiated by a group comprising of the groom’s ‘key’ male relatives; his paternal uncles and male representatives from his mother’s family. These representatives of the groom’s family initiated the process by meeting with representatives from the prospective bride’s kinship group. After a period of time, the groom’s family would offer a formal betrothal. The formal betrothal (patlo) included the provision of gifts to the woman’s family such as a cow, and a blanket for the paternal aunt of the woman (Schapera 1966).

Patlo was regarded as a very important step in the marriage process, allowing for the formal endorsement or authorisation of the commencement of sexual relations between the couple. The groom was given permission to pay nocturnal visits to the sleeping quarters of the
bride (*go ralala*). Children that resulted from those unions were formally acknowledged by both families. The final stage was the solemnisation of the marriage through the payment of bridewealth cattle by the groom’s family to the bride’s family. The number of cattle was negotiated by the men, and was largely contingent on the economic status of the groom’s family.

The social and economic significance of *bogadi* has been debated extensively by various social scientists. One view is that bridewealth united families, and consolidated assets within the extended family system (Schapera and Comaroff 1991). Another view (Driel 1994; WLSA 1994) is that it was a means of consolidating patriarchal power and control; a means of acquiring labour of women and children for agricultural production, and the asserting of husbands’ control over their wives.

Succession in traditional Tswana society was male-based, with the eldest son (*mojaboswa*) succeeding his father as the head of the family. Besides inheriting the role of decision-maker, the eldest son also inherited most of property his father’s property such as his cattle and agricultural implements. Where there were no sons, or if the sons were still minors, the dead man’s estate would fall under the control of the most senior male relative--usually the younger brother--who would assume the role of household head.

The widow(s) would retain occupation of the homestead and agricultural lands for as long as they lived. Upon the widow’s death, the homestead would be inherited by the youngest son, while the fields would be distributed among female and male adult children. Women did not inherit cattle and fixed assets following the deaths of their fathers, but were entitled to clothing and domestic implements after the deaths of their mothers and female relatives (Driel 1994).

1.2.2 Christianity, Colonialism and the Creation of a Labour Reserve

The most far-reaching changes to Tswana social, political and economic organisation were effected during the nineteenth century by the advent of Christianity, colonial rule and the
incorporation of the territory into the world capitalist system through the South African migrant labour system. The conversion of Tswana leaders and communities to Christianity led to the decline and abolishment of polygamy, while the introduction of western education by missionaries brought new values that had far-reaching impacts on the social ethos. The introduction of British colonial rule, which was closely tied to South African industrialisation, led to the extraction of male labour from the territory, fostering a reliance of communities on cash as a medium of exchange, while undermining subsistence production and family forms. The nature and consequences of these changes will be discussed briefly in the following sections.

**Missionary Influence**

Christian missionary activity among the Tswana began during the 19th century. The first significant influence was that of the London Missionary Society (LMS), whose emissary Robert Moffat established a post among the Batlhaping of Kuruman in South Africa in 1820. This post became the centre from which Christianity spread among the Tswana territories and into other parts of the southern Africa. David Livingstone (missionary, doctor and explorer) subsequently established a station among the Bakwena at Kolobeng, in the south eastern region of Botswana in 1841. Other Christian missionary societies including the Dutch Reformed, Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches arrived in the territory after 1875 (Colcough and McCarthy 1980).

The missionaries succeeded in converting many Dikgosi and their subjects to Christianity, encouraging them to abandon ‘heathen’ customs such as polygamy and initiation. In addition, these churches established schools that transmitted beliefs and values that competed with established norms of education among Tswana groups. While traditional socialisation/education practices had centred around preparing young persons for participation in the traditional subsistence economy and cultural life, the ‘new’ education focused more on the
inculcation of Christian morality and equipped them for participation in wage employment outside the rural economy.

Colonial rule and the Creation of A Labour Reserve

European industrialisation in 19th century was facilitated through imperialist expansion throughout the world. The imposition of European colonial rule upon African societies was predominantly aimed at the extraction of raw materials utilising cheap male labour from the colonies. The process of industrialisation within the South African territories was fuelled by the deployment of cheap African labour in the diamond and gold mining industries.

While the Tswana territories had few natural resources that could be exploited, they were strategically attractive as a means of access to the interior and north of Africa; a route that was sought by Afrikaner, British and Germans traders and governments during the 1880’s. After suffering several attacks from the Afrikaners and AmaNdebele from the south and north, as well as facing threats of German encroachment from the west, three Dikgosi from the principal Tswana groups: Khama of the Ngwato, Setshele of the Klena and Bathoen of the Ngwaketse acted on advice from LMS missionary John Mackenzie and requested the British government to protect the Tswana territories.

Whilst the British government was reluctant to incur administrative expenses over a territory that had few known natural resources, it succumbed to pressure from British industrialists who sought to secure cheap labour from the region, as well as a rail route to the northern part of Africa. Scholars of political economy (Culcough and McCarthy 1980; Tsie 1995; Hope 1997) regard the policies and actions of the British colonial government as having facilitated and fostered the incorporation of the region into the global capitalist system.

On September 30th 1885, the British government declared the area a British Protectorate. The administrative headquarters of the colony was located in Mafikeng, a town in the north eastern province of the Republic of South Africa. In a bid to keep the administrative
costs low, the British government stated from the onset that it would do ‘as little in the way of administration or settlement as possible’ (Culcough and McCarthy 1980: 12). Historians and political scientists refer to the system of governance that was adopted by the British in Bechuanaland, and in other southern African protectorates of Basutoland and Swaziland, as ‘indirect rule’, wherein the indigenous patterns of tribal authority were essentially kept intact.

As administrative expenses mounted, the High Commission levied a tax on every hut occupied by an adult male or males in the territory in 1899. This was later changed to a poll tax that amounted to five shillings to £10 per man depending on wealth in livestock or income from wages (Schapera and Comaroff 1991). The chiefs were expected to appoint tax collectors, and received 10 percent of the total tax received in their areas. In 1919, an additional tax (the Native Tax) of three shillings was levied on each hut. The money was deposited in a ‘Native Fund’ which was used for African education, agricultural services and other projects within the territory. During 1938 the two taxes were consolidated to form the ‘African Tax’ that was paid by every male of 18 years and over (Tlou and Campbell 1984).

**The Effects of Taxation**

The imposition of taxes resulted in the profound alteration of Tswana social and economic structures. The most far-reaching effect was the introduction of cash as a medium of exchange into what had been a subsistence agricultural economy. The compulsory tax stratified the society, economically according to the ability to pay. While those households that owned cattle could tender stock as payment, those who did not possess any cattle were compelled to find alternative means of payment outside the subsistence economy (Tlou and Campbell 1984; Tsie 1995). With few employment opportunities in the Protectorate, large numbers of men migrated to South Africa to work at the mines and farms.

Data collected in 1943 showed that about 28% of all adult males were registered by labour recruitment agencies as working in South African mines, primarily in the Witwatersrand.
area (Schapera and Comaroff 1991: 24). While the proportions of absent males varied by region (with the highest being in the south-east), the absence of able-bodied males seriously undermined the subsistence economy, leaving the agricultural sector in the hands of women, the young and the aged.

The rural subsistence economy, specifically the retention of women and children within it, served the interests of capitalist expansion. While family wages were being paid to workers in the industrialising economies of Western Europe and North America by the mid-nineteenth century, industrialists in Southern Africa kept wages low by separating families. In the meantime, however, rural African family-households effectively subsidised capitalist expansion by reproducing labour and providing for the needs of retired and disabled workers (Wolpe 1972; Martin 1992).

Large scale male rural out-migration had a marked impact on marriage practices among the Tswana. Schapera and Comaroff (1991) note that while young men had traditionally relied on their families for the payment of *bogadi* and the establishment of marital homesteads, their participation in wage employment provided them with economic independence that reduced extended family control over matters of marriage and reproduction. Male migrants were able to pay for bridewealth in cash, purchase livestock with their earnings, and establish consensual relationships independently. The participation of young people in western education and the decline in initiation practices also served to undermine the control of elders over youth sexuality and labour.

The alteration of marital systems was marked by delays in and the decline in marriages as early as 1933, when there was evidence of an increased trend towards late marriage on the part of men, while the proportion of women of marriageable age rose. In addition, there was a marked increase in extra-marital sexual relationships and single motherhood (Schapera 1933). Social scientists attribute the rise in extra-marital pregnancies to the combined effects of practices of lengthy traditional engagements, reduced familial control over the social

1.2.3 Self-Rule

The wave of nationalism that took place in Africa during the middle of the 20th Century manifested itself in the Protectorate with the formation of two political parties; the Bechuanaland People’s Party (BPP) in 1960 lead by Philip Matante, and the Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP) in 1961 led by Seretse Khama. Khama received recognition in western countries when he was banished from the country by the Council of Chiefs after marrying a British woman (Ruth Williams). He returned to Botswana after six years of exile in Britain, and served as Paramount Chief of Bangwato until independence.

While both political parties rallied for the establishment of a Legislative Council that would devolve administrative power to the Tswana, their manifestos differed considerably. The BPP took a more radical line, criticising the British government for failing to develop the territory economically, and challenging racial discrimination. The party had strong links with the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) in South Africa. The BDP took a more conciliatory line with the South Africans and British, advocating for multiracialism and the establishment of democracy within the territory. The party had more support than the BPP, with followers in most of the southern and western parts of the country. Pressure from the two parties led to a conference of constitutional changes in July 1963, where the British government agreed to give Bechuanaland some measure of self government, and pave the way for independence.

The administrative headquarters of the Protectorate were moved from Mafikeng to Gaborone in 1965. Democratic elections were held during the same year. The BDP had a landslide victory, winning 28 of the 31 seats in the National Assembly. The BPP won the remaining 3 seats and became the main opposition. Seretse Khama was elected Prime Minister.
Soon after the elections, the new government put pressure on the British government to grant the country full independence. The Bechuanaland Protectorate became a sovereign state, the Republic of Botswana, on the 30th of September, 1966, with Seretse Khama as the first President (Tlou and Campbell 1984). Since independence, the country has had free elections every four years. The Botswana Democratic Party has consistently won the elections, the Botswana National Front currently constitutes the main opposition.

Administration

The Botswana constitution is based on a non-racial democracy which places priority on the achievement of economic growth and social equity. The government consists of three administrative arms: the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. The Executive arm contains the office of the president and vice president, the Cabinet, and the Public Service. The Legislature is presided over by the constitutional leader, and includes the National Assembly and the House of Chiefs. The head of the Judiciary is the Chief Justice who presides over judges in the High Court and magistrates in the minor courts which are located in the districts.

The administrative system is decentralised through nine district councils and four urban councils. The district and urban councils are responsible for the administration of education, public health and the provision and maintenance of social services and physical infrastructure. The development planning process is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, which outlines the economic and social welfare and the government planned expenditure through five-year National Development Plans (NDPs). The government has recently entered its eighth development planning period (1997/98-2002/03).

1.2.4 Economic Trends in the Post Independence Era

At the time of independence, Botswana was considered to be one of the poorest nations in the world. The country had very little in the way of physical infrastructure, and limited educational, health and other social services, and relied heavily on grants in aid from the British
government and international agencies. Additional funds came from various other sources including beef exports to South Africa, and Botswana's membership in Southern African Custom Union (SACU). SACU was formed in 1910 to encourage free trade among countries of the region including South Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Basutoland and Swaziland. Members shared revenue accrued from the custom duties charged on goods that originated from outside the Union. The amount of the revenue depended largely on the value of the goods imported. The percentage share of GDP by sector for 1966/67 is presented in Figure 1-2:

**Figure 1-2: Gross Domestic Product 1966/67**

![Pie chart showing GDP sectors: Agriculture 39%, Trade 18%, Manufacturing 8%, Communication 4%, Water & Electricity 1%, Construction 6%, Finance 7%, Government 17%]


In spite of the achievement of political sovereignty, the country was faced with critical economic and social problems. The estimated annual per capita income was US $80 at the time, making Botswana one of the poorest countries in the world. At the time of independence, up to one fifth of the total population of half a million was receiving famine aid (Colcough and McCarthy 1980: 54). Widespread poverty was attributed in part to a crippling five-year drought period in the early sixties which seriously undermined subsistence agricultural production, and the relative shortage of opportunities for income generation within the country.
The discovery of a diamond pipe in Orapa in 1967 and of copper-nickel deposits in Selibe-Phikwe led to the establishment of a mining sector that fuelled rapid economic growth. Since the commencement of production in the mines during the early 1970s, the sector has accounted for a significant proportion of the GDP; rapidly growing to 51 percent by 1988/89. In contrast, the agricultural share declined drastically to a mere 3 per cent of the total GDP. The growth of the mineral industry fuelled economic diversification and growth of the construction, manufacturing and trade sectors (Government of Botswana, 1991a: 13). The percentage share of GDP for 1988/89 is shown in Figure 1-3:

**Figure 1-3: Gross Domestic Product 1991/92**

![GDP Pie Chart]

Source: Government of Botswana 1991a: 13
Note: Dummy Sector (correction for imputed bank service charges) accounts -1.9% of total GDP.

After experiencing rapid growth following the discovery of minerals in the early 1970's, the economy suffered a number of globally and domestically induced setbacks in 1992 that affected most sectors. The impact of the world economic recession led to reduced export earnings in the diamond and copper-nickel industries. The manufacturing sector was also adversely affected by depressed global market conditions that impacted on regional markets such as South Africa and Zimbabwe. The agricultural sector was gripped by a severe drought that
reduced household food security in the rural areas. The construction industry suffered from problems resulting from competition from South Africa as well as corruption in the issuing of contracts by the Botswana Housing Corporation (Jefferis 1993). While the slow-down affected employment in the affected sectors, economic growth exceeded population growth -- GDP per capita was estimated at US$ 2,500 in 1992 (Jefferis 1993: 2).

The period from 1993 to the present has been one of economic recovery due largely to improvements in the state of the global economy, as well as regional markets. While diamond exports earnings continue to form a significant proportion of the GDP, economic diversification is increasing through the export of commodities such as textiles, and motor vehicles from the Hyundai assembly plant in Gaborone (Jefferis 1995). The percentage share of GDP per sector in 1995/96 is shown in Figure 1-4:

**Figure 1-4: Gross Domestic Product 1995/96**

![GDP pie chart]

Note: Dummy Sector (correction for imputed bank service charges) accounts for -2.6% of total GDP.

Botswana’s Gross National Product per capita income is currently estimated at US$3,020; one of the highest in the African region (World Bank 1997: 215). While the country’s political stability and impressive economic indicators make it a unique case within the
African region, it is important to examine demographic and social indicators as well as social welfare provisions to gain meaningful insight into the quality of life of the population.

1.3 Current Demographic Indicators

The timely collection of demographic data is an integral part of policy development and programme evaluation in Botswana. Table 1-1 shows selected demographic indicators based on the censuses of 1971, 1981 and 1991 as well as the Botswana Family Health Survey (BFHS) of 1988.

Table 1-1: Demographic Indicators: 1971, 1981, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enumerated Population (000's)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>574,094</td>
<td>941,027</td>
<td>1,326,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>262,121</td>
<td>443,104</td>
<td>634,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>311,973</td>
<td>497,923</td>
<td>692,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana Nationals Abroad (000's)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Age Distribution (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 0 – 4</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 5 – 14</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>28.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aged 15 – 64</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>51.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aged 64+</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population aged under 15 (%)</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>42.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dependency Ratio (per 100)</td>
<td>113.3</td>
<td>106.5</td>
<td>105.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child-Woman ratio (per 1000)</td>
<td>759.0</td>
<td>854.7</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio (Males per 100 females)</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>91.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion Urban (%)</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude Birth Rate (per 1000)</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude Death Rate (per 1000)</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Fertility Rate (births per woman)</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Expectancy at birth (years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Age (years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3.1 Population Structure

The population of Botswana has grown considerably over the last three decades from half a million to 1.5 million according to current estimations (Government of Botswana 1997). With an annual growth rate of 3.5 per cent, it is estimated to reach 1.7 million by the year 2001, and double itself by the year 2011 (Mukamaambo 1995). The rapid growth of the population is attributed to high fertility and declining mortality levels. Another significant feature of the population is its relative youthfulness (see Figure 1-5).

Figure 1-5: Age Structure 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males:</th>
<th></th>
<th>Females:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,497</td>
<td>* 90+</td>
<td>* 5,289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,855</td>
<td>* 85 - 89</td>
<td>* 2,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>* 80 - 84</td>
<td>* 3,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,633</td>
<td>* 75 - 79</td>
<td>* 5,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,857</td>
<td>* 70 - 74</td>
<td>** 7,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,688</td>
<td>** 65 - 69</td>
<td>** 11,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,485</td>
<td>** 60 - 64</td>
<td>** 12,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,746</td>
<td>** 55 - 59</td>
<td>*** 15,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16,192</td>
<td>*** 50 - 54</td>
<td>**** 17,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18,553</td>
<td>**** 45 - 49</td>
<td>***** 20,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23,197</td>
<td>***** 40 - 44</td>
<td>25,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,487</td>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>35,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36,620</td>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>44,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45,408</td>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>54,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54,261</td>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>62,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73,112</td>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>79,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89,887</td>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>93,596</td>
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<tr>
<td>97,563</td>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>99,051</td>
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<td>96,676</td>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>96,989</td>
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<tr>
<td>634,400</td>
<td></td>
<td>692,396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The census of 1991 revealed that 54.7% of the population is under the age of 20 years, and that 43.2% is under the age of 15 years. The average first age at birth per woman is 18 years (Government of Botswana 1989). While the general fertility rate has declined, the high population growth rate has serious implications for the provision of employment opportunities, social services and infrastructure.

The de facto sex ratio during all three censuses shows a predominance of females over males. The increase of the proportion of men to women is attributed to the increase in the life
expectancy of males and the reduction of their migration to employment centres in South Africa (Mukamaambo 1995). Even with this reduction, the proportion of men who are abroad is markedly higher than that of women.

1.3.2 Marriage Trends

The main categories for marital status in the censuses of 1971 and 1981 were: never married, currently married, separated/divorced, and widowed. The category of cohabiting was only added during the 1991 census. Table 1-2 shows data on marital status by sex for the three census periods.

Table 1-2: Marital Status by Gender of Persons Aged 15+yrs: 1971, 1981, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Divorced</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Age at Marriage</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


n/a: not covered by census

The figures on marital status reveal a significant decline in the proportion married (by over 14%) over the last 15 years. While the mean age at marriage for men used to be significantly higher than that for women, the gap has been closing steadily over the years. There are significant gender differences in the categories separated/divorced and widowed, with more than 50 percent of the female population over 65 years being widowed compared to only 10 percent of men within the same age category (Lesetedi and Ngeongco 1995: 182). This gender difference can be attributed to a tendency for men to remarry, or establish new co-residential consensual relationships following the deaths of their spouses, while women remain single.
Given the relatively low age at first birth and declining rate of marriage, a substantial proportion of women are likely to be single mothers for most of their lives.

1.3.3 Settlement Patterns

In the past, Botswana was described as having a predominantly rural-based population, with approximately 80 percent of the people living in villages, agricultural lands, cattle posts and remote area settlements which are located far from physical infrastructure and social services, especially those in the Kgalagadi Desert. The last twenty years have seen a significant increase in the urban population. While the proportion of urban dwellers was relatively low at 9.5 percent in 1971, it has increased almost five-fold to 45% in 1991. Two factors account for this increase. The first is the reclassification of nineteen rural villages into urban villages during the most recent census on the basis that less than 25% of their labour force was working in agriculture (Mukamaambo 1991). The second factor is the rapid decline of participation in the subsistence agricultural sector and the increase in employment-related internal rural-urban migration.

The 1991 census results showed that the highest rate of migration was to the main urban towns (Gaborone, Francistown and Jwaneng) and urban villages which serve as centres of education, government administration and commercial activity. A disaggregation of the migration rate by age and gender showed that the majority of migrants were young adults in the age groups 15 - 24 years. There was a slightly higher proportion of male migrants (11%) than females (6%) within these age categories (Van der Post 1995).

1.3.4 Basic Social Services

Botswana’s development strategy has been to re-invest the returns from the exploitation of mineral resources in order to achieve sustained socio-economic development (Government of Botswana 1991b: 311). Since the early 1970’s, thirty to forty per cent of the total government recurrent expenditure has been allocated to the provision of education, health services, food and social welfare programmes, housing and other community and social welfare services. An
important aspect of social service delivery is popular participation. The local population is encouraged to participate in the identification of their needs through community based committees. The government has set up Village Development and Health Committees (VDCs and VHCs) and utilises traditional structures such as the kgotla to consult the local population on the needs and problems of their communities that feed into policy and programme development at the district and central government levels.

**Shelter and Basic Amenities**

The system of land allocation in rural areas is based on collaboration between local authorities and Land Boards in different administrative districts. All citizens of Botswana are eligible to apply for free residential plots which are allocated on the basis of 99 year leases. While traditional thatched mud huts used to be the norm in many villages, these structures are increasingly being replaced by ‘modern’ brick structures with corrugated iron roofs. Changes in the type of housing are largely due to the diffusion of ‘western’ values, as well as the recurrent cost of replacing thatched roofing over time. District councils are allocated funds for the provision of communal clean water standpipes in most villages. Access to domestic water supplies and electricity is contingent on affordability. According to the Household Income and Expenditure survey of 1993/94 (HIES 2), approximately 9 per cent of rural homesteads had piped water on their premises, and only 3 per cent had electricity (Government of Botswana 1996).

The Self Help Housing Agencies were established in 1974 to provide access to affordable housing for low income groups in the urban areas. This was to be facilitated through the ‘site and service’ concept which emphasised self-reliance and the spirit of self-help (ipelegeng). The programme is managed by urban councils which provided surveyed plots measuring between 450m² and 375m² (Government of Botswana 1991b: 408). The urban councils provide basic infrastructure for the plots including communal water standpipes that are
shared by 20 households, storm drains, garbage collection and gravel roads (Larsson 1989; Government of Botswana 1991b). The plot-holders are provided with access to building loans that are to be repaid over a 15 year period at an interest of 9 per cent per annum (Larsson 1989), and are issued with Certificate of Rights (COR) which allow them to legally occupy their plots, pass them on to their beneficiaries, or to tender buildings on the plots for sale (Nostrand 1982; Government of Botswana 1991b).

The largest achievement of the SHHA has been the prevention of the development of significant squatter settlements in the urban areas of Gaborone, Lobatse, Francistown, Selibe-Phikwe, Jwaneng and Kasane. Besides providing access to home ownership for low income urban dwellers, the SHHAs have benefited a larger population through a wide-scale sub-letting system which provides much needed income for plot-holders. According to the latest National Development Plan (NDP 8), the programme provided shelter for approximately 70 per cent of all urban households (Government of Botswana 1997). The problems of the SHHA scheme have mainly been financial. Due to high default rates on loan repayment and service levies the scheme relies heavily on subsidies from the central government and urban councils. In addition to this, there are administrative delays in the provision of low-cost plots, resulting in long waiting lists in most urban areas (Government of Botswana 1991b, 1997).

**Education**

The last three national development plans have placed emphasis on the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE), which aims to ensure that all children in Botswana have access to seven basic years of primary schooling. UPE is an important step towards the goal of providing nine years of basic education for all. There has been considerable progress in towards the achievement of UPE, with a total of 90 percent net enrolment of 7 - 13 year olds in 1993 (Government of Botswana 1997).
Great strides have also been made in the provision of two years of junior secondary education. The percentage of Standard 7 pupils entering Form 1 has risen steadily from only 38 per cent in 1985 to 100 per cent in 1994 (ibid). These achievements have been reached by the cancellation of primary and secondary school fees, which removed a significant constraint to accessing basic education (BIDPA 1997a). Educational costs to parents now include, which are annual contributions of approximately P20 per child towards the primary school feeding programme (‘pot fees’), the cost of school uniforms, and occasional financial contributions for educational trips and extra-mural activities. Other costs of education such as the building of schools, teachers’ salaries, books and supplies are met by the state.

While the majority of children have access to basic education, an estimated 10 per cent of children between the ages of 7 and 13 years are missing from school system. Studies (Kann, Mapolelo and Nleya 1989; Leburu-Siyanga 1995; Kwape 1997) indicate that the ‘missing children’ were primarily street children, children of remote area dwellers, disabled children, those who didn’t attend due to religious beliefs, and those who were employed as cattle herders or baby-minders. Poverty, especially parents’ inability to pay for uniform and ‘pot fees’ has been cited as one of the main reasons for children’s’ absence (Government of Botswana 1997; Kwape 1997; BIDPA 1997a).

Senior secondary education in Botswana consists of three years (Forms 3 - 5). The enrolment rate at senior secondary level is much lower than that in primary and junior secondary schools. In 1991 there were only twenty-three senior secondary schools in the country, with total enrolment being 20,000 compared to the 50,000 enrolled in junior secondary schools (Kwape 1997). The shortage of senior secondary schools results in a great number of teenagers having to leave school with less than nine years of basic education. While the government encourages the provision of private senior secondary education by non-governmental organisations, the costs of private schooling tend to be prohibitive for a large proportion of the population.
In addition to primary and secondary education, the government provides skills training through Vocational Training Centres (VTCs) and the Brigades. By 1991, there were four vocational training centres, and twenty-three operational Brigades centres that offered manual skills training ranging from automotive mechanics to cooking and sewing. While the VTCs and Brigades absorb some of the junior secondary dropouts, they are unable to cope with the rising demand.

There is only one university in Botswana (the University of Botswana), which provides certificate and diploma programmes as well as Bachelor degrees and a limited number of Masters degrees. During the period 1985/86 to 1989/90 the university produced 2960 graduates, with most receiving undergraduate degrees in the Humanities and Education (Government of Botswana 1991b: 326). Since 1990, the number of degrees awarded has been steadily rising. At the most recent graduation, the university awarded 2027 degrees. According to projections, this figure is expected to increase to more than 3,000 by the year 2000 (Government of Botswana 1997).

To improve access to higher education, the government is currently awarding loans for students at the University of Botswana, and scholarships for those who are compelled to train abroad due to the absence of appropriate programmes within the country. With these provisions, however, university education remains largely out of the reach of the majority of Batswana. Enrolment is largely restricted to those individuals who attain the highest marks in the Ordinary Level Certificate examinations at the end of senior secondary school.

In addition to the provision of formal education, the government has a non-formal education programme that is aimed at eradicating illiteracy among adults (the National Literacy Programme). The programme provides individuals with basic literacy skills, as well as training for income generation. The total enrolment in the NLP was estimated at 20,956 in 1995 (Kwape 1997: 217). The programme has had limited success in meeting its objective due to the difficulties in recruiting and retaining Literacy Group Leaders at low cost. Another problem has
been in the area of expenditure control, as many of the local officers responsible for keeping accounts have little or no management training (Government of Botswana 1991b: 324).

An area that has received little attention is that of day-care and pre-school education. While the Ministry of Education has established guidelines for the establishment of a programme, the responsibility for implementation has primarily been borne by women’s groups such as the Botswana Council of Women and the Young Women’s Christian Association, as well as private individuals who charge fees for the service. While the provision of affordable pre-school education in urban and rural areas has been identified as an objective during NDP 8 (1998 - 2003), the responsibility for the care of the vast majority of children under six years is borne by their mothers.

Health

At the time of independence, Botswana inherited a largely hospital-based curative health care system from the colonial government. Soon after independence, the Ministry of Health developed a preventative health care approach which focuses on improving delivery and access to health services throughout the country. This is facilitated through a highly decentralised health care system that links the Ministry of Health at central government level with local communities. In 1996, there were 554 health facilities: 16 district hospitals, 15 primary hospitals, 209 clinics (76 with maternity wards), and 314 health posts in the country, with more than 70 percent being based in the rural districts. In addition there were 687 mobile stations which primarily target remote area dwellers in the different districts (Government of Botswana 1997).

The Primary Health Care (PHC) strategy is a central component of the preventative health care approach. The PHC strategy aims to promote equity, intersectoral collaboration and community involvement, as well as the provision of appropriate, affordable services (Government of Botswana 1988a). In 1973 the Maternal and Child Health/Family Planning
The programme was established to focus on the health needs of pregnant women, mothers and children in areas ranging from nutrition to child spacing. A key component of the programme is the mobilisation of communities to participate in the identification of health problems, and in the delivery of health education. The programme is carried out at the local level by Family Welfare Educators (FWEs) who are attached to the local clinics and health posts. FWEs disseminate health education through home visits, schools and institutions, as well as through village meetings. They are also responsible for monitoring the growth of children under the age of 5 years, and identifying malnourished children and pregnant women as well as distributing food within health facilities (Government of Botswana 1988a).

While the health care system has made great progress in the reduction of infant mortality and maternal deaths from 100 per thousand births in 1971 to 45 in 1991, the further reduction of the fertility rates continues to be a great challenge (Government of Botswana 1997: 383). The total fertility rate, or the average number of births per woman has declined from 7.1 in 1981 to 4.2 in 1991 as shown in Table 1-1. The concentration of the PHC on women and children tends to marginalise men and youth, especially with regard to family planning and safe sexual behaviour.

The growing incidence of HIV and AIDS poses a serious threat to the population of Botswana. While figures on prevalence of AIDS are constantly changing, the overwhelming conclusion is that the rate of HIV infection has reached epidemic proportions, making Botswana one of the countries with the highest rates of HIV infection in the world. The main source of information on HIV infection is the National Sentinel Surveillance Study, which started in 1992. Based on the testing of pregnant women who attended ante-natal clinic\(^1\) and men who were being treated for Sexually Transmitted Diseases in the health facilities, the study estimated that the

\(^1\)More than 90% of all pregnant women in Botswana attend ante-natal clinic at least once during pregnancy (MacDonald 1996).
The number of people who were HIV-positive had risen from 60,000 in 1992 to over 125,000 in 1994.

The findings of the Sentinel Survey of 1995 indicated that 13 percent of the population was HIV-positive. The study estimated that if the current rate of transmission is maintained, the prevalence of infection will rise to 270,000 by the year 2000; which effectively translates to 100 new infections per day (Modisaotsile 1995: 116). The demographics of AIDS infection show that the age groups 0 - 4 and 25 - 29, account for 15 per cent and 21 per cent of all cases respectively, while the age group 30 - 34 years accounts for 17 per cent of all infections (Government of Botswana 1997: 36). Most of the infected were women between the ages of 15 and 35 years, while men were between 25 and 45 years. The Sentinel Study also pointed to geographical disparities in the rate of infection, with the urban areas accounting for more of the cases, although the gap was narrowing over time.

The Ministry of Health has embarked on an aggressive program to raise public awareness on the disease with components that are specifically aimed at encouraging the sexually active population to practice condom-based safe-sex. In spite of these efforts, the rising rates of infection indicates that the population continues to engage in unsafe sexual practices. The AIDS epidemic has dire demographic and socio-economic consequences. The AIDS epidemic is bound to increase infant and adult mortality rates. While the government is currently trying to prevent the disease from spreading, health facilities and communities are overburdened with the escalating number of AIDS patients.

Families and households are losing income earners and children are losing parents to the disease. The AIDS epidemic will significantly undermine the progress that has been made in the area of human resource development, since the economically-active population is most
vulnerable to infection. In the coming years, the government of Botswana will continue to be faced with the challenge of providing adequate health care for those suffering from AIDS as well as catering for the social and economic needs of the population that is directly and indirectly affected by the disease.

1.3.5 Social Safety Nets

The provision of adequate housing, education and health care are important aspects of social welfare provision. While the Botswana government has no integrated social welfare policy at present, the provision of services for vulnerable groups is seen as an essential priority for the achievement of social justice. In addition to the services provided through health and educational programmes, social welfare concerns are directly addressed through the Department of Social Welfare. The department has personnel (community development officers and social welfare officers) who are based in local communities to identify social problems and address them accordingly. The community development officers are responsible for the administration of the destitute programme. The Destitute Policy of 1980 defines destitute persons a) as those without assets (e.g. land or livestock) or family support; b) those incapable of working due to physical or mental disability, old age or both; c) orphaned children with no family support; d) those rendered helpless by temporary hardships such natural disasters (Government of Botswana 1980).

The programme provides for the nutritional needs for destitutes as well as providing subsidies for housing, medical care, rehabilitation as well as covering the costs for a limited range of educational and funeral expenses (ibid). Temporary assistance is provided to those individuals who are temporarily incapacitated, while permanent assistance is given to those who have long-term disability (such as the elderly and the physically handicapped).

Botswana has recently emerged from a debilitating drought that lasted from 1992 to 1996. The government initiated temporary relief programmes to counter the effects of drought
and poverty in rural areas. These programmes include a) intensive labour-based public work programmes that provide temporary employment for rural dwellers; b) supplementary feeding programmes for vulnerable groups (eg., children and mothers) during drought years; c) the provision of water and subsidised stockfeed for livestock during drought years; d) the provision of inputs for farmers to enable them to undertake production when rains arrive (Government of Botswana 1991b: 17).

While a significant proportion of rural dwellers benefit from the destitute and drought relief programmes, they mainly serve as temporary solutions for the majority of rural dwellers. The limited access to employment and poverty among a large proportion of the population constitutes a long-term structural problem that poses a serious challenge to development efforts in the country.

1.4 Employment and Labour Force Participation

Post-independence employment trends in Botswana can be divided into two phases. The first phase from the mid 1960's to 1992 was that of high employment growth that was marked by the movement of labour from the traditional agricultural sector into the rapidly growing urban-based formal employment sector. The second phase following the recession of 1992 has been one of declining formal employment, increasing unemployment and the growing significance of the informal sector -- especially casual work and small-scale entrepreneurship. The following discussion utilises CSO definitions of formal and informal sectors. In Botswana, formal sector employment is defined as work for which wages are received regularly.

1.4.1 Formal Sector Employment

The period following the discovery of mineral deposits in the early 1970's was marked by the rapid growth of employment opportunities. The average annual rate of growth of formal sector employment between 1972 and 1991 was 8.6 percent (Government of Botswana, UNICEF and UNDP 1993: 18). The growth in formal sector employment exceeded the rate of
growth of the labour force from the early 1970’s until the beginning of 1991. The highest rate of absorption of the labour force occurred between 1981 and 1991, with the proportion of the labour force in formal sector employment increasing from 29 to 49 percent (see Table 1-3). The economic slow-down of 1991 brought a reversal of trends. The growth rate of formal sector employment to a mere 1.1 per cent per annum, while the labour force continued to grow at the rate of 3.4 per cent per annum (Government of Botswana 1997: 55).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Labour Force</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>% of Labour Force Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>332,6</td>
<td>97,4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>393,7</td>
<td>130,1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>466,0</td>
<td>228,9</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>482,0</td>
<td>227,5</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>528,1</td>
<td>234,5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The rapid growth of the construction, manufacturing and trade sectors in the 1970’s and 1980’s provided sources of employment for unskilled and semi-skilled urban migrants. The economic slow-down of 1991 led to widespread retrenchments in the construction and manufacturing industries. The construction industry has never recovered from the slump, with many companies closing down following the conclusion of contracts (Government of Botswana 1995d). The government continues to provide employment at central and local levels. Proportions of paid employees per sector for selected years are presented in Table 1-4.
Table 1-4: Number of Paid Employees by Formal Economic Sector: 1968, 1977, 1988, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>4,150 (17%)</td>
<td>4,250 (6.8%)</td>
<td>6,500 (3.8%)</td>
<td>6,700 (2.9%)</td>
<td>4,600 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining &amp; Quarrying</td>
<td>825 (3.4%)</td>
<td>5,500 (8.8%)</td>
<td>7,500 (4.4%)</td>
<td>7,700 (3.4%)</td>
<td>8,300 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>1,700 (6.9%)</td>
<td>4,150 (6.6%)</td>
<td>16,400 (9.7%)</td>
<td>26,300 (11.5%)</td>
<td>23,900 (10.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity &amp; Water</td>
<td>975 (1.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,300 (1.4%)</td>
<td>2,500 (1.1%)</td>
<td>2,700 (1.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1,575 (6.4%)</td>
<td>6,950 (11.1%)</td>
<td>22,200 (13.1%)</td>
<td>34,000 (14.9%)</td>
<td>22,500 (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade &amp; Hotels</td>
<td>4,000 (16.4%)</td>
<td>10,000 (15.9%)</td>
<td>28,800 (17%)</td>
<td>42,000 (18.3%)</td>
<td>45,900 (19.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; Communications</td>
<td>1,125 (4.6%)</td>
<td>1,850 (3%)</td>
<td>7,900 (4.6%)</td>
<td>17,100 (18.3%)</td>
<td>8,800 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>2,425 (3.8%)</td>
<td>11,200 (6.6%)</td>
<td>9,800 (7.5%)</td>
<td>17,500 (7.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community &amp; Personal Services</td>
<td>2,250 (9.2%)</td>
<td>2,700 (4.3%)</td>
<td>6,700 (4%)</td>
<td>8,900 (3.9%)</td>
<td>9,800 (4.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (private)</td>
<td>1,850 (7.6%)</td>
<td>5,300 (8.5%)</td>
<td>2,300 (1.4%)</td>
<td>2,500 (1.1%)</td>
<td>4,000 (1.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Private Parastatal</td>
<td>17,475 (71.5%)</td>
<td>44,100 (70.4%)</td>
<td>111,800 (66%)</td>
<td>157,500 (68.9%)</td>
<td>148,000 (62.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Government</td>
<td>6,975 (28.5%)</td>
<td>18,500 (29.6%)</td>
<td>57,700 (34%)</td>
<td>71,300 (31.1%)</td>
<td>87,400 (37.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total All Sectors</td>
<td>24,450 (100%)</td>
<td>62,600 (100%)</td>
<td>169,500 (100%)</td>
<td>228,900 (100%)</td>
<td>235,400 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Estimates included under manufacturing.
**Estimates included under community services.
1.4.2 Employment in Traditional Agriculture and the Informal Sector

While a large proportion of the population relies on formal sector employment, the realm of income-generation and subsistence includes a wide range of economic activities that are performed outside the spheres of formal regulation. They include traditional/subsistence agriculture, small scale business enterprises and domestic work. Since the majority of data on employment concentrates on the formal sector, the following discussion focuses more on trends as reported in government publications and by independent economic analysts. Data from the 1991 census indicated that about 6.5% of the labour force was self-employed (working for cash), while an estimated 17.2% was working in family businesses, and traditional subsistence agriculture with little or no cash remuneration.

Traditional Agriculture

Before discussing trends of participation in traditional (arable and pastoral) agriculture, it is important to outline the distinctions between commercial and traditional/subsistence agriculture. The main difference between commercial and traditional agriculture is based on land tenure, technology and market integration. Commercial agriculture is integrated into formal markets, utilising hired labour while traditional agriculture typically uses family labour, producing predominantly for consumption and selling only when surpluses are available (Government of Botswana 1997: 228).

While the agricultural sector has provided very few opportunities for formal wage employment, it has been an important source of livelihood and food security for a large proportion of the population in the past. The viability of the arable and pastoral agriculture has been severely hampered by variable weather conditions. While cattle ownership is highly skewed, with 50 percent of the national herd being owned by 5% of the population, it continues to provide employment in the rural areas (BIDPA 1997a). Trends in participation within
traditional agriculture as a whole over the last thirty years show the diminishing importance of the sector as a source of livelihood for rural dwellers (Jefferis 1994).

In 1966, agriculture accounted for 39.9 percent of the Gross Domestic Product as shown in Figure 1-2. Since then, however the percentage share has dwindled to a mere 4 percent. The engagement of the labour force within traditional agriculture has also declined significantly. According to the 1981 census, approximately 45 percent of the labour force engaged in traditional agriculture. Between 1981 and 1991 the proportion of the labour force participating in traditional agriculture declined to 17 percent. While the ratio of workers in traditional agriculture to those in the formal sector had been approximately 1.5 to 1 in 1981, it declined to approximately 0.33 to 1 in 1991 (Jefferis 1994). According to latest Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES 1993/94), the proportion of the economically active population that participated in agricultural work as unpaid workers accounted for 7.4 percent of the total. While the viability of agricultural production has been adversely affected by recurrent drought, other factors include low access to labour, production-enhancing technology and low capital investment.

The poor performance of the agricultural sector and the related large-scale of migration from the rural sector has prompted the government to adopt measures to boost agricultural production and create employment in the rural areas. The Arable Land Development Programme (ALDEP) was conceived in 1977 to address the problems of low productivity in arable agriculture that resulted from low-yielding farming practices and limited inputs such as draught power and labour. The major components of the programme included:

- **On-Farm investment:** supplying small-scale farmers with grants for draught power (mainly donkeys and mules), farm implements (such as ploughs and planters), removal of stumps and fencing around planting areas. The eligibility criteria include: ownership of less
than 40 head of cattle, the tilling of less than 10 hectares of land. The farmers are required to contribute 15% towards the total amount of the grant.

- **Seasonal inputs:** enabling farmers to apply for loans for improved seed, chemical fertilisers, insecticides and pesticides to improve the quantity and quality of output.

- **Strengthening extension services:** placing more emphasis on the training of Agricultural Demonstrators (ADs) and facilitating more training workshops for farmers in areas of crop management.

- **Strengthening of marketing, input supplies and distribution:** improving the administrative capacity of the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) and the Botswana Co-operative Union (BCU) to distribute inputs, as well as for purchasing and marketing surpluses (BIDPA 1997a: 108).

While a large amount of financial and human resources have been expended on the ALDEP program, indications are that the programme has had limited success in increasing productivity within the arable agricultural sector. The main constraint has been environmental. Recurrent drought and low annual rainfall have discouraged individuals from engaging in agriculture, and have provided them no option but to seek wage employment opportunities. The other constraint has been the overall sustainability of the scheme. The large subsidy component of the programme has created dependency rather than encouraging farmers to become independent and self-sufficient (BIDPA 1997a).

**Informal Sector**

An important development over the last five years has been the growth of the informal sector, which was largely stimulated by the shortage of wage employment opportunities. The Labour Force Survey of 1995/96 defined informal sector activities by narrowing the type of employment. According to the 1993 International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS), 'informal activities' are considered as part of the 'household sector' in national accounts
In addition to defining informal sector enterprises in terms of the scale of employment, the Botswana LFS also adopted the following denotation of the undertakings:

- the employment of unpaid family workers and occasional paid employees;
- non-registration as a company, and absence of a complete sets of accounts (Government of Botswana 1996c: 14).

A study conducted under the auspices of the United States Agency for international Development (USAID) in 1992 indicated that there were approximately 48,500 micro-enterprises operating in the country.

Informal sector employees were defined as domestic servants, other private household workers, and as well as those working in enterprises with less than five paid employees (Government of Botswana 1996c: 14). The Labour Force Survey of 1984/85 estimated that 11.5 per cent of the labour force was involved in paid domestic work, family businesses and casual work (Government of Botswana 1986). This proportion increased to 12.2 in 1991. According to the Labour Force Survey of 1995/96, a total of 60,501 or 14 percent of all economically active persons were engaged in the informal sector; 30,951 were self-employed, 26,962 were paid employees, while 2,588 were unpaid helpers. While these figures give an estimation of overall informal sector employment, the Central Statistics Office acknowledges that the LFS “definitely underestimated unpaid helpers and probably underestimated the smaller self-employment activities as well” (Government of Botswana 1996c: 32). The government proposes to undertake a separate informal sector survey in 1998.

The Financial Assistance Policy was established in 1982 to provide capital to entrepreneurs in the industrial sector as well as certain non-traditional agricultural activities. Grants are related to the number of jobs created. The assistance is in the form of grants which essentially cover up to 80% of the total capital costs for businesses (Government of Botswana 1991a: 165). It has been estimated that FAP has created more than 10,000 jobs between 1993
and 1996. Seventy-five percent of the jobs were in the manufacturing sector while twenty-five percent were in non-traditional agricultural activities. Medium and large scale enterprises accounted for 60% of the jobs while the small scale enterprises accounted for 40% (BIDPA 1997a: 97). Most of the medium and large scale enterprises are located in the urban areas while the small-scale enterprises are located in the rural areas. The problems associated with the program are largely administrative, with low accountability on the part of entrepreneurs, and long delays in the processing of applications for small scale enterprises which are largely concentrated in the rural areas.

1.4.3 Unemployment

The Labour Force Survey of 1995/96 broadly defines the unemployed as those individuals who are not economically active (the retired, full-time students and those who identified housework as their full-time occupation) and not actively seeking work. The results of the Labour Force Survey of 1995/96 (LFS) pointed to a marked rise in unemployment over the last decade; from 13.9% in 1991 to 21.5% in 1995 (Government of Botswana 1995a). The LFS pointed to the following trends in unemployment:

Participation rates in economic activity are low for persons who never went to school and then climb steeply with education level. Most of the people with no education are older persons living particularly in the rural areas... The unemployment rates show the dramatic rise [in unemployment rates] from 1991 to 1994 for persons with lower and upper secondary school qualifications... The employment situation for young Form 2/3 and Form 4 school leavers in this period declined particularly badly (Government of Botswana 1996a: 7).

The relative paucity of employment opportunities, coupled with high unemployment among persons of working age is closely correlated to income poverty among persons and households in Botswana.
1.5 Poverty and Gender Inequality

The previous three sections have described the economic progress that has been achieved, as well as some of challenges that face the people and government of Botswana. This section focuses on poverty and gender inequality.

1.5.1 Skewed Income Distribution and Income Poverty

The manifestations of economic inequality in pre-colonial Tswana society were largely marked by patterns of cattle ownership. The extent of economic differentiation was minimised by the engagement of a large proportion of the population in subsistence agriculture. The decline in subsistence agricultural production and growing dependence on the cash economy has exacerbated economic inequality.

The findings of the latest HIES (1993/94) show that income distribution in Botswana is very skewed to the right; few households and individuals have high incomes, while a sizeable proportion have low incomes. Sixty three percent of the households have disposable incomes\(^2\) that fall below the national average of P750 per month (Government of Botswana 1995: 55).

A breakdown of the population into three income groupings showed that the poorest two quintiles earned 11.6 percent of the total national income, the two middle quintiles earned 29.1 percent, while the richest quintile earned 59.3 percent of the total income (ibid: 6). In recognition of the scale of income inequality, the government commissioned the Botswana Institute of Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA), to assess the nature and extent of poverty in Botswana. The study defined poverty as 'the inability to meet basic needs' (BIDPA 1997a: 6). The key manifestations of poverty in Botswana were identified as: a) lack of adequate shelter and clothing; b) high mortality and morbidity c) malnutrition d) dependency (on relatives, neighbours, or the state); e) lack of child care, child vulnerability f) inability to participate

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\(^2\)The HIES defined disposable income as the sum of all cash incomes (wages, cash gifts received, business profits) plus income in kind (own produce, gifts, etc) less taxes and cash transfers (Government of Botswana 1995b: 5).
meaningfully in the life of the society g) lack of economic and social mobility (BIDPA 1997a: 8).

Three basic measures of poverty formed the basis for assessment of poverty: the Poverty Datum Line (PDL), the Food Poverty Line, and income. The Poverty Datum Line (PDL) for June 1994 estimated the minimal cost for meeting basic needs such as clothing, personal items, household goods and shelter (BIDPA 1997b; Jefferis 1997). The PDLs for urban areas were higher than those of rural areas owing to the relatively high cost of housing, food and other basic amenities (BIDPA 1997a: 14). After calculating a PDL for ten different categories of household membership within the HIES, it was found that the average varied between P171 and P102 (approximately Can $63 and $50) per month per adult in the rural and urban areas respectively, and declined to between P92 to P76 ($34 and $19) for each household member within households with up to ten members (BIDPA 1997b: 8).

The Food Poverty Line identifies the cost of the following daily nutritional requirements: meal, bread and flour, sugar, vegetables, greens, pulses, fat, salt, meat, tea/coffee and milk. The estimated unit cost of a food per thousand calories in Botswana was P0.97 compared to P0.38 in rural Bangladesh, P0.42 in rural Zimbabwe and P0.68 in rural Zambia. The unit cost of food is high in Botswana due to the comparative disadvantage in food production, and the high reliance on imported foods (BIDPA 1997b: 10). The average food poverty line per person per month was P62 ($23) in 1994. While the study does not provide individual food poverty lines per person, it was estimated that the food component accounted for 60 - 70 percent of the PDL in Botswana in 1994.

The study conducted a detailed analysis of HIES 1993/94 data to estimate the levels and characteristics of income poverty. Total household income included aggregate earned income, income from transfers and remittances, imputed income (eg., from owner occupation of dwellings (BIDPA 1997b: 12).
Household incomes were measured in terms of their total consumption expenditures. Income poverty rates were calculated on the basis of the relative number of household incomes equal to or below their respective PDL and food poverty lines. Three categories of households were based on these criteria:

a) **Non-poor**: Household income above PDL
b) **Poor**: Household income on or below their household PDL but above their food poverty line.
c) **Very Poor**: household income on or below food poverty line. (BIDPA 1997a: 15)

Distinguishing features between the different categories included household size and composition. The study indicated that approximately 47% of the population, and 38% of households were living in poverty in 1993/94. The proportion of the population living in poverty was substantially higher in the rural areas, which accounted for 62% of the poorest persons, while urban villages and urban towns accounted for 24% and 14% respectively. The households that were categorised as poor and very poor tended to be up to 50% larger and have higher dependency ratios than those categorised as non-poor. The dependency ratios were highest in rural areas and lowest in urban areas.

**Table 1-5: Estimated National Poverty by Settlement Type: HIES 1993/94**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Category</th>
<th>% of HH by Settlement Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Poor Households</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Households</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Poor Households</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor + Very Poor Households</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from BIDPA 1997a: 18.
According to the Poverty study, the majority of the poor were concentrated in the central and north east districts, while the very poor were concentrated in the south west district, especially in the remote settlements in the Kgalagadi Desert. There was a positive correlation between lower rates of poverty and urbanisation, or the close proximity to urban areas (BIDPA 1997a).

The majority of the labour force is concentrated in low-paying formal sector jobs, or depend on casual work and informal sector activities that provide little or no cash remuneration (BIDPA 1996, Hope 1996, Jefferis 1997, Siwawa-Ndai 1997). The high rate of unemployment indicates that many households have no income earners, and instead depend on own produce, income-in-kind, or government welfare provisions.

1.5.2 Gender Inequality

Interest in gender inequality and the status of women in development was generated during the United Nations Decade for Women (1975 - 1985). Gender disaggregated data, collected through CSO research and independent studies, reveal that women have lower participation rates in wage employment, and that they represent the majority of unemployed. A large proportion of women have limited access to income, while bearing the primary responsibility for raising children.
## Table 1-6: Proportion of Population (12yrs+) by Sex and Economic Activity 1995/96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Paid</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Unpaid</th>
<th>Unpaid</th>
<th>Actively</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Housework</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>Seeking</td>
<td>Economically</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12yrs+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>489,937</td>
<td>108,801</td>
<td>29340</td>
<td>11,998</td>
<td>18,593</td>
<td>50,604</td>
<td>219,335</td>
<td>143,357</td>
<td>109,676</td>
<td>14,386</td>
<td>3,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>403,841</td>
<td>135,600</td>
<td>17,282</td>
<td>3,133</td>
<td>48,758</td>
<td>49,878</td>
<td>254,651</td>
<td>20,001</td>
<td>107,658</td>
<td>18,855</td>
<td>2,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>893,778</td>
<td>244,401</td>
<td>46,622</td>
<td>15,131</td>
<td>67,351</td>
<td>100,482</td>
<td>473,986</td>
<td>163,358</td>
<td>217,334</td>
<td>33,241</td>
<td>5,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employment

Gender disparities in access to financial resources are to a large extent determined by unequal participation in wage employment. Data from the national censuses of 1981 and 1991 show that there were more men than women in the labour force. In 1981, men constituted 59 percent of the labour force while women constituted 40.3 percent. According to the 1991 census, sixty two percent of the economically active population were male, while only thirty eight percent were female (Siwawa-Ndai 1997: 138).

Most female employees are concentrated in community services, health, education, wholesale/retail and agricultural sectors while male employees are concentrated in mining, electricity and water, transport and communications sectors (Lesetedi and Ngcongco 1995). Women typically earn lower wages than men. According to the Labour Force Survey, the average income per month for formal sector employment was P804 (approximately Can$320). The average income for males was P930, and P645 for females.

Estimates of informal sector employment by gender from the 1995/95 Labour Force Survey (Table 1-7 below) show that a higher proportion of females are self-employed in commercial ventures such as retailing, selling seasonal agricultural produce and handicrafts, and many earn their living from paid domestic work.

Table 1-7: Estimated Informal Sector Employment by Gender 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
<td>18,209</td>
<td>12,742</td>
<td>30,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid Employees</td>
<td>20,108</td>
<td>6,854</td>
<td>26,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>38,317</td>
<td>19,596</td>
<td>57,913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated earlier, the total unemployment rate was 21.5 percent in 1995. A comparison of unemployment rates by gender show that 23 percent of women were unemployed compared to 19 percent of men (Government of Botswana 1995c).

**Education and Training**

In 1991 girls accounted for 52 percent of total enrolment in primary schools, and 53 percent of junior secondary school enrolment (Kalogosho 1995; Kwape 1997). The ratio for senior secondary school enrolment by gender is significantly different, with girls accounting for only 34 per cent of total enrolment. In addition to lack of resources and academic ineptitude, many teenage girls drop out of school due to pregnancy (Duncan 1988; Kann, Mugabe and Phake 1988; Alexander 1991; Kalogosho 1995; Leburu-Siyanga 1997). In the absence of compulsory sex education in schools, teenage pregnancy poses a serious barrier to the attainment of higher education for young women, and serves to limit their chances for employment.

While there is little gender difference in literacy rates, there are marked disparities in enrolment in vocational training centres and brigades. Data from 1991 to 1996 show that females constituted one third of students in vocational training centres. University enrolment figures for 1994/95 showed that females constituted 44.1% of total enrolment; with the majority being concentrated in the certificate and diploma programmes. Those studying for degrees were concentrated in primary and secondary education programmes as well as nursing and social work, while males predominated in the law and science programmes.

**Legal Constraints**

Legal constraints have a significant bearing on women’s access to financial resources and assets. One of the obstacles to women’s economic security is legislation that bars married women from seeking credit without the consent of their husbands. This is a major impediment to the engagement of women in income generating activities that could otherwise enhance household security (WLSA 1992; UNICEF and Government of Botswana 1993; Driel 1994).
This legislation is based on, and reinforces, gender ideologies that view women as minors. Culturally prescribed male-biased processes of inheritance also serve to limit women's access to resources and assets such as cattle.

Another factor that limits women's (and children's) economic security is the lack of sufficient attention and commitment by legislators and policy makers to the enforcement of child maintenance laws. While women supposedly have access to facilities for filing maintenance complaints, the avenues for ensuring payment and retribution for defaulters are limited and ineffective (Brown 1983; Molokome 1992; WLSA 1992; Driel 1994).

1.5.3 **Female Headed Households and Poverty**

One of the integral aspects of both HIES exercises was the disaggregation of data by gender. According to HIES 1993/94, 46 percent of all households are headed by women. The corresponding proportions by settlement are: fifty percent in rural areas and urban villages and thirty six percent in urban areas. The Poverty Study showed that 50% of female headed households were poor and very poor compared to 44% of male headed households (BIDPA 1996: 17). The differences in levels of poverty are determined by a combination of disadvantages that are faced by female headed households which include larger household sizes and lower access to cash income.

**Table 1-8: Household Size by Gender of Household Head and Settlement Type:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Household Head</th>
<th>Settlement Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1-8 shows that female headed households are generally larger than male headed households in all settlement types. The Poverty Study showed that the composition of female and male headed households differed considerably. The average dependency ratio for female headed households was substantially higher than for male headed households. Female headed households tended to have less adults and more dependents under the age of 15 years and over the age of 65 years compared to their male counterparts, while male headed households contained more adults between the ages of 16 and 64 years. The dependency ratios increased sharply from urban areas to urban villages, and from urban villages to rural areas (BIDPA 1997a). The data on mean disposable cash incomes levels within households showed a great disparity in the mean average incomes between female and male headed households (see Table 1-9).

Table 1-9: Mean Monthly Disposable Income by Gender of Household Head 1993/94

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Household Head</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Urban Village</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>860.75</td>
<td>564.73</td>
<td>357.05</td>
<td>532.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1892.53</td>
<td>934.69</td>
<td>518.43</td>
<td>1087.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1524.93</td>
<td>731.40</td>
<td>441.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures expressed in local currency

The data shows marked disparities in household disposable incomes between the rural and urban areas. There is also a discrepancy in the incomes by gender of household head. The lower rates of disposable income among female households is directly related to their composition; they have fewer potential wage earners, and also tend to have more ‘economically inactive’ members.

While the income earning dependency ratio was placed at 7 non income earning members for each income earner in the very poor male and female headed households, there were differentials among the poor, with female headed households having a ratio of 7 compared
to 4 among male headed households (BIDPA 1996: 30). With fewer income earners, female headed households depend more on transfers and government subsidies. A review of the empirical studies the socio-economic welfare of female headed households in Botswana is provided in Chapter 3.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a general background to the country and people of Botswana. The discussion has shown that Botswana is a rapidly changing society, with the changes being manifested in social and economic spheres. The country’s sound economic management and democratic governance has provided a stable environment for economic development. The impressive performance of the national economy has facilitated the improvement of demographic indicators and enabled the provision of a range of social welfare programmes that serve to improve the quality of life.

In spite of the impressive record however, the combined effects of poverty and gender inequality serve to undermine the lives of a significant proportion of the population in Botswana, especially those in households that are headed by women. While household surveys provide insight into the overall trends and manifestations of poverty among households, and the disparities between male and female headed households, it is important to examine the internal organisation of households, as well as the various social, cultural and economic influences that determine economic disparities between them. An important aspect of this analysis is an examination of the degree of various options available to women and men for survival and the provision of basic needs for their dependants.
Chapter 2. Households, Gender Inequality and Poverty

2.1 Introduction

Household and family research has gained prominence in the analysis of socio-economic welfare in developing and developed countries. This chapter discusses three theoretical approaches to the socio-economic organisation of families and households. Since this study focuses on linking poverty and gender inequality at the household level, the review of the theoretical and empirical literature will assess their suitability for such an analysis.

Section 2.2 discusses the New Household Economics (NHE) and sociological structural-functionalist approaches to families and households. Both of these approaches largely view families and households as cohesive units which are based on a gender division of labour that relegates women to the domestic sphere, while men assume primary responsibility for earning wages.

Section 2.3 discusses empirical approaches to the study of household economic welfare. The section begins with a brief discussion of the application of unitary models of household welfare within household surveys in developing countries. The discussion moves on to explain the context under which the concept of female-headed household has come to be used to examine gender inequality and poverty within developing countries primarily within the context of household surveys.

Section 2.4 discusses various approaches to the study of gender inequality within households and families. The discussion alludes to the paradigm shift from utilising grand theories of gender inequality towards locating individual agency within the context of macro-economic processes and gendered social relations of production and social reproduction within households.

Section 2.5 reviews the empirical body of literature on female-headed households and single mother families. The first part identifies demographic and economic factors that have
encouraged or inhibited the existence of these types of domestic units within different societies. The second part identifies the problems associated with providing common definitions of female headship based on the complexity of gender relations regarding decision-making and resource provision within different cultural contexts. The third part outlines some of the causes of poverty among female-headed households.

2.2 Unitary Approaches to Households

Theoretical approaches to domestic units -- families and households -- are largely determined by the area of emphasis in each paradigm. Economists focus more on the interface between processes of production and consumption within domestic units and macro-economic processes. Anthropological and sociological approaches focus more on the social relations that form the basis of production, consumption and the reproduction within domestic units. The point of convergence between structural functionalist sociological approaches and neo-classical economic models of household behaviour is their emphasis on significance of unity and cooperation among individuals within domestic units to propagate and preserve life.

2.2.1 Functionalist Approaches

The structural-functionalist method of approaching social facts refers essentially to a type of analysis that stresses the integration of parts within a whole, the social system to which the parts belong. (Pitts 1967: 51)

Structural functionalist theory examines the contributions of different institutions (e.g. the legal and political systems, religion, education and families) to the maintenance of societal equilibrium. The influential work of Parsons laid emphasis on the functional importance of the nuclear family in the biological reproduction and socialisation of children within the context of a specialised capitalist society. For Parsons, the specialisation of the society depended on a defined division of labour within the family into what he referred to as instrumental and expressive roles. The main instrumental role encompasses the production of goods and services for exchange through participation in the formal economy, while expressive roles include the
reproduction and rearing of children, emotional nurturing and tension management. These roles were effectively delegated on a gender division of labour, with men assuming primary responsibility for instrumental roles, and women undertaking the expressive roles (Marsh and Arber 1992; Fox and Luxton 1993).

The evolution of the household concept in sociological theory and research relates in part to the nuclearisation of western families within the context of industrialisation, and the empirical need to measure patterns of economic co-operation between individuals statistically. Households are defined as task-oriented residential units while families are conceived of as kinship groupings that may not be localised (Netting, Wilk and Arnould 1984). Families may constitute households, but households may be composed of non-relatives. The materialist conception of household (Gittins 1985; Marsh and Arbor 1992) focuses more on coresidence and economic co-operation. This encompasses the processes of production and consumption of goods, and the engagement in activities that cater for the economic welfare of individuals who reside together regardless of their blood relation. Economic co-operation has been referred to as the pooling of the income for the purchase of consumables and investments for the mutual benefit of household members. The empirical value of focusing on the material aspects of localised production and consumption is useful for monitoring the links between individuals and the wider economy, as well as monitoring the socio-economic welfare and life chances of populations.

2.2.2 The Household as Individual: New Household Economics

During much of the twentieth century, western economic theory has focused on the processes of production and the maximisation of efficiency within market systems. Reference to individuals has centred on their roles as producers and consumers within economic markets. 'The market' is the central concept in neo-classical economics, wherein the idealised market is a domain where individual agents interact for the purposes of exchange (Folbre 1986; Nelson
1996). Within the context of market-centred functionalist approaches, domestic units serve to propagate the efficiency of the system through the reproduction of labour and the consumption of goods produced within the market.

The study of domestic units was brought into mainstream neo-classical economics by Gary Becker. Becker's groundbreaking works *The Economic Approach to Human Behaviour* (1976) and *Treatise on the Family* (1981) formed the basis for a paradigm known as New Household Economics (NHE). Becker applied the economic principles of rationality to different aspects of human behaviour such as marriage, divorce and fertility, and developed a household-production-consumption function model:

The household production function framework emphasizes the parallel services performed by firms and households as organizational units. Similar to the typical firm analyzed in standard production theory, the household invests in capital assets (savings), capital equipment (durable goods) and capital embodied in a 'labor force' (human capital in the form of family members). As an organizational entity, the household, like the firm, engages in production using this labor and capital (Becker 1976: 141)

Based on these assumptions, the NHE school of thought assumes that members of families and households direct all their energies towards maximising the utility function of the domestic units upon which they rely for their survival. Two key assumptions form the basis of the joint utility function approach:

a) In accordance with a single set of preferences, the household combines time, goods purchased in the market, and activities undertaken within the home to generate the utility function of the household.

b) The utility function of the household is identical to that of one member, the principal benefactor or 'head' who, because of altruistic concerns for the welfare of other members, integrates all members into one consistent household function. (Becker 1976, 1981)

The NHE approach to division of labour is based on comparative advantage. Individual labour time is assessed with respect to the market wage and is allocated to tasks that are deemed 'more efficient' (Evans 1991). Becker and other NHE scholars model the gender division of labour within households on the basis of men's lower opportunity costs of engaging in full time wage
labour participation versus the higher opportunity cost of adding wage labour to women's domestic responsibilities (child care and other housework).

Becker posits that married women tend to seek occupations that are less effort-intensive and are more compatible with the demands of their domestic work. This results in their earning lower wages per hour than married men, who expend more energy on their market activities (Becker, in Febrero and Schwartz 1995). Based on these criteria, therefore, a household division of labour in which women work within the household while men participate in wage work is considered functional and efficient for the maintenance of the joint utility function and household welfare maximisation.

The notions of cohesion and co-operation feature prominently in the NHE joint utility function approach to nuclear two-parent family-households. Household members are seen as acting in concert, subordinating their individual tastes and preferences to maximise the efficiency of the unit under the leadership and guidance of the altruistic 'head'. The male household head is regarded as that individual who facilitates the maximisation of joint utility function on the basis of his own (market based) efficiency. While the work of Gary Becker and the New Household Economics provided the basis for the discussion of family issues within economics, his approach has been criticised by feminist scholars (Folbre 1986; Wolf 1992). While acknowledging the existence of altruism within households and families, these scholars argue that the Beckerian model underplays the existence of conflict; particularly that which is based on power differentials and gender hierarchies within domestic units. This and other criticisms will be discussed in more detail in section 2.4.2.

The definition and measurement of welfare and poverty occurs under the rubric of welfare economics in many countries. According to Glewwe and van der Goog (1988), the starting point for the measurement of economic welfare is the utility function. Welfare is measured on the basis of the consumption of goods and services by the population at the household level. The economic welfare approach to household behaviour assumes that all
members of each household enjoy the same level of economic well-being. Household consumption is measured in terms of expenditure on goods and services, own-produce produced and consumed by household members, the use-value of durable goods, and imputed rents for owner-occupied housing (Glewwe and van der Goog 1988). In addition to providing comprehensive measures of household consumption, welfare economics adjusts for household composition to identify the per capita consumption based on the cost of living over time.

2.3 Empirical Approaches to Household Economic Welfare

Households have been used as a proxy for individual economic welfare within household surveys in developing countries (Glewwe and van der Goog 1989, Deaton 1997). The following section identifies the ways in which household surveys in developing countries focus on household aggregate economic welfare, and the ways in which the gender of the household head has become a central indicator for the determination of household economic welfare.

2.3.1 Household Surveys

Household sample surveys are the primary means through which the material welfare of the population is measured. Their research designs are a combination of micro-economic and statistical methodologies that seek to facilitate generalisations on the basis of a selected representative sample. Items often covered in these exercises include: (a) description of the size and structure of households (b) demographic characteristics of household members (c) economic activities (d) employment, unemployment and underemployment (e) occupation (f) earning incomes (g) patterns of consumption expenditure (h) income distribution and poverty (United Nations 1984). The data gathered from these exercises forms the basis for policy planning and the development of programmes aimed at reducing economic inequalities (United Nations 1984, 1989, 1995).
The United Nations recommended statistical guidelines for population census and household surveys suggest the following basis for the definition of household:

...the arrangements made by persons, individually or in groups, for providing themselves with food and other essentials for living. A household may be either a one-person household... a person who makes provision for his or her own food or other essentials for living without combining with any other person to form a multi-person household, or a multi-person household... a group of two or more persons living together who make common provision for food or other essentials for living. The persons in the group may pool their incomes and have a common budget to a greater or lesser extent; they may be related or unrelated or a combination or both. (United Nations 1989: 32)

While these guidelines are established to form the basis for comparative data, it is noted that their application is to be modified on the basis of local conditions.

The development of rigorous, holistic, locally based social indicators is often impeded by financial constraints in many low-income countries. This often results in the indiscriminate application of social indicators developed by international agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations Statistical Office.

The 1989 United Nations Handbook for Social Indicators noted that in identifying the members of the household it is ‘traditional’ first to identify the household or family head and then the remaining members of the household according to their relationship with the head. The head of the family or household was defined as:

...that person in the household or family who is acknowledged as such by other members... The procedure for identifying the head of household is based on the fact that most households are family households and the assumption that one person in the household, namely the head, has primary authority and responsibility for household affairs and, in the majority of cases, is its chief economic support. (ibid: 32 - 33)

The handbook notes that the procedure for identifying the head of the household is ‘still appropriate’, but indicates that in countries ‘where spouses are considered equal in the household’, the concept of head of household is no longer considered valid even for family-households. In the latter group of countries (loosely referred to as European countries), data
collection exercises made provisions for the members of the household to designate one among
them as a reference member or 'householder', or for the designation of joint headship where
desired (ibid).

Over the last three decades, a growing body of literature has brought attention to
pervasive gender inequalities in different societies. The following section describes the
international movement to bring the attention of policy-makers to the women’s subordinate
economic status. Women in Development advocates at international and local levels were
instrumental in lobbying for the provision of gender-disaggregated data in many developing
countries, as well as raising awareness on the existence and prominence of female-headed
households in different societies; especially in developing countries.

2.3.2 Women in Development and Female Headed Households

The 1970s and 1980s were perhaps the most critical decades for the enhancement of
women’s visibility within the context of social science scholarship and policy research in
provided a comparative overview of women’s role in the development process within developing
countries in Africa, Asia and South America. She provided evidence showing the high
concentration of women’s labour in subsistence agricultural and domestic work, and pointed to
the problematic of the under-enumeration and marginalisation of women’s economic
contributions within the context of national official statistics (Boserup 1970).

Boserup’s work formed the basis for subsequent empirical research on the status of
women in the development process during and after United Nations International Decade for
Women (1975 -1985). The period marked the genesis of the Women in Development (WID)
paradigm. Using what came to be known as the efficiency approach (Moser 1989; Stichter and

\[\text{This analytical approach has also been referred to as 'Women and Development', and most recently as 'Gender and Development'.}\]
Parpart 1990) scholars alerted national governments and international agencies to the inefficiency of development efforts that excluded half of the world's population (Rogers 1980; Moser 1989).

For WID advocates, the key to women's emancipation and gender equality lies in the promotion of policy measures and projects that facilitate their advancement in economic production. The period was marked by the establishment of local women's machineries⁴, which served to identify the key barriers that prevented women's active participation in economic development, to develop measures for their removal, and to promote gender sensitivity in national development planning processes (Beneria 1982; Dixon-Mueller and Anker 1988).

During the United Nations Decade for Women, researchers commissioned by UN agencies⁵, working in collaboration with national machineries and local researchers in developing countries, identified the gaps in data on the status of women, and sex biases in national statistics. The research pointed to the under-enumeration of women's work in the subsistence agriculture, the informal sector and unpaid work performed within the home by women in developing countries of Africa, Asia and South America (United Nations 1984).

On the basis of results of empirical studies conducted in different countries, various United Nations agencies (eg., International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women and the United Nations Statistical Office) collaborated to develop social indicators on the situation of women, and guidelines for the generation of gender disaggregated data at national levels. The social indicators and guidelines facilitated the generation of data on the economic status of women; focusing primarily on their participation in the labour force and their access to productive resources.

⁴The United Nations facilitated the establishment of administrative structures such as Women’s ministries, bureaux, departments and units within national governments to facilitate the integration of women in development.

⁵The Department of International Economic and Social Affairs Statistical Office, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.
In addition to identifying gaps in data on the status of women in the economy, WID advocates pointed to gender biases in data collection at the household level. Attention was focused on male biases in the identification of the household head in data collection exercises:

The concept of family head is based on the assumption that men head all nuclear families and provide for their economic needs while women take care of reproduction and home-care functions...The assumption of economic support by a male family head has become increasingly unrealistic as larger numbers of households are made up of single persons, particularly women living alone, and of women and children only. Also women are frequently the main or only providers for themselves and their children and larger proportions of women in all households are entering the paid labour force and contributing significantly to household income. (United Nations 1984: 26)

WID advocates lobbied for the gender disaggregation of household headship primarily to bring the attention of policy-makers to the existence of these household types, and also to establish the link between the subordinate status of women and the economic welfare of the households that they head. It is against this background that the concept of ‘female headed household’ emerged in policy-oriented household surveys in developing countries.

Evidence compiled during the last two decades estimates that at least one third of the world’s households are headed by women (Moser 1989). The research points to the prevalence and increase of these household types especially in Third World countries of Latin America and parts of Africa. Studies have shown that the proportions of households headed by women are particularly high in the Caribbean and some Sub-Saharan African countries (Rosenhouse 1989; Folbre 1991a; Mencher and Okongwu 1993; Kabeer 1994).

The compilation of comparative data poses a serious challenge to international agencies. Limitations on the degree of comparability are largely due to the differences in methodological designs of national surveys and the times at which these surveys are conducted within various countries. The data in Table 2-1 was compiled from demographic and household surveys conducted between 1990 and 1995. Comparisons of household data at the international level reveal that female-headed households tend to be poorer than their male counterparts due to:
a) low resources bases which result from women’s low wage labour participation, their concentration in low-paying occupations and their relative low access to assets such as capital, and land for income generation;

b) high dependency ratios which are marked by the high incidence of dependants (persons under the age of 15 years and over the age of 65 years) and the relative shortage of wage earners (United Nations 1984, 1995).

Table 2-1: Percentage of Households Headed by Women 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION AND COUNTRY</th>
<th>% OF FEMALEヘADED HOUSEHOLDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>South Central Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa</td>
<td>• Bangladesh 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Algeria</td>
<td>• India 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Egypt</td>
<td>• Iraq 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sudan</td>
<td>• Pakistan 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Africa</td>
<td>South East Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Burkina Faso</td>
<td>• Indonesia 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ghana</td>
<td>• Philippines 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Senegal</td>
<td>• Viet Nam 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa</td>
<td>East Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Burundi</td>
<td>• Japan 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kenya</td>
<td>• South Korea 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Tanzania</td>
<td>Northern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Uganda</td>
<td>• Denmark 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>• Ireland 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Botswana</td>
<td>• United Kingdom 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Namibia</td>
<td>Western Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Swaziland</td>
<td>• France 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>• Germany 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Costa Rica</td>
<td>• Switzerland 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mexico</td>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nicaragua</td>
<td>• Bulgaria 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>• Czech Republic 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cuba</td>
<td>• Poland 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Haiti</td>
<td>• Romania 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>Southern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>• Greece 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Argentina</td>
<td>• Italy 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Colombia</td>
<td>• Portugal 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Venezuela</td>
<td>OCEANIA</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td>• Australia 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Asia</td>
<td>• Fiji 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Cyprus</td>
<td>• New Zealand 37</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Israel</td>
<td>• Canada 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kuwait</td>
<td>• United States of America 36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research on changing family forms and gender relations has provided the basis for the periodical review of theoretical approaches and socio-economic indicators utilised in household surveys in many developed countries. Census and household surveys conducted in countries such as Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom have reviewed their definitions of families from the functionalist ideal types to reflect changes in family structure caused by increasing marital dissolution and cohabitation, extra-marital childbearing as well as the increased participation of women in paid work (Folbre 1991a). Household surveys in western European and North American countries have ceased to utilise the headship concept as a basis for identifying socio-economic status of households, and instead focused on the composition of families and households over time to form the basis of welfare policies. The comparability of percentages of female headship between western industrialised countries and Third World countries in Table 2-1 based on the definition used by the Population Reference Bureau (footnote 6) is therefore questionable.

Social scientists in most developing countries continue to rely on national survey data for the analysis of household economic welfare. While there is a growing body of independent empirical studies on family forms and gender relations, there is a reluctance of statistical agencies to change their methodological approaches. This reluctance has been largely attributed to the lack of gender-sensitivity among personnel, as well as the technical and financial implications of reviewing methodologies in large scale surveys especially among low-income countries (United Nations 1984; Moser 1989; Beneria 1992).

While acknowledging that WID advocates have made significant achievements in making women more visible within the context of research and policy making, a number of scholars (Beneria and Sen 1981; Beneria and Roldan 1987; Moser 1993) have argued that the WID approach fails to address the socio-cultural and economic basis of women’s subordination, and its perpetuation at the level of the individual within households and families over time. These scholars posit that the prioritisation of women’s ‘productive’ or economic activities as the
main avenue to facilitating gender equality within the development process tends to overlook the social context within which gender relations of economic production and social reproduction are shaped, as well their implications for their welfare and life chances.

Beneria and Sen (1981) criticise Boserup's thesis, and the women in development approach for attributing women's subordination to their marginalisation from the development process without identifying the economic and social factors that create and reproduce gender differentiation over time. Beneria and Roldan (1987), and Walby (1990) posit that a description of structurally-based gender disparities in access (e.g., wage labour participation, education and ownership of assets) fails to adequately account for the social construction of gender inequality. As a result, policy prescriptions that aim at promoting women's economic welfare only serve to address the short-term manifestations of gender inequality without identifying the factors that preserve and reproduce it over time.

2.4 Feminist Approaches to Gender Inequality in Households

While a sector of the women's movement was focusing on the identification of gender disparities in economic participation within the context of policy-making, many feminist scholars sought to identify the macro-ideological basis of gender inequality. Some feminist scholars (Lerner 1986; Hartmann 1981a, 1981b) identified patriarchy as a universal ideological system of male dominance over women that also shapes unequal gender relations within domestic units. Theories of patriarchy have been utilised to link women's low participation in wage work to their subordination to men within families.

Since the late 1980's, there has been a paradigm shift among feminist scholarship from seeing women as victims of social and economic processes, but rather as actors who actively strive to construct their own reality within the context of change. Several feminist scholars (e.g. Fox 1988; Beneria and Roldan 1987; Wolf 1992; Kabeer 1997) identify the importance of examining processes of social reproduction and production through the lived experiences of
women and men to arrive at a more holistic understanding of the dynamics of gender inequality within different cultural contexts.

2.4.1 Patriarchy and Collective Male Agency

The term patriarchy is historically derived from Greek and Roman legal traditions of Patria Potestas which mean ‘father as ruler’ (Lerner 1986; Folbre 1991a) which designated husbands as the ultimate authorities over their wives and children. Feminists have given the term a broader meaning:

Patriarchy in its wider definition means the manifestation and institutionalisation of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. (Lerner 1986: 239)

The development of patriarchy in western societies has been linked to the development of private property and reinforced in religious doctrines, educational systems and the economy. The feminist literature on patriarchy is broad and varied. This discussion will focus on assessing the utility of the concept for the purpose of analysing gender inequality in different societies.

Patriarchy has been defined by some scholars (eg., Firestone 1971) as a system of unified male interest based on the economic and sexual exploitation of women. Other scholars have focused on identifying the relationship between this culturally-based ideology of male dominance and the workings of capitalism. Hartmann (1981a, 1981b) posits that men collectively control capitalist relations of production. She argues that men collectively work to segregate women in low-paying jobs in order to consolidate their exploitation of women’s labour in the domestic sphere. Walby (1986) sees patriarchy less as unified male interest, but rather a system of interrelated structures through which men exploit women. Her analysis focuses more on the workings of patriarchy within capitalism; the segregation of women from better forms of paid work. She posits that patriarchal practices within work determine women’s subordinate status domestically -- fostering their reliance on men as breadwinners.
The main criticism that has been levelled against feminist conceptualisations of patriarchy is that they are generally ambiguous and broad, and tend to reduce the position of women to that of passive victims rather than social actors in their own right (Folbre 1988; Beneria and Roldan 1987; Fox 1988; Wolf 1992). Fox argues that while it is important to identify systems of gender differentiation, it is even more important to have a holistic understanding of the links between societal economic and cultural processes and the production of gendered agency at the individual level.

Fox alludes to the centrality of women's housework which largely consists of social reproduction. At the broad societal level, social reproduction refers to the role of women in the reproduction of labour power; the maintenance of individuals and the propagation of human life.

Barbara Laslett and Johanna Brenner refer to social reproduction as:

...how food, clothing and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, the ways in which the care and socialisation of children are provided, the care of the infirm and elderly, and the social organization of sexuality. Social reproduction can thus be seen to include various kinds of work -- mental, manual, and emotional -- aimed at providing the historically and socially, as well as biologically defined care necessary to maintain existing life and to reproduce the next generation.

(Laslett and Brenner 1989: 382 - 383)

A holistic analysis of gender inequality and household welfare should necessarily incorporate an examination of changing family forms over time, and the gender relations of economic production and social reproduction within them.

2.4.2 A View From Within: The Location of Individual Agency

Over the last three decades a number of social scientists have pointed to the limitations of unitary models of household organisation, and questioned the notion of the joint household function. Many have challenged the notion of income pooling and joint household strategies (Dwyer and Bruce 1988, Fapohunda 1988, Guyer 1988 1997, Folbre 1984 1986 1997, Bruce and Lloyd 1997).
Several feminist scholars (Dwyer and Bruce 1988; Folbre 1986 1991a; Wolf 1992; Nelson 1996) have levelled criticisms against the Beckerian joint utility function approach to household organisation. Folbre (1986) identifies the problematic of neo-classical analogies between the household and the firm:

There is something paradoxical about the juxtaposition of naked self-interest that presumably motivates efficient allocation of market resources and the perfect altruism that presumably motivates equitable allocation of family resources. (Folbre 1986: 247)

Folbre (1986,1997), Dwyer and Bruce (1988) and Wolf (1992) posit that while the notion of the household as a rational economic unit may be analytically simpler to manage within the context of welfare economics, data collection and policy making, these approaches serve to obscure the dynamics of gender relations that are characterised by co-operation and conflict.

What is the appropriate unit of analysis for the analysis of the links between gender and life chances? In her study of the interface between gender, household dynamics and industrialisation in Java, Indonesia, Diane Wolf (1992) pointed to the challenges of identifying an appropriate unit of analysis -- that is, whether it should be households, relations among their members, or individuals within them. She focused on all three units in order to capture their connections within the context of economic change.

Given that her analysis focused on the impact of factory employment on the lives of women, she located her enquiry among young female factory workers as social actors who interacted with the wider economy and family members. Wolf shaped her discussion on Indonesian industrialisation and its effects on household organisation around the accounts of the migrant women, and was able to develop a holistic analysis of the links between industrialisation and the proletarianisation of the rural economy, as well as its effects on gender identity. Wolf effectively showed that while women were subjected to exploitation within the context of capitalist production, they effectively 'capitalised' on their participation within wage work to gain economic autonomy (Wolf 1992).
Another example of the multi-level analysis approach can be seen through Beneria and Roldan's empirical study of the interface between industrial homework, subcontracting and household dynamics in Mexico City during 1981 and 1982. Their micro-social analysis of intra-household dynamics focused on the life histories of women and their participation in different types of sub-contracted home production enabled them to gain insight into the interaction between economic processes, social relations within households, and women's individual agency.

Their study revealed that family-households were characterised more by a conglomeration of individual strategies based on gender hierarchies than a single corporate or rational utility function based on equality of choice. Patterns of resource allocation reflected individual gendered perceptions of family needs, with women utilising their economic resources to provide for the nutritional needs of their children, while men's contribution to housekeeping expenses was often secondary to their individual needs, such as entertainment. Intra-household resource allocation was determined more by women's deference to the control and power of their husbands, which was determined in part by broader culturally-determined norms of male authority and by women's individual perceptions of marriage as a means of ensuring long term security for themselves and their children.

While the women were engaged in work that offered little pay, it enabled them to constantly renegotiate their relationships with their husbands, as well as the fulfilment of their roles of motherhood (Beneria and Roldan 1987: 135). These two case studies, as well as those conducted in African communities (Fapohunda 1988; Lloyd and Brandon 1993) illustrate the utility of integrating an analysis of societal processes, household organisation and individual agency into analyses of gender inequality and life chances.
2.5 Female Headed Households: Cross-Cultural Perspectives

The following discussion presents case studies on female headed households within different cultural contexts. The first section discusses historical and contemporary economic and cultural factors that serve to encourage or inhibit the formation of mother-child households. The second describes the challenges that social scientists have faced in defining female headship. The third section briefly outlines the causes of poverty among female headed households.

2.5.1 Factors Affecting the Incidence of Mother-Child Families and Households

What are the factors that lead to the formation and rise of mother-child family units and female headed households? Mother-child families and female headed households are largely seen as arising from changes in family organisation that result from demographic and economic shifts over time. In countries of north-western Europe and north America, increasing percentages of single mother families largely arise from divorce and separation, as well as the increasing incidence of extra-marital childbearing. Changes in family organisation in these countries have in part been attributed to the transition from family-based production to individual wage-based economic systems over the last two centuries which have fostered individualism and reduced obligations of mutual support (Folbre 1991a).

In many developing countries of Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, the incorporation of societies into the world capitalist system during the colonial era altered subsistence patterns of subsistence production and family forms through the large-scale extraction of male labour. These factors have been seen as having contributed to the decline in the significance of marriage, as well as the increase in marital dissolution. While the main causes of change in family organisation in countries of north-western Europe and north American countries and developing countries are similar, the differences lie in the different trajectories and levels of industrialisation.
A body of literature has developed around the causes and implications of single motherhood in the United States. The rise in the proportion of single mother families in the USA has been due to changes in family forms which are marked by declines in marriage rates, marital breakdown and extra marital births (Folbre 1991b).

National census data showed a sharp and steady increase in single motherhood during the 1970s and 1980s with marked differences by race. The rate of single motherhood increased from 7.8 per cent in 1970 to 15 percent in 1982, while that among blacks increased from 30.6 per cent to 46 per cent during the same period (Okongwu 1993: 108). A significant proportion of the black single mothers in the USA are teenagers who themselves are born into single-mother families.

While the increase in the proportion of single mother families among the black population has been attributed to the overall decline in the significance of marriage, it has also been explained within the context of the theory of the urban underclass. William J. Wilson (1987) describes the black urban underclass as:

...that heterogeneous grouping of families and individuals who are outside the mainstream of the American occupational system. Included ... are individuals who lack training and skills and either experience long-term unemployment or are not members of the labor force, individuals who are engaged in street crime and other forms of aberrant behaviour, and families that experience long-term spells of poverty and/or welfare dependency. (Wilson 1987: 8)

The development of the black urban underclass has been seen as resulting from the decline of urban manufacturing between 1965 and 1985 (Jencks 1992, 1994). This period was marked by the growth of unemployment and family breakdown. The development of the black underclass has been seen forming the basis of single motherhood among inner-city blacks due to the relative absence of a marriage market for young women (as a result of large-scale male unemployment and imprisonment for crime), and the rise in teenage pregnancies. Wilson (1994) posits that approximately half of all extra-marital children within the black population are born to teenagers.
The increase in proportions of single motherhood and female-headed families and households in many African countries has largely been attributed to the effects of colonialism. Folbre (1991a) alludes to the legacy of colonialism:

The European colonisation of the continents of Latin America and Africa varied considerably from country to country but left an indelible imprint on the regional economies. On both continents, a small elite used its economic and political power to bend traditional patriarchal structures to its advantage, often weakening women’s ability to enforce men’s contributions to the cost and rearing of children and contributing to the increase in the percentage of families maintained by women alone. (Folbre: 1991a: 15).

Pre-colonial African economic systems were largely based on arable and pastoral agriculture. Social anthropologists point to the significance of traditional sex-gender systems of male authority providing the basis of economic production and procreation (Goody 1976; Guy 1987). The colonisation of African societies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries significantly undermined indigenous economies and social structures through the introduction of male-based wage labour.

In many Southern African countries (e.g., Kenya, South Africa, Lesotho, Malawi and Botswana), the utilisation of male labour for cash crop production and the migration of large numbers of men to urban centres for wage employment left women, children and the elderly with the primary responsibility for subsistence production. Women assumed primary responsibility for daily survival of family members without the conferral of full leadership status.

Anthropological and sociological studies of family forms in Southern Africa (Murray 1981; Kayongo-Male and Onyango 1986; Schapera and Comaroff 1991) posit that the significance of marriage was altered by decreased reliance on agriculture, and the growing reliance of rural populations on cash incomes. Women had been required to marry soon after puberty in the past, marriage practices were altered in part by male absences, reduced family control over reproduction, and the participation of women in education and paid work. The bearing of children out of wedlock became a norm, especially in East and Southern African societies.
Evidence from studies conducted in Kenya (Abwunza 1997) Zimbabwe (Folbre 1988) and Botswana (Izzard 1979; Kossoudji and Mueller 1983) point to the predominance of single-mother households in rural areas. While single mothers and their children are often integrated into extended families, the erosion of extended family support networks and female migration to urban centres has resulted in the formation of separate households by women in many Southern African countries (Buvinic and Gupta 1997).

In her study of female headed households in Brazil, Mary Garcia Castro (1993) traces the origins of single motherhood from the colonial times in the seventeenth century. She posits that the mother-child families resulted primarily from interactions between male Portuguese colonists first with indigenous Indian women, and later with Black slave women. Mother-child families also resulted from the culturally based sexual morality machismo which sanctioned the male promiscuity outside marriage while offering women few avenues for support. Within this context, mother-child households developed out of the subordinate status of women to colonists and to indigenous men within the context of cultural norms of extra-marital sexual morality.

Economic changes from the 1950's to the present altered the patterns of formation of family formation. Castro argues that the process of industrialisation and proletarianisation of women led to the formation of separate households by women in urban centres. To a large extent, these households result from fluid consensual relations as well as changes in women's gender ideology, especially their increased autonomy as income earners.

Mother-child households can also result from war, as is the case in various countries in Africa. Apeadu (1993) illustrates the widespread incidence of mother-child families in her case study of refugees in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Apeadu shows the devastating effects of war on family forms. Due to high mortality rates among men and family members, women often end up bearing the responsibility for caring for children on their own during periods of displacement and after repatriation.
This discussion has pointed to the different conditions under which female-headed households are formed within different cultural contexts. The case studies have illustrated that in some societies, these household types develop out of the effects of external influences such as colonialism and local industrialisation which fundamentally change family forms, as well as local conditions such as cultural norms regarding male and female sexuality, and war. While there are similarities in the trajectories of family transformation, they are more marked in highly urbanised western countries. In comparison, many developing countries (especially African societies) continue to retain large rural populations and social beliefs and practices that bolster certain aspects of traditional family structures.

The following section illustrates the complexity of defining female headed households within developing societies, and shows the significance of culture in the definition of gender relations and domestic organisation within different cultural contexts.

### 2.5.2 Definitions of Female Headship

The literature on female-headed households in developing countries illustrates the ongoing struggle to define female headship. Scholars have encountered difficulties in reconciling a) definitions of headship adopted by policy-oriented national surveys; b) the criteria used by individuals in their identification of household heads, and c) the lived experiences of women and men with regard to resource provision, household management and decision-making within different cultural contexts.

Sandra Rosenhouse (1989) and Nancy Folbre (1991a) posit that while the use of the headship concept in censuses and household surveys partly serves to identify a reference person to whom to relate the various household members, the application of the concept is loaded with implicit assumptions about decision-making processes and resource provision within households.

The identification of one household head, whether female or male, is based on unitary models of household organisation which assume that one person is the primary income-earner.
and decision-maker. This approach under-emphasises the complexity of economic provision under conditions where there are multiple earners and decision-making within households, and socio-economic co-operation between households, especially those with limited economic resources.

Another key criticism raised by feminist scholars refers to the asymmetry of headship, defining households as female headed only if no adult male is present, while defining a household as male headed whether or not an adult female is resident (Rosenhouse 1989; Folbre 1991a; Kennedy and Peters 1992; Moser 1993; Kabeer 1994). While WID scholarship does not challenge these conceptualisations due to their emphasis on obtaining comparative data and lobbying for women's visibility within local policy-making, some feminist scholars have struggled to refine concepts of female headship in order to provide more accurate descriptions of gender differentiation within domestic units.

A number of researchers have analysed the results of surveys conducted at the household level in Asian and Latin American to examine patterns of resource provision, allocation and decision-making to decompose the headship concept. Sandra Rosenhouse's primary concern is with the ambiguity of the concept in national surveys. Rosenhouse analysed the findings of an LSMS sample survey conducted among about 5110 households in Peru between 1985 and 1986 in order to gain insight into patterns of decision-making, economic support against reported headship.

She indicates that when respondents were asked who they recognised as the head of their households, 83 percent declared males while 17 percent declared females (Rosenhouse 1989: 16). The main criterion for the identification of male headship was marriage (currently in union), while identification of female headship was largely based on widowhood, divorce and separation.

Are individuals who are identified as household heads always the principal income earners in their households? Rosenhouse's analysis of data on the employment status of
household heads revealed that 7 percent of all reported heads (male and female) were not in the labour force, and had not been in the twelve months preceding the survey. The findings also showed that within a third (32%) of the households, the head did not bear the primary responsibility for the economic maintenance of the household. The proportion of female heads who were not principal income earners was 44 percent compared to 29 percent of male heads, indicating that a large proportion of households depended on income from other household members (ibid: 23).

Data on economic contribution was based on the total hours of market work of all household members (including goods produced at home excluding housework) contributed by each individual. This criterion was used as a basis for the definition of 'the working head', or that individual who was identified as the major income contributor. A comparison of the two criteria of headship (ie., reported head and working head) resulted in a marked change in the proportions of headship by gender. Based on the economic criteria, the proportion of male heads declined from 83 to 71 percent, while that of female heads increased from 17 to 29 percent (Rosenhouse 1989: 29). A comparison of the working head’s relationship to the reported head revealed that children and relatives accounted for 14% of all working heads.

While Rosenhouse admits that the 'hours of market work' criterion does not serve as a proxy for actual financial contribution, she uses it effectively to illustrate the complexity of economic support within households. She also spells out the implications of multiple income contribution to decision making within households:

The existence of more than one primary earner within the household is likely to introduce changes in the power relations within the household, and therefore in patterns of intra-household negotiation over resource allocation and control. While it is likely that gender affects bargaining power to some extent, economic contribution may override its effects. (Rosenhouse 1989: 41)

While various household members (female spouses/partners, children and relatives) may not readily identify themselves as household heads, or be identified as such within the context of
national censuses and household surveys, their contribution of economic resources within households is often has direct implications for the allocation of resources within households. Rosenhouse’s discussion illustrated the limitations of reported headship for the reliable identification of the economic support base of the household.

Women who identify themselves as household heads due to the temporary or permanent absence of male consensual partners may have limited authority due to their reliance on non-resident male kin for representation in matters relating to their well-being as well as that of their children. Case studies conducted in rural Egypt (Saunders and Mehanna 1993) and rural Bangladesh (Islam 1993) illustrate that while widows identified themselves as the heads of their households, they were reliant on senior male kin representation in public matters, especially those relating to the acquisition of land for agricultural production.

The foregoing discussion has illustrated some of the difficulties associated with producing universally applicable definitions of female headship. The studies show that the identified household head is not necessarily the primary income earner, and that often, when other individuals are the primary income earners, they are subjected to the authority of male heads who do not contribute to the daily welfare of household members. The debate on household headship illustrates the need to move beyond ‘headship’ to examine patterns of resource acquisition and allocation within households. The following section focuses on the causes of poverty among female-headed households in developing countries.

2.5.3 Female Headed Household Poverty

Much of the literature on poverty among female headed households and single mother families primarily focuses on low economic status of households that are regarded as being primarily supported by unmarried women, widows, divorced and deserted women. In their
review of sixty-four studies on female headed households in different developing countries, Buvinic and Gupta (1997) identified three factors that account for poverty among them. The first is composition of female headed households. While female headed households are generally smaller in size than male headed households, they tend to have a higher ratio of dependants to income earners. Evidence from rural Botswana (Kossoudji and Mueller, 1983; Brown 1983; Driel 1994) shows that the high rate of male migration from rural areas has left a large number of women with the responsibility for raising young children while having little or no access to wage employment.

The second factor is women’s lower participation within wage work. In cases where women are the main income earners in their households, they often have lower average earnings than men, fewer assets, and less access productive assets such as land, capital and technology. Studies have pointed to the concentration of women in informal sector work, particularly sub-contracting occupations, such as in the case of Mexico (Beneria and Roldan 1987; Chant 1992) and India (Mies 1982,1984), subsistence agriculture in countries such as Bangladesh (Saunders and Mehanna 1993), Uganda (Appleton 1991) that offer few, if any economic returns.

The third reason for poverty among female headed households can result from the unique circumstances relating to the gender of the primary provider as a mother. Studies conducted in Malawi (Chipande 1987), Botswana (Brown 1983; Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Motts 1994) show that women who bear primary responsibility for providing for and caring for children without additional support either from family members or the state face greater time and mobility constraints. In the case of rural women farmers in Africa, these time constraints limit their ability to participate in agricultural production, while in the urban areas in countries such as Mexico (Beneria and Roldan 1987) and India (Mies 1982) women resort to low-paying home-

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6Sixteen conducted in Africa, 16 in Asia, and 33 in Latin America and the Caribbean.
based production that enable them to undertake their dual responsibilities as income earners and mothers.

2.6 Conclusions

Theoretical approaches to household organisation provide the basis for methodological procedures for examining socio-economic welfare. The household is often assumed to be a cohesive unit with a joint utility function characterised by income pooling and sharing of resources within the context of functionalist theoretical approaches and policy-oriented national surveys. In addition, the household head is assumed to be the primary economic provider/decision maker who serves to determine the welfare of household members. Unitary approaches to household organisation and economic welfare over-emphasise the co-operative dimensions of human behaviour while largely ignoring the existence of conflict and gender inequality among family and household members.

While empirical studies of female headed households in different cultural contexts have provided the link between gender relations and household economic welfare, most situate their analysis at the level of the household, and subsequently present unitary analyses of household socio-economic welfare under a different name.

The challenge facing researchers of gender inequality and household economic welfare lies in going beyond the broad conceptualisations of headship to uncover the causes of gender inequality and poverty by focusing on the lives of individual household members.

It is suggested that a context-specific examination of gender inequality and social and economic welfare should establish the interface between relations of gender inequality within households with broad societal (cultural, economic and political) conditions over time -- effectively providing a dynamic link between structure with individual agency. The approaches employed by Wolf (1990, 1992) and Beneria and Roldan (1987) focus on the lived experiences of individual household members in order to gain insight into the multiple spheres of economic
and social influence from the level of the individual to the wider society. Such an analysis would also serve to provide the opportunity to review universal conceptualisations of household organisation and contribute to the analysis of socio-economic welfare and life chances of different sectors of populations within different cultural settings.
Chapter 3. Female Headed Households and Poverty in Botswana

3.1 Introduction

Since gaining political independence in 1966, Botswana has been regarded as an exemplary model of economic growth and political stability. As mentioned in Chapter One, however, evidence is pointing to the existence of widespread poverty that affects almost half of the population, as well as links between gender inequality and poverty. Women have lower rates of participation in wage employment and are more likely to suffer from income poverty than men. According to the household survey data, female headed households have fewer wage earners and therefore have higher income dependency ratios than their male counterparts.

This chapter examines the body of literature on the socio-economic status of women and female headed households Botswana. Section 3.2 discusses the effects of socio-economic change on family forms, focusing on the rise in pre-marital motherhood over time. Studies conducted on social organisation in Botswana have pointed to marked changes in family forms, from patrilineal extended families to more nuclear family formations. Previous studies (e.g., Schapera 1933, 1966, Schapera and Comaroff 1991; Molokomme 1991; Driel 1994) have attributed many of the changes to the effects of colonisation and the incorporation of rural economies into the capitalist system, as well as the impact of Christianity and western education on social values and ideologies relating to sexual behaviour.

Section 3.3 reviews the literature on female headed households in Botswana. The first part focuses on the definitions of female headship that have been applied in various studies (Izzard 1979; Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Driel 1994; Motts 1994). The majority of studies have based their criteria of female headship on the marital status of women, 'unmarried motherhood' and the absence of resident male consensual partners. One criticism of these models (Peters 1983) is that they fail to take into account the length of the family development cycle within the cultural context of Botswana that lead to false categorisation of women as
'unmarried'. Another criticism is that the connotation of headship embodies power and authority that many women do not possess within the context of Tswana culture (Molokomme 1991).

Section 3.4 outlines the various approaches that scholars have taken in their analyses of female-headed household poverty, as well as their findings. Using gender disaggregated data from national household surveys, several scholars (Izzard 1979; Kerven 1982; Kossoudji and Mueller 1983) associated poverty among female headed households in rural Botswana with temporary and permanent male absence from the agricultural sector. *De facto* female headed households of married women were regarded as having the advantage of access to remittances and resources from their husbands, while *de jure* female headed households of unmarried, divorced and widowed women were disadvantaged by the absence of male support.

Two more recent case studies (Driel 1994; Motts 1994) point to the direct correlation between single motherhood and female headship. They posit that poverty among female headed households is in part due to competing gender interests and relations of production and social reproduction, that result in women bearing primary responsibility for child welfare. Rather than seeing poor women simply as victims of cultural and economic processes, Driel and Motts examine their strategies for survival.

### 3.2 Family Forms and Gender Relations

Pre-colonial Tswana social organisation was characterised by a complex set of cultural institutions, values and practices that provided the basis for the sexual division of labour, and regulated youth sexuality. Central systems of social control included initiation, age-set regiments and marriage that were alluded to in Chapter One are discussed in more detail below.

The socialisation of young children was arranged along gender lines. Young girls from the ages of five years onwards would be required to assist their mothers with household chores, child care and provide labour for arable agriculture; performing tasks such as planting, weeding and harvesting at the arable agricultural lands along with their mothers. Young boys of similar
ages would initially be responsible for herding small stock such as goats and sheep that were located in corrals next to their homesteads in the villages. After the age of about six years, they would accompany their fathers and male kin to the cattle posts which were located in relatively distant areas, where they would stay for several months in the year (Kinsman 1983; Schapera and Comaroff 1991).

Between the ages of ten and fourteen years, or around the onset of puberty, young people were required to undergo two month-long initiation rites that prepared them for their passage into woman and manhood, and for their roles in the community. Girls would be socialised and mentally prepared for the assumption of their future roles as wives and mothers, while boys would be prepared for assuming roles of leadership within their families and in the community (Driel 1994).

Immediately after the initiation ceremonies, these young people were divided into regiments by age and sex, which were allocated distinct names. These regiments, which would last for life, would be the basis of rallying individuals for the performance of communal activities throughout their lives. Female regiments would be periodically called upon to provide labour for maintaining the chief’s home (e.g., repairing dung-mud walls and floors) as well as fetching water and firewood for the leadership home. Male regiments similarly performed tasks in the community such as defence, rounding up stray cattle, repairing the roofs of the huts in the chief’s household, and clearing their ploughing fields (Schapera 1970).

According to Schapera, girls were usually married soon after initiation while boys waited between four and seven years. Young men were required to marry girls who were born in the age regiment following their own.

The patrilineal kinship networks wielded a great deal of social and economic influence and control over agricultural production, facilitating the acquisition of labour of women and children through the marital system of bridewealth (bogadi) which was paid in cattle. Within that context, cattle were not only a source of food, but formed the basis of the sex-gender system.
As mentioned in Chapter Two, the procedures for arranging marriages were under the control of male kin from the formal engagement (patlo) until the payment of bogadi, which marked the final solemnisation of the marriage. While the individuals often remained in their family's compounds, they sometimes cohabited in the woman's parent's home -- as was the case among the Kgatla, according to the accounts of Comaroff and Roberts (1977). The process of patlo marked the formal sanctioning of sexual relationships between young women and men.

Scholars (Driel 1994; WLSA 1994) argue that the approval of pre-marital sexual relations served the function of ascertaining whether women was fertile or barren, and that a woman's reproductive capacity was an important determinant of her economic worth and social position. Children born during this period would be considered part of the woman's lineage until the finalisation of bogadi payments. Isaac Schapera (1933) posits that the payment of bridewealth marked the transference of control of female sexuality from her father and male kin to her husband and his family.

Following the payment of bogadi, the married couple would either establish their own homestead (lolwapa) or become members of the husband's family-household. Regardless of their residence, the payment of bogadi established a man's role as the head of his marital family. The payment of bogadi marked the final rite of passage into adulthood for women and men. While bogadi has often been seen as a system of male control over women by some (eg., by Driel 1994), others (Molokomme 1991) argue that it also conferred social status upon women, and was therefore greatly valued by them. While women were subordinated to men through marriage, they gained social recognition as wives and mothers.

Anthropological accounts of Tswana social organisation in the early twentieth century (Schapera 1970, Schapera and Comaroff 1991) indicate that the Tswana traditionally retained large, and sometimes polygamous, patrilineal multi-generational family-households.
Typically, the household consists of a man with his wife or wives and dependent children, together with any other relatives or unrelated dependants who may be attached to him. Its actual size and composition depend largely upon the rank, wealth, and age of the household-head...Often it may also contain unmarried dependants, such as the husband’s younger brothers or sisters; or married dependants, such as sons, brothers and possibly even sisters or daughters, with their respective spouses and children (Schapera 1970: 12 - 13).

The marital homestead was marked by a strict gender division of labour, with women performing housework and agricultural tasks, and men retaining control over decision-making regarding the acquisition and maintenance of cattle.

The preceding discussion shows that the Tswana sex-gender system was organised through socialisation practices, while marriage formed the basis of reproduction and family formation. The following three sections describe how these institutions, as well as the extended family, were altered by the advent of Christianity, western education and labour migration.

3.2.1 Christianity

The advent of Christianity had profound effects on African social value systems. While the most immediate effect was that of undermining African social belief systems such as ancestral worship which were deemed ‘pagan’ and ‘heathen’, missionaries compelled African societies to abandon customs such as polygamy and initiation rites which were deemed immoral according to Christian beliefs and practices.

The establishment of missionary posts among the Tswana in the early nineteenth century had a marked impact on Tswana social organisation. Molokomme (1991) posits that:

Christianity introduced a completely new code of conduct, which was often in conflict with established norms such as polygamous marriage, initiation ceremonies, transfer of 
*bogadi* and customs relating to death. The churches had a particularly strong influence on Tswana norms and practices relating to the family, especially the institution of marriage (Molokomme 1991: 51).

The missionaries compelled the Tswana to abandon initiation rites. While they met with much resistance from certain groups, some whose leaders had been converted to Christianity
(such as Khama of the BaNgwato) complied. The missionaries also attempted to convince the Tswana to abandon bridewealth, which was largely seen as system of buying women. Some Tswana groups, such as the BaNgwato abolished bogadi, while others retained it while incorporating Christian rituals in the marriage ceremonies. Polygamy was almost entirely abandoned by Tswana groups during this period.

3.2.2 Education

Another important development that occurred during the late nineteenth century was that of the introduction of western education by the missionaries, and later by the colonial government. By the turn of the century, twenty primary schools had been established in some tribal areas, with an enrolment of about 1,000 students (Colcough and McCarthy 1980: 205). By 1946, there were missionary or government schools in most tribal areas with a total enrolment of 33,160 students of whom 10.8 per cent were male while 15.3 per cent were female (Schapera and Comaroff 1991: 11). Females had more access to primary education due to the location of the schools (in villages) while the lower rate of male enrolment was due to their periodical migration to the cattle posts.

While young women and men had been previously educated for the assumption of their responsibilities by their families and the community elders, they subsequently attended schools which were not only co-educational, but placed them outside the influence of their elders. Anthropologists (Schapera 1933; 1966; Comaroff and Roberts 1977; Schapera and Comaroff 1991) posit that western education served to undermine the systems that controlled sexuality by providing enabling young people to escape from initiation. In addition, the introduction of western education meant that young people were playing a less significant role in agricultural production.

Education has been regarded as a catalyst for change with regard to social beliefs. On the one hand, it undermined traditional systems of control over sexuality. On the other hand, it
provided young people with an outlook that was basically away from the traditional economic and social value systems. While Christianity and education proved to be agents for change, the most far-reaching impact on Tswana social and economic organisation was effected through the migrant labour system.

3.2.3 The Impact of Labour Migration

The introduction of cash as a medium of exchange undermined the significance of cattle as the medium of exchange, while offering families more security than arable agriculture, which was susceptible to inconsistent climatic conditions. The most significant demographic effect of labour migration was that of the creation of a deficit of young men and a surplus of young women. According to Schapera (1933), approximately one half of all men between the ages of 15 and 44 years in the southern part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate were absent from their homes. The exodus of males from rural areas altered the division of labour within subsistence agricultural production, as well as patterns of sexual reproduction.

While young men had previously relied on their families for support, they essentially became the breadwinners, as their families relied on them to provide cash for the payment of hut taxes. The acquisition of wages by migrants provided them with the economic independence to buy their own livestock, and to acquire material goods from South Africa.

The combined effects of education for young women and wage labour for men marked the loosening of mores relating to sexuality, and led to an increase in non-marital consensual relations and an accompanied rise in the number of single mothers (Brown 1983; Schapera and Comaroff 1991; Driel 1994). While Tswana traditional engagements and marriages were typically lengthy multi-stage affairs before, the migrant labour system served to extend them further, as men took longer to save funds for the payment of bridewealth, and to establish their own homesteads. In addition, marital infidelity increased, and engagements were more often broken off.
While most single mothers (and their children) essentially remained in their natal compounds and relied on extended family members for economic support, the natal family’s ability to provide for its members was undermined by the decline of traditional agricultural production. Schapera alluded to the emergence of the *femme sole* in villages and rural communities during the 1930’s and 40’s. These ‘women on their own’ were typically widows, divorced or separated women, and their households included unmarried children and their offspring. While some had relatively more economic independence due to their engagement in wage labour within the territory, the majority continued to depend on the land with limited labour and assets.

### 3.3 Single Mothers and Female Headed Households

Data from national censuses and family health surveys conducted over the last twenty-five years point to declines in marriage, and the growing significance of single motherhood. According to the 1971 census forty-four percent of all women over the age of fifteen years were married; thirty percent were single (had never been married), while nineteen percent were divorced, separated or widowed (Government of Botswana 1972). By 1981 the proportion of single women increased to forty four percent while that of married women declined slightly to forty-one percent. The proportion of divorced, widowed and separated women declined to fourteen percent (Government of Botswana 1991a). The 1991 census results show an increase in the proportion of never married women to fifty percent, and a further decline in the proportion of married women to twenty seven percent. Approximately eleven percent of all women were widowed, divorced and separated, while twelve percent were cohabiting (Mukamaambo 1995).

Several studies (Molokomme 1991; Driel 1994; WLSA 1992, 1994) point to the wide-scale acceptance of pre-marital pregnancy over time in Botswana. While pre-marital pregnancy had been seen as a form of deviance in the past, the decline in marriage has led to the acceptance and even encouragement of pre-marital motherhood. The social sanctions encouraging women
to bear children are just as strong as the previous sanctions to marry, with the consequence that woman who are barren (whether married or not) are often shunned by their peers and the community. The Botswana Family Health Surveys of 1984 and 1988 showed that the mean age at first birth was between 18 and 20 years. Kann and Mugabe’s survey on teenage pregnancies in 1984 showed that approximately half of all nineteen year old women were mothers (Kann and Mugabe 1988).

While most of the studies on household organisation in Botswana concur on the effects of socio-economic change on family forms, social scientists differ in their conceptualisations of female headed households. Several scholars (Izzard 1979, 1985; Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Driel 1994; Motts 1994) aimed at establishing the prevalence of separate female headed households on the basis of women’s marital status and on the high incidence of extra-marital births.

Others (Peters 1983; Molokomme 1991; Townsend 1997) point to the limitations of discrete conceptualisations of female headship due the significance of fluid consensual relationships during the life courses of women and men, as well as the assumption of decision-making roles by non-resident males which limit women’s autonomy.

### 3.3.1 Typologies of Female Headship

During the 1980’s, a number of scholars (Izzard 1982; Brown 1983; Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Kerven 1982) pointed to the prevalence of female headed households in rural Botswana. These scholars developed typologies of headship based on the marital status of women, the ages, as well as temporary and permanent male absence utilising data from various government surveys.

The National Migration Study (NMS) was conducted in the late 1970’s to document patterns of internal migration between rural areas, and between rural and urban areas.
Recognising that migration resulted in the fluidity of household membership over time, the NMS adopted the definitions of household membership:

a) **De Jure**: household membership referred to those individuals who were regarded as 'usual' household members;

b) **De Facto**: household membership referred to those individuals who were present at the time of the study.

These classifications were utilised for the definition of household headship. *De Jure* female household heads were defined as those individuals who were identified as the 'usual' or 'permanent' heads of their households, while *de facto* female household heads were identified as women who assumed temporary headship in the absence of *de jure* male household heads.

Based on these classifications, twenty six percent of all households in Botswana were permanently headed by women in 1979, while eleven percent were temporarily headed by women (Izzard 1982). The ages and marital status of women were also used to distinguish between the different typologies. In her analysis of NMS data from Gaborone and three rural areas, Izzard (1982) indicated that the majority of the *de jure* female headed households were over the age of 45 years, and had been previously married. In the national sample however, most of the *de jure* female household heads were women who had never been married.

Kossoudji and Mueller (1983) based their discussion on female headship on data from the Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS) which was conducted from 1974 to 1975 by the Central Statistics Office among a representative sample of 1060 households in various rural areas of Botswana. The primary objective of the RIDS was to collect data on income distribution based on detailed accounts of aggregate amounts and sources of household income as well as asset ownership over a twelve month period.

Household members were asked to identify the heads of their households among the people who were regular members according to their own perceptions (Kossoudji and Mueller 1983: 836). Fifty five per cent of the households identified men as the heads of their households
while forty three per cent designated women. Two percent of the households did not identify the heads of their households.

While they did not provide the actual proportions of *de jure* and *de facto* female headship by marital status within the RIDS sample, Kossoudji and Mueller pointed to the declining significance of marriage and the prevalence of single motherhood based on data from the 1971 census. They posited that while 56 per cent of women within the 20 - 24 year age group and 29 per cent of women in the 25 - 39 year age group were still single, and that a large proportion of women between the ages of 20 years and 39 years had children (Kossoudji and Mueller 1983: 835). They posit that in light of the declining significance of marriage and the prevalence of single motherhood, these individuals constituted the potential pool of permanent female household heads.

Pauline Peters (1983) initiated a debate on the definition of female headship and headship typologies within policy research in Botswana. She posited that the policy-oriented literature on female headed households (eg., Izzard 1979, Kossoudji and Mueller 1983) derived from a over-reliance on typologies which obscured the processes and contexts that determined gender and socio-economic differentiation over time:

> We cannot analyse the changing social, economic or political position of women by reference only to the characteristics of the household head. And many of the dynamic processes that are crystallised in particular household forms or particular configurations of disadvantage cannot be grasped by taking households as primary units of analysis. To do so leads often to erroneous conclusions because critically important relations *within* households and *between* them are not taken sufficiently into account. (Peters 1983: 105)

While acknowledging the importance of identifying the manager of a domestic unit, she argues that the integration of the individual head and the members of the household into one unit of analysis obscures the complex social and economic interactions within which domestic units, and individuals within them, are embedded.
Peters points to the limitations of utilising marital status as a central criterion for defining female headship within the context of Botswana, based on anthropological accounts (Schapera 1933; Comaroff and Roberts 1981) on the lengthy process of marriage and the fluidity of consensual unions in Botswana. Based on this evidence, she argued that female headship may be ephemeral, rather than a permanent phenomenon within women’s life cycles; that many women who may be identified as de jure or permanent household heads could later be incorporated into male-headed households through marriage. She also alludes to the fact that the discrete headship typologies largely ignore the social and economic relations that occur between women within households with men who may not necessarily reside within them.

Athaliah Molokomme (1991) also points to the limitations of female headed household concept within Tswana culture:

A household may appear de facto to be headed by an unmarried adult woman in the sense that there is no adult male who resides in it and exercises decision-making functions on a daily basis. At the same time, some man somewhere such as a father, brother or uncle may de jure head it, in the sense that only he may legally make certain important decisions, such as the capacity to litigate or represent the household in other traditional activities reserved for men (Molokomme 1991: 59).

Molokomme’s objection to the labelling of such households as female-headed is based on the implication that headship suggests an embodiment of power, which many women do not wield under cultural circumstances. She therefore recommended a cautious application of the term by analysing headship and single motherhood separately.

While Driel (1994) Motts (1994) acknowledged the complexity of social networks and cultural influences on household organisation, they point to the prominence of separate independent single mother (unmarried, widowed, separated and divorced) domestic units as permanent household types in Botswana.
The prominence of matrifocal female headed households was a central theme of in-depth case studies conducted by Driel (1994) in Paje and Motts (1994) Kang, which examined the socio-economic welfare of unmarried mothers and female headed households within the context of social change. Both of the studies define female headship on the basis of the decision-making and economic management roles that are fulfilled by single mothers in their independent households.

These researchers challenge Peters' assertions of the temporality of female headship and the strength of agnostic linkages, arguing that, in the context of change, a large proportion of single mothers maintain independent households on their own, and are the key providers and decision-makers within these domestic domains with little or no support from extended family and fathers of children.

Driel posits that as subsistence agriculture became increasingly subordinated and weakened by the cash economy, a large proportion of wage earning males became less reliant on family-based production which was based on women and children's labour. Within that context, marriage lost its significance as the economically-based regulator of production and procreation within the society. These socio-economic changes had an impact on women and men's gender ideologies:

The relation between gender ideology, gender relations and socio-economic change have had their mutually reinforcing effects. As a result, women seemed to become economically more dependent on men, whereas men could avoid their responsibilities to support women and children. (Driel 1994: 212)

Driel argues that within the context of economic change, the ideological significance of motherhood and fatherhood has been altered. While motherhood continues to be means of

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7 A village in the Central District.
8 A village located in the Kweneng District in the South Western part of the country bordering the Kgalagadi Desert.
gaining status of socio-economic security for women, the significance of fatherhood lies more on ‘reputation and virility’ rather than in the social importance of fatherhood (Driel 1994: 211).

Driel’s definition of household focuses more on the physical homestead (lolwapa) as her unit of analysis rather than applying the concept of household as a unit of consumption and production. Her definition of headship is based on marital status and ‘economic management’. She utilises the *de jure* and *de facto* female headship typologies and applies them according to the views and experiences of the fifty senior adult women interviewed during the study. Driel’s findings illustrate the complexity surrounding the use of the concept of household head, as reflected in this table depicting the different categories of headship.

**Table 3-1: Driel’s Definitions of Headship (Paje 1990 - 1992)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Other Female</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Other Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Driel 1994: 150.

Driel indicates that over half of the women interviewed identified themselves as the major decision makers in all economic, educational and social matters relating to their households, and were recognised as such by other household members (Driel 1994: 149).

She classifies these households as *de jure* headed by women with one exception, the married woman who was *de facto* head due to the temporary absence of her husband. The two interviewees who referred to ‘other women’ as the heads of their households were a young unwed mother who established her household next to her mother’s but consulted her mother on
all ‘major decisions’\textsuperscript{9}, and a married woman who was residing with her husband and children in her mother’s homestead who regarded her mother as the head of the household. Three women who lived in ‘independent’ homesteads referred to non-resident brothers and male kin as the heads of their households as they consulted them on ‘major decisions’ (ibid). While Driel acknowledges the incidence of cohabitation, her analysis focuses on discrete marital categories.

Motts’ study (1994) among thirty nine households Kang also points to the significance of the isolated/independent female headed household type. Using similar arguments (to Driel’s) regarding the changes in female and male ideologies in relation to economic production and social reproduction parenting over time, he developed typologies that identified the female respondents’ respective stages in the family life. His six typologies were: 1) single, 2) single and widowed, 3) single and divorced, 4) single and fractured cohabitation, 5) single with Nyatsi (Boyfriend) 6) cohabiting (Motts 1994: 96).

He identifies nine of the households as nuclear and isolated -- lacking economic support from other family units; fourteen were matrifocal or were embedded in multi-generational female headed households; five had direct social linkages to male headed households through birth while maintaining separate lives, while nine enjoyed strong ties with the families (Motts 1994: 91).

Both Driel and Motts alluded to the fact that the female heads of households were responsible for making decisions regarding the welfare of their families without male participation. The limitations of both studies stem from their lack of inclusion of male respondents, as well as the lack of comparison of the socio-economic organisation of male headed households within the two communities.

\textsuperscript{9}Driel does not give a clear indication of the nature of these ‘major decisions’ in her discussion.
3.3.2 The Ambiguity of HIES Classification

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Household Income and Expenditure Surveys of 1984/85 and 1993/94 disaggregated household data by the gender of the head. While the data from the latter survey were used in the analysis of poverty by the Botswana Institute of Development Policy Analysis (1996), the HIES 2 did not provide a precise definition of headship.

The HIES 2 utilises the de facto approach to household membership, due to the fact that population mobility would create problems in the operationalisation of the concept of 'usual member', as it would entail detailing exact or appropriate proportions of time spent at each of the places where members reside (Government of Botswana: 1995a).

There is no clear indication of the basis of conceptualisation of the 'household head'. The following background information was obtained from several sources including: a paper on methodology that was presented by a CSO official at a seminar held to disseminate Census findings (Government of Botswana 1995a), a report on living conditions in Botswana from 1986 to 1994 (Government of Botswana 1996a) and the enumerators’ manual for HIES2 (Central Statistics Office 1993). The HIES 2 utilised a very broad framework for household headship:

Logically, every household must have a head. The head of a household has to be a member of the household...It was the responsibility of the household members to name from amongst members who their head was. In the case of couples, where either the wife or husband is present, one of them is the head. There were exceptional instances where from amongst the members, none, due to age, qualified to assume headship of the household. In such cases, the oldest was appointed head of household...(Government of Botswana: 1995a: p.32)

While the CSO does not provide a detailed definition of household head, it is evident that the concept is based on the notion that the household head is the ‘focal point’ of decision making within the household (Government of Botswana 1996a: 11). While no reference is made to the head’s central role in procuring resources for the household, it is implied in the focus on certain demographic aspects of the household head; eg., gender, age, educational status, etc. The
ambiguous conceptualisation of headship raises questions about its utility as an indicator of economic welfare and household organisation over time.

The ambiguous definition of the headship concept within the HIES supports the criticisms that have been levelled by feminist scholars (e.g., Rosenhouse 1989) that were discussed in Chapter Three. This ambiguity is reflected in the lack of an indication of the relevance of decision making to economic welfare at the household level. While the disaggregation of household data by the gender of the head has been used as the basis for the identification of gender-based income inequality at the household level, the question that comes to mind is the extent to which the broad conceptualisation of headship provides a reliable basis for the analysis of gender and socio-economic inequality at the household level in Botswana based on the HIES data.

This discussion has shown the complexities of defining female headship within the context of Botswana. The difficulties in the development of discrete typologies of female headship stem from the fluidity of consensual relationships, as well as the problems associated with the reliance on *de facto* identification of female heads within the context of national surveys. While the case studies conducted by Driel and Motts illustrate the importance of narrowing down the roles of women as mothers and economic providers in their households, both researchers acknowledge the likelihood that headship status is often a temporary stage in the family life cycle -- especially in the case of younger women who may either cohabit or marry at later stages in their lives. The following discussion describes the causes and manifestations of poverty within the female headed households as identified by these studies.

### 3.4 Causes of Poverty in Female Headed Households

The majority of the literature on female headed households identifies the causes of poverty within female headed households as stemming partly from their high age dependency ratios, which are in part due to women's lower participation in wage labour. Another factor that
is cited in much of the literature is the lack of financial support from fathers of children born out of wedlock.

3.4.1 High Dependency Ratios and Limited Income

The studies that utilised data from the RIDS and NMS surveys (Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Izzard 1982, 1985) in the 1970's and 1980's indicated that female headed households were economically disadvantaged by their higher age dependency ratios. On average, these households contained a higher proportion of dependants who were under the ages of fifteen years and over the age of sixty five. As indicated in Chapter One, the findings of the Household Income and Expenditure Survey of 1993/94 and the Poverty Study pointed to the paucity of income earners among poor and very poor households. While the income dependency ratios were similar among male and female headed households with an average of 7 non-income earners for every income earner (BIDPA 1997a: 30), the female headed households were particularly disadvantaged due to the scarcity of labour.

In order to test the effects of availability of male labour on the household’s ability to earn income, the RIDS survey of 1974/75 made a distinction between female and male headed households that contained a prime working age male (20 - 64 years) and those that did not (Kossoudji and Mueller 1983: 836). The four typologies of household headship by gender and male presence or absence are listed in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2: Rural Household Types RIDS 1974/75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSEHOLD TYPES</th>
<th>WEIGHTED DISTRIBUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male head - male aged 20 - 64 present (MH-MP)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male head - no male aged 20 - 64 present (MH-NMP)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female head - male aged 20 - 64 present (FH-MP)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female head - no male aged 20 - 64 present (FH-NMP)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Unidentified</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALL HOUSEHOLDS</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kossoudji and Mueller focus their comparison on the FH-NMP and the MH-MP household types. They indicate that the FH-NMP had a higher proportion of dependents aged 0-14 years than in MH-MP households. The FH-NMP households had fewer adults of working age per dependant than the MH-MP households. The aggregate income of the former household type was approximately one-third of the latter. Kossoudji and Mueller (1983) indicate that the absence of male labour had a detrimental effect on agricultural production within the households of female headed households, while male headed households benefited from access to cattle, and capital inputs and male labour; all of which served to enhance their productivity.

Other studies (Brown 1983; Driel 1994; Motts 1994) also allude to the general decline in agricultural production, particularly among female headed households. They indicate that while women utilise government agricultural assistance packages such as the Arable Rainfed Agricultural Programme (ARAP) and the Arable Land Development Programme (ALDEP), they are unable to reap good harvests due to their reliance on hired draught power which often arrived after the planting season, and were also unable to maintain their crops (eg., weeding and bird-scaring) due to the scarcity of labour in their households.

Poverty among female headed households is partly due to women’s low participation in wage work and low wages. While women’s entry into wage work has increased significantly since the 1960’s, their participation is consistently lower than that of men. As indicated in Chapter One, a large proportion of women are concentrated in service sector occupations and domestic work. In addition, many rely on informal sector activities such as beer brewing, the sale of cooked foods and small-scale retailing which offer little in the way of financial returns to meet survival needs.

3.4.2 Lack of Male Financial Support for Children

According to Tswana customary tradition, children born to unmarried mothers are absorbed into natal families to become part of that lineage group. The labour of both the mother
and the children were an important asset within the traditional subsistence agricultural system. The advent of the cash economy undermined the subsistence agricultural system and the ability of the extended family to cater for the subsistence needs of single mothers and their children. These changes have effectively altered the support networks available to women and children. As a result, increasing attention by women’s advocates, researchers and policy makers has been focused on seeking avenues of child support by fathers of children born out of wedlock. The structures and processes of child support in Botswana have been documented and debated in a number of studies (Molokomme 1991, WLSA 1992, Driel 1994, Motts 1994, Garey and Townsend 1997). The customary and statutory avenues for child maintenance are described briefly below.

Botswana has a system of legal pluralism characterised by the operation of customary legal traditions and Roman Dutch statutory law that was received during the colonial period. Roman Dutch statutory makes provision for the financial support of children born out of wedlock by their fathers through the Affiliation Proceedings Act. The Act provides that:

A single woman who is with child or who has been delivered of an illegitimate child may apply upon complaint in writing to a magistrate for a summons to be served on the man who is alleged to be the father of her child. (WLSA 1992: 42)

A single mother who wishes to apply for child support is required to make an application within twelve months of the birth of the child. This time frame is subject to review if a) the woman can provide proof that the father started then reneged on his intentions to marry or support; b) the alleged father was absent from the country during the twelve month following the birth of the child (WLSA 1992: 43). The Affiliation Proceedings Act, which was last amended in 1977, makes provisions for the payment of a sum of money not exceeding P10 per week or P40 per month until a child reaches the age of 13 years. The period is extendable to 16 years on the basis of the educational needs of the child (Molokomme 1991; WLSA 1992). Provisions are also
made for the settlement of maintenance orders with lump sum payments. Failure to comply with or settle maintenance orders is punishable by imprisonment.

Unlike the Roman Dutch legal traditions, the approaches to child maintenance under customary law are based on the links between reproduction and marriage (Molokomme 1991; Garey and Townsend 1997). Under customary Tswana law, the impregnation of an unmarried girl or woman is regarded as a wrong against her father (who was deemed her guardian before marriage). The Tswana term tshenyo, which literally means ‘spoiling’, is used to refer to the status of a pregnant unmarried woman whose chances for marriage were reduced or ‘spoilt’ by pregnancy.

Following pregnancy, the father and/or senior male relatives of the young mother set up a meeting with the male relatives of the man responsible in order to establish whether the alleged father of the child intends to marry their daughter. In the past, these informal negotiations usually culminated with the initiation of the marriage process; i.e., the initiation of the engagement process. In circumstances where there was no intent to marry -- as is increasingly the case nowadays-- or where paternity is denied, the matter may be brought before the headman of the man’s lineage ward or kgotla (Molokomme 1991). In the past, the two individuals (the mother and the alleged father) would be represented by their respective male guardians, and would effectively be ‘witnesses’ during the proceedings. If found ‘guilty’ of tshenyo, a man’s family would be required to compensate the woman’s family (male guardians) with a number of cattle specified by the kgotla. The system of tshenyo was only instituted for the first child born out of wedlock.

There are conflicting interpretations regarding the purpose of tshenyo. One interpretation is that the cattle were regarded as compensation to the father of the woman in anticipation of her reduced value on the marriage market. Another interpretation rendered by Schapera (1933) was that the cattle received were held in trust for the child. Regardless of the primary purpose of tshenyo, Molokomme (1991) and WLSA (1992) hold that the system
promoted and reinforced male control over women's reproductive capacities through the patriarchal avenues of litigation.

Customary approaches and avenues have been adjusted in order to make provisions for maintenance claims in addition to tshenyo cases. Women can now claim tshenyo as child support in their own right through the kgotla system. The customary system of child maintenance follows that of tshenyo, wherein the court awards a lump sum on the scale of 6 - 8 cattle, or the equivalent of approximately P80 per head. Unlike the maintenance court awards, the payment of 'damage' or maintenance awards is not linked to the age of the child. In addition, this avenue is often used only for the first child, in compliance with Tswana traditional customs.

Several studies conducted in various rural and urban communities (Molokomme 1991; WLSA 1992; Driel 1994; Motts 1994; Garey and Townsend 1997) have pointed to the low rate of application for maintenance by single mothers as well as the low rate of compliance by men where maintenance orders are issued. Three factors have been cited as reasons for these trends. The first is women's lack of knowledge of maintenance law provisions. The second is lack of enforcement of maintenance awards and rulings by the courts. The third reason is the inherent contradiction between the legal systems, wherein the super-imposition of western legal tradition goes against the grain of cultural norms and practices relating to reproduction and family organisation. These factors are discussed briefly below.

The Women and Law in Southern Africa research project conducted a study of maintenance laws and practices in seven towns and villages in Botswana between 1990 and 1991. One of the primary objectives of the study was to examine perceptions and attitudes towards customary and statutory legal child support laws through interviews and focus group discussions. The findings revealed that while women and men were familiar with customary law, they had limited knowledge of the maintenance law provisions. There was also a degree of confusion with regard to the legal processes for initiating legal action which resulted in women
either settling for informal tshenyo settlements for their first children through their respective families, or not initiating any action.

A factor that serves to discourage women from applying for child maintenance in the customary and magistrates' courts is the limited enforcement of payment orders by the courts. In her study of maintenance practices in Kanye, Molokomme (1991) found a that a large proportion of the cases that had been brought before the courts had not been settled. Both Molokomme and WLSA established that the settlement of maintenance cases was not seen as a priority within the courts, which devoted more attention and resources to criminal matters (eg., crimes against property, etc.). In many cases, men tended to pay the initial instalments for the orders, and ceased to pay thereafter. Molokomme and WLSA indicate that the main reason for the lack of enforcement of maintenance orders in part contributed to men’s laxity. Another reason that was cited was the lack of resources (primarily due to unemployment) for the pay for maintenance orders.

The third factor is perhaps most compelling and holistic explanation for the failure of women to institute maintenance proceedings and the low rate of compliance by men. Garey and Townsend (1996) point to inherent contradictions between statutory provisions and traditional customs relating to child support. The findings of their study in Mankgodi illustrate the continuing embeddedness of child maintenance within customary childbearing and marriage customs within contemporary Tswana society. Child support continues to be seen within the context of lengthy and complicated marriage processes. The absence of traditional avenues for the financial maintenance of children by their fathers (beyond the first child) is due to the potentiality of marriage by the woman either to the father of her children, or to another man.

In the first instance, application of child support would be seen as antagonistic and confrontational, jeopardising the marriage process. In the second instance financial support by a non-residential father is seen as jeopardising the woman’s chances of marriage to her current partner who assumes the role of social parenting of the woman’s children (Garey and Townsend
They posit that the reluctance of women to apply for maintenance, and the unwillingness of men to support children outside current consensual relations is due to prevailing customs relating to childbearing and marriage rather than to female ignorance and male irresponsibility.

While many developed countries have developed elaborate systems for ensuring that males assume the duty of support for children borne out of wedlock, the institution of western legal remedies has not served as a suitable prescription in Botswana due to the prevailing cultural framework. However, due to the factors mentioned above, a large proportion of single mothers and children live in poverty due to the limited ability of their families to support them. The twin effects of declining extended family support and the absence of and low rate of support from the fathers of their children serves to exacerbate their poverty.

3.5 Where Did All the Men Go?

Anthropological studies conducted by Ørnulf Gulbrandsen (1996) and Nicholas Townsend (1997) give insight into the men’s lived experiences; their attitudes towards sexuality and marriage, as well as their connections and contributions to their natal families, consensual partners and children within the context of socio-economic change. Both of the scholars allude to the inadequacy of the ‘residential household’ as a unit of analysis within Botswana, as it fails to capture the socio-economic and cultural dynamics that influence the actions of individuals in fluid domestic arrangements around lolwapa (the agnatic traditional family compound) over time and space.

Townsend’s anthropological study in the village of Mankgodi10 between 1993 and 1994 fills important gap in studies of household organisation and social relations by focusing on the lived experiences of men over time. He challenges the approach to the socio-economic welfare

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10A small village in the south-eastern part of the country.
of female headed households based on the residential household as a unit of analysis in social science and policy-oriented research in Botswana, and the notion of male ‘irresponsibility’ which is established by most of the literature (Townsend 1997). Townsend constructed men’s life histories focusing specifically on their relationships to various households over their courses.

Based on his analysis of the residential arrangements of men of different ages between 1973 and 1993 and the accounts of women and men in the community, Townsend argues that household formation for men extends over a lengthy period of time. Due to changes in marital practices brought about by male migration over much of the twentieth century, he found that men typically established permanent marital homesteads after the age of forty. Before the age of forty, therefore, the male life course was characterised by high physical mobility between urban employment centres and the village. During this time, men establish and maintain social and economic connections with individuals in various households in the urban centres and rural areas. He posits that:

Single men, with no social children, who are not living in the village, may appear from one perspective to be single-person households and social isolates, while from another perspective they are members of a lolwapa, attached to others by a variety of competing claims, responsibilities, and relationships both economic and affective. (Townsend 1997: 410)

Townsend points to the significance of male social parenting; men’s contribution to the welfare of their acknowledged biological offspring, as well as their contribution towards the welfare of other young dependants such as the children of their consensual partners, their siblings and their unmarried sisters’ children. He posits that men have claims on their labour and financial resources as sons, brothers, social parents, as nephews and sometimes as sons-in-law. While noting that some men evade many of the claims to their time and income, and direct their income and energy on their individual needs, he argues that, due to the social significance of reciprocity and interdependence, most men of the men in their sample attempted to meet their obligations during their life course.
Townsend's study illustrates the complexity and significance of social relations and economic transactions over time and space which are not accommodated when analysis focuses on the residential household as the unit of analysis, and women in isolation.

3.6 Conclusion

National household surveys data have pointed to the prevalence of socio-economic inequality and poverty in Botswana. The manifestation of socio-economic inequality and poverty is primarily due to the limited access by a significant proportion of the population to sustained sources of income over time.

During the course of social and economic change, the subsistence agricultural economy lost its prominence as the primary source of survival for Tswana societies. While the migrant labour system and the growth of wage employment in urban centres in Botswana opened up prospects for income generation and resource distribution, the unemployment rate remains high; resulting in a large proportion of the population being reliant on state support. Poverty and socio-economic inequality are largely problems that are largely determined by the structure of the economy, as well as its cycles of expansion and contraction. However, the socio-economic welfare of the population is vastly affected by individual attributes such as human capital, and their ability to make choices regarding their own welfare and the welfare of their dependants.

The lessons learned from the body of literature that focuses on the roles that individuals undertake with regard to economic production and social reproduction within domestic units stem from their ability to provide a more holistic picture of the interface between structural factors (eg., culture and the economy), patterns of social and economic co-operation at the domestic level, and the shaping of individual ideology over time. The strength of this type of analysis rests in the ability to look beneath common conceptualisations such as the residential household and headship in order to examine the different configurations of gender relations and
socio-economic welfare. Several of the studies discussed in this chapter point to the conflicting
gender relations of economic production and reproduction.

This study proposes to contribute to the debate on gender inequality, household
organisation and life chances by investigating the internal organisation of households, as well as
the processes of procurement and disbursement of resources within them. The in-depth study of
the internal organisation of domestic units will provide insight into the socio-economic context
of poverty and survival by focusing on the experiences of women and men within households.
Chapter 4. Research Design

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Two discussed various approaches to the study of socio-economic status of households and their members. The discussion showed that, while measures of aggregate household economic welfare are useful for providing general patterns of income distribution and life chances, they provide little insight into the social relations of poverty. Similarly, while the disaggregation of household data by the gender of the head has served to raise the awareness of social scientists and policy makers to the causal links between gender inequality and poverty within domestic units, static conceptualisations of domestic units and headship often fail to depict the reality of resource provision and patterns of authority in different cultural contexts.

The case studies discussed in Chapters Two and Three illustrate the need to look within households to examine the roles that women and men play with regard to income procurement and disbursement in order to come to a more holistic understanding of socio-economic welfare in domestic units.

This chapter presents the research design for my case study of the internal dynamics of low income households within the communities of Manyana and Gaborone in Botswana which was undertaken between June, 1996 and April 1997. Section 4.2 re-states the limitations of quantitative macro-level household surveys and economic household research for analyses of the interface between gender differentiation and life chances, and attests to the pertinence of qualitative in-depth interviews for this study. Section 4.3 provides background information on the research sites of Manyana and Gaborone. Section 4.4 describes the process of sample selection and the methods for data collection.
4.2 Towards a Study of Internal Household Socio-Economic Organisation

Much of the information on socio-economic welfare in developing countries is generated through national surveys which focus on aspects of household composition, income and expenditure. The appeal of surveys lies in the ‘universality’ of the findings at national and international levels for policy making as well as academic debates on the nature and causes of socio-economic inequality. The concerns of feminist social scientists regarding theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of households and gender inequality were presented in Chapter Two. The following section focuses on the two concerns that formed the basis of this empirical study.

4.2.1 Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

The first concern relates to the unitary models of household economic organisation, and their empirical application. Economic household research and national household surveys focus on the household as the primary unit of analysis, examining the links between the demographic aspects of household structure (e.g., household size and dependency ratios) and aggregate economic welfare (sources and amounts of income, and expenditure). These analyses tend to present a monolithic, and somewhat static view of household organisation, without giving insight into the social relations of resource provision, as well as the dynamics of survival.

The second concern relates to decision-making and resource provision within households. The gender of the household head has been used as a proxy for generating comparative data on the economic status of women at the international level, as well as in different local contexts. As indicated in Chapter Two, however, a growing number of feminist scholars (Rosenhouse 1986; Guyer and Peters 1987; Varley 1996; Chant 1992, 1997) are pointing to the limitations of the headship concept on the basis that it obscures the complex internal dynamics of household organisation as well as the significance of socially-constructed gendered individual agency within the context of poverty, access and resource provision.
Recent studies on female headed households in Botswana (Driel 1994; Motts 1994) provide insight into the links between macro cultural and economic conditions on the welfare of single (unmarried, divorced and widowed) mothers and their children. However, their focus on showing the existence of autonomous, independent *de jure* female headed households as a special group obscures the complexity of social and economic relationships between individual women and men within and between domestic units.

The contributions made by Peters (1983) and Townsend (1997) to the debate on gender relations and household organisation illustrate the importance of moving beyond household headship to qualitatively examine the roles played by women and men in economic production and social reproduction, their options and strategies for survival, and the contributions they make to cater for the needs of dependents, especially children.

### 4.2.2 The Relevance of Qualitative Methods for The Study

Over recent years we have witnessed a significant increase in the use of ethnographies, life histories and in-depth open-ended interviews in social science research. The appeal of qualitative methods lies in their suitability for examining the complexity of social phenomena, especially the relationships between dynamic macro-societal economic and socio-cultural conditions and human lives. By focusing on social actors, researchers are able to gain insight into personal experiences, attitudes and actions that may not be quantifiable, but provide a more holistic picture of welfare, especially with regard to access and deprivation.

Researchers are increasingly utilising qualitative methods to gain insight into the interface between gender differentiation and poverty in domestic units. Many of the case studies on gender differentiation that have been conducted by feminist scholars in various cultural settings utilised in-depth interviews to gain insight into the internal organisation of domestic units, particularly the roles and experiences of individuals within them. Qualitative research
therefore facilitates an important link between macro-societal structures and micro-individual agency in the examination of social and economic inequality.

While qualitative case studies are often criticised as being subjective, non-scientific and their findings non-generalisable, they provide social scientists with the opportunity to move beyond 'universal' conceptualisations of human social and economic behaviour, in order to arrive at a better understanding of the unique circumstances under which individuals construct their lives, and are affected by the conditions within which they survive.

The discussions in chapters One and Three illustrated the centrality of national surveys in the analysis of household organisation and poverty in Botswana. The gender-disaggregated data generated by household surveys has formed the basis for the debate on the economic welfare of households, particularly the discrepancies in welfare between female and male headed households. In recent years qualitative studies on gender differentiation undertaken by social scientists (Molokomme 1991; Driel 1994, Motts 1994; Garey and Townsend 1994; Gulbrandsen 1996; Townsend 1997) as well as the Rapid Poverty Profile (BIDPA 1997c) have identified the socio-cultural and economic complexities of household organisation and gender differentiation that are obscured in quantitative surveys that focus on the household as the primary unit of analysis.

The research design and methods for this study were based on my research questions as well as the gaps in household research on poverty and life chances in Botswana. The study proposes to contribute to the ongoing debate on gender inequality and life chances by utilising in-depth interviews to examine and compare the organisation, decision making processes and livelihood strategies employed by women and men. It is important to emphasise that this study did not set out to challenge the findings of the extensive HIES findings and those of other household research but rather to assess various indicators of household organisation and economic welfare based on the lived experiences of women and men. In addition, the study seeks to contribute to the body of literature on gender inequality and family forms in Botswana.
4.3 The Research Sites

Empirical studies have pointed to disparities in household economic welfare between rural and urban areas Botswana. Rural dwellers have limited employment prospects, while the urban areas, as centres of commercial activities and government administration, provide more employment opportunities for household members. Manyana and Gaborone were selected as research sites to assess the impact of rural and urban locations on life chances.

4.3.1 Manyana: A Small Village in the Ngwaketse District

Manyana is a small village located in the Southern District, 45 kms south east of Gaborone. The village is situated around the Kolobeng River, and is surrounded by hills and rocky outcrops that are common in much of the Southern District.

Historical Background

This historical background of Manyana is based on information from a few oral histories that have been deposited at the national archives of Botswana (e.g., Jensen 1932, Tlhomelang 1977; Kgabi 1983), as well as discussions with the chief of Manyana during the early stages of research. According to these sources, the village of Manyana was established by the Bahurutshe, a Tswana sub-group settled in the Transvaal province in the northern part South Africa in the 17th century. The group was led by a succession of chiefs, including Manyane and Mohurutshe. A conflict between two sons of Mohurutshe; Motebele and Motebejane, led to a split in the group. Motebele and his followers finally settled in the north of Botswana, while Motebejane’s group settled in the South East around 1880 (Jensen 1932) and came to be known as BaHurutshe Boo-Manyana.
There are also several other ethnic groups that are represented in the village of Manyana. There are many BaNgwaketse, Ba Kgatla\textsuperscript{11}, as well as families of Ndebele\textsuperscript{12} origin in the village who have assimilated the basic cultural norms of BaHurutshe. I was informed that Bahurutshe had been conquered by the Ndebele, and that some remained after subsequent interventions by the Afrikaaners in South Africa.

The village is composed of six main lineage wards: Kgosing (the royal kraal), Seaila, Puane, Poane, Monneng and Motlatsa. There are two other settlements; Bikwe and Mogonye which are located approximately 10 kms north and north east of the village that fall under the jurisdiction of the chief of Manyana (Kgabi 1983).

\textbf{Figure 4-1: Key Demographic Features of Manyana (1991 Census)}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Total population: 2,511: 1,400 females, 1,111 males.
  \item Total no. of households: 498: 322 female headed, 176 male headed.
  \item No. of households with one or more cash earning members: 179: 89 female headed, 90 male headed.
  \item No. of households with no cash earning members: 319: 233 female headed, 86 male headed.
  \item No. of economically active persons 12 years and over: 410: 135 females, 275 males.
  \item No. of economically inactive persons 12 years and over: 1,064: 733 females, 331 males.
\end{itemize}

(Government of Botswana 1994: 233 - 240)

\textbf{Socio-Economic and Political Profile}

Bahurutshe historically depended on subsistence agriculture and cattle rearing. The viability of these activities was enhanced by the proximity of the Kolobeng River (Tlhomelang 1977). For much of the twentieth century, however, subsistence agricultural production has been supplemented by remittances from migrants working in South Africa and in various urban areas within Botswana. During the 1991 census, 245 persons (181 males and 64 females) were recorded as being in South Africa. The primary reason for absence was employment. The

\textsuperscript{11}Neighbouring ethnic groups.

\textsuperscript{12}A powerful warring group that settled in present-day Zimbabwe.
majority of the men were employed as miners, while most of the women were working as domestic workers (Government of Botswana 1994).

Initial discussions with the chief and the Community Development Officer (CDO) during 1996 provided information on social, economic and political changes that have taken place in the community, as well as a broad socio-economic profile of the population. They indicated that the most significant change over time has been that of the decline of subsistence agriculture, as well as large-scale out-migration of able-bodied women and men to urban areas in South Africa and Botswana. The majority of those remaining are the elderly and young children who were left under the care of their grandparents by their migrant parents. I was informed that there were a significant proportion of poor households in the village due to increasing declines in subsistence agriculture, the lack of local employment opportunities, and the low rate of remittances from migrants.

The village retains key aspects of Tswana traditional political organisation. The Chief is assisted by his brothers and uncles, and male representatives from the different patrilineal wards in the village. The Chief and the sub-chiefs complained that their current role is mainly ceremonial and is subsumed under ‘modern’ legal, political and administrative institutions. The traditional authorities fall under the auspices of the district administrative councils. Their legal jurisdiction is confined to the settlement of ‘informal’ matters, while ‘formal’ matters such as property disputes, marriages and grievous bodily harm are relegated to the Magistrate Court in administrative centres located outside the village. The chief and the representatives are responsible for facilitating rituals, presiding over marriages and organising community events such as Dikgafela, a ceremony that is held to celebrate the harvest and pray for rain for the following season. They are also responsible for consulting the community on problems and matters of communal interest. Most of these activities take place in the central meeting forum that is located in the leadership ward.
Infrastructure and Social Services

Chapter One described the various means by which the government of Botswana has invested in rural infrastructure and social services. Manyana is connected to the growing tarred road network, which facilitates easy access to neighbouring villages and urban areas. Infrastructural services include water standpipes which are located throughout the village, and electrical and telephone facilities for those who can afford them. The village has a daily bus service into Gaborone. The few vehicles that I saw in the village belonged to local business owners, and government workers. The majority of the population walked to various destinations in the village. Those who owned donkeys used them primarily as a source of transport for collecting water from the standpipes and travelling to the agricultural lands and cattleposts outside the village. While I was in Manyana, the Rural Industries Innovation Centre (RIIC) in Kanye was conducting a pilot project for the supply of low-cost solar power. Several households were supplied with solar panels and equipment for lighting and cooking. The project also included the testing of solar-powered streetlights.

The village has a day care centre, a primary school and a junior secondary school. Many young people from the village attend senior secondary schools in the neighbouring major villages of Ramotswa, Thamaga, Moshupa and Kanye. When I began the study in April 1996, the local clinic was under construction. Medical consultations, and other health related activities were conducted in a small building that was ‘borrowed’ from the Village Development Committee. By the time I completed my field work, the new clinic was in use. The clinic provides services ranging from general medical consultations and family planning to the distribution of supplementary food rations for children under 5 years, lactating mothers and malnourished children. The facility is designated a ‘maternity clinic’ as it has several beds and equipment for that purpose.
Other social welfare services in the village include government-initiated income generating projects such as the horticultural garden, home economics classes which include cooking, sewing and knitting for income generation, and adult literacy classes. These services are facilitated by the government extension personnel in village (the agricultural demonstrator, community development officer, literacy assistants) and are supplemented by efforts from the village development committee, religious and other non-governmental organisations.

There are several commercial enterprises in Manyana, including three general stores that supply a wide range of food, clothing and domestic goods. There is a consumer co-operative store which supplies goods at lower prices, and serves as the distribution point for destitute rations. The village has 2 churches, and several bars. It was evident that much of the social activity among adults centred around ‘drinking spots’, homesteads that sold liquor to the public. The few recreational facilities -- mostly football and netball fields were located in the primary schools and the junior secondary school.

4.3.2 Old Naledi and Gaborone West: Two SHHA Areas in the Capital City

Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, is located in the south-eastern part of the country, within thirty kilometres of the South African border. The population of Gaborone has grown substantially since its establishment in 1965 due to the constant stream of migrants who leave the rural areas in the hope of improving their life chances through wage employment.

Historical Background

As indicated in Chapter One, the town of Gaborone was established in the mid-1960’s to replace Mafikeng as the administrative capital of Bechuanaland Protectorate. The total population of Gaborone grew from 10,000 in 1966 (Colcough and McCarthy 1980: 3) to 17,713

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13The store is part of the government-initiated consumer and agricultural co-operative movement under the auspices of the Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture.
in 1971; a growth rate of 24 per cent per annum (Government of Botswana 1991c: 206). The population stood at 133,468 in 1991 (Ibid) or one-tenth of the total population of the country.

Early construction of Gaborone included the building of infrastructure; roads, government buildings, commercial areas and housing for administrative staff. The companies that participated in initial construction set up their yards in close proximity to the railway within the proposed industrial area. The commencement of construction in 1964 created many employment opportunities mostly for men from the rural areas, most of whom settled in labour camps immediately south of the construction lots. The majority of the early migrants occupied plots in the southern industrial zone.

By 1971, the population of the settlement of 'Naledi’ consisted of approximately 4,500 people, or one quarter of the total population of Gaborone (Nostrand 1982). The dwellings in took several forms ranging from shacks constructed from discarded tin, cartons and lumber to traditional huts. The settlement continued to be an entry point for migrants who set up their own dwellings or resided with relatives and friends.

In order to avert the growth of the squatter camp, the Gaborone Town Council established the first surveyed low-income plots in Bontleng\(^\text{14}\) in 1971, which was supplemented by Botswana Housing Corporation low-income housing in 1972. Because these developments were not sufficient to meet demands, the Botswana Housing Corporation and Town Council embarked on two resettlement schemes. The first was a "Traditional Housing Area" at Extension 14, located east of Bontleng. The scheme provided applicants with surveyed plots and basic services such as roads, communal water stand-pipes and pit latrine facilities.

The Council facilitated the construction of two types of housing: 'site- and -services' and 'traditional', by supplying the plot-holders with building material loans. The former type of housing required the use of concrete or cement blocks and corrugated iron, while the latter

\(^{14}\)Bontleng is located south east of the city centre.
permitted the use of mud-brick and thatch. The second resettlement effort was the establishment of "New Naledi", a community comprised of small mass-produced houses that was located slightly east of the squatter area.

The resettlement schemes failed to curb the growth of the original squatter settlement (which was renamed 'Old Naledi'). Some of the residents that had relocated to the new sites returned to the squatter area due to dissatisfaction with their new accommodation. In addition to this, there was a constant influx of new migrants from various rural areas (Nostrand 1982). By 1974, the government of Botswana was left with no option but to recognise Old Naledi as a formal residential area, and set out to upgrade the area with the collaboration of the Town Council through the Self Help Housing Agency scheme (SHHA).

The Self Help Housing Agency Scheme

As mentioned in Chapter One, the SHHA scheme was established in 1974 to provide access to affordable housing for low income groups. The scheme was established by the urban councils with a considerable amount of funding and technical assistance from various international donors. Feasibility studies, funding for development and technical advice were initially provided by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the World Bank.

In 1986 the maximum salary required to qualify for the Building Materials Loan (BML) was P200 per month. According to NDP 8 (1997/8 - 2002/3), the income range for qualification is from P1,800 to P10,000 per annum, which translates to approximately P150 (Can $50) to P833 (Can $278) per month. The maximum amount that could be borrowed by plot-holders was increased from P1500 in 1988 and increased to P3600 in 1992; to be repaid over a 15 year period at an interest rate of 9 percent per annum (Larsson 1989, Government of Botswana 1997: 424). The loan repayment is not permitted to exceed a quarter of the monthly income of the plot-holder (Nostrand 1982, Government of Botswana 1991b).
While the administrative headquarters of the SHHA scheme in Gaborone are based at the City Council offices, the daily administration of the agencies -- the receipt and monitoring of loan repayment and service levies, the provision of materials and technical advice on building specifications -- is undertaken through site offices which are located in the SHHA communities of Old Naledi, Gaborone West, Broadhurst, Tsholofelo and Bontleng. The base specification for construction is the use of concrete blocks and corrugated roof to build a two-roomed core-structure and pit latrine. The total number of plots that had been allocated by March 1997 are shown in Table 4-1 below.

Table 4-1: Total No. of SHHA Plots Allocated in Gaborone Since 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>No. of PLOTS ALLOCATED SINCE 1974</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsholofelo</td>
<td>1635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadhurst</td>
<td>1827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaborone West*</td>
<td>1535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Naledi*</td>
<td>1684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bontleng + Extension 14 + White City</td>
<td>958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>7639</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The research Sites

Source: Self Help Housing Agency Senior Housing Officer, Gaborone (March, 1997)

The greatest achievement of the SHHA scheme has been the prevention of the development of significant squatter settlement in the city. Besides providing access to home ownership, the SHHAs have benefited a larger population through a wide-scale sub-letting system that is a source of much needed income for plot-holders.

Socio-Economic Profile of Old Naledi and Gaborone West Communities

The SHHA communities of Old Naledi and Gaborone West are located in the south western part of Gaborone. Separate statistical demographic profiles of the Old Naledi and Gaborone West SHHA communities were not available, as they are integrated in the summary
statistics on Gaborone. The following background information on the two communities was obtained from previous studies, as well as the accounts of community workers.

The community of Old Naledi has been the subject of several studies that focused on poverty and housing strategies for low-income households (Nostrand 1982; Larsson 1989; Feddema 1990). These studies provide detailed information on the socio-economic welfare of the residents, especially patterns of social organisation and composition of settlement. The studies indicate that the majority of the original population of Old Naledi was made up of women and men of working-age (15 to 54 years) who migrated from their respective rural communities in search of employment. Motivations for migration revolved around poverty and limited subsistence prospects within the rural agricultural economy. Based on the findings of research conducted during the 1970's and 1980's, Feddema (1990) divides migrants into three socio-economic categories: small farmers, herdsmen and unwed mothers.

Feddema describes the small-scale farmers as male migrants who owned livestock and/or continued to engage in subsistence agriculture within their rural communities, and are primarily in town to supplement their subsistence efforts in the rural areas. He posits that these individuals remitted income earned from employment to maintain their households in the rural areas.

Herdsmen are those individuals who depended on wealthier cattle-owners for employment in their respective rural communities. Faced with poor working conditions, these individuals, who do not own any cattle, come to town in search of a better life. With little social capital due to their low economic position within their communities of origin, they are likely to depend on manual labour, including domestic work and casual work for subsistence. Their ability to remit to relatives in the rural areas is hindered by unemployment.

Feddema and Larsson (1989) posit that some of the migrants were young single women (many of whom are mothers) who migrate in search of better economic prospects and freedom from traditional family control in their respective rural communities. Many of these women are
employed within the formal service sector as cleaners and as domestic workers within the homes of wealthier city dwellers. Others engage in entrepreneurial activities such as selling beer within their homes. While their lack of ownership of assets puts them in a similar economic situation to the herdsmen, their ties with the rural areas are closer, as they often leave their children in the care of parents, siblings and relatives (Larsson 1989; Feddema 1990).

At the time of the research, there was no documentation on the socio-economic status of SHHA residents in Gaborone West. I therefore relied on information obtained from discussions with SHHA officials and social workers in the area, as well as visual observations of the area. Social workers and SHHA officials indicated that the SHHA residents included individuals who had been moved from Old Naledi in the early 1980’s as well as those who had migrated from various rural areas in search of employment. The social workers mentioned that they were faced with a constant stream of clients who were faced with socio-economic problems including poverty and domestic disputes.

**Infrastructure and Social Services in Old Naledi and Gaborone West**

There is a vast difference in the physical layout of the communities as a result of the physical planning. The physical plan of Old Naledi followed the patterns of settlement that had been established by the squatters. As a result, the layout of Old Naledi is marked by high population density, and narrow roads. Plot numbers are not completely rationalised as most are not located on straight roads. While most of the main dwellings conform to SHHA specifications, most of the plots also have small shacks which are poorly constructed.

The physical planning of Gaborone West was based on the rationalised plan of greater Gaborone. The plots were surveyed, demarcated and numbered before settlement took place. The roads are wider, and the plot numbering is more rationalised. The other qualitative difference between the two communities is that Old Naledi is relatively isolated as a low-income community, while the SHHA plots in Gaborone West are integrated with medium and high
income housing. It is important to note that, unlike many low-income areas in developing countries, the areas are relatively clean, with regular refuse collection and well-developed sewerage systems.

The social services in both areas are provided and managed by the City and the central government. There are two primary schools, two clinics and a community centre in Old Naledi. There are several small stores that are located in Old Naledi; however, it was evident that a large number of residents rely upon a growing number of *smausus* (hawking businesses) for daily food requirements. These residents have to travel to the main commercial areas located towards the centre of Gaborone, or in Gaborone West for larger purchases.

The SHHA residents of Gaborone West have access to three primary schools, two community junior secondary schools, two clinics and a community centre. There is a wider range of commercial enterprises, including small supermarkets and general goods stores. Social programmes that are offered to residents by social workers, community development officers and government extension officers in Old Naledi and Gaborone West include literacy classes, family counselling, training for income generation, and recreational activities for youth. The absence of senior secondary schools in both areas results in many students having to travel to other parts of Gaborone for junior and secondary school education. Both communities have access to the transport system which consists of privately run mini-buses. The licensing of the vehicles and the fares are regulated by the government. The cost of a journey from one point to another within the city was approximately P1.00 (about 30 cents) along designated routes. It was evident that many people got to various destinations in the city on foot.

The Old Naledi and Gaborone SHHA areas are divided into political areas or wards. Both areas have development committees that are composed of six to eight elected community members, and political councillors who represent the communities in the Gaborone City Council. They are responsible for informing the Councillors of the views of the residents and any problems (socio-economic and infrastructural) that may occur in the communities (Nostrand
1982). The Botswana National Front (the main opposition party) holds the majority of seats in the City Council which is primarily based on support from the low-income areas.

4.4 Sample Selection

The method of sample selection for this study was determined by financial constraints and logistical considerations. The sample selection occurred in two stages. The first was the identification of a pool of households in each of the locations through a screening survey. The second was the selection of twenty households in Manyana and twenty in Gaborone (Old Naledi and Gaborone West) for in-depth interviews.

4.4.1 The Screening Survey

The main purpose of the screening survey was to identify a pool of low-income households from which to choose a sample for the qualitative interviews. The survey concentrated on obtaining information on household composition, principal sources and amounts of income and expenditure based on interviews with reference persons within the household. The households were selected by way of purposive sampling based on information obtained from community workers in the research sites.

The Community Development Officer (CDO) in Manyana indicated that the majority of destitutes were the elderly people, mostly elderly widowed women. She provided a list of destitutes and suggested that since the identification of destitutes was a joint exercise involving government officials and committee members\(^5\), I should also consult with the staff of the local clinic. Sixty-three households were selected from the lists provided by the CDO and clinic staff for the screening survey. The sample in Manyana was primarily made up of destitutes and those

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\(^5\)Community members are encouraged to come forward with the names of individuals, families and households that are having economic problems. These names can either be channelled through the Village Development Committee and the Kgosi, or presented directly to the CDO or clinic staff.
additional households considered to be living in poverty by the Community Development Officer and the staff of the village clinic. Thirty had been identified by the community workers as female headed households, and thirty as male headed. I also obtained a map of Manyana from the Kgotla. This map had been drawn by a group of Chinese technicians\textsuperscript{16} who worked in the village around 1990. While it was rather dated, it provided a general layout and spread of the village.

In Gaborone, the sample selection process was undertaken with the assistance of SHHA officials and social workers. The SHHA officials suggested that there was a high correlation between poverty and defaults on loan repayments. They retrieved the plot numbers of defaulters from their lists. Many of the plot numbers in the defaulters’ lists also appeared in Social Workers' case lists of individuals and families facing serious financial difficulties. I selected 72 plot numbers\textsuperscript{17} from the list, dividing them by female and male defaulters and destitutes. I made a copy of the most recent map of Old Naledi (with plot numbers) that had been drawn by the SHHA technical officer. The map of Gaborone West with plot numbers was obtained from the government Department of Surveys and Lands.

The questionnaires were designed to obtain general information on the household structure, and major sources of income and patterns of expenditure from adult household members who were available and willing to participate in the interviews. The questionnaire consisted of 28 closed-ended and pre-coded questions that were divided into 8 categories.

- **Demographic Data:** gender, age and marital status of estimated age of household head.
- **Household Composition:** the gender, ages and marital statuses of persons who usually lived in the household, and those who were temporarily absent.

\textsuperscript{16}The technicians were attached to District Land Use Planning Units and Tribal Land Boards as part of a bilateral project between the governments of Botswana and China.

\textsuperscript{17}I exceeded the original plan to select 60 plots, as I had been informed of the likelihood of absence of plot holders in Old Naledi and Gaborone West.
• **Educational Status:** the highest level of education of respondent.

• **Employment Status:** of the respondent, and whether any members of the household were employed.

• **Ownership of Assets:** whether the respondent owned major assets such as land, dwelling(s), or livestock.

• **Principal Sources of Household Income:** during the past month, and during the past 12 months.

• **Estimated Amount of Household Cash Income:** and Types of Non-Cash Income during the past month. Respondents were asked whether the household members received cash remittances or goods from outside.

• **Main Weekly and Annual Expenditure:** items classified as major weekly expenditure, and major expenses incurred over the year.

The questionnaire was pre-tested among several households in Naledi, modified and translated to Setswana. A total of 128 screening interviews were conducted during the months of June and July 1996. Of these, 69 were conducted in Gaborone and 59 in Manyana. I conducted the interviews with two research assistants, a woman and a man. The interviewers explained the aims and objectives of the study in detail, indicating that respondents were not compelled to participate, and that all information given would be held in confidence and used only for the research. The data from the screening interviews were entered into spreadsheets and analysed with Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). A summary of major findings of the screening survey is presented below.

**Gender of the Respondents and Household Heads**

The interviews were conducted with 94 women and 34 men. The reason for the high proportion of women is that we generally found more women present in the households. In a few cases, men declined to be interviewed. According to the information provided by
respondents, 28 of the households in Gaborone were headed by women, while 41 were headed by men. In Manyana, the number of identified female headed households was slightly higher, with 33 households headed by women, and 26 by men.

In Manyana, 44 of the 59 interviews were held with self-identified household heads, while 15 interviews were with the most senior individuals found in the households. Of the 69 interviews conducted in Old Naledi and Gaborone West, 52 were held with self-identified household heads, while 17 interviews were conducted with the most senior individuals found in the households (partners, wives and/or children of household heads).

**Ages of Household Heads**

While the respondents were asked to list the ages of all the household members, many provided estimations; especially of household heads. Eight respondents indicated that they did not know the ages of the household heads.

The majority of the female heads of household were in the age categories 35 – 44 years, and 65 years and over, with the majority of the female heads in Gaborone being in the younger age bracket, and those in Manyana being in the older age bracket. Male heads of households were older in both locations, with the majority falling in the age bracket 45 - 54 years and 65 years and over.

**Marital Status of Household Heads**

Forty-five of the household heads had never been married; 37 females compared to 8 males. Twenty seven of the household heads were cohabiting; all were male. Twenty-five of the households were headed by widowed individuals; 20 were women, while only five were men. Twenty-four households were headed by individuals who indicated that they were married according to statutory or customary law. Of these, 23 were headed by men, while only one was headed by a woman. Only seven households were headed by deserted or separated individuals.
Four female heads were separated or divorced compared to three male heads. The most striking observation was the relative absence of female headed households in the 'married' and 'cohabiting' categories. Men were identified as heads within all of the households of married and cohabiting couples. The only married woman (in Manyana) who identified herself as the head of the household indicated that her husband resided at the cattle-post for much of the year.

**Household Size and Composition**

Eighty-five of the households had 5 or more resident members. In Manyana, 20 were male headed while 21 were female headed. In Gaborone, 26 were male headed while 18 were female headed. Thirty-seven of the households had one or two persons over the age of 15 years. Of these, 21 were female headed, while 16 were male headed. Thirty-four households had more than five persons over the age of 15 years. Of these, 12 were female headed while 22 were male headed. Eighty-four households had between one and four persons under the age of 15 years, with no significant difference between the female and male headed households. In comparing the proportions of persons of working age to dependents, it was evident that the ratio of dependents (persons aged under 15 years and over 65 years) to persons of working age was higher among female headed households. In Manyana many of these households were headed by widows some of whom were over the age of sixty-five, while in Gaborone, they were headed by younger women; most of whom were unmarried mothers.

**Education**

As with age, it was difficult to ascertain the educational status of the household heads, especially in cases where the respondents were not the household heads. Based on the information provided by the respondents, 55 of the household heads had no education, while 58 had some basic (primary) education, with no significant difference by the gender of the household head. Eight of the household heads had some junior secondary education, 8 were
female and 3 were male. Of the four who had some senior secondary education, three were male, while one was female.

**Ownership of Assets**

One hundred of the dwellings were owner-occupied; fifty-two in Gaborone and forty-eight in Manyana. Forty-seven of the female headed households resided in owner-occupied households compared to fifty-three male headed households. It was difficult to ascertain who actually had legal ownership. The majority of the self-defined household heads (mostly never married and widowed women, and married men) indicated they owned the house. With cohabitees, however, in some cases, the female respondents (who had indicated that their partners were the household heads) indicated that they owned the dwelling.

Sixty-one of the households either had direct access to arable land through leases held by household members, or their immediate families. It is interesting to note, however, that access to and ownership of land did not translate directly to ploughing, as many respondents, even in Manyana, indicated that they had not ploughed during the last season (that had an unusually good rainfall).

Only seventeen respondents indicated that they, or household members, had cattle. Five were in Gaborone, four were in male-headed households, and one was in a female-headed household. Twelve were in Manyana; two of whom were in female household heads, while ten were male headed households.

**Sources of Livelihood and Major Expenditure**

There were difficulties in obtaining information on sources of livelihood. Many respondents were reluctant to discuss actual amounts and sources of income. Only thirty-one of the household heads had full-time employment; fourteen were female (8 in Gaborone, and 6 in Manyana) and seventeen were male (13 in Gaborone and 4 in Manyana). Forty-eight of the households had at least one member who was employed full time, while eighty had none.
Thirty-nine of the households depended on cash wages (earned by the head or other household members) while twenty-two relied on income from self-employment -- mostly retail business income. Eighteen relied on remittances and cash gifts. Seventeen relied on destitute rations; sixteen were in Manyana and one was in Gaborone. Sixteen of the households; all in Gaborone, relied income accrued from leasing out.

An attempt was made to estimate the monthly cash income in each household, based on information provided by the respondents. Forty-seven of the respondents indicated that their households had cash incomes that were below fifty Pula. Seventeen fell between P50 and P100; twenty between P100 and P200, eleven between P200 and P300, thirty-one reported having a cash income exceeding P300. Two individuals did not respond to the question.

A crosstabulation of gender and monthly income revealed that a total of sixty-four households had monthly cash incomes below P100; 35 were female headed and 29 were male headed. The majority of the households that had less than P100 monthly cash income, were in Manyana -- twenty four were female headed while sixteen were male headed. In Gaborone, the gender disparities were less pronounced. Eleven female headed households fell in this category compared to thirteen male headed households. There were no significant disparities between male and female headed households within the interim category P100 - P199.

Out of a total of forty-two households with monthly incomes exceeding P200, thirty-five were in Gaborone while seven were in Manyana. There were significantly more male headed households who had monthly cash incomes that exceeded P200 -- 27 male headed compared to 15 female headed households.

The majority of respondents (108) indicated that the major household expenditure was on food and fuel for cooking and lighting. There were no significant differences by gender of household head. Interestingly, 9 respondents indicated that they had no expenditure; of these seven were female headed and 2 were male headed. These households were all in Manyana, and primarily depended on destitute rations which include food and cooking fuel.
Similarities and Differences Between Female and Male Headed Households

The results of the screening survey generally corresponded with the findings of census and household surveys with regard to the identification of household headship. Adult male resident partners among married and cohabiting couples were identified as the heads of the households, while women only assumed that position if they had no resident male partners. While the results of the screening survey pointed to similarities in the sizes of the female and male headed households, it was evident that female headed households generally had more dependents than their male counterparts.

The results pointed to the relatively low educational status of the household heads of both genders, which is regarded as having limited their options for employment. The data on sources of livelihood pointed to low rates of participation in wage employment. Instead, the majority of the households depended on sources of livelihood such as agricultural work, family businesses and casual work. The findings also pointed to high proportion of households with low cash resources, with a higher proportion of female headed households falling in the lowest monthly cash income categories. Disparities were evident in the highest income categories, with a higher representation of male headed households.

Observations from the Screening Exercise

The following observations are based on a discussion held with the research assistants following the screening interviews:

a) While most of the interviews were conducted with self-defined household heads, it was difficult to gain adequate (and accurate) information on absent heads from household members.

b) When asked who usually resided in the household, most respondents included absent family members (e.g., children, parents and siblings). Even though the time frame of thirty days prior to the interview was used, it was evident that household membership was quite fluid.
c) It was difficult to ascertain actual household income, as most of the respondents indicated that they spent income immediately after receiving it.

While the exercise served the objective of providing preliminary information on household headship, composition and economic welfare, it justified the need for a further examination into the structure and organisation of the households, as well as the survival strategies employed by their members. The main objective of the in-depth interviews was to gain insight into these issues through interviews aimed at documenting the attitudes and experiences of women and men within the households.

4.4.2 In-Depth Interviews

Since this study focuses on gaining insight into the links between gender and poverty, the process of sample selection for the in-depth interviews began with the selection of pairs of female headed households (20 in Gaborone and 20 in Manyana) for comparison. The households were 'matched' on the basis of reported sources and amounts of income. In addition to the income criterion, attempts were made to select female and male headed households with similar sizes in both locations.

I encountered problems finding some of the original respondents, especially in Gaborone. Where the original respondents were absent, interviews were conducted with adult household members who were available. Three individuals in Gaborone had moved to different locations outside the research areas. These households were replaced with substitutes from the pool of remaining screening survey interviews.

Due to these factors, the number of female headed households was slightly higher than that of male headed households. Of the forty households that were finally selected, twenty-four were female headed (12 in Manyana and 12 in Gaborone), while sixteen were male headed (9 in Manyana and seven in Gaborone). Interviews were conducted with forty-six individuals in the forty households. More women were interviewed as 'main' respondents. This included women
whose partners and spouses were absent at the time, as well as the female children of household heads. In most of the interviews with men, their partners or spouses were present. In most of the interviews with women, children were present — some participated in the discussions.

The semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix 1) was divided into four broad sections:

- **Personal Characteristics**: including questions on age, educational status, marital status and household composition.
- **Decision Making**: household headship and consultation processes pertaining to the socio-economic welfare of household members.
- **Livelihood**: sources of income and acquisition of basic necessities.
- **Expenditure**: money spent on a regular basis.

The interviews were aimed at gaining insight into the internal organisation of the households and the experiences of individuals within female and male headed households in order to gain insight into gendered determinants of socio-economic welfare at the personal level. The question guide was designed to provide individuals with the opportunity to relate their experiences, especially with regard to their roles and responsibilities within the households, the problems they faced in making ends meet, and their strategies for overcoming them. All of the discussions were held in Setswana. The length of the interviews ranged from 30 to 90 minutes with repeat visits to some of the households.

Most of the interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the respondents. I personally transcribed and translated the interviews into English. While some of the originality of the discussions may have been lost in the translation, attempts were made to preserve it by quoting many of the Setswana words and phrases that came up during the discussion. The qualitative data analysis software Qualitative Solutions Research Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising computer programme (QSR NUD*IST) was utilised to
index various sections of the interviews according to the various sections of the questionnaire (eg., variables such as sex, sources of livelihood, etc.) as well as those deemed necessary for addressing the main objectives of the study. This was followed by a detailed analysis of the linkages between the different themes, as well as a documentation of quotations reflecting the views and experiences of the respondents.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the research methods that were utilised in the field research. The chapter reviewed some conceptual and methodological limitations of macro-approaches to households. The choice of qualitative methods stemmed from the need to focus on individual agency in order to provide a link between individual experiences and wider socio-cultural and economic dynamics.

The next two chapters present the findings of the interviews conducted within the forty households that were selected for in-depth interviews. Chapter 5 provides background information on the households and the respondents. Chapter 6 presents the views and experiences of respondents regarding household headship and decision-making as well as survival strategies.
Chapter 5. Profile of Households and Respondents

5.1 Introduction

The life chances of individuals are determined by various factors. Many studies have focused primarily on the economic indicators of household welfare, especially the determinants of income poverty at the household level. While the importance of these influences cannot be underestimated nor denied, an holistic approach should incorporate an examination of micro-level social relations of poverty and survival that occur at the level of the individual.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the primary objective of the in-depth interviews was to gain insight into processes of decision making, and factors that determine the ability or inability of individuals to survive and improve their economic position within female and male headed households. This chapter presents a profile of the households that were selected for the in-depth interviews, and personal characteristics of the key interviewees.

Section 5.2 provides a profile of the respondents; their gender, age, marital status and their educational status. Section 5.3 describes the size and composition of the households that were selected for the in-depth interviews.

5.2 Profile of Respondents

As indicated in the previous chapter, a total of forty households were selected for in-depth interviews. Twelve female headed households and nine male headed households were selected in Manyana, while the ratio for Gaborone was twelve female headed households to seven male headed households. Forty-six interviews were conducted with individuals in these households. Table 5.1 shows the genders of these individuals by location, and by the gender of the household head.
Table 5-1: The Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>MANYANA</th>
<th></th>
<th>GABORONE</th>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FHH</td>
<td>MHH</td>
<td>FHH</td>
<td>MHH</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FHH: Female Headed Household  
MHH: Male Headed Household

Thirty six women were interviewed; 29 on their own, 4 were jointly interviewed with spouses/partners, while 3 asked family members to assist with some information. Ten men were interviewed, 4 on their own, 4 jointly with their spouses/partners, while 2 had assistance from family members. The family members assisted in the provision of factual information such as the number and ages of household members, and most were not present for the duration of the interview.

As indicated in Chapter Four, some of the interviews were conducted with self-identified household heads and those identified by household members, while some were held with adult members of the household who were available. Table 5-2 categorises the respondents according to whom they identified as the head of their household.

Table 5-2: Gender of Respondent and Household Head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONDENT</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLD</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th></th>
<th>Other Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Other Female</td>
<td>Husband/Partner</td>
<td>Other Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty nine interviews were conducted with self-identified household heads. It is important to note that all the male respondents identified themselves as the heads of their households, compared to only nineteen, or just over half of the female respondents. Seventeen of
the women identified other persons as the heads of their households. Five identified other women -- four (three in Manyana and one in Gaborone) identified their mothers as the heads of their households -- while one identified her elder sister as the head. Ten of the women identified their husbands and resident male consensual partners as the heads of their households. Six were in Manyana while four were in Gaborone. In the last category, 'other male', a woman in Manyana identified her brother while the woman in Gaborone identified her father as the head.

5.2.1 Ages of Respondents

While most of the respondents knew their date of birth, some of the older individuals did not. In these cases, a historical time reference such as the second world war was utilised to estimate their ages. Table 5-3 shows a wide range of ages, with the majority of the respondents being in the age categories 30's, and 60 and above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Manyana</th>
<th></th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and above</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ages of the respondents ranged from twenty to over 80 years. Table 5-3 shows that the majority of the respondents were in the age categories 30 - 39 and 60+ respectively. There was a significant difference in the age ranges of the respondents by the location. Nineteen of the twenty-four respondents in Gaborone were under the age of fifty, while fourteen of the twenty-four respondents in Manyana were over the age of 40 years. Four of the female respondents in Manyana were over the age of 80 years.
The ages of the heads of households who were interviewed ranged from thirty four years to over eighty years. While the majority of the female and male heads of households in Gaborone were between the ages of thirty-four and 65 years, the majority of those in Manyana were over the age of forty. Eleven of the twenty-nine household heads were over the age of sixty years. Of these, six were female and five were male. Three of the female heads were over the age of eighty years.

5.2.2 Marriage, Cohabitation and Other Consensual Relations

National census and household surveys that were conducted in the 1970's and early to mid-1980's used four discrete categories for marital status -- married, never married, widowed and divorced. These classificatory categories have been utilised to describe marriage trends among the population, and headship status by several studies that were based on survey findings (eg., Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Izzard 1985; Alexander 1991), as well as by independent case studies (Driel 1994; Gulbrandsen 1996).

There are several limitations that have been associated with these discrete categories of current marital status (Peters 1983; Motts 1994). The first limitation relates to the length of the Tswana marital process as discussed in Chapters One and Three. An individual has not completed the traditional process of marriage, but is formally engaged through patlo may be categorised as ‘never married’ while they may be cohabiting. The introduction of the category ‘living together’ in the Family Health Survey of 1988, in the 1991 census, and the household income and expenditure survey of 1993/94 reflect a growing recognition of the significance of cohabitation, and it is felt that further research should be undertaken on the incidence and consequences of cohabitation within the context of socio-economic change in Botswana.

The second limitation relates to the focus on ‘formal’ marital status in the definition of widowhood and divorce. With the growing incidence of cohabitation, and the general fluidity of consensual relationships, relationships of cohabitation may be fractured and broken by desertion
or death. The social and legal implications of fractured cohabitation differ significantly from those of widowhood and divorce, since cohabitation is not legally recognised. Rather than categorising the respondents according to discrete categories of marital status, the following discussion describes the different types of consensual relationships.

Five couples had completed the marriage cycle. In most cases, they had also formally registered their marriages at the magistrates courts. All of the married couples were above the age of 30 years. Eight couples were cohabiting, and indicated that they had been living with the consensual partners for more than 5 years. Most of the couples had children with their partners. Only one respondent, a man in Gaborone, mentioned that he did not have children with his partner of 24 years. He and his partner resided with the woman's grandchildren, the children of her offspring from a previous relationship. All of the men were either married or cohabiting, with the exception of the single father in Gaborone who had been deserted by his wife.

Twenty-four of the thirty-six female respondents were single mothers who did not have resident consensual partners at the time of the study. Eight women (who were all in Manyana) were widowed from formal marriages. Six of the widows were over the age of sixty years, while the other two were aged 43 and 50 years. Four respondents (three women and a man) had been deserted by their partners, but were still formally married. Four of the women in Gaborone and two in Manyana indicated that they had non-resident sexual partners. All were relatively young — aged between 21 and 37 years. While three of the young women in Gaborone were in relationships with the fathers of their children, the rest were involved with individuals who were not the fathers of their children. Three women in Manyana had never cohabited, and lived with their children in their natal compounds. The rest of the women were single due to fractured relationships. Two of the women in Gaborone had been engaged in long-term cohabitation relationships which ended with the deaths of their partners, and two women had been deserted by their long term cohabitees. Three of these women had children with the men who had deserted them.
5.2.3 Educational Status of Respondents

Table 5-4: Educational Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Status</th>
<th>Manyana</th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Literacy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-four respondents indicated that they had no formal education, and were illiterate. The reasons cited for illiteracy included: poverty, family responsibilities such as herding livestock, and assisting parents with various tasks around the homestead. Nine respondents indicated that they could read and write. In most cases, they had started school, and had to drop out after one or two years. Some had attended basic literacy classes that were held by Department of Non-Formal Education. The reasons for not proceeding further in education are the same as those given for lack of formal education, with the following additional reasons stated: marriage at an early age, pregnancy and childcare responsibilities. Some respondents indicated that their parents were not educated, and had not seen the value of education.

Eleven respondents indicated that they had attained full primary education. The majority were women. Reasons stated for not continuing with post-primary education were poverty, marriage, pregnancy and family responsibilities. Two young women in their 20s in Gaborone indicated they had completed junior secondary school (Form 2). They were unable to continue with their education because of low grades and pregnancy.
5.3 Household Size and Composition

While the selection criterion for in-depth interviews had focused on identifying female and male headed households with similar sizes in both areas, the results of the in-depth interviews showed marked variations in the sizes and compositions of the households. The household size ranged from 1 person to 12. The household sizes are shown in Table 5-5.

**Table 5-5: Household Size**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Size</th>
<th>Manyana</th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FHH</td>
<td>MHH</td>
<td>FHH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12 (81)</td>
<td>9 (46)</td>
<td>12 (62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average Size</strong></td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean number of household members for the total sample was 6, which is the same average size of very poor households at the national level in the Poverty Study (BIDPA 1997a: 30). The average household size for female headed households for the whole sample was 6 members, while that for male headed households 6.1. Within that context, there was no significant difference in the average household sizes by the gender of the head. The findings show that male headed households in Gaborone were generally larger than female headed households, while the opposite pattern emerged in Manyana.
5.3.1 Household Composition

There was significant variation in the composition of the households. The following patterns emerged:

Table 5-6: Household Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Manyana</th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FHH</td>
<td>MHH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Mother and Children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Couple and Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Mother, children +grandchildren</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Father, children +grandchildren</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Mother, children +relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Grandmother +grandchildren</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Couple and grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Couple, children +grandchildren</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Couple, children, grandchildren +partner of child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Lone women</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mother-child female-headed household (A) was prominent in Gaborone. There was also a large proportion of mother-child female headed households with various configurations as shown in categories C, E and F. Most were in Manyana. Some were extended vertically to four generations. Some of the older grandmothers indicated that they had either taken their grandchildren in after the deaths of their parents, or were living with grandchildren, great grandchildren and grandnieces/nephews whose parents had migrated to urban areas in Botswana, or in South Africa in search of employment.

One seventy-one year old woman in Manyana lived with her disabled adult son and nine grandchildren. Some of her grandchildren were of two deceased children, and some belonged to
her daughter who was working in Gaborone. The four women in their 80's in Manyana lived with their adult daughters and grandchildren. The grandmothers in Gaborone were significantly younger than those in Manyana. The female headed households that were extended laterally included adult siblings of the women.

A large proportion of the male headed households were nuclear, as reflected in category B. Several of these households were extended vertically (G,H,I). In two of these households, both parents of the grandchildren living within the household, as was the case with one couple in Manyana, whose son's partner and 9 month old child living with them. Another was a couple in Gaborone whose daughter was cohabiting with the father of her 2 children in the household.

5.3.2 Number of Dependents

Table 5-7 shows the number of dependants (persons under fifteen years and over 65 years) by the gender of the household head in each location. It must be noted that the following proportions may not be completely accurate, as some individuals were not aware of the exact ages of all household members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Manyana</th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FHH</td>
<td>MHH</td>
<td>FHH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12 (45)</td>
<td>9 (29)</td>
<td>12 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thirty-six households contained persons under the age of 15; seventeen in Manyana, and nineteen in Gaborone. Nine of the households in Manyana had persons over the age of 65 years, while none of the households in Gaborone contained persons over the age of 65 years. The average number of dependents per household for the sample was 3.3. Several female headed households in Manyana and male headed households in Gaborone exceeded the average. A larger proportion of the female headed households had persons under the age of 15 and over the age of 65 years than male headed households in Manyana. These households were headed by women over the age of 65 years who resided with their children and grandchildren. The following table shows the proportion of persons of working age (16 to 64 years) within the households.

### Table 5-8: Household Members Between 16 and 64 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Manyana</th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FHH</td>
<td>MHH</td>
<td>FHH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12 (31)</td>
<td>9 (17)</td>
<td>12 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings of the Poverty Study (BIDPA 1997) showed an association between increases in dependency ratios and the severity of poverty. The average dependency ratio at the national level for non-poor households was 0.9, while those for poor and very poor households were 1.2 and 1.3 respectively (BIDPA 1997a: 30). The average age dependency ratio for the
total sample was 1.3, meaning that there was higher proportion of dependants to persons of working age.

While the age dependency ratio for these households would be relatively low, it is important to determine the rate of employment among persons of working age. The results of the screening survey showed a low rate of employment within the households, while a substantial proportion of the households relied on various sources of income such as self-employment, casual work, remittances. The following table shows the number of income earners by the gender of the household head in each location.

**Table 5-9: Number of Cash Income Earners by Gender of Household Head**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Income Earners</th>
<th>Manyana</th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FHH</td>
<td>MHH</td>
<td>FHH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12 (6)</td>
<td>9 (5)</td>
<td>12 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-9 points to the relative shortage of income earners within the households. The lowest proportion of income earners was among female headed households in Manyana, while male-headed households in Gaborone had the highest proportion of income earners. It can therefore be argued that individuals in female headed households in Manyana were not only disadvantaged by their large sizes but also by the absence of income earners. The majority of these households were headed by women over the age of 65 years who resided with their children and grandchildren who were either of school going age or unemployed. While the average size of male headed households in Gaborone was large (7.1), it was offset by the larger proportion of income earners within the households.
5.4 Conclusions

Several trends emerged from the profile of the households and the respondents. The first relates to the composition of the households according to the gender of the reported household heads. The findings point to the likelihood for reported female headed households to contain a higher proportion of dependants -- especially persons over the age of 65 years and under the age of 15 years. The discussions on marriage point to the complexity of marriage and consensual relationships that cannot easily be captured by discrete categories. The data on educational attainment showed a relative low rate of educational capital among the respondents.

The following chapter provides further insight into the structure and organisation of the households, as well as the challenges of survival and livelihood strategies employed by various women and men within the different households.
Chapter 6. The Gendered Dynamics of Survival

6.1 Introduction

National household surveys and other research conducted at the household level in Botswana have shown that the economic status of households is determined by their size and composition, sources of income, patterns of expenditure and ownership of key assets such as land and cattle. Increasingly, attention has been focused on showing that the gender, age, education and employment status of the household head are the key determinants of the economic welfare of household members.

While the household continues to be the primary unit of analysis in the study of poverty in many academic and policy-oriented studies, a growing body of literature has pointed to the need to examine the manifestations of poverty at the individual level in order to capture the interface between gender and poverty.

This chapter explores the intra-household manifestations of poverty based on the findings of qualitative interviews conducted with forty-six individuals in forty low-income households in Manyana and Gaborone. Section 6.2 presents the respondents' views and experiences regarding marriage and consensual relationships. Section 6.3 provides an analysis of 'household headship', based on the views and experiences of the respondents. Section 6.4 provides the findings on sources of livelihood and survival, patterns of spending within the households and the problems associated with survival within them.
6.2 Marriage and Consensual Relationships

The previous chapter pointed to the relatively low proportion of married persons and the prominence of cohabitation and single motherhood within the sample. Part of the discussion with respondents focused on eliciting their views and attitudes towards marriage and consensual relationships. Their views and experiences reflected an interplay between societal moral prescriptions and personal decisions that were determined in part by their attitudes regarding the gendered division of labour.

The traditional Tswana marriage involves many activities that are aimed at reproducing gender divisions of labour and gender hierarchies. Towards the end of the process, the prospective groom is required to perform traditional male tasks such as collecting firewood for the family of his bride, and herding the cattle for bogadi to the home of the bride. As marriage is an important rite of passage to adulthood, the process reinforces the image of the male as the ultimate provider and decision-maker. The preparation of the bride for the role of wifehood is largely undertaken by the older female relatives who give the woman advice (molao) on her roles, responsibilities and expected behaviour as a married woman. There is a great deal of secrecy surrounding these advice sessions. Participation is restricted to married women. A woman in Manyana agreed to provide some insight into the nature of discussions.

She indicated that women are typically told to obey their husbands, and honour them as they would their fathers. A typical saying that is often uttered in these sessions is: Monna ga a botswe -- meaning that "it is not right to ask a man where he has been". The prospective brides are expected to show their household management skills by cooking and making tea for the representatives from the groom's family during the time leading up to the marriage. Many of the songs that are sung during wedding ceremonies reflect the gender division of labour. One song that comes to mind has the following message:
Mother of the boy, rejoice! Mother of the boy, rejoice! The bearer of water has arrived, rejoice! Mother of the girl, resign yourself, the bearer of water has departed. Resign yourself!

Short and long term cohabitation relationships are increasing in Botswana as a result of several factors. The first is that which arises out of economic need (Driel 1994, Motts 1994). Sexual partners often cohabit to form an economic unit. Secondly, cohabitation is a transitional step towards marriage.

The implications of cohabitation are different for women and men. While men may engage in serial cohabitation with several women and have children with them, they often have the option of marrying others. Women, on the other hand, find themselves in a precarious situation. Their chances of marriage to other men are affected by the number of children they have out of wedlock. Secondly, if their relationships end, they have limited options for gaining access to any property accrued during the union. The statutes do not provide legal avenues for the settlement of property disputes when these relationship end, or for the management of deceased cohabitees' estates. According to Tswana culture, the union between two individuals and the formation of a family outside the context of marriage remains unrecognised, leaving a void in the settlement of property disputes and the settlement of the estates of deceased cohabitees.

All of the women in the study had children. Many had children by different men. Most had hoped for longer term relationships with the fathers of the children, but had been abandoned. When asked if they had ever been 'engaged', many said that they had thought the fathers of their first children would marry them, but nothing came of it. Most of the older single women had given up on prospects of getting married, and chose to either have non-resident partners, or remain alone with their children.

On the other hand, most of the men in the study were either married, or were in long term consensual unions that included children. The shortest consensual period was about 3
years. The men referred only to their current relationships, and did not talk about previous sexual relationships, unions and children outside their current unions. None of the men had been widowed. It must be noted that the majority of the men interviewed were cohabiting with their partners. Asked why they had not formalised the unions, they referred to the expenses involved in marriage, stating that they did not have the funds to pay *bogadi*, as they were struggling to support their families.

In the discussions on marriage and cohabitation, respondents cited the advantages and disadvantages of marriage and cohabitation. While some of the respondents distinguished between marriage and cohabitation, others alluded to residential consensual relationships in general.

### 6.2.1 Advantages of Marriage and Cohabitation

The majority of the respondents felt that marriage had its advantages, but this largely depended on individuals personal experiences and their levels of commitment to their relationships. They stated the following as advantages of marriage and long term consensual union: economic support from men, the availability of advice and companionship from partners, protection and respect for women.

#### Economic Support, Advice and Companionship

A few of the male respondents referred to advice and companionship. Nose, a 52 year old cohabitee in Gaborone felt that the main advantage of marriage is that of mutual care “It has benefits because she [your partner] becomes your *mooki* [caregiver] and you become hers”. Daniel, a married man in Gaborone, stated that in marriage, each individual leaves their parent’s compound to merge their lives and establish a home. He felt that the involvement of parents was crucial to marriage. He also referred to the caregiving aspect when he said:
If I was not married, and fell ill in my parents’ compound, I would be placing a great burden on my parents as they would be elderly. I think that marriage is a very good thing.

Jackson, the 54 year old single father lamented on advice: “When you are on your own, you don’t have anyone to advise you”. While the men focused more on advice and companionship, the women alluded more to expectations of material support from men in marriage and cohabitation.

One single mother in Gaborone said “Marriage is useful because it enables people to make financial contributions to the welfare of their families”. Another single mother had the same view, stating that the life of a married person is different from that of a single person. She indicated that the single person is at an economic disadvantage to that of a married person, as they are burdened with the responsibilities of raising children on their own. Motlatsi, another single mother in Manyana felt the same way, stating that she could get assistance for raising her children if she got married. Masego, a widowed grandmother in her late 70’s, felt that the success and failure of marriage hinged on the extent of financial support that a woman got from her husband. She held the view that husbands should be the main breadwinners.

Many respondents in Old Naledi referred to the increase in incidence of nyalo ya paleche or ‘marriage for maize meal’. This refers to the cohabitation for economic reasons. Meisie is a single mother of two children who had been deserted by her long term partner. When asked about the value and significance of consensual relationships, she had very strong views that reflected her expectations of economic support from the man she cohabited with:

The man I told you about is the only one that I cohabited with. I thought that he was a person with integrity who would assist me financially...

These expectations of economic support from consensual partners was echoed by other women such as Betty, who had also been deserted by her partner of fifteen years:

The life of a married person is different from that of a single person. The life of a married person is better. You know where you can get support and comfort.
Some of the widows in Manyana believed that through marriage, women would be protected and provided for by men. They believed that the main reason for failures in relationships was due to the fact that young women were too independent, and disobeyed their husbands. A seventy-one year old widow in Manyana said:

When you agree to get married to a man, he will shield you from all danger. When he tells you something, you must obey. That will save you from getting into problems.

The older women who had adult children were perturbed by the increasing rate of casual sexual relationships. They were worried that young people were not formalising their relationships in the ‘proper way’.

**Protection and Respect for Women**

Several younger women felt that respect is gained through marriage. I asked Grace, a 37 year old single mother in Manyana what the difference between her life as a single woman and that of a married woman was. She said that the main difference is respect. She mentioned that unmarried women are not respected in the community. Lesego, a 33 year old cohabitee in Manyana, said “I would like to leave my mother’s home the right way not in a deviant way”. While she had cohabited with her partner for 10 years, and had 5 children with him, she preferred to get married. There was an interesting view expressed by one woman in Gaborone. She felt that customary marriage, which is facilitated through families, protects women from getting involved with too many men. This implied that the marriage institution essentially protects women from their own sexuality!

Previous studies (Molokomme 1991; Women Law and Southern Africa 1992, 1994) have alluded to the increased acceptance of extra-marital motherhood within Tswana society. While the societal sanctions for the legitimisation of children within marriage have been reduced substantially, however, unmarried women remain minors within the context of customary and traditional rites and ceremonies. Molokomme (1991) and Driel (1994) found that there were
strong social sanctions for women to demonstrate their fertility by bearing children regardless of their marital status. Any suggestions of barrenness or infertility subjects women to ridicule and marginalisation by their peers.

In her study among unmarried mothers in Kanye, Molokomme reported that some of the respondents stated that they were treated as socially inferior to their married peers, and were excluded from traditional ceremonies (Molokomme 1991: 103). The exclusion of unmarried women from the traditional ceremony of molao/go laiwa is a case in point. The exclusion of unmarried women extends to the single mother of the bride and groom, who are expected to be married to gain formal acceptance in the marriage negotiations. Several women stated that they wanted to get married in order to establish their own homes. This is interpreted as not just building one’s own house, but establishing a home through the ‘legitimate’ channels.

Women are therefore faced with various contradictions and dilemmas within the context of Tswana culture. On the one hand, childbearing outside marriage appears to be acceptable and is often encouraged within the culture. On the other hand, there are still strong social sanctions that define ‘adulthood’ within the context of marriage. Women’s supposed elevation to ‘adulthood’ through marriage still places them at an inferior position to men.

6.2.2 Disadvantages

Some of the female respondents indicated that there were several disadvantages to marriage and cohabitation. Their views reflected their experiences and observations of the relationships of family members, friends and neighbours. Discussions revealed that the women were concerned about male unreliability and infidelity, as well as the loss of personal autonomy by women within the context of marriage and cohabitation.
Male Unreliability and Infidelity

The ‘unreliability of men’ was a theme that ran through many of the discussions. Mmeisie said “If you rely on a man, he will abandon you. It is better to be on one’s own...”. Neo had previously cohabited with a man with whom she bore three children. She lamented on her deceased partner’s infidelity, and her disappointment, commenting that she did not see the value of marriage because of the serious problems she had faced. She had become a devout Christian, and said she was not interested in establishing another consensual relationship.

Several young women indicated that men are generally unreliable. Asked whether she wanted to get married, Mmanko, a young mother of two who maintained a consensual relationship with the father of her children, mentioned that “No, I don’t want to get married. You think you know a person, and he ends up disappearing”. Several deserted single and married women referred to the fact that their partners/husbands had been ‘borrowed, or taken’ by other women. They felt that there was no point in establishing relationships with men, as they were not reliable, and would leave to establish relationships with other women. The only man who had been deserted by his partner still felt that marriage had its advantages, and did not generalise his experience in the same way that the women did.

Loss of Autonomy by Women

Some women expressed the concern that marriage and long term cohabitation led to a loss of autonomy for women. Mmeisie said:

...A man will say to you ‘ke go filtheise o sena monna – ke nna tlhogo ya lolwapa’. I found you without a man, so I am the head of this home.

This implies that men see women as weak and desperate without partners, and therefore assume that they should take over decision making. Another woman said:

Marriage is useless. It sometimes retards one’s progress. It is better to have a relationship with someone who is committed to assisting you. That may be better than living with someone who is not committed.
Several women preferred non-resident consensual partners to marriage or cohabitation. Mmadipheko preferred to have a non-resident sexual partner. She implied that living with a man does not necessarily translate to increased commitment to financial assistance. Mmanko held the same view:

A person will get married, but their situation will not improve. The only thing that will happen is that the person would end up suffering.

She stated that the fact that she is not married is not a hindrance, as there are too many complications that are caused by the involvement by many parties in the marriage process; especially parents and other people. She preferred to remain single. Goitsemang, a single mother of three children, valued her autonomy and felt satisfied with managing her affairs by herself. She preferred to invest in her children rather than to focus on marriage, as she believed that her children would care for her in her old age.

**Competing Interests: Children vs. Male Partners**

Some women were concerned about friction between male partners (whether partners or husbands) and their children from previous relationships. They were concerned that men would discriminate against their children, and compete with them for scarce resources -- especially food. Some even went to the extent of saying that the men would abuse their children from previous relationships. One woman who had been deserted by her husband indicated that he had constantly complained about her four children from a previous relationship, and saw them as a drain on their resources.

Women seemed to feel that they would have to choose between struggling to raise their children on their own or getting involved in risky relationships with unreliable men. They were also concerned that the men would ‘demand’ children from them, as a pre-condition for financial support. Betty said:
...When you are with someone [a man], and you tell them that your children need paraffin, you have to remember that he is not the father of your children. He will demand that you have a child with him...they say, ‘have a child with me, and that is the only way I will provide financial support’.

According to the women, mothers who brought children of previous relationships into marriages and cohabitation experienced more problems than women who did not have children. Given these problems, they preferred to continue struggling on their own to raise their children.

The discussions on marriage shed insight into the interface between the social construction of marriage and cohabitation within the wider society and the negotiation of identity within the context of consensual relationships. It was evident that women and men have different stakes in the establishment of consensual relationships, whether marriage or cohabitation. Men hold a considerable amount of power in determining the timing, terms and conditions of marriage and cohabitation due to traditional patriarchal norms. Women’s subordinate social and economic status requires them to constantly renegotiate their positions as mothers, wives and consensual partners during the course of their lives. These unequal gendered power relations were also evident in the discussions on household headship.

6.3 A Closer Look at Household Headship – Tlhogo Ya Lolwapa

Much household research has focused on definitions of headship that revolve around identifying one individual as the main economic provider and overall decision maker. Researchers questioning these notions of headship have suggested that decision-making is a complex process that involves the participation of various actors in accordance with the different roles and positions within household hierarchies. The studies discussed in Chapters Two and Three have revealed the complexity of intra-household decision making that is a product of socio-cultural and economic processes as well as individual agency.

Household surveys and other studies of household organisation in Botswana commonly use the Setswana lolwapa as a translation of the word ‘household’. In recent years, several social
researchers (Driel 1994; Motts 1994; Gulbrandsen 1996; Garey and Townsend 1996, Townsend 1997) have pointed to discrepancies in the meaning of the two terms.

Most economic and demographic definitions of the household refer to [a person or] persons sharing a common residence and resources—especially meals. In contrast, there are two different connotations of the term lolwapa in Tswana language and culture. Firstly, the term is used to describe a compound or physical yard. Compounds and yards may contain one or several physical dwellings. The second use of the term relates to family membership. This tends to complicate the boundaries of the physical household, as individuals identify members of their lolwapa as family members who may be present or absent from the residential unit (Gulbrandsen 1996; Townsend 1997). This would explain why the respondents in the screening survey initially included absent family members as being members of their malwapa.

How have researchers produced working definitions of households within the Botswana context? Household survey definitions of ‘the household’ focus on physical dwellings occupied by one economic unit described as persons living together, sharing eating and sleeping arrangements within a fifteen day time frame. Garey and Townsend (1996); and Gulbrandsen’s (1996) definitions transcend residential boundaries in order to capture the social and economic interactions between individuals who considered the physical lolwapa as their home. In contrast, Driel’s (1994) working definition is confined to the resident members of the physical compound. While acknowledging the methodological problems associated with the definition of households, I broadly defined households as individuals who usually share common physical residence and eat together regularly regardless of their family relationship. The term lolwapa implies different connotations of physical residence and family membership. It became evident that the term tlhogo ya lolwapa was also a loaded concept within the context of Tswana culture.

Since one of the primary objectives of this study is to examine intra-household organisation, it was felt that a closer examination of the concept of household head or tlhogo ya lolwapa would provide insight into perceptions and experiences relating to the links between
income generation and decision making and the social contexts within which these processes take place. The semi-structured guide for the in-depth interviews included questions that were aimed at gaining insight into decision-making, particularly the definition of household head. Respondents were asked to define the term *tlhogo ya lolwapa* and to describe the responsibilities that were associated with this role.

The discussions showed that the designation of household headship is determined by a complex interplay between cultural norms, economic conditions and gendered individual agency. They also showed that the designation of headship is often determined by significant social relationships that extend beyond the boundaries of the physical residence. The views and experiences of the respondents have been divided into three main spheres of decision-making. The first was culturally-sanctioned male authority, the second was social reproduction, while the third was economic provision and income generation. The terms *tlhogo ya lolwapa* and *tlhogo* are retained throughout the discussion in order to keep their socio-cultural and linguistic significance.

### 6.3.1 Male Culturally-Sanctioned Authority

When asked the question ‘What does *tlhogo ya lolwapa* mean?, nineteen women and three men immediately gave the following response: “*Go raya Monna*” (“It means a man”). Among the women, the response was given by ten self-identified household heads, as well as by five individuals who had identified women as the heads of their households. From these immediate responses, it was evident that the term *tlhogo ya lolwapa* had specific gender connotations -- and was synonymous with ‘man or maleness’ within the context of cultural beliefs and practices.

As mentioned before, men continue to assume responsibility for public political affairs, such as active participation in *kgotla* meetings. While women are now permitted to attend meetings in the traditional meeting forum, their participation is largely passive. Men dominate
discussions and make overall decisions. At the family level, men play a key role in marriage negotiations, funeral rites and other significant cultural practices. The synonymy of tlhogo ya lolwapa and monna (man) is constantly reinforced in these cultural rituals.

Kgalalelo, a widowed single mother in Manyana who lived in her younger brother’s compound identified him as the head of the household during the screening survey. During the in-depth interview she alluded to the role that her non-resident elder brother played as head of lolwapa (the family), showing the importance of gender and age-based hierarchies in the determination of household headship. She mentioned that when important traditional events such as wedding negotiations and funerals take place in her family and community, her non-resident elder brother would represent her household as the most senior male member of the family:

The head of this household is my older brother who lives on the other side of the village. He is the one who is consulted as the elder in the household. He often arbitrates in issues that are relegated to the uncles (bo malome). He is older than both of us [herself and her younger brother]. When someone from the kgotla brings an important message, they will want to consult a man, even if he is younger than me, to give him the message from the elders. He is my kgosi (chief). I cannot supersede him in authority. If he is absent, I can receive the information as a woman only if he doesn’t have a wife. If he is married, the message will be delivered to his wife, who in turn will deliver it to my brother.

Kgalalelo points to the subordinate status of women in culturally-based gender and age hierarchies. During marriage, she had been under the authority and guidance of her husband. She had been forced to return to her natal compound that had been bequeathed to her younger brother following the death of their parents. She effectively fell under the immediate guidance and authority of her younger brother. Her younger brother was in turn superseded in authority by her elder brother in terms of age and by virtue of his having completed the passage into adulthood through marriage.

A woman in Manyana who resided in her natal home originally identified her mother as the head of the household during the screening survey. During the in-depth discussion she
indicated that her elder brother who lives and works in Gaborone was *tlhogo ya lolwapa* because he was *kgosi*, even though he had virtually no input in maintaining the household financially.

Some respondents alluded to their dependence on *tlhogo* for guidance, and saw that position as being associated with dealing with and resolving disputes within the homestead, as well as dealing with problems that faced household members from outside. These roles were largely associated with men. Moatlhodi, a self-identified male household head in Gaborone voiced this view:

> The main thing that I am responsible for in the household as *tlhogo ya lolwapa* is to ensure that the male responsibilities are taken care of. Care of the children and their mother. I am the one responsible for maintaining discipline in this home.

The views expressed by Moatlhodi indicate that there are defined power relations within consensual relationships and that women occupy subordinate positions in relation to their consensual partners. The culturally-defined gender-specificity of the concept was also reflected in the men’s immediate reference to themselves as heads, while many women were ambivalent about the implications of bestowing the title upon themselves within the context of culture.

When asked whether a woman was ever regarded as *tlhogo ya lolwapa* within the context of Tswana culture, many indicated that women could only assume that role in the absence of men; especially if their partners were deceased. Many said that these women would still be required to consult with male relatives when making important decisions that are considered as falling in the male domain, as was clearly illustrated in Kgalalelo’s case. A woman in Gaborone indicated that while culture was changing, she was still expected to contact her uncle in the event of a death in her nuclear family, as the arrangement of funeral rites is the responsibility of men.

While the views of respondents illustrated the cultural assumptions reflected in patriarchal definitions of household headship that were alluded to by various scholars (Folbre 1991a; Chant 1991), they also supported the concerns raised by Molokomme (1991) regarding
the applicability of the term ‘female headed household’ within the context of Tswana culture. As indicated in Chapter Three, Molokomme’s views relate to the cultural framework that continues to promote patriarchal relations of power and authority, whereby men are the key players in matters of cultural importance such as marriage negotiations and inheritance practices. While single women are considered as legal majors in the acquisition of property under the law, they continue to be subjected to the authority of male relatives within the cultural context. Married women are doubly disadvantaged by being subjected to traditional male authority within marriage, as well as under statutory legal practices that relegate them to the position of minors in relation to their husbands.

Against the background of these patriarchal beliefs and practices, however, an increasing number of women are establishing and maintaining ‘independent’ lives. This view was reflected by some self-identified female heads of households in Gaborone. Mmeisie, a 43 year old woman in Old Naledi gave the following reasons for identifying herself as the head of her household:

When you are alone with nobody to help you -- like I am, then all responsibilities fall on your shoulders. If there is a problem in this yard, and the police are called, I am the one that will have to answer for it. Only me. The police will not ask for my children, or my siblings. They will ask me. They will ask me what happened.

She indicated that she had little contact with relatives in the rural areas. While she may not be recognised as thogo ya lolwapa under Tswana custom due to her gender, many of the roles that she performs in her urban household incorporate those traditionally relegated to men. The ‘new’ autonomy among single women is related to the economic independence that has been partly obtained through wage employment and property-ownership. Mmeisie’s views illustrate what Larsson (1989) and Driel (1994) refer to as social freedom and autonomy gained by many women in urban areas from reduced reliance on extended family economic support and influence.

It can be argued that a growing proportion of single women who spend the majority of their adult lives and establish homesteads in the urban areas are affected less by kinship
influences than those single mothers whose lives remain embedded in their natal families out of economic need. The degree of autonomy that women exercise over their lives and the lives of their dependants is highly contingent on the degree of economic power that they possess. While the autonomy of some of the single women may be adversely affected by economically-motivated cohabitation eg. 'marriage for maize meal', there is a large proportion of women who remain alone by choice or due to the failure of co-resident consensual unions (Driel 1994, Motts 1994).

6.3.2 Domestic Social Reproduction

For the purposes of this study, domestic social reproduction was defined as including childbearing, child-rearing and the performance of activities that are related to the daily maintenance of household members as described by Laslett and Brenner (1989) and Fox (1993). These activities are often subsumed under 'housework' within national household surveys and labour statistics, and are not considered to be economic activities. The Labour Force Survey of 1995/96 mentioned the following about female labour force participation rates and housework:

Females generally show lower rates of economic activity than males and many are engaged in housework which is still very much work but is not included as an economic activity internationally largely because of the problems of putting monetary values on such activities (Government of Botswana 1996: 3).

Respondents pointed to the central significance of social reproduction especially with regard to the maintenance of life. In addition, it was clear that the realm of housework extends far beyond domestic chores to include the procurement of resources -- especially food that is consumed by household members.

Batswana women have always borne primary responsibility for household food security. This is reflected in Schapera's anthropological accounts on the gender division of labour in agricultural production. Women have always done the bulk of the work in the agricultural production cycle such as planting, weeding, bird-scaring and harvesting, while men only
participated in the initial clearing of the land and the preparation of the land for planting. Colonisation and labour migration significantly altered the relations of production and gender systems by designating Tswana men as ‘breadwinners’ within the capitalist wage labour system. While an increasing number of women are breadwinners in their own right, they continue to bear primary responsibility for social reproduction which includes the maintenance of food security.

Several respondents remarked that *tlhogo ya lotwapa* is the person who takes responsibility for the daily survival and welfare of members of the household. The qualification of the terms ‘survival’ and ‘welfare’ varied according to the gender of the respondents, with men alluding more to general welfare, while women provided details regarding home-management tasks ranging from catering for their children’s’ nutritional and educational needs to food acquisition and preparation. Men subsumed ‘welfare’ under their culturally-sanctioned authority. Three men in Gaborone alluded to their responsibility for the overall material welfare of their families, indicating that they were responsible for ‘bringing home the food’.

The views expressed by women reflected their pre-occupation with making ends meet on a daily basis. Most of the female heads of households indicated that they undertook these responsibilities single-handedly, while the women who were married and cohabiting indicated that they consulted their husbands and partners as they were partly responsible for meeting the financial requirements for household expenses.

### 6.3.3 Provision of Resources

The procurement of resources includes the production and/or acquisition of cash, goods and food for consumption within the household, as well as the provision of basic necessities such as shelter. While some of the respondents alluded to the links between culturally-sanctioned authority and resource provision, it appeared that the link between social reproduction and resource provision was stronger.
The link between culturally-sanctioned authority and resource provision was expressed in the comments made by couples, and women who were single due to the disintegration of resident consensual unions, or the deaths of consensual partners. The latter link was evident in the views of women who had never cohabited; some of whom had established their own households, and those who resided in the households of their single mothers. The discussions also illustrated the complexity of provision of resources and ownership of assets between and within households, and the likelihood that households headed by women would rely on informal networks that sometimes had direct implications for their personal power and autonomy.

Several widows referred to the fact that their late partners had been the primary income earners in their households. A widow in Manyana mentioned that if her husband were still alive, he would assume responsibility for supporting the household financially. She indicated that she was the head of her household because she was a widow, and had assumed primary responsibility for catering for the needs of her children. While seeming to be certain about her role, she felt that her migrant son could be regarded as *tlhogo* due to his regular contribution to her welfare as well as that of his siblings.

Several widows in Manyana indicated that they relied on their non-resident adult children for the upkeep of their homes. An elderly widow who had originally identified herself as the head of her household in Manyana indicated that she depended on her son to provide food for her, and saw him as the main decision-maker. Another elderly widow mentioned that it was difficult to determine who the head of her household was, as her sons assisted her financially. She finally said that she thought it was her eldest son, as he was the one that she appealed to for financial assistance. Another widow who lived with her daughter and several grandchildren said it was difficult to determine who the head of her household was, as her resident daughter and non-resident sons contributed to her welfare.

The complex interface between economic provision and headship was also reflected in the households of cohabiting and married couples. While men assumed the role of breadwinner
and principal decision-maker, it was evident that women played a prominent role in food provision. This was reflected in the case of Mmantho and Mmoshe, a couple in Manyana. While Mmantho had originally indicated that her household relied on her partner's income from casual work, she later indicated that she had been feeding her family of ten with maize and sorghum that she jointly produced with her mother. She indicated that the little income that Mmoshe made was used to supplement the food supply, pay for the children's educational expenses, clothing needs, and to purchase fuel for lighting.

Ownership and control over major assets are important aspects of headship. Several respondents referred to ithogo as monnga lolwapa (the owner of the home). The patterns of home ownership were largely determined by partnership and marital status in both locations. As mentioned in Chapters One and Four, the proprietary consequences of marriage in Botswana subject married women to the marital power of their husbands, who are appointed the legal administrators of their marital estates. Husbands effectively have the right to acquire and sell property without reference to their wives (WLSA 1994). These proprietary consequences of marriage have dire implications for women.

A female respondent in Gaborone indicated that her husband had deserted her. At the time of the interview, she was residing in the marital home with her seven children and four grandchildren. She stated that the SHHA plot was registered in her husband's name, and that he periodically returned to the home threatening to evict the family and to burn the house down. She regretted the fact that the plot had been registered in his name, as they had built the home together. Her attempts to apply for a SHHA plot were turned down on account of her marital status. She indicated that she could not afford legal advice.

While most of the single women in Gaborone were the legally registered owners of their SHHA plots, some who had previously cohabited indicated that their homes were legally registered under the names of deceased partners. Neo and Sekgopi's partners died after long periods of cohabitation. While Neo's partner had ceded his SHHA plot to her in a written will,
Sekgopi's partner had not left a will. Sekgopi said that her partner's family tried to take possession of her house, threatening to evict her family of ten. After lengthy negotiations with her partner's family, they agreed to allow her to stay in the house with the couple's children. Her family continues to be liable to eviction due to the fact that she has not established legal ownership. She also had outstanding service loan arrears with the SHHA. If evicted, she would have no legal avenues of defence under customary and statutory law because she was a cohabitee.

The social workers and SHHA officers in Gaborone reported that they were faced with many property disputes regarding the ownership of SHHA plots following the termination of relationships of cohabitation. They indicated that often, single women would apply for SHHA plots while single, and cede ownership to their partners during the course of their relationships on the premise that these men were assisting with the payment of service levies. When these relationships end (usually due to the establishment of new relationships by men), the women and their children were subject to eviction from the residence.

Another area of complexity in the ownership of housing is reflected in the lives of single mothers who reside within the households of their natal families. Kgalalelo, a widowed mother of five in Manyana was compelled to return to her deceased parent's home when her marital homestead had physically collapsed. She indicated that the home was left to her single younger brother who is a migrant worker in South Africa. Kgalalelo is unemployed, and does not have the financial means to build a home for her family. She said that while she was occupying and looking after the home for her younger brother, she was concerned about the welfare of her family once her brother returned and established a family in the compound.

Motlatsi resided with her children in her grandmother's compound that had been inherited by her single mother. She also indicated that her brother stood to inherit the homestead when her mother died, and was also concerned that she would have to move out of the homestead with her children. She indicated that while she planned to establish her own
homestead, she spent most of the proceeds from her business (vegetable production) on food and educational expenses for her children, and was unable to save money for building materials. While these women can apply for residential plots through the local land boards, they do not have the financial resources for construction as their limited resources are allocated to children’s expenses. These women and their children continue to rely on relatives for shelter.

6.3.4 Consultation

There were gender differences in decision making roles and responsibilities. Single mothers dealt with all matters pertaining to the welfare of their dependants on a daily basis; financial matters pertaining to assets such as houses and other property, as well as buying food and clothing for children. In the households of couples, it was evident that there was a defined gender division of labour. Women cared for children, and took care of domestic chores, while their partners were held responsible for the financial upkeep of the household. It appeared that matters pertaining to property and major expenditure were the man’s responsibility. The processes of consultation between partners varied. Most couples indicated that they consult/advise each other on matters pertaining to fixed property (e.g., alterations to buildings).

6.3.5 Observations from the Discussion on Headship

The forgoing discussion has illustrated the complexity of household headship and decision-making which occurs within and between households. The predominance of patriarchal patterns of male authority over women within and between households continues to be reproduced through cultural norms and legal traditions. The dependence of women on men has largely been reinforced by gender patterns of wage employment and the creation of the male breadwinner ideology over time.

The prominence of single women as decision-makers in their households is largely due to the absence of senior male adults in the household, and the economic ‘independence’ that they
gain from earning their own income. While many of these women are subjected to male authority within the context of traditional rites, and many identified men as the heads of their households, they assumed primary responsibility for the daily provision of resources and the welfare of their dependants.

The contribution of wives, female cohabitees and other household members to economic provision and social reproduction largely goes unnoticed within conceptualisations of headship. The delineation of the different spheres of headship pointed to the close interface between social reproduction and economic provision through processes of mothering. The discussion of individual experiences, choices and survival strategies that are presented in the following section illustrate that the daily survival of household members is largely determined by the gendered identities and divisions of labour within the context of limited choices.

6.4 Survival Strategies

The survival and life chances of household members are determined by their relative access to basic needs — adequate housing, sufficient and nutritious food, and adequate clothing. It was evident that the quality of life of the members of many of the households was adversely affected by their limited access to financial resources. The discussions on previous and current sources of livelihood reflected the employment trends discussed in Chapter One; namely the movement of labour from the agricultural to formal sector employment in the 1970’s and 1980’s and the contraction of the economy during the 1990’s which has led to a rise in unemployment. Wide scale unemployment has compelled a sector of the population to rely on irregular income from the ‘informal’ sector and fostered a dependence on state welfare programs.

6.4.1 Gendered Employment Trajectories

During discussions on sources of income in the previous last ten years, it was evident that some of the respondents had been previously employed in various occupations which were
concentrated in the service sector of the economy. Some women in Manyana and Gaborone had been previously employed as domestic workers, while men had been manual workers in construction companies.

While the construction sector grew rapidly during much of the 1970’s and 1980’s, it was hard-hit during the slow-down of the economy in the early 90’s. The Labour Force Survey of 1995/96 indicates that the retrenchments in the industry led to a marked increase in male unemployment. Two of the male respondents in Gaborone, both primary income earners in their households, were laid off during this period. Rex obtained his skills in floor tiling after many years of employment in a factory in South Africa. He started working for a local floor tile factory in Gaborone in 1984. In 1992 he was laid off because of downsizing in the factory. Jackson had been employed by a construction company for 27 years when it went bankrupt in 1993.

The domestic work sector remains largely unregulated in Botswana. The guidelines for domestic employment under the Employment Act are generally not enforced, resulting in a large number of employees being subjected to low pay, poor working conditions and low job security. Within this context, domestic work is a transitional occupation for many new female migrants while they are searching for better prospects. Three women in Gaborone who had previously worked as domestic workers alluded to the low pay and poor working conditions within the domestic service sector, and did not consider domestic service as a viable alternative to unemployment.

A man who had previously worked as a labourer indicated that he had left his job due to poor health. Most service sector employees have limited access to social security provisions such as occupational pensions, severance benefits and no medical insurance. The major weakness in social protection schemes such as the Employment Act and the Workmen’s Compensation Act of 1972 have been attributed to their dependence on the acceptance of liability by employers and their insurers. While the public sector, parastatals and many private
companies provide contributory schemes for employees who can afford them, they are often out of the reach of low paid employees (Mugabe 1996). The limitations of existing employment-related social security provisions within the private and domestic sectors effectively reduce the quality of life of a large proportion of employees who leave work due to illness and disability.

In Manyana, some of the older women indicated that they, or their spouses, had worked in South Africa at various times of their lives, doing agricultural work, domestic work, and working in factories. They had returned to Manyana for retirement. Some of the women indicated that they left work due to marriage and family responsibilities.

Many of the women interviewed in both locations indicated that their spouse and partner had supported their families either through wage employment or subsistence agriculture. Some had relied entirely on their spouses and partners financially, and alluded to the declines in their standard of living since their spouses or partners had retired, died, or deserted them.

The discussion of previous sources of livelihood among respondents showed that more men had been employed outside the home, and that more men than women were employed for longer periods of their lives. The patterns point to the likelihood that poor women’s work trajectories will be interrupted by social reproduction -- marriage, child bearing, childrearing and home management. The depth of poverty within the families and households of these women prevents them from paying individuals to care for the children and perform household chores, thus limiting their chances and choices for income-generation. The following section focuses on current occupations.

6.4.2 Current Sources of Livelihood

One of the questions in the screening survey questionnaire was ‘Are you currently employed’? This question included codes for main economic activities for which payment was or was not received, and those for which non-cash payment was received. The categories for economic activity were those utilised in the HIES surveys. The results of the screening survey
pointed to a low rate of employment within the households (24%). Half of the respondents indicated that their monthly cash income was below P100. The data on livelihood showed that, while most respondents could point to a main source of income and/or sustenance, their households depended on more than one source of livelihood.

The in-depth interviews provided the opportunity to further examine sources of livelihood within the households. The term ‘livelihood’ was a direct translation of the term go tshela (to live); the question that was put to respondents was ‘lo tshela ka eng? or What do you (plural) live on? The aim was to facilitate a free-flowing discussion on all sources of as well as processes of income generation. This approach allowed for meaningful insight into different strategies of survival. The findings pointed to varying gender-related obstacles to income-generation, and the various coping strategies that are adopted to overcome difficulties.
## Figure 6.1: Respondents' Current Sources of Livelihood

GABORONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HH NO.</th>
<th>SEX OF RESP.</th>
<th>AGE OF RESP.</th>
<th>PARTNERSHIP STATUS</th>
<th>OCCUP. OF RESP.</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INCOME EARNERS</th>
<th>MONTHLY CASH INCOME</th>
<th>LIVELIHOOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G-1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P100 - P200</td>
<td>Rent (1 Room)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Deserted</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Destitute Rations + Charity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Under P100</td>
<td>Rent (2 Rooms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-4</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>44*, 55**</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Sells clothes*, Security Guard**</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>P300 +</td>
<td>Wages**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Deserted</td>
<td>Collects Firewood</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P200 - P300</td>
<td>Sale of Firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60 - 65</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P100 - P200</td>
<td>Rent (4 Rooms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-7</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Self-employed Welder</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300 +</td>
<td>Sale of Products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-8</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Deserted</td>
<td>Sells Beer</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Sale of Beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-9</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Hawker</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Sales from Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-10</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Traditional Healer</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300 +</td>
<td>Consultation Fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-11</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P100 - P200</td>
<td>Rent (3 Rooms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-12</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>37*, 47**</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Domestic Work*, Piece Jobs **</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>P200 - P300</td>
<td>Wages*, Payment for Jobs**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-13</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Govt. Cleaner</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>P300 +</td>
<td>Wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-14</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Govt. Messenger</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300 +</td>
<td>Wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-15</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>34*, 39**</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Homemaker* Carpenter**</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Sales of furniture**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-16</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300 +</td>
<td>Child Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-17</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Shop Assistant</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300 +</td>
<td>Wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P200 - P300</td>
<td>Rent (1 Room), Can Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-19</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Child Support + mother's rental income</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*=Female

**=Male
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HH NO.</th>
<th>SEX OF RESP.</th>
<th>AGE OF RESP.</th>
<th>PARTNERSHIP STATUS</th>
<th>OCCUP. OF RESP.</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INCOME EARNERS</th>
<th>MONTHLY CASH INCOME</th>
<th>MAIN INCOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M-1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Agric. Produce, Clinic Rations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Deserted</td>
<td>Piece Jobs</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Payment in Kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Homemaker*, Farmer**</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Agric. Produce**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-4</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Piece Jobs Sells Beer</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P50 - P100</td>
<td>Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-5</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Domestic Worker</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P100 - P200</td>
<td>Wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-6</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Grows Vegetables</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300+</td>
<td>Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-7</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Destitute Rations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-8</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P60</td>
<td>Destitute Rations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-9</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Homemaker* Builder**</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300+</td>
<td>Payment from Building**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-10</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Unempl.* Cattle Herder**</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Under P50</td>
<td>Agric. Produce**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-11</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Sells Beer</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>P300+</td>
<td>Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-12</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>69*, 73**</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Homemakers</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P100 - P200</td>
<td>Cash remittances from Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-13</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>80+</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Agric. Produce from Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-14</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>80+</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P50 - P100</td>
<td>Destitute Rations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-15</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>P50 - P100</td>
<td>Remittances from Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-16</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Farmer* Piece Jobs**</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Agric. Produce* Payment for Jobs**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-17</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>Destitute Rations + Support of Resident Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-18</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>47*, 62**</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Homemaker Farmer**</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Under P100</td>
<td>Agric. Produce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-19</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Lone Parent</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Under P50</td>
<td>Mother's Destitute Rations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-20</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Agric. Produce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-21</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>28*, 38**</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>Homemaker* Piece Jobs**</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Under P50</td>
<td>Payment for Jobs**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.4.2.1 Wage Employment

The findings pointed to the low rate of wage employment among household members. Sixteen households, seven in Gaborone, and nine in Manyana had no wage earners. Thirteen of these households were maintained by single mothers. Five individuals (four in Gaborone and one in Manyana) stated that their households relied on wages as their only source of income. Four were households of single mothers who were the sole income earners. Of the three single mothers in Gaborone, one of the women was employed as a domestic worker, one as a messenger, and the other was a shop assistant. The single mother in Manyana was employed as a domestic servant. While two of the women were living with their unmarried employed brothers, they both indicated that their financial contributions to the household budget were insignificant. One brother had recently found employment, while the other occasionally bought food items. Only one household (of a married couple in Gaborone) depended on wages earned by two individuals; the husband and the couple’s daughter’s partner who was cohabiting with her in the household. Both were employed as security guards. One household of an elderly couple in Manyana relied on income from their resident son who was employed as a manual labourer on a local construction site.

Most of the respondents complained about the shortage of employment opportunities in Gaborone and Manyana. This was shown by the presence of unemployed young adults within some of the households; many of whom had dropped out of school due to low grades and limited resources to start a business. Some of those who were employed complained of low wages, and indicated that they were insufficient to meet their household expenses. One single mother with three children under the age of fifteen years had been employed as a cleaner by the Gaborone
City Council for two years earning P410 a month. She complained that her income was not enough to support her household, and made the following comments:

The money we earn does not get very far... If only I could learn some trade like sewing. One has to pay for lessons. I cannot afford it on my salary.... I used to be enrolled in a night school, and I dropped out because of the shortage of funds. At least if I had some skills I would be able to improve my income.

Two of the employed women indicated that they preferred to run their own enterprises, but were unable to save enough money. While informal sector activities are often seen as the last resort when formal sector employment is not available (BIDPA, 1996), research conducted in Latin American and Asian countries has shown that they are often the only means by which women can undertake their responsibilities of home management and income generation simultaneously (Mies 1982; Beneria and Roldan 1987).

6.4.2.2 Informal Sector Income

Nine respondents, five in Gaborone and four in Manyana, cited family-owned business enterprises as their principal source of income. A breakdown of the ownership of the enterprises by gender revealed a slightly higher proportion of female ownership, with six women compared to four men. Half of the businesses relied on direct production, while the rest were retailers. All of the retailing enterprises were operated by women. While the respondents indicated that they were primarily responsible for most of the operations in their businesses, some of the female retailers were assisted by other household members.

The female-owned enterprises were located within or in close proximity to the household. Two women in Gaborone ran retailing businesses from their homes. Both had hawking businesses (*semausu*) selling a range of perishable and non-perishable commodities such as bread, vegetables, canned foods and snacks. Two women in Manyana sold alcohol within their homes. One male respondent in Gaborone operated a carpentry and tin-smith business within his home, while two undertook their business enterprises outside the household.
One man in Naledi shared ownership of an enterprise that made burglar bars that was located in premises on the outskirts of Gaborone. A man in Manyana ran a building enterprise. There was an indication that most of the female-owned enterprises were directly integrated in the household budget, with evidence of consumption of retail items (especially food) from the business within the home.

Discussions with business-owners gave a sense of the fluidity of micro-enterprise operations. While this fluidity is partly due to their reliance on scarce domestic savings for investment and the inability of entrepreneurs to qualify for credit from commercial banks, it is also due to the fiercely competitive retailing market which places micro-enterprises in direct competition with registered retailers who provide goods at cheaper prices. In addition to the competition posed by larger businesses, there is fierce competition among the micro-enterprises themselves. Especially among retailing businesses. The high concentration of small-scale retailers (hawkers) in Naledi and Gaborone West who sell the same products within these low income areas severely limits the prospects of survival for the businesses.

While the Labour Force Survey's (LFS) general delineation of informal sector activities as falling within the 'household sector' may capture a large proportion of micro enterprises, they do not provide adequate scope for the identification of the relations of production within them. Any future research on the informal sector employment should seek to establish the interface between the gender of the owner, the extent of utilisation of household labour and the degree of integration of the operations into household consumption expenditure.

The fluidity of casual work renders it a grey area in the collection of labour and employment statistics. The HIES and LFS neither define nor provide categories for casual work. The realm of casual work is 'hidden' especially within the categories 'unemployed', 'actively seeking work', as well as in the realm of unpaid work, and among those whose occupations were unknown.
Casual work is commonly referred to as 'piece jobs' or sekoropo in Botswana. Piece jobs are manual labour for specific tasks such as: participation in various parts of the agricultural cycle, working as casual labourers for commercial business enterprises, or performing domestic tasks ranging from washing laundry to gardening. While the type of task usually follows the traditional gender division of labour, there is evidence that these stereotypes are being broken down, especially as there is more recent evidence of women performing traditionally male tasks such as manual work on construction sites. Informal agreements on the task to be performed, and the amount and form of payment are based on negotiations between the buyers and sellers of labour. The combined effects of informality and economically-induced desperation expose employees to exploitation and occupational hazards.

Four individuals -- one man in Gaborone, two women and a man in Manyana -- took on piece jobs for income-generation. Both men indicated that most of the jobs they performed were related with the construction sector, and usually received cash payment. The women, both of whom were in Manyana, mainly relied on seasonal agricultural piece jobs (majako), and received food payment at the time of harvest. The household of the male respondent in Gaborone depended on the combined earnings from his piece jobs and wages received by his partner (a domestic worker), while all three respondents in Manyana were the sole income-earners in their households.

6.4.2.3 Agricultural Production

Agricultural production has historically remained at subsistence level due the effects of Botswana's unfavourable climatic conditions. Low productivity within the sector has been partly attributed to the labour-intensiveness and requirements of high capital inputs such as fertilisers, fencing materials and pesticides. Arable agricultural production in Botswana is highly subsidised through government schemes, especially the drought-related Arable Rainfed
Agricultural Programme (ARAP) that was described in Chapter One. While Botswana was gripped by drought from 1990 to 1994, the agricultural year 1995-96 marked the end of the cycle. This prompted the government to officially declare the end of the drought in 1996, marking the discontinuation of a number of drought relief programmes such as the Arable Rainfed Agricultural Programme in 1997. The discontinuation of this programme has already had a negative impact on agricultural production within low-income households in Manyana.

Four individuals in Manyana described themselves as full-time farmers whose households depended on subsistence agriculture for survival. Two individuals, one man and one woman, were married, while two were single mothers. All had direct access to agricultural land. The farmers pointed to several production-related constraints that included shortages of labour, inadequate financial resources, and low output due to delays experienced in planting crops. While the couples owned donkeys that were used for ploughing, the single mothers relied on draught power supplied through the ARAP scheme. The women complained that the individuals who were paid to plough their land with tractors failed to arrive in time for the beginning of the ploughing season in November, delaying planting and jeopardising their chances of getting good harvests. All of the farmers expressed concern that the discontinuation of the agricultural drought relief programmes would lead to a drastic decline in agricultural production.

Two women and one man in Manyana participated in seasonal agricultural work (majako). The traditional system of majako facilitates the acquisition of labour during different periods of the agricultural cycle. Individuals are mobilised to assist farmers particularly during the labour intensive parts such as weeding and harvesting. Payment for activities is either in the form of a small cash payment ranging from P5 to P10, or in-kind payment such as half-bags of sorghum, maize or beans. While this system is available to both genders, it was apparent that the female participation rate was higher. It was also evident that the majako system is particularly useful for individuals who do not have access to their own agricultural fields and for those who
have severe shortages of labour. The system assists in the improvement of food security in the households of the poor in rural areas, especially those of single women with limited sources of income.

One woman indicated that her household depended on income earned from her partner’s employment as a cattle herder. Cattle-herding, like domestic work, is not regulated by the government. As a result men and boys who are employed as cattle herders are often paid low wages on an irregular basis (Tsie 1995; Gulbrandsen 1996).

The Senior Technical Assistant of Crop Production in Manyana indicated that there had been a marked decline in the number of local arable farmers over the recent years in spite of the unusually high rainfall. She informed me that a crop production survey conducted in 1996 showed that there were about 598 farmers in the area, and that this figure had declined by about ¼ by 1997, bringing the total to about 450. She attributed the decline to several factors: the discontinuation of the ARAP, the scarcity of labour and a general decline of interest in farming. She expressed concern that the government drought relief programmes within the agricultural sector had undermined the spirit of self-reliance, and that the provision of free food in the clinics reduced the need to produce food for household consumption. She also felt that the introduction of the Universal Old Age Pension Scheme for all persons aged sixty-five years and over would further undermine agricultural production, as a significant proportion of the farmers in the region were within that age range.

6.4.2.4 Social Welfare Provisions

As indicated in Chapter One, the government of Botswana has implemented several social welfare programmes that are aimed at developing human capital and providing an environment for the sustenance of a reasonable quality of life for all Batswana. The discussions
on survival strategies in the two communities pointed to the dependence of many households and individuals on the Clinic Food Supplement and Destitute Programmes.

The Clinic Food Supplement Programme

The provision of supplementary food rations for malnourished children under the age of five years and lactating mothers has been an important component of the maternal and child health/family planning (MCH/FP) programme since 1973. While the programme was originally intended to focus on medically-identified cases, it was increased to provide universal coverage during drought years; the most recent period being from 1995 to 1997. Local community clinics allocate certain days for pre-natal care, weighing and examining children under the age of five years and for the distribution of food supplements. The different components of the programme and the nature and amounts of the food rations are shown in Figure 6-2.

Figure 6-2: Monthly Clinic Rations for Children 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>FOOD RATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) to 18 months:</td>
<td>5 kg Tsa Bana(^{18}) and 750 ml cooking oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) to 36 months:</td>
<td>7.5 kg Tsa Bana and 750ml cooking oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) to 60 months:</td>
<td>6.5 kg maize meal and 750ml cooking oil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Manyana Clinic records, November, 1996.

Children who are underweight receive 3.5 kg of maize meal in addition to the base supplement. Pregnant and lactating mothers receive 6.5 kg of maize meal and 750 ml of cooking oil for the duration of pregnancy and lactation. Several mothers in Manyana and Gaborone indicated that they received clinic rations on a monthly basis. There was evidence that the clinic food rations were consumed by other household members within some of the homes in Manyana.

\(^{18}\)A nutritionally enhanced granular food consisting of soya meal and dehydrated milk.
A single mother of five indicated that typical meals in her households consisted of sorghum porridge, mealie meal, and soya food that was rationed to children at the clinic. An elderly widow and grandmother also indicated that clinic rations received by one of her grandchildren helped to feed the family. This reality prompted Ingstaad (1989) to argue that children receiving these food rations effectively become contributors to the household food supply. Within this context, the more under-five children a household has the more food it can receive from the vulnerable group feeding programme (Mugabe 1997).

While the clinic feeding programme has effectively combated the problem of malnutrition, the achievements are largely due to the temporary drought relief measures that have been in effect since 1995 (BIDPA 1996c; Mugabe 1997). It can be argued that the socio-economic welfare of the members of low-income and poor households that depend on these programmes will be severely undermined by their discontinuation in 1998.

**Destitutes' Rations**

The identification of destitution begins with an assessment of several criteria of economic welfare and physical capability. A destitute is one who does not own land and cattle, has no financial assistance from their family (nuclear or extended), or is incapable of supporting her/himself due to physical, mental disability or old age. Temporary assistance is given to persons who are incapacitated due to environmental catastrophes such as drought and floods, while permanent assistance is given to those whose age, mental or physical disability renders them completely unable of engaging in any physical work (Government of Botswana 1980). Temporary assistance is reviewed periodically to establish whether the recipient is able to support her/himself. The rations provided include food and basic necessities: maize meal, baking flour, beans, canned fish/beef or soya mince, cooking oil, milk, paraffin, sugar, tea and salt. The total value of the package is P82.80 for rural areas and P61.59 for urban areas.
Four respondents -- one in Gaborone and three in Manyana -- depended primarily on destitute rations. All of the recipients were single women. Four recipients in Manyana were widows over the age of 70 years, while the recipient in Gaborone was a forty-two year old mother who had been deserted by her long-term partner. All were living with their unemployed children and some with grandchildren. The majority had been receiving the rations for more than five years. While most respondents appreciated the rations, some complained about the quantity of the food, pointing out that their households often consumed all the food before the end of the month. Two women complained about the quality of the food, and preferred to receive cash to purchase their own food and pay for other requirements such as medical costs.

Social workers in Manyana and Gaborone alluded to problems relating to the administration of the destitute programme. As mentioned before, the identification of destitutes is a joint exercise between local community authorities and government officials; the Village Development Committee (VDC) is involved as well as traditional leaders in Manyana and local political councillors in Gaborone. While social workers are required to assess the merits of each case and identify individuals and households in need through home visits, they are hampered by personnel constraints and the requirements of their other responsibilities. These constraints result in their over-reliance on local community authorities for identification, and their inability to regularly determine whether the recipients continued to qualify for assistance.

Some individuals in Gaborone and Manyana complained that the process of identification had become politicised. One widowed mother of ten complained that while she had repeatedly appealed for assistance from the social worker and VDC for her disabled daughter, no officials had visited her household to assess her needs and problems. She was concerned that the allocation of destitute allowances was not based on merit, but rather on the basis of political connections with the VDC members, traditional leaders and the district member of parliament. A similar concern was expressed by a woman in Gaborone whose requests for
assistance also been turned down. She felt that she qualified for assistance because she was unemployed, sickly, and had no other source of regular income. She complained that there were several destitutes in Naledi who were young and able-bodied, and received assistance because of patron-client relations with local councillors. This view was corroborated by one social worker’s concerns that the ‘political agenda’ of local councillors was increasingly interfering with the implementation of the programme.

The Universal Old Age Pension

The Old Age Pension scheme for persons aged 65 years and above was initiated to address the ever-increasing inability of elderly persons to support themselves (Government of Botswana 1997). The beneficiaries were identified from a database of persons who had been issued with national identity cards. The amount of the monthly pension was P100 at the time of the study.

The first instalment of pensions was distributed in November 1997 in Manyana. The Community Development Officer informed me that there had been delays in the identification of beneficiaries and refinement of the logistics for distribution, as it was a joint exercise between the Ministries of Labour and Home Affairs, Local Government and Lands, and district and local (town and village) authorities. She indicated that there was a large number of individuals who did not appear on the distribution lists even though they had national identity cards. She was therefore unable to establish the total number of recipients.

I solicited comments on the introduction of the Old Age pensions from respondents in both research sites. While most individuals had positive reactions to the introduction of the scheme, some expressed concerns that P100 per month was insufficient to meet their requirements. At the time of the study, destitutes were informed that they would not qualify to receive the pension if they were receiving food rations. Some of the destitutes in Manyana
expressed dissatisfaction with this situation, arguing that they would rather receive the cash than the rations. By the end of the study I was informed by the Community Development Officer in Manyana that the government was reviewing its position regarding the matter, and that there were indications that destitutes would continue to receive their rations and also receive the pension.

6.4.2.5 Remittances and Cash Gifts

The history of remittances can be traced back to labour migration during the early twentieth century. Remittances formed an important source of income in the rural areas, bolstering agricultural production and providing much needed income for households (Schapera 1991; Colcough and McCarthy 1980). This trend was sustained with the growth of wage employment within the country (Government of Botswana 1991a, 1997). An analysis of HIES 93/94 data on monthly disposable income by poverty group revealed the significance of net transfers (cash and in-kind gifts and transfers less cash and in-kind gifts and transfers given) among poor and very poor households; especially those headed by women (BIDPA 1997a).

All three respondents in Gaborone who cited remittances as a principal source of income were single mothers. One woman received cash regularly from her migrant son, and the other two, who were both women in their 20's received regular financial support from the non-resident fathers of their children ranging from P100 to P200 per month. In Manyana, the recipients of regular remittances included a recently widowed woman who received cash transfers from a son who worked in Gaborone, and a couple who relied on remittances from their daughter who was employed in Jwaneng; a mining town in the South Eastern part of Botswana. Many of the other respondents complained about lack of regular financial support from their adult children, especially elderly grandmothers who were raising the offspring of their migrant children.
Two single mothers, one in Manyana and one in Gaborone, received irregular cash remittances and clothing for their children from their mothers who were employed in South Africa. Two respondents in Manyana received irregular cash remittances from migrant male family members. One young mother who resided in her mother’s home said that her two brothers were single migrants, and that one brother periodically sent remittances to the household. She mentioned that she frequently asked her brother for financial assistance to cater for the needs of her children. A widow who resided with her three children and three grandchildren, who were all unemployed, indicated that they all relied on the remittances sent by her son who was employed in Gaborone. This evidence shows that some single male migrants assumed the role of parental support and/or social parenting by sending remittances to their natal families which often include their single sisters and their offspring.

6.4.2.6 Income From Rent

Accommodation rental is a source of livelihood and supplementary income for many low income households in Gaborone. SHHA residents often lease out small rooms that are situated behind the main housing structures. These rooms are leased out for rent that ranges from P20 to P100 per month. Six respondents; four single women and two men; one cohabitee and one single father depended on rent for their livelihood. They all indicated that rent payments were inconsistent, as many of the tenants were dependent on casual work, and often defaulted on rental payments. As with other informal agreements and transactions, the property owners have limited legal avenues for prosecuting defaulters and very little prospect of receiving rental arrears.
6.4.3 Patterns of Expenditure

The patterns of expenditure within the households were closely related to the limited access to financial resources and low purchasing power. Respondents in Manyana and Gaborone identified three principal areas of expenditure: food, children's clothing, and educational expenses. The demands on the limited resources in the urban households made it difficult for individuals to pay their service levies for SHHA plots, and many were unable to send remittances to family members in the rural areas.

6.4.3.1 Food

Most respondents indicated that their largest expense was food. Household expenditure on food was determined by access to cash. Those households that cited wages as their main sources of livelihood were able to place a monetary value on their expenditure. Mmadipheko, a single mother and entrepreneur in Gaborone indicated that she spent up to P250 on food every month to feed herself and her five children. Neo, another single mother who is employed as a cleaner mentioned that she spent about P180 to feed herself, her three children and her brother. One married couple depended on the male spouse's earnings and monthly cash contributions from their daughter's resident male partner. They indicated that they spent about P200 on food for themselves, their 5 children and three grandchildren.

Responses from those who were unemployed, and those who had no regular sources of income reflected their ongoing struggle to feed their families. Mmeisie, an unemployed single mother of two, usually lives with her young grandson in Gaborone. At the time of the interview, her cohabiting daughter (the mother of the child) was in maternal confinement for her second child. Mmeisie mentioned that they struggled to have regular meals:
...Everything is expensive...We are miserable. My son sometimes buys us food...my daughter needs special care at this time. When the father of these children delays in giving us money, I manage to scrape together enough [money] to buy food. Then his money is used to buy more food, and soap for the baby’s laundry.

Mmeisie depends on occasional financial support from her son, and payments from the tenants who were renting one little shack for approximately P20 per month. Rex and Boitumelo, a cohabiting couple in Gaborone, depended on piece jobs, and had to send three of their seven children to live with Boitumelo’s parents in a rural village because of financial difficulties. Boitumelo alluded to the frequency of illness among herself, her partner and their children, and attributed their health problems to poor nutritional status because of the lack of regular nutritious meals.

Betty, an unemployed single mother of five in Old Naledi depended on the destitute rations that she received from the Gaborone City Council. She mentioned that the food does not last the whole month. She referred to one of her sons as ‘Bashinyana’ a term commonly used to refer to street children, as he often resorted to scavenging for discarded food in the garbage bins outside large supermarkets. She said that her son was sickly and had frequent bouts of diarrhoea. Betty indicated that one of her two adult sons had been imprisoned for theft, and that the other was unemployed.

The only single father in the study depended on sales of firewood that he collected from an area on the outskirts of Gaborone, and on the rental received from the two rooms that he leases out. He lived with seven of his children, and five grandchildren. While five of the children were over the age of seventeen years, they were all unemployed. He mentioned that he usually sent the children to buy a sack of sorghum which they try to ‘stretch’ through the month. He spoke of problems buying food:

Sometimes in the evening they [the children] tell me that there is no relish to go with the maize meal. If there is money, I give it to them to go and buy something. Some days when there have been no sales of firewood, we all just give up and go to bed.
Typical meals in many of these households consisted of *mabele* (ground sorghum), *paleche* (maize meal) and relishes consisting of cheap cuts of meat (e.g., soup bones or tripe) or greens. While households in Manyana had more access to their own agricultural produce and through participation in *majako*, there was evidence that many households have become reliant on government programmes such as the destitute and clinic rations for survival.

6.4.3.2 Expenditure on Children

While there are no fees for basic public education in Botswana, there are many other expenses associated with children’s education. Some parents complained that these expenses effectively nullified the concept of free education. Most of the individuals who alluded to children’s expenses were mothers who spoke of the difficulty in meeting expenses for uniforms and other educational costs such as pot fees for student meals. Several single mothers complained of the high cost of school uniforms which amount to P150 per child19 annually. Mothers often resorted to sending children to school in tattered school uniforms with no shoes on their feet. Kgalalelo’s daughter is in Form 3 in a secondary school in Ramotswa. She could not afford to buy a new uniform for her, and was worried that it would have adverse effects on her performance at school:

What has been worrying me is clothing. My child is wearing the tattered clothes that she started Form 1 and Form 2 with...I will concentrate on getting a piece job to buy a uniform for my child....Soon my child will not even study properly because she is not dressed properly.

Another single mother in Manyana said she would have to beg for money from her cousins to buy a uniform for her son. She was afraid of the consequences of sending her son to school without a uniform:

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19The uniform consists of dresses and sweaters for the girls, and trousers, shirts and sweaters for the boys.
I believe that the school has very strict rules. Uniforms are compulsory. I heard some parents failed to pay for the uniforms after their children received them, so some students completed Form 2 while there were outstanding balances on the uniforms. Now they do not issue Form 2 certificates before the balance is paid.

The Community Development Officer in Manyana indicated that there were funds for assisting poor parents to buy school uniforms for their children. It was evident, however, that the process of evaluation was lengthy, and parents were often turned back because of administrative delays. One social worker in Gaborone also mentioned that while some funds were available, they were subjected to rigorous evaluation. The only woman in the study who received assistance for children’s uniform was a destitute in Gaborone who received a uniform for her son from the Botswana Christian Council, a non-governmental organisation.

In addition to the penalties imposed for lack of school uniforms, parents are also penalised if their children lose books. One single mother of three in Gaborone indicated that her eldest son was living with her mother and attending Form 5 in a school in Serowe. She complained that he did not receive his Form 2 certificate because he lost some books. He would not receive the Form 2 and Form 5 certificates until she paid for the books. She cited this as a problem, as she had two other children to feed and educate.

Some women alluded to the difficulties that they encountered in meeting other education-related costs such as contributions for fund raising activities and extra-curricular activities. Several mothers spoke of receiving instructions that their children should ‘dress up’ once a week, and bring P2 as contribution for school development. Dressing up meant wearing clean, neat clothing instead of the school uniform. Failure to ‘dress up’ or bring P2 resulted in verbal and physical chastisement, and the children were sometimes sent home as punishment.

As indicated in Chapter One, a study conducted by the National Institute of Development Research and Documentation (Kann, Maplolelo and Neya 1989) established that a substantial proportion of the ‘missing children’ were not attending school due to poverty;
especially to the inability of parents to buy uniforms and pay for educational expenses (eg., pot fees). While the majority of children leaving primary school are almost certainly guaranteed a place in junior secondary school, less than one third of them will have access to senior secondary and post secondary education. The high rate of high school dropouts and youth unemployment raise the opportunity cost of parenting in Botswana especially among poor parents.

6.4.3.3 Remittances

I asked respondents in Gaborone to indicate whether they send remittances to the rural areas on a regular basis. The ability to send remittances was directly associated with employment status, and sources of income generation. Those who had full-time employment or were self-employed indicated that they occasionally sent money to their parents. Those without regular sources of income said they could not afford to. Rex and Boitumelo could not afford to send regular cash remittances for their three children who resided with their maternal grandparents, and they relied on the grandparents to support the children. Sekgopi sent her two sons to live with their paternal aunt in Manyana. She said she did not have any money to send them, and relied on the paternal relatives to provide for them. I asked the respondents in Gaborone whether relatives in the rural areas expected remittances from them. They all indicated that while there were high expectations from their relatives, they were unable to fulfil them due to the high cost of living in Gaborone. A woman made the following remark:

We are constantly telling them just how difficult life is here in town. You know, people in rural areas have this notion that town life is better. They will even send you their children thinking that their lives will improve. Little do they know that life is very hard here.

Discussions with 'would be remitters' corresponded with the findings from recipients and 'would be recipients' in Manyana, suggesting that poor urban dwellers and those with little income are increasingly focusing their scarce resources on their household members, who are
usually their children and grandchildren. While it may be argued that extended family relations are strengthened by co-operation and the sharing of resources, the co-operation between low income and poor households in rural and urban areas is hindered by limited resources and the rising cost of living.

6.4.4 Problems Associated With Survival

It was evident from the discussions that many of the households had problems that prevented them from meeting basic needs. The problems most frequently cited were associated with financial problems due to the lack of income generating opportunities; and providing for children.

6.4.4.1 Financial Problems

Many respondents used the Tswana term 're a sokola' (we are struggling); referring to the paucity of funds, the rising cost of living and their poor quality of life. The shortage or lack of money prevented them from buying sufficient nutritious food, from feeding and clothing their children properly, from paying debts, from improving their living environments and from providing financial support for relatives.

Financial problems were closely associated with widespread unemployment and underemployment among the working age and able-bodied individuals. The discussions reflected the general lack of employment opportunities in Gaborone and Manyana. Mmaserame depends on selling alcohol within her home in Gaborone West to support her eight children and four grandchildren. She complained about lack of money and unemployment:

"Did you know that the government does not hire persons over the age of 40?...I was looking for a job at the City Council. I was told that I am over the age limit. So, I cannot find work, and neither can my children."
While the respondents in Gaborone referred more to the high cost of living in town, those in Manyana also alluded to poor living conditions due to unemployment. Mositi and Modise were subsistence farmers. Modise complained about their poor living conditions. He said:

...we have problems. We are just farmers. We do not have full time employment. It makes our life difficult. We built these semi-temporary structures, and have never been able to build stronger ones. We have been here since 1976.

Tlhalefang is a great-grandmother aged over eighty years. She is blind, and lives with her daughter, several grandchildren and two great-grandchildren. The daughter previously worked in South Africa, and gave up her job to come home to care for her mother and her teenage daughter who was in maternity confinement. She indicated that her efforts to find a job have been fruitless:

I have been enquiring about jobs in Gaborone, hoping that I would get something. I'm even prepared to collect litter for the Council. Collecting litter is better than not having any work at all.

6.4.4.2 Raising Children

Most of the women (married, cohabiting and single mothers) who were interviewed indicated that their immediate challenge was providing food, clothing and meeting the needs of their children. The question that came to mind was: Why do women continue to give birth to children under difficult economic circumstances? The answer lies in a combination of interrelated factors: cultural influences, economic needs, women’s relationships with men, and women’s own ideologies of mothering.

Family Planning and Attitudes Towards Children

In a survey among 4,368 women in urban and rural areas, the Botswana Family Survey of 1988 (Government of Botswana 1989) indicated that the primary reasons for non-use of contraceptive methods by sexually active women was primarily due to the lack of or insufficient
knowledge about methods. Another reason cited was partner disapproval, particularly among women in union.

A study that was conducted by the National Institute of Development Research and Documentation on Botswana Males and Family Planning Practices in between 1990 and 1991 alluded to some 'conservative' views of men towards family planning. The study reports evidence of 'somewhat pro-natalist' sentiments among some men who were opposed to family planning citing reasons such as "We must have children", and "We want a child" (Kgosidintsi and Mugabe: 1994: 63). The study further found that 45% of men said that in a relationship a man should determine whether or not family planning is used.

I attempted to ask respondents about their attitudes towards family planning, and their experiences. This was particularly difficult as sexual relations are considered to be private matters within Tswana culture. It was easier to discuss personal family planning practices with younger women, while responses from the men were obtained by way of probing about family planning in general. The discussions pointed to a low rate of family planning and contraceptive use. Several women illustrated fatalistic attitudes towards conception and childbearing, a distrust of family planning methods, and partner disapproval. The only man who agreed to discuss family planning disapproved of the use of contraceptives in general.

When asked whether they had planned their children, some of the responses from the women were: "they just came", "I (we) just had them" and "My man wanted many children". Two women in Manyana believed that childbearing was God-ordained, and they had no control over it. Kgalalelo said

We as humans do not know the origins of childbearing and reproduction. That means that it is God's ordinance. It is cultural (ngwao). God makes it that way.

Mpho also believed that child bearing cannot be controlled by humans, and that God gives one children to look after them in their old age. A mother of 7 children in Gaborone was also ambivalent about birth control:
No, they [the children] were not planned. Even the last born was not planned. I used to use those things [contraceptives]... I am afraid to undergo surgery... I used to use those things and then things that were not planned happened.

Others referred to relatives and partners' control over their reproduction. Mosadi is a single mother of 5 children who lives with her mother. She suffers from epileptic fits that prevent her from working. As a result, she and her children relied on the destitute rations that her mother received, as well as occasional loans from her cousins. She mentioned that she had wanted to get sterilised after the birth of her third child, but was prevented from doing so by her mother:

I had thought of doing it [undergoing sterilisation] after the birth of my third child. You know how old women are. She refused, saying that I was not well, and that something would go wrong. After this last one, I wanted to do it, and my mother refused. I was afraid to go against my mother's advice. I was afraid of the consequences of disobeying my mother. The Family Welfare Educator told me that my mother had refused, so she did not want to accept responsibility if something went wrong.

Three women in Gaborone alluded to men's insistence on having more children, and their negative attitudes towards birth control. Two women indicated that their partners had wanted more children. One referred to men's attitudes towards birth control:

They often state that they want a child, or children. For those women who are using contraceptives, the men would throw them away.

This attitude to contraceptives was displayed by a man in Gaborone who said the following:

According to our tradition, we have never used these things. I have never used them, and I don't think they are good...A woman could only use them if I was not aware of it. If I was aware, I would not allow it.

There was a correlation between positive attitudes towards contraceptive use and age. Three women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five years indicated that they used contraceptives. However, this was contingent upon their partnership status. Only one cohabiting woman indicated that she used contraceptives after having given birth to four children.

Previous studies (Molokomme 1991; Driel 1994) suggest that women see children as an investment, as economic security for later years. This expectation was displayed in women's
attitudes towards children, and their expectations of them. Many mothers indicated that they expected their children to provide for them. They held the view that parents who struggle to feed and educate their children would be ultimately rewarded by their economic support. One mother said:

We spent our childhood herding cattle and helping our parents. We never attended school. We would like to educate our children, so they can support us tomorrow.

Asked whether this was guaranteed, some women felt that while some of the children may not support them financially, at least one or two of the children would. Mosadi summed up her views with a Setswana adage:

*Mabele ga anke a tlhoka maidi ‘In every crop of sorghum there is always some bad grain’. Children are never the same. There will always be one who will feel sorry for me and say ‘this is my parent’.*

This suggests that for many women, having additional children is seen as a means of increasing their economic security. For women, the potential reciprocity of support served as source of motivation for reproduction and survival.

Motts (1994) argued that men use biological children as a basis for their decision to provide economic support to women -- especially those women who had children with other men before them. Evidence of this trend was cited by a deserted single mother in Gaborone who mentioned that men told her that they would only assist her financially if she bore children with them. While this factor was not mentioned frequently, it is a plausible hypothesis; namely that poor women are driven by economic need to engage in several ‘potentially’ economically beneficial consensual relationships that place demands on them to have more children in order to continue getting financial support.

It is evident that women’s attitudes and choices regarding childbearing and consensual relations are embedded in gender ideologies that are determined by women’s fragile economic
status and their limited options for survival. Were their expectations being fulfilled by the fathers of children and the children themselves?

The majority of the single mothers in the study declared that the non-resident fathers of their children were not assisting them financially. In most cases, the fathers of the children had provided financial assistance while they were involved in consensual relationships with them, and ceased to provide financial support when the relationships ended. While having children with a series of partners may be a survival strategy for women, it often works to the detriment of women who remain with the responsibility of providing for children without financial assistance from their fathers.

The financial maintenance of children falls against a background of culturally-determined gender inequality and unequal power relations between women and men in the society. Within the context of declining extended family support and the fluidity of consensual relationships, the dependants of women with little or no formal education and low economic resources bases are more likely to repeat the poverty cycle within households and families.

Poor and low income households usually have more members and higher dependency ratios than non-poor and higher income households (BIDPA 1997a). Other distinguishing features include low levels of education, and higher rates of unemployment among members. Children from low income and poor households are more likely to have limited access to higher education, which in turn limits their employment prospects.

Children’s prospects for social mobility within these households are determined by the composition of the households that they are raised in. Children from two-parent households stand to benefit from the material support of at least one, or both parents, while the welfare of those who are raised by single mothers is more contingent on whether the mother has a sustained source of income. Faced with poor resource bases, these children are less likely to contribute to
household income, and are more likely to depend on their mothers for financial support rather than assisting them to break the poverty cycle.

Financial support from children was contingent upon their employment status. Twenty one single mothers reported having children over the age of 15 years compared to 9 households of couples. In the majority of cases, the children of the single mothers were unemployed. The reasons given for unemployment were largely attributed to the lack of employment opportunities both in Manyana and Gaborone. Most of the children of the single mothers had dropped out of school either due to poor performance, or pregnancy. As indicated in the previous chapter, while the number of ‘adults’ per household reduced the age dependency ratio, the income dependency ratio among the households was relatively high due to the paucity of income earners.

Families in Manyana who had employed children indicated that they lived either in urban areas, major villages, or in South Africa. They indicated that they received financial assistance from them only occasionally, usually when they came to visit during holidays. Segametsi is a widow who has nine adult children. The eldest was born in 1954, and the last born in 1975. She lives with 6 of the children (including one who is deaf and mute) and 7 grandchildren. Only two of her children (a daughter and a son) were employed, and live in Gaborone. She complained about the lack of financial support from her migrant children, and indicated that she was struggling to support her family through subsistence agriculture and casual work.

Dipuo is a 71 year old widow. She had 5 children, two of whom died in adulthood. She lived with her disabled son and 9 grandchildren. Six of the grandchildren were born to her deceased daughter. The rest were born to a daughter who is employed and lives in Gaborone. Asked whether her employed children ever send her money, she said:
I have a daughter who should be helping me. I live with her children who go to school here. The children arrived from visiting their mother on Sunday. They had gone to ask for money from her. They brought back P20. What can I do with P20? They told me that she says she has many debts. She has bought goods on credit, and so she had to settle her debts. If she continues this way next year, I will send the children to her.

The experiences of Dipuo and Segametsi are similar to those of many other women in Manyana who live with disabled and unemployed children, and receive little or no assistance from those who are able-bodied and employed. While these women felt a moral obligation to assist their children, they also expected them to assist them financially through remittances for children. It was evident, however, that these expectations were not being met, but instead increased the depth of poverty within their households.

Most of the couples interviewed in Manyana and Gaborone indicated that they had children who were employed. While they were generally ambivalent about the support they received from children, it was evident that the incidence of support was higher. Lorato and Thomas are both over the age of 70 years, and live with their young grandson. They have 8 children who reside in various places in Botswana and South Africa. They indicated that while the children come to visit them, they only receive regular assistance from a daughter who works in the mining town of Jwaneng. Jackson and his long term partner live in Manyana with their only son, his partner and their baby.

6.5 Conclusions

The establishment of separate households by men generally occurs later in their life cycles, and is contingent on marriage and long-term cohabitation, while the establishment of separate households by women is more contingent on childbearing, and often occurs at earlier stages of their life cycles. Another significant gender difference is the likelihood that women will be single parents for much of their life cycles due to fractured consensual relationships,
while men have the option of engaging in serial consensual relationships without being burdened by the needs of children before finally settling down.

While there have been significant changes in household structure over much of the twentieth century, many of the patriarchal beliefs and practices that determine gender relations have remained intact. This was evident in the discussions on marriage and household headship. The deconstruction of the term *tlhogo ya lolwapa* revealed the complexity of decision-making with and between households, suggesting that the designation of a household head as the primary decision-maker and main income earner obscures the contexts within which judgements concerning the welfare of household members are reached, and how resources are provided within families and households.

The findings on livelihood sources and survival strategies among individuals provided evidence of the paucity of sustained sources of income among the households in the study. Many of the survival constraints are directly related to macro-economic forces; especially unemployment and limited options for income-generation outside formal employment. There is evidence that there are gendered manifestations of poverty at the individual level that are in part determined by prevailing patterns of production and social reproduction within households. A significant proportion of women in low income households who are faced with limited options for survival resort to serial relationships and childbearing which only serve to decrease their quality of life, as well as that of their children.
Chapter 7. Major Findings And Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The interest in female headed households originated out of the need to make women visible within the context of policy formulation and analysis in developing countries. The disaggregation of household survey data by the gender of the head of the household has provided the framework for raising the awareness of policy-makers to the important roles that women play as primary economic providers within domestic units, as well as to assess the effects of women’s socio-economic status on the welfare of those who rely on them.

Chapters Two and Three outlined some of the concerns regarding the theoretical and empirical soundness of the concept of household headship in general, and female headship in particular for the analysis of gender inequality and life chances. The main theoretical problem associated with headship is that of the attribution of the economic welfare of household members to a single person, obscuring the activities undertaken by other individuals in providing economic resources within these domestic unit. Secondly, feminist scholars argued that the identification of the female headship as an indicator of the economic welfare does not provide insight into the social production and reproduction of gender differentiation over time. As mentioned in Chapter Two, feminist social scientists have shown the utility of analysing the linkages between gender inequality, domestic organisation and poverty by focusing on the interrelationships between societal economic and demographic shifts, and gendered agency in unique cultural contexts.

Household surveys in Botswana point to the exceptionally high incidence of female headed households, as well as their concentration in lower income strata. The study of female headed household poverty in Botswana has therefore featured prominently in the discussion of
gender inequality and life chances within the context of policy analysis as well as in the social science research environment.

The framework for this study was provided by two related objectives. The first was to examine the links between the macro socio-economic status of women and poverty within households using the gender of the household head as a variable for comparison. The second was to gain insight into the dynamics of economic production and social reproduction comparing the roles and activities that individual women and men undertake to cater for the economic welfare of dependants. These questions were answered through an examination of the literature on gender inequality and household welfare as well as an empirical study conducted in Gaborone and Manyana.

This concluding chapter summarises and discusses the major findings of the study and outlines the theoretical, methodological and policy implications arising from it. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 7.2 summarises the major findings of the study, linking gender differentiation at the individual level with poverty within households. Section 7.3 outlines the theoretical and methodological implications arising from the enquiry. The final section, 7.4 spells out the policy implications that arise from this study.

7.2 Summary of Major Findings

The discussion in Chapters One and Three pointed to the far-reaching impact of social and economic changes during the colonial period on Tswana cultural ethos and demographic organisation. The introduction of the cash economy through the South African-based migrant labour system served as a catalyst for change within the subsistence agricultural system, while the accompanying effects of Christianity and western education altered the cultural marriage system that was the basis for biological reproduction and economic production.
7.2.1 Changes in Family Forms and the Establishment of Separate Households

Anthropological accounts (Comaroff and Roberts 1977; Schapera 1933, 1947; Schapera and Comaroff 1991) alluded to the decline in the significance of marriage as the basis for reproduction and family formation, and the rise in the incidence of extra-marital pregnancy and mothering during the 1930’s. The results of censuses conducted over the last thirty years, point to continued declines in the rate of marriage as well as the growing significance of cohabitation, while the Family Health Surveys of 1984 and 1988 point to the relatively low age at first birth among women in Botswana. Analyses of household organisation and family forms by social scientists over the past thirty years (Syson 1972; Molenaar 1980; Ingstaad and Saugestaad 1987; Molokomme 1991; Driel 1994; Motts 1994) show that the mother-child family form features prominently in contemporary Botswana.

The findings of this study support the evidence provided by previous studies with regard to the declining significance of marriage as a basis for family formation. While individuals alluded to the importance of marriage as the ideal basis for family formation, it was evident that reproduction outside marriage has become the norm rather than the exception, as the majority of the women in the study had borne children outside the framework of marriage.

The assumption of responsibilities of parenting of offspring takes place at an earlier age for women than for men. While men primarily assume the role of parenting of biological children within the context of co-residence and ongoing relationships with their mothers, women remain with the responsibility of raising children following the end of consensual relationships due to separation or death. Women assume primary responsibility for raising children in their later years as grandmothers.

There was a higher proportion of single mothers in separate homesteads in Gaborone than in Manyana. While several single mothers in Gaborone were able to establish their own homes with savings accumulated from wage employment or remained with children in
households that they continued to occupy following fractured relationships, most single mothers in Manyana remained in their natal compounds. Driel (1994) and Motts (1994) alluded to the establishment of separate independent households by single mothers who are divorcees, deserted women or widows in the rural communities of Paje and Kang. The findings within the rural sample in this study were similar to those of Molokomme's study in Kanye that indicated that most unmarried mothers between the ages of 21 and 40 years had not established separate households, and remained in their natal homesteads due to economic need.

The findings of this study show that the majority of women did not establish the households, but rather remained in households following the fracture of consensual relationships due to desertion or death, while many women and their children were integrated into their natal households, or occupied family homes during their parents' absence or following the deaths of their parents. While the establishment of separate households suggests a great degree of social and legal autonomy in terms of ownership of the property, as was the case of some of the single mothers who owned SHHA plots in Gaborone, the occupation of property that is owned by other individuals suggests that women have a limited degree of control over the property.

7.2.2 Gender Relations of Production and Social Reproduction

While the labour of women was critical for subsistence agricultural production, the production process included other family members -- male labour was critical for field preparation and ploughing; children assisted in the weeding and harvesting stages of production. The incorporation of the region into the world capitalist system in the early twentieth century and the extraction of male labour has had far-reaching effects on household organisation and gender relations of production.

The changes that came about during the colonial period altered patterns of production; effectively separating the spheres of economic production and social reproduction. While men
increasingly moved away from the domestic sphere -- which in the case of Botswana was primarily based in the rural communities, women were left with the responsibility for maintaining agricultural production and raising children. The large scale migration of men from the rural areas to urban centres of employment outside and within the country fostered women's reliance on male income, while the reduced significance of subsistence agriculture undervalued the importance of their work in that sphere of economic production.

The growth of the local economy and access to education provided women with a wider range of options for income generation that serve to increase their independence from the subsistence agricultural sector. In addition, the majority legal status of single women allows them the opportunity to own and administer property in their own right. While the overall improved socio-economic and legal status of single women would ideally serve to reduce their reliance on male income and extended family support, many have not been able to benefit from these changes to improve their own economic welfare and that of their children.

The findings of this study confirm previous suggestions (Molokomme 1994; Driel 1994; Motts 1994) that the prevailing gendered ideologies of biological reproduction have contradictory implications for women and men. On the one hand, male 'freedom' from domestic responsibilities affords them greater mobility to take advantage of employment opportunities as they appear. It can be argued that this, in effect, makes men more attractive to poor women as potential sources of income for themselves and their children. On the other hand, however, the attractiveness of the 'potential male provider' comes with a certain degree of risk for women due to men's relative independence from the social responsibilities of childrearing. While women may stand to benefit from male child support within the context of marriage or cohabitation, this support is not necessarily guaranteed due to the fluidity of consensual relationships. Women with few alternatives for income generation become further entrenched in the sphere of social
reproduction and child rearing. This serves to increase their general reliance on men, family and state support in the long term.

7.2.3 Household Headship

As indicated in Chapter Three, the concept of household headship has largely been utilised within the context of welfare economics -- wherein the head is seen as representing the joint utility function of 'the household'. Within the context of household surveys, certain characteristics of the household head, such as their age, educational and employment status are identified as key determinants of household economic welfare. The addition of gender as an indicator was regarded as a means of refining measures of welfare of life chances, as well as promoting the visibility of women as resource providers within families and households.

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter and in Chapters Two and Three, the problems associated with focusing on the household head stem from its delimitation of the complexities of household social and economic organisation. These limitations have also been associated with the conceptualisation of female headed households by various feminist scholars such as Dwyer and Bruce (1987), Rosenhouse (1989) Mencher and Okongwu (1993) Kabeer (1997). These problems are further accentuated by the ambiguous definitions of 'household head' within the context of household surveys.

National census and Household Income and Expenditure Surveys (HIES) in Botswana ask household members whom they recognise the de facto head of their household. The concept is based on the assumption that the household head is not only the primary economic provider, but also the primary decision-maker. Several scholars have attempted to refine the female headship concept in order to reflect the responsibilities undertaken by women and men in resource provision within households in Botswana. The typologies utilised by various researchers (Izzard 1982; Kerven 1982) focused on marital status of women -- which was regarded as determining whether women were temporarily or permanently 'without men' or
whether these women and their household members stood to benefit from the economic support of male partners. In addition, these scholars have effectively drawn a close correlation between single motherhood and female headship.

Several scholars (Peters 1983; Garey and Townsend 1996; Townsend 1997) questioned the applicability of female headship due to the fluidity of consensual relations and the length of marital processes. These scholars, as well as Molokomme (1991), noted the significance of non-resident male participation in decision-making and resource provision within households that are classified as permanently female headed.

The in-depth interviews with women and men in households in Manyana and Gaborone provided the opportunity to examine processes of decision-making and the social and economic construction of *tlhogo ya lolwapa* or household headship. The discussions on marriage and household headship reflected that decision-making entails a constant renegotiation of women’s gender identity during their life courses. While women’s assumption or non-assumption of the headship role is determined by their partnership status, men’s assumption of headship is determined by cultural perceptions of male authority and their perceived responsibility for resource provision. The reluctance of women in contemporary society to identify themselves as *tlhogo ya lolwapa*, and the immediate self-definition by men reflected the prevalence of culturally defined connotations of male power and authority on individual ideology. The reference by men and women to the ‘dictates of culture’ in the identification of *tlhogo ya lolwapa* was a case in point.

The discussions showed that cultural norms continue to occupy a central place in the formation of gender identity in spite of rapid economic change and accompanying modifications in lifestyles. These gendered ideologies of male authority and female subordination are reproduced and sanctioned through male superiority within marriage, as well as their regulation and control over significant traditional rites such as marriage and inheritance. Within the context
of marriage male authority is also reinforced by legal traditions that subject their wives to their legal guardianship and marital power. It was also evident that cultural norms of authority took precedence within the context of cohabitation; with men being identified as tlhogo ya lolwapa in all of the cases. While many women have gained personal economic independence through their participation in wage labour, they continue to regard consensual relationships as means of attaining social mobility and economic security.

The evidence from this study supported Peters' (1983) and Garey and Townsend's (1996) theses regarding the fluidity of the consensual status of young women during childbearing years that may lead to the premature classification of female headship within the context of Botswana. Many of the younger women in this study indicated that they had engaged in serial consensual relationships over their life courses which had implications for their personal power and autonomy. With regard to the implications of the processual nature of Tswana marriage for the identification of female headship, however, this study found that many consensual relationship did not mature into marriage, but rather constituted a relatively new, but rapidly growing family form that is based on long term cohabitation.

The interviews with women also showed that single women often maintain social and economic links with non-resident males -- especially their siblings and other senior male family members, hence supporting arguments regarding the difficulties associated with identifying female headship within discrete household boundaries. When we look at other aspects of headship; particularly resource provision, however, another picture emerges.

The findings of this study show that women assume responsibility for the daily welfare of household members regardless of their partnership status. Even though resident and non-resident senior males were regarded as being responsible for decision-making, the provision of resources and the overall welfare of household members, most were unemployed and could not offer regular financial support for household members. Instead, some of the women who were
married or cohabiting bore primary responsibility for the provision of food and the other basic needs of dependants while not being afforded the same recognition given to men within the context of their relationships, their communities and the law.

While most of these women would be identified as being economically inactive according to labour survey classifications, they combine their roles for social reproduction with various strategies aimed at ensuring that family members had access to food. While men were pre-occupied with finding jobs, women were more concerned with making ends meet on a daily basis. The question that arises from these findings is whether households that contain male decision-makers but depend on the resources provided by women should be classified as male headed.

This findings of this study show that the concept of household headship as applied in household surveys and censuses provides limited insight into household economic welfare. The disaggregation of headship by gender in itself does not provide insight into structured gender differentiation within domestic units. Driel (1994) and Motts (1994) partly overcame this problem by narrowing their focus on female headship to women’s assumption of responsibilities for decision making and resource provision on a daily basis within their households regardless of their marital or consensual status. These scholars argued for the recognition of independent and isolated female headed households on the basis of the absence of male support and limited assistance from extended family members.

While we found evidence of the decline of extended family support which is manifested in the irregular remittances from migrants to family members in rural areas, it was also evident that many single mothers continue to appeal to the social and economic support from female and male family members; especially with respect to the provision of basic needs for themselves and their children. It is argued that the over-emphasis on residence and decision-making obscure the complexity of economic provision within households, and that instead more attention should be
placed on identifying the processes of resource procurement and disbursement by individual women and men within and between households, and the implications of these transactions for the welfare of dependants.

7.2.4 Causes of Poverty

According to the Poverty Study (BIDPA 1997) poverty among households is primarily caused by high dependency ratios and the absence of regular income due to high unemployment among household members. That study, as well as others (Driel 1994; Motts 1994) indicates that dependency ratios are higher among female headed households, and that women bear the responsibility for raising children without support from the fathers of the children.

While poverty within households can be largely attributed to macro-structural economic problems such as unemployment and limited prospects for income generation, the findings of this study suggest that individually-based gender relations of parenting have a serious implications for the life chances of women and children within contemporary Botswana as well as in the future.

Household Size and Composition

While there was not much difference in the sizes of the two-parent and single parent households, there was a marked difference in their composition. The proportion of persons under the age of fifteen years and over the age of 65 years (i.e., dependants) was higher among the households of single mothers. The majority of households headed by grandmothers were multigenerational; containing daughters, grandchildren and great grandchildren.

There was no marked difference in the numbers of persons of working age (16 - 64 years) within the households of single mothers and couples. As indicated in Chapters Five and Six, however, while age dependency ratios serve as an important indicator of the demands on household resources by persons above and below working age, the presence of persons of
working age does not necessarily translate to greater access to income -- especially in light of high unemployment and limited prospects for sustainable income generation through informal sector activities.

**Limited Sources of Income**

The interviews conducted with respondents and agricultural extension workers in Manyana pointed to the relative decline of agricultural production as a primary source of income and food within rural areas. Some of the constraints to agricultural production included inadequate financial resources, low output, and general disillusionment with agricultural production due to low viability. While government efforts to boost agricultural production during drought and non-drought years have provided some incentive for farmers, they have largely fostered dependence on government assistance within the rural areas.

The limited arable agricultural production in Manyana was effectively bolstered by government drought-related agricultural assistance schemes such as the Arable Rainfed Agricultural Programme (ARAP). The farmers and extension workers suggested that there would be further declines in agricultural production following the curtailment of the ARAP scheme in 1997. Young persons are migrating to larger villages and towns to seek alternative sources of income, leaving older individuals with the responsibility for subsistence agricultural production and the care of the young children of migrants.

The contraction of the economy in the early 1990’s reduced the rate of employment creation and led to widespread unemployment throughout the country. This study pointed to the relatively low rate of participation in wage employment among individuals within the rural and urban households. The shortage of employment opportunities cited as a problem by women and men. The few women and men who were engaged in wage employment were concentrated in low-paying service sector primarily doing manual work as security guards and cleaners.
Male income earning power was undermined in the process, and the majority of young people who had no access to wage employment served to heighten the income earning dependency ratios within the households. The limited participation of women in wage employment was also due to the demands placed on their time and energy by domestic responsibilities, especially those associated with bearing and raising children.

As mentioned in Chapter One, Botswana previously had a relatively small informal sector. This was largely due to the high absorption of labour from the agricultural sector into the formal sector, and the provision of employment opportunities for young people who leave the school system after only seven to nine years of education. Over the past six years, however, the increasing rate of unemployment has forced people to seek alternative sources of income generation. Individuals with little education and resources have come to rely on various income-generating activities that fall outside the sphere of formal regulation. Domestic employment has traditionally been a source of employment for female migrants in urban areas. Previous studies (Larsson 1989; Driel 1994) have alluded to the poor working conditions that stem from the absence of government regulation of employment practices. This study found that domestic work is not a sustainable source of employment for women, but is regarded as a temporary source of income. A consequence of unemployment is that of reliance on casual work. While the demands of child care and domestic work limited women’s ability to seek and participate in casual work, the lower demands on men’s labour allows them more physical mobility to seek work.

Many poor women are turning to domestic retailing for income generation. While these activities offer much needed resources, the financial outlay -- especially the expenditure required for stocking the businesses, means that these women receive little in the way of profits. There was also evidence of the integration of female-owned businesses -- in the household budgets -- the consumption of goods within households. In contrast, the majority of male-owned
entrepreneurial businesses were relatively independent from the household budget, suggesting that men had more autonomy to reinvest the profits from sales back into their enterprises, or to utilise them privately.

The findings on employment generally support the arguments suggested by previous studies (Kossoudji and Mueller 1983; Driel 1994) regarding the implications of the presence or absence of males of working age for household economic welfare. While there was a general paucity of income earners in most of the households, dependants within the households of married and cohabiting couples benefited from the little income that men brought in through their participation in casual work. On the other hand, single mothers were economically disadvantaged by the absence of potential and actual male income-earners as well as their inability to seek wage employment due to their multiple responsibilities.

**Childbearing and Childrearing**

There is a direct correlation between poverty and high fertility. While the total fertility rate in Botswana declined significantly from 7.1 in 1981 to 4.2 in 1991 (Government of Botswana 1991a: 11), there are differences in the fertility rate by education, which is also related to the socio-economic status of women. The Botswana Family Health Survey of 1988 indicates that women with secondary or higher education can expect to have an average of 3.3 births during their lifetimes while women with no education are likely to have an average of 6 births (Government of Botswana 1988a: xxv).

The majority of the female respondents in the study either had no formal education, or only possessed basic literacy skills. Most indicated that they had given birth to more than four children in their lifetimes. While many of the women were beyond their prime reproductive age (i.e., over the age of 40 years), those between the ages of twenty five and thirty nine could still bear more children, and there was evidence of relatively low use of family planning methods. It
was evident that traditional beliefs regarding childbearing still prevail, with several women indicating that they had no control over the number of children they would bear, due to God-ordained destiny. Many of the women utilised childbearing as a strategy for survival based on the belief that their children would ultimately provide for them in their old age. The third factor was that of linking childbearing to potential male support.

The findings of this study suggest that socio-economic changes have altered the demographics of family formation placing single mothers and their children in an economic predicament, which only serves to repeat the poverty cycle. While many single mothers benefit from the support of their siblings and their mothers through residence in their natal compounds, indications were that many of these households were living in poverty, and were reliant on government destitute assistance while receiving little support in the way of remittances from migrant children. Women expecting to benefit from the support of adult children found that this support was irregular due to unemployment and the expenses associated with living in urban areas. In the absence of regular support from family members and the fathers of their children, women are compelled to engage in serial consensual relationships with the hopes of getting support from men, even though these often fluid relationship leave them with more mouths to feed.

7.2.5 Manifestations of Poverty

The lack of economic security reduces individuals' ability to meet nutritional requirements, to improve their living conditions and cater for the needs of their children. While women were preoccupied with providing for the daily nutritional needs of children, men were more concerned with securing jobs. Low household food security was cited by many women. There was evidence of a high reliance on state welfare provisions by women and children within female-supported households.
Food distributed under Vulnerable Groups Feeding programmes, which is provided for young children under the age of 5 years, lactating mothers and malnourished children, was often consumed by other household members. The monthly destitute rations received by elderly women in Manyana were also used to maintain household food security. While many households benefit from the destitute scheme, there were problems associated with the registration of new destitutes and the review of temporary destitution due to administrative problems, meaning that the measures for accurate targeting are questionable.

The high cost of food had implications for the nutritional well being of household members. While access to food through seasonal agricultural work in Manyana assisted some respondents and their families, the agricultural produce did not last throughout the year. Most single mothers cited that their low economic status prevented them from providing adequate clothing for their children, and from meeting educational needs such as school uniforms and contributions towards the school feeding programmes (pot fees).

The findings of this study confirm the thesis advanced by the Poverty Study -- namely that income poverty is manifested in the relative lack of choices for individuals to meet their basic needs due to low educational capital and unemployment. In addition, however, it can be argued that women and men experience poverty differently within the context of Botswana due to the marked disparities in the choices available to them to meet their basic needs.

These disparities can be associated with women's limited participation in wage work, and their relative lack of access to resources through male-based patriarchal marriage practices. The lived experiences and attitudes of women and men within the study showed that men can escape from poverty through their higher mobility during much of their life cycles, while single mothers are more likely to experience poverty for much of their life cycles due to their responsibilities for providing for children.
7.3 Theoretical and Methodological Implications

Chapter Three alluded to the neo-classical and functionalist approaches that regard families and households as perfectly altruistic cohesive units with a joint utility function. Economic models of household organisation have been criticised by feminist scholars (Dwyer and Bruce 1988; Folbre 1986; 1991a; Nelson 1996) for failing to account for the existence of individualism, and gender based power differentials within domestic units. Structural functionalist conceptualisations of ‘the family’ have been criticised by various scholars (Gittins 1985; Fox and Luxton 1993) for presenting the nuclear father-breadwinner/mother-homemaker middle class family as a universal type within the context of industrialisation.

Western feminist scholars reconceptualised families to reflect the existence of gender inequality and conflict with respect to task allocation and power differentials within domestic units. In addition, it is through the contributions of feminist scholars that social scientists came to view different domestic arrangements, especially single parent families, as a growing manifestation of socio-economic change rather than a dysfunction within the context of socio-economic change in western countries.

Social scientists are increasingly realising the limitations of studying the life chances of individuals on the basis of discrete classifications that do not account for the reproduction of social and economic stratification at the individual level over time. While quantitative surveys provide important insight into the general patterns of economic stratification, qualitative research allows us to review discrete conceptualisations so that they reflect the socio-cultural contexts that serve to shape the life chances of individuals over time.

This study attests to the inadequacy of western-based conceptions of family, household and gender differentiation to account for the lived experiences of populations in different cultural contexts. In addition, unitary models of household organisation fail to account for the complexities of domestic units within Botswana. We signified the importance of tracing the
evolution of contemporary family forms and gender relations over time. The use of qualitative in-depth interviews enabled us to link macro-structural socio-cultural processes with individual agency, providing insight into the links between gender inequality and life chances in contemporary society.

The findings of this study suggest that female poverty and the associated poverty of children of single mothers is largely due to the conflicting ideologies and practices of women and men within the context of economic production and domestic social reproduction. As indicated in the previous section, men continue to be afforded more mobility and freedom from domestic responsibilities by cultural beliefs and practices relating to parenting of pre-marital children, as well by women’s gendered ideologies of mothering that in turn only serve to further disadvantage themselves and their children economically. While the increased availability of education and employment opportunities within the country have provided opportunities for economic advancement for both sexes, they have had limited impact in curbing high fertility which contributes to increased poverty among single mothers and their children.

The presence of young dependants places a strain on the economic resources of poor households. The strain among two-parent families is reduced by the ability of men to generate income albeit intermittently, while the majority of urban single mothers in separate households in the study bore primary responsibility for maintaining their children by themselves without support from biological fathers and extended family members. While there was evidence of single mothers benefiting from social parenting by their parents and siblings, it was evident that the extended family support was limited by scarce resources within natal compounds.

It is important to further investigate the social, economic and cultural conditions that serve to promote or inhibit the provision of financial support by men to their extra-marital biological children. The Affiliation Proceedings Act was enacted to provide women with legal recourse to obtain support from biological fathers. Researchers (Molokomme 1991; Garey and
Townsend 1996) have shown that the failure of women to use these avenues, and the lack of male compliance, is largely due to the contradictions inherent in legal pluralism wherein the maintenance law is at odds with traditional norms of child support.

The Affiliation Proceedings Act, which is largely derived from western legal traditions, is based on the belief that children should benefit from the financial support provided by their mothers and their fathers regardless of their marital status. Customary norms only provide avenues for damage compensation to the parents of the women upon the birth of their first child, assuming that the child would be incorporated into the mother’s lineage until such time that their woman got married. Within that context, Molokomme (1991) and Garey and Townsend (1996) suggest that imposition of ‘western’ legal traditions on traditional social structures of parenting do not solve the fundamental problem of affording single mothers continuing support from the fathers of their children.

The contradictions inherent in the legal prescriptions described above stem from the failure of legislators to adequately account for the significance of traditional ideologies and practices relating to childbearing and childrearing within the context of Botswana. The prevailing customary laws regarding child maintenance have lagged behind in the process of socio-economic change, leaving many women and children in a poverty void that is neither filled by male nor extended family support; as was shown in the cases of single mothers raising children in Gaborone. The challenge facing social scientists and policy makers is that of examining the ways in which this gap can be filled within a society that exhibits characteristics of modernity and cultural tradition.

7.4 Policy Implications

Since the achievement of independence in 1966, the government of Botswana has made significant progress in the provision of welfare services to improve the quality of life among
different sectors of the population. The majority of Batswana have access to land and shelter through rural and urban authorities, while the improvement of household food security and the nutritional status of families has been largely achieved through the provision of food programmes such as the destitute programme and the clinic feeding schemes. In addition, the government has made generous investments towards job creation within the urban and rural areas.

In spite of these achievements, however, there is evidence that a significant proportion of the population which primarily consists of women and children continues to live in abject poverty. While government social welfare interventions should not be regarded as a panacea for the alleviation of poverty, it is felt that the refinement of measures for identifying the causes and manifestations of poverty within the population can vastly affect the outcome of policy measures.

This study raised questions about the use of various conceptualisations within policy-oriented measures of household economic welfare in Botswana. With specific reference to household headship, the study pointed to the ambiguities surrounding the concept that largely stem from the failure of the Central Statistics Office to provide a detailed definition of headship. Instead, the *de facto* conceptualisation of female headship effectively relates to the identification of a reference person rather than providing insight into gender relations of resource procurement within households, as well as the factors that serve to create gender differentiation and economic deprivation at the individual level.

We agree with the concerns raised by O’Laughlin (1996) Townsend (1997) who suggest that *de facto* classifications of discrete household economic organisation and headship fail to capture the social and economic significance of inter-household support within the context of Botswana. The examination of local conceptualisations of *lolwapa* and *tlhogo ya lolwapa* by this study pointed to the need for the review of imported concepts such as ‘household’ and
‘household head’ with a view to ensuring that these conceptualisations depict the dynamics of family organisation, as well as the significance of social and economic relations between individuals within and between domestic units.

The absence of periodical reviews of these conceptualisations by the CSO stems from the over-reliance of policy-analysts on conventional economistic interpretations of discrete household organisation. The findings of this study, as well as others before it (Peters 1983; Driel 1994; Motts 1994; Garey and Townsend 1996) illustrate the utility of micro-level intra-household analyses that focus on the lived realities of women and men for the provision of a more holistic examination of life chances. We argue that an examination of contemporary family forms and gender relations of production and procreation would serve to assist in the development of appropriate gendered interventions for addressing the problem of high fertility and alleviating poverty within the population in general, and among women and children in particular.
APPENDIX 1: QUESTION SCHEDULE FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

A. Demographic Information

A1. How old are you?

Probe on age: ask the respondent for a time reference if unable to remember/state age.

A2. Are you married, never married, divorced or widowed?

If respondent is married: Are you married under customary or common law?

If not married: Are you currently preparing to be married, or cohabiting?

If cohabiting: How long have you been cohabiting?

If divorced, separated or widowed: Indicate when you were divorced, separated, or widowed.

If never married: Probe to ascertain whether the respondent is currently involved in a consensual relationship.

B. Household Headship:

B1. Who is the head of household?

What does the term ‘tlhogo ya lolwapa’ (household head) mean to you?

What does being ‘tlhogo ya lolwapa’ involve?

What distinguishes this individual from all other members of the household?

Does the household head have the responsibility of maintaining the household financially?
C. **Household Composition**

C1. How many people live in this household on a monthly basis?

Number of adults in the household. State their ages and relationship to you.

Number of Dependants in the household. State their ages and relationship to you.

Who makes decisions regarding the number of children you have?

What value do children have?

C2. Who do you consider as a member of this household/family?

D. **Income**

How do you make a living? How did you make a living last month?

Who is the main income earner in the household?

How many wage earners does this household depend on?

Who supports this household financially (include migrants): How do they contribute to the household income (rank according to nature and perceived amount of support)?

D1. Other Support

Who (else) assists with financial and/or material support?

Who individual/persons are, the nature of the relationship family

neighbours/friends

consensual partners

Government/City or District Council

Voluntary Organisations (NGO’s)
Other (eg., religious, etc.)

D2. Assets
How was ownership of dwelling, livestock and other land (arable and other) was attained?. Indicate whether:
   - It was bought (by whom, how)
   - Allocated by local authorities
   - Inherited
   - Other

D3. Savings
Do you have any savings in the bank?

D4. Debts
Do you have any debts? If yes, indicate the nature and possibly the amount of debt.
   - Have you been servicing your debts?
   - When you do, who helps you to pay them off?

E. Expenditure
   Refer to expenditure patterns from screening schedule.

E1. Food: What is a ‘typical’ meal in this household?
   Let us prepare a budget for a meal.
E2. Education:

What did you have to pay towards your child’s education this term?

Is it usual?

Are you responsible for anyone else’s (besides your own children) education?

E3. Health:

When you or a member of your family or household get sick, what do you do?

Has anyone been seriously ill over the last few months?

What action did you take?

Probe for general costs for consultation and treatment where necessary.

E4. Household Commodities:

Have you bought any household commodities recently?

What were they? How much did they cost?

E5. Business:

What type of business do you have?

How long have you had it?

Do you have employees (state number, and responsibility)

Have you made any profits over the last couple of months (discuss)

E6. Others:

Have you incurred any major expenditure over the last few months or year?

Probe for weddings, funerals, loans, etc.

Do you contribute to a fund/society? Explain in detail.
E7. Support/Maintenance:

Do you send money/goods to anyone?

Why?

Where?

How much?

What are the expected benefits from supporting these individuals?

F. Procedures for Allocation of Resources

F1. Who do you consult when spending money on:

- Household Costs (food, rent, clothing)
- Children (Education, health)
- Support for other family members

F2. Are you consulted for advice on financial matters by:

- spouse or partner (indicate nature of advice; and give examples)
- parents, siblings, children and other family members (indicate nature of advice; and give examples)
- Others

G. Welfare (General)

G1. Have you or any members of your household or family suffered any major illness over the last year?

Are any family or household members currently ill?

G2. Have any members of the family or household died over the last year?
Who provides assistance at times of bereavement?

H. Perceptions of Poverty and Household Economic Security

H1. What problems do you face regarding your economic security?
    What about the welfare of your household and family members -- children, siblings, parents?

H2. How do you think that low income households can improve their welfare?
    - own improvement
    - government assistance
    - non-governmental assistance
APPENDIX 2: MAPS OF RESEARCH SITES

Map of Manyana
Map of Gaborone West
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