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PROPOSED JOINT RESEARCH ON ETHNICITY IN BOTSWANA

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Introduction

As part of the formation of a regional focus on Southern Africa within the African Studies Centre (ASC), in 1988 I shifted my main area of research from Zambia to Botswana, with a project officially entitled 'The growth of urban society in Francistown, Botswana'. That project, focussing on a rapidly-growing town conceived as a meeting ground between rural tradition, the state and the capitalist mode of production, was agreed to run for five years; to include one year of continuous field research as well as a number of shorter trips; and its publication target was to be not a book but five major articles. Progress on the project has been according to plan (cf. Appendix). A number of articles have been drafted, have been presented at conferences, have gone to the press, or have already already been published, and the original publication target has been met. This does not mean that the research material as collected in Francistown has been exhaustively reported; some topics, such as the role of urban customary courts, the changing family structures, AIDS and cosmopolitan medicine, social networks, remain to be treated in later publications. The major outstanding analytical task consists of the computer analysis of the extensive survey data collected; arrangements have been made to attend to the data entry, which is the main (extremely time-consuming) bottle-neck in this connexion.

One could well argue that it is better to await the full completion of the empirical cycle with regard to the Francistown project, and to extend that cycle (contrary to earlier decisions of the Board of the ASC) with a fully-fledged book. However, the habitual format and logic of research design at the ASC, as e.g. reflected in the new Research Programme of the Department of Political and Historical Studies, suggests

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that now is the time to prepare for a new research project, to be implemented as from mid- or late 1993. Earlier consultations with the Director and the Head of Department have led to the discarding of alternatives (South Africa, particularly): my new research will concentrate on Botswana and therefore will enable me to reap more fully the fruits of the considerable investment in terms of time, contacts, literature, travelling funds etc., which the change-over to a new research country has entailed. Having been appointed, in 1990, to the chair of ethnicity and ideology in development processes in the Third World which the ASC created in 1990, it stands to reason that my new research on Botswana will revolve around ethnicity. This topic is, moreover, one of the main fields of specialization within the Department as a whole, as reflected in the Research Programme.

Ethnicity in Botswana

My earlier research on Francistown served to introduce me to the ethnic situation in Botswana. Francistown turned out to be strategically placed in this respect, since this rapidly growing town (with 60,000 inhabitants the second largest town in the country) finds itself in the centre of a region which is inhabited by Botswana's largest and most vocal ethnic minority, the Kalanga. The town is also the cradle of some of the country's major opposition parties (those which have a strong Kalanga base), and of a relatively large number of African Independent churches, which here (in a region which from the late 19th century had been adminstered by the White-controlled Tati Company instead of by chiefs) found a freedom from chiefly control and therefore also a sanctuary from the ethnic particularism associated with any chief. The ethnic composition of Francistown, and its effect on the economic, political, social, linguistic, judicial and religious scene, have been discussed with greater or lesser detail in a number of my publications so far.

More in general, there is a remarkable paucity of publications specifically on ethnicity in Botswana.

At first sight this stands to reason. A country that is called 'Land of the Tswana people' (the literal meaning of the Tswana word 'Botswana'), and that boasts Tswana, in addition to English, as its national language, could effectively pose as an ethnic monolith. This is how Botswana is actually perceived, not only by its ruling elite (who overwhelmingly identify as Tswana themselves) and in their official pronouncements made on behalf of the Botswana state, but also by researchers both inside the country and internationally.

On closer analysis, however, there are a number of contexts in which this monolithic capacity of ethnicity in Botswana needs to be problematized.

1. Intra-Tswana divisions.

Schapera, the doyen of Botswana studies, has repeatedly discussed (Schapera 1952, 1984) the 'tribal' composition of the Tswana groups in Botswana, defining the territorial organization and historical background of the major groups. These are the notorious 'eight tribes' whose names, in alphabetical order, have found their way into the Botswana constitution:

'The ex-officio Members of the House of Chiefs shall be such persons as are for the time being performing the functions of the office of Chief in respect of the BaKgatla, Bakwena, Bamalete, Bamangwato, Bangwaketse, Barolong, Batawana and Batlokwa Tribes, respectively.' (Botswana Constitution, ch. 78)¹

Especially Schapera's monograph on *Ethnic composition of the Botswana tribes* (1952) goes into great detail with regard to the internal divisions within the Kgatla, Kwena, Lete, Ngwato, Ngwaketse, Rolong, Tawana and Tlokwa. There, other ethnic groups do not receive treatment in their own right but appear as ethnic elements subsumed under Tswana territorial chiefs of any of the eight designations: especially those non-Tswana whom Tswana-speakers call *Sarwa* (i.e. *Que* in the latter group's now preferred own nomenclature, or *San* in an established academic nomenclature, or *Bushmen* in a now discarded White ethnocentric nomenclature), as well as Kgalakgadi and Kalanga. Writing long before the time that ethnic studies had exploded the classic tribal model in anthropology, Schapera (1952) offers little more than an elaborate ethnic taxonomy on historical principles. What in the light of later literature would be obvious questions are of course not posed at this stage, for instance:

- How does the *boundary definition* between these intra-Tswana groups come about in the social, political, economic, political and judicial process? To what extent is such boundary definition *situational*, *disputed*, *and changeable over time*?
- does an implied *hierarchy* underlie these apparently co-ordinative (horizontal) ethnic divisions, and if so (as is usually the case in any ethnic field) how is that reflected both in social interaction between their members (settlement patterns, marriage structures, access to scarce ecological resources especially land) and differential recognition by, and access to, the central state of these groups and their senior representatives?
- To what extent do the ethnic distinctions coincide not only with geographical distribution, but also with *ecological specialization* within the territory of Botswana?
- In ways which still require much further research to elucidate, these historic ethnic divisions among the Tswana-speakers in Botswana are still relevant in the sphere of neo-traditional politics (chiefs, House of Chiefs, customary courts, and to some extent the Land Boards which allocate *land* and therefore hold the key to rural development and rural elite involvement); the enshrining of these ethnic divisions (ignoring other similar divisions, involving non-Tswana speakers) in the Independence Constitution of Botswana already points to the *comparatively close links that exist in this country between neo-traditional politics and the post-colonial state. What is the nature of these links? What explains their exceptional characteristics as compared to other African countries?*
- How does intra-Tswana ethnicity define differential access to modern state resources? How does it inform modern party politics in this country which is often cited as a rare example of consistent multi-partyism ever since its attainment of Independence? Most of the parties active on the Botswana scene have been recognized to carry ethnic overtones: Botswana Democratic Party (in power since before Independence, which was obtained in 1966) has a strong link with the Ngwato; its founding President, Sir Seretse Khama, was Botswana's first national President, as well as the heir apparent to the Ngwato Paramountcy. The Botswana National Front, the major opposition party which for years has controlled the City Council of the national capital Gaborone, has strong Ngwaketse tendencies. The numerically

This is the only mention of 'the eight tribes' in the Botswana COnstitution, and exclusively for the very specific purpose of defining the membership of the House of CHiefs (a neo-traditional advisory body to the Government, complementary to Parliament). However, non-Tswana ethnic activities in the country read this passage as denying minority rights, or even the right to exist, to other non-Tswana groups.

insignificant Botswana Independence Party has mainly Tawana support, while the Botswana Democratic Union as well as the Botswana People's Party had a strong base among the Kalanga people who, while nominally Ngwato for the simple reason of living within the Ngwato administrative boundaries, constitute the largest and most vocal ethnic group outside the Tswana cluster; also, the Kalanga ethnic group inside Botswana is larger than any of the constituent groups within the Tswana cluster. While these correspondences can hardly be overlooked by any casual student of Botswana post-Independence politics, and have received some passing attention in the literature, they have not yet been subjected to systematic study by political scientists.

- In addition to the study of formal political structures, ethnicity in African countries has been recognized to create *particularistic*, *informal networks of appropriation and distribution of such resources as are controlled by or via the state*. The functioning of intra-Tswana divisions in this context remains to be studied.
- Botswana is not the only political unit in the Southern African region which seeks to base its stability and integration on a publicly proclaimed Tswana identity: the same would apply to that creation of the apartheid state, Bophutotswana. The news media from that bantustan are widely received in Botswana, and have a considerable impact on modern urban culture. What other effects does the closeness of South Africa, and particularly of a Tswana bantustan, have on Tswana ethnicity in Botswana itself?
- International dimensions of Botswana ethnicity can also be studied with regard to some of the non-Tswana groups which are not confined to the Botswana national territory, notably the Kalanga (also found in Zimbabwe), Herero (also in Namibia), Que (also in Namibia and South Africa), Ndebele (also in Zimbabwe and since recently Zambia), Afrikaanders (all over Southern Africa but particularly in South Africa), and English (all ovef Southern Africa). Let us therefore now turn to a discussion of the non-Tswana ethnic groups in Botswana.

2. The Kalanga

As a relatively large ethnic group straddling the Botswana/Zimbabwe border, as speakers of a language which, as a form of western Shona is not mutually intelligible with the Tswana (= western Sotho) language, as political, cultural and (via the cult of the High God Mwali) religious heirs to the impressive state systems centring on the Zimbabwe plateau since the beginning of the present millennium, the Kalanga have been relatively well studied, but until recently little attention has been paid to their inter-ethnic relations with the Tswana within the national state of Botswana (**Picard**; Masale; van Binsbergen, in press). With their own traditional rulers reduced to subchiefs (kgosana) under Ngwato overlords since the mid-19th century (with a particularly traumatic period under the regency of Seretse's paternal uncle Tshekedi), Kalanga ethnic activists perceive their own identity primarily in antagonism to the Ngwato. Ecologically much of *Bukalaka* (a Tswana name meaning 'Kalanga-land') used to allow for arable crops, by contrast to the more exclusive emphasis on livestock among the Tswana-speaking groups. Greater access to mission and hence education, and the ethnic access to the Zimbabwean hinterland, also created inequalities between the Tswana and the Kalanga. Meanwhile we have to realize that Tswana-speakers, in the form of Khurutshe of the Mpofu (Eland) totem), have lived in northeastern Botswana from the early nineteenth century at least, while Kalanga (using, or not using, the Kalanga language) have for a comparable period had their own wards in Ngwato capitals; the hardening of ethnic distinctions appears a matter of the twentieth century and an assessment of ethnic relations in the pre-colonial period may reveal little in the way of entrtenched historical antagonism. The contemporary Kalanga situation is characterized by an interesting dilemma: while some opt for a militant assertion of Kalangahood in the face of the Tswana (particularly Ngwato) who have appropriated the post-Independence Botswana state, others (probably a majority, and including many members of the rising Botswana middle class) limit expressions of Kalangahood to private situations, and in the public sphere exchange submission to Tswana domination for personal political and economic success.

3. Peripheral groups in the north-west

Such groups as Ndebele, Subiya, Humbukushu and Yei, whose languages are much closer to Zimbabwean and Zambian languages than to Tswana, have been little studied from a sociological and political science perspective. They are mainly administered as part of the Tawana en Ngwato neo-traditional organization. A case apart, and relatively well studied, is that of the Herero, who fled into Botswana in response to the German colonial government of what is now Namibia, in the early years of the twentieth century. For all these ethnic groups in Botswana we have little information as to their internal ethnic processes and their functioning under Tswana ethnic hegemony.

4. Client groups in the arid fringes

By contrast, there is a vast literature on the Que (Bushmen), produced by an international community of anthropologists, who however tended to see their research participants more as specimens of 'primitive man' (of the hunting and collecting 'variety') then as participants in a contemporary, ethnic network of economic, political and social relationships. The implied social and economic subordination of the Que, the increasing ecological pressure on their territory and their being relegated to squatters and grossly underpaid farmhands serving (under conditions of constant and blatant humiliation including sexual harassment) the livestock interests of Tswana-speaking absentee farmers, have however been recognized in an increasing number of studies. In some of these, the Que appear under a new euphemism as Remote Area Dwellers ('RADs'), — with obvious possibilities of punning on the name of a well-known small rodent, and, more importantly, with an attempt to dissimulate any suggestion of ethnic identity (characterizing them in terms of their habitat's remoteness to the implied centre, rather than as an ethnic group). Much of this also applies to the Kgalakgadi, who while speaking a (rather peripheral) Tswana dialect as distinct from the Khoi-San languages of the Que, socially and economically tend to occupy a similar position of inferiority. In recent years the Que are becoming far more vocal, and in combination with the increasing attention to inter-ethnic subjugation in the recent scholarly studies this has led, in 1992, to a government moratorium (in practice: ban) on RAD research by foreigners. Such an infringement of research liberties is unique in the otherwise extremely liberal and accommodating research climate of Botswana, and signifies that here major elite interests and ethnic conflicts in general are at stake, which would make ethnic research all the more timely. [Wilmsen]

5. Non-Africans

Although the colonial state had a rather reticent and indirect presence in Botswana, especially at the end of the nineteenth century the territory appeared an attractive prize for White prospectors and settlers. Major places of White settlement in the context of commercial farming were the Tuli Block, Ghanzi, and the Tati company lands around Francistown. Francistown was created, in that period, as a gold-mining town, and despite a dramatic decline of mining in the 1910s, the town remained, as a railway head, a centre of retail trade and (through its airport) as a place of transition for South Central African labour migrants heading for the Witwatersrand, a basically Whitedominated town until Independence; Africans there very rarely held title to the land they lived on. A similar situation obtained in Lobatse. A trickle of Indian families came to swell the ranks of local traders, often very successfully adapting to local conditions — e.g. Francistown's business community is now largely Indian and has furnished the town major since 1987. White missionaries came and (if Protestants) brought their families, and in the post-Independent period of diamond mining, meat industry, and general economic growth, there was a considerable influx of miners, artisans and technicians from South Africa and European countries (e.g. Italy), as well as development workers (including teachers) from throughout the North Atlantic, particularly Scandinavia. To a considerable extent, White-Black inter-ethnic relations in Botswana appear to have been informed by apartheid models in neighbouring South Africa (with which the country forms a customs union and has very open contact, despite being a Front-line State; and of course thousands of Batswana have first-hand experience of South Africa as labour migrants); but at the same time there are close social, cultural and marital associations between the Botswana elite and the development expatriates.

Most of the history and sociology of non-Africans in Botswana remains to be written. A rare contribution, also in terms of quality, is Mazonde's Manchester Ph.D. on White farming families in the Tuli block, which shows awareness of ethnic dimensions; its revision for publication was partly undertaken during a research fellowship with the ASC, 1990.

Ethnicity in Botswana: themes for research

Against the descriptive background outlined in the previous section, there are a number of systematic reasons why research into ethnicity in Botswana should be both exciting and opportune.

First as an exercise in ethnic theory. The successful impression management which has presented Botswana as an ethnic monolith to the outside world including academia, has largely postponed the study of ethnicity in Botswana to a point where, with the present boom in ethnic studies all over the world, that country now constitutes an interesting new testing ground for a number of theoretical issues that are circulating in the international literature.

There is a regional or continental angle as well. Botswana finds itself in Africa, where the potency of the ethnic phenomenon has been taken for granted since the late nineteenth-century Scramble for that continent, and particularly in Southern Africa, where the powerful neighbour South Africa is undergoing profound transformation precisely in response to a history of some of the most entrenched ethnic conflicts that the world has yet seen. What is the relevance of general African models ,and of the South Africa transformation, to Botswana? And what is the relevance of Botswana for Africa and for South Africa?

These questions touch on the rather unique characteristics Botswana has managed to develop in the course of the post-Independence period: a steady economic growth, absence of major internal or external conflicts, at least nominally a consistent multipartyism, an excellent human rights record, and a publicly cultivated sense of continuity vis-à-vis the nineteenth-century historic heritage which provides additional ideological (neo-traditional) conditions for peace and growth. Of course, this positive record is in itself subject to academic and political myth formation (cf. Picard 1987:), and that myth is one of the most powerful tools of self-preservation in the hands of the Tswana-oriented Botswana political and economic elite. But even if the myth is not naïvely reproduced in our academic discourse without further analysis, it does contain a fair amount of truth. Against the prominence of ethnic phenomena throughout Africa and in the Southern African region, one might surmise that the remarkably positive performance of Botswana has much to do with:

- the country's historic ethnic composition,
- the way ethnic processes have been handled by the ruling elite and by politicians in general; and
- the way class formation and major ideological processes such as the spread of mass consumption, mass media, formal education, independent Christianity, and in general a literate peripheral-capitalist culture, in a growth economy, have managed to contain or dissipate divisive ethnic mobilization.

Ethnic research on contemporary Botswana within the proposed project would aim at disentangling these possible connections, in ways which are profoundly relevant for the region and the continent as a whole, and which may well have an even wider theoretical significance.

The topicality of ethnic research in Botswana is moreover suggested not only by the acceleration of ethnic transformations in the wider Southern African region, but also by signs inside the country that the habitual mechanisms of the Botswana state and of the ruling elite to contain ethnic conflict whilst maintaining Tswana (particularly Ngwato) dominance, are beginning to stagnate. The 1980s saw the formation of the country's first and only recognized ethnic minority association, the Society for the Propagation of the Ikalanga Language (SPIL), — a focus for much resentment on the part of Tswana-oriented politicians. Since the 1989 national elections, which resulted in a further decline of opposition parties with the exception of the BNF, the Union Movement of opposition parties has sought to challenge BDP supremacy but has in itself been hampered by ethnic considerations. BNF, with Gaborone as its stronghold, has occasionally been the focus, or at least the scapegoat, of minor rioting which suggests that the veil of peacefulness (including ethnic peacefulness) in the country begins to be torn. The increasing vocality of the Que, and the ban on foreign research concerning this ethnic group, also suggests mounting tensions in state/Que and Tswana/Que relationships. The since recently slowly declining national economy (under the effects of global recession as well as recent drought and the end of sanction-busting industry in South Africa's periphery) is likely to make ethnic networks of state appropriation both more vulnerable and more important. At the same time, official pronouncements still maintain the monolithic Tswana illusion for the country as a whole, and thus there is, so far, a remarkable absence of any public debate concerning the present and future of ethnic relations in Botswana. Ethnicity research in Botswana, provided it is properly organized and liaised, i.e. tactfully presented as a national and internal undertaking rather than as some foreign meddling in internal conflict and tension, appears to be the best way to bring about such a public national discussion, as a stepping-stone towards prolonged ethnic peace and tolerance in the future.

While the leading questions of the proposed project are thus outlined, it is unlikely that we can answer them by focussing exclusively on one level or one topic. In order to assess the contribution of inter-ethnic (including intra-Tswana) management to post-independence stability and growth, we would need to look both at the national and the regional and local level, and not only among the Tswana-speaking groups but also among the Kalanga, the peripheral groups in the north-west, those in the arid fringes, as well as among the non-Africans.

Format of the proposed project

Even although Botswana is a small country, the above descriptive overview of its ethnic situation is so complex than one might well wonder whether one researcher could be expected to adequately cover it, especially if that researcher's previous experience of the country in both time and place has been as limited as my own (only four years including one year of field-work; and basically only one, rather a-typical, town).

The first point to be tackled is whether this should be a one-man project. The National Institute for Research (NIR), the research wing of the University of Botswana, has the power to extend the status of research affiliate to individual foreign researchers, and this would in principle provide adequate administrative backing (including research clearance) for a one-man project. The sensitivity of the ethnic issue in general even in Botswana (especially if the project is partially phrased, like the present one, in terms of elite survival strategies), and the recent ban on Que studies by foreigners, suggest that for the specific project proposed here the affiliation formula might not be sufficient. Moreover, there is the question of optimum use of intellectual resources. A senior researcher like myself, holding a part-time chair of ethnic studies in a Dutch university, should try to combine personal data collection with supervising and stimulating junior researchers, including those from the country in which the research is situated. In such a way the research, in addition to its immediate academic yield in the form of publications, will also contribute to the growth of local research skills in Africa.

After extensive discussions with the NIR director, Professor A. Datta, in Gaborone in October 1992, I therefore propose that the project take the form of *joint* research between the NIR and the ASC. In such a way a project may emerge which, because of its footing in a national institution, will not be perceived as foreign and will be able to conduct incisive research into ethnicity in Botswana, at the same time engendering the general social discussion which seems to be urgently needed. The project is to run for five years. The ASC is to contribute my working time (4/5, having already allocated 1/5 of my working time to the ASC-instituted chair on ethnicity in the Free University, Amsterdam) and such a part of the ASC research budget as constitutes reasonable and habitual expenditure for one researcher whose main method of data collection is anthropological field-work. Moreover, the ASC is to regularly host conferences or seminars relating to the project, and to accommodate local researchers during conference and write-up periods as the need arises. The NIR will appoint at least one researcher, preferably a Motswana, at the MA level, who after an initial period will be entrusted with one section of the project and will write a Ph.D. thesis on this basis under supervision of myself and possibly others. At least two other researchers of similar qualifications will be appointed within the project; since neither the NIR nor the ASC are likely to have the funds available for this, outside funding will have to be sought, possibly form a Dutch organization such as NUFFIC. I shall personally take charge, as a field-worker, of one of the sections of the

project (in order to prevent that my participation in the project will be totally dependent on other researchers in the field), as well as of the management of the project as a whole. The project shall be accountable both to the ASC and to an NIR-appointed body consisting of senior Batswana academicians; of course, any outside funding agency will negotiate its own control over progress in the project. The detailed programming of the project will be drawn up and updated in consultation with these bodies, and all researchers participating will have an active say in the shaping and reshaping of the project. In Botswana, the project will be have its physical focus at the NIR premises, but much of the data collection will take place outside outside Gaborone. It is not clear yet how much logistic support (housing, secretarial assistance, data analysis etc.) the NIR will be able to furnish in the context of this project.

The division of labour between the various participating researchers will follow the five fields outlines in the above description of the ethnic situation in Botswana:

- 1. Intra-Tswana divisions
- 2. The Kalanga
- 3. Peripheral groups in the north-west
- 4. Client groups in the arid fringes
- 5. Non-Africans

Personally I prefer to be entrusted with the Kalanga section, for which my earlier research in and around Francistown provided an obvious preparation; in fact, part of the findings of that earlier project (e.g. the quantitative data, still in the process of being analyzed) could be adequately reported within the context of the proposed project.

Of course, one could also divide up the project in units which are systematically and thematically defined, rather than geographically. Since the thematic integration of the project will take place during intermediate conferences and in the preparation of the final, collective book, I prefer a geographical division of labour as a starting point.

However, the division of labour between the various researchers should not be too rigid. Intensive exchange and debate at all stages of the project are essential; for this purpose annual seminars, alternately held in Gaborone and the Netherlands, will be part of the project design. As main targets of the project (in addition to incidental contributions to learned journals and for less specialized forums) I propose:

- 1. Publishable, book size reports by each of the researchers, preferably to be published in Botswana in a joint ASC/NIR series to be created specifically for the purpose; an international editorial board will have to maintain the standards of this series; when applicable, these reports will take the form of *Ph.D. theses* to be defended before the Free University, Amsterdam.
- 2. A major, theoretically-oriented book on *Ethnicity in Botswana*, to be (co~)authored/edited by me on the basis of the contributions (drafts of which are to be presented during a national conference in Gaborone near the completion of the project) from all researchers within the project, and to be published by an international publishing house.
- 3. The *Proceedings of an initial conference on ethnicity in Botswana*, to be held in Gaborone in late 1993; the conference, to be held in the Year of the Indigenous Peoples (1993), will attempt to set Que studies within the wider framework of ethnic studies in Botswana and in Southern Africa as a whole. It is to mark the launching of

the project and to begin to build a broad societal basis of support and commitment for it, in line with the Botswana social form of legitimacy achieved through consultation. The conference would be organized by a committee including myself.²

My own activities within the project would thus include data collection, fund raising, academic supervision, writing, editorial matters, participation in the organizing and chairing of conferences. One obvious form in which to combine these activities with my other duties at the ASC, and with the fact that I and my nuclear family live in the Netherlands, is to make at least two shorter trips to Botswana per year, each of minimum four weeks and maximum two months duration. This would seem to be a realistic basis for continuity of data collection, supervision, writing and exchange, once the project is firmly established (i.e. once the initial conference will have taken place, and the necessary appointments will have been made and the appointees have had their initial training). However, I do think that in the essential stage (after a preparatory period of about a year, when funding has been secured and the project has to take wing locally) it will be impossible to run the project more or less 'by proxy', and I suggest that it would be best to spend one entire year in Botswana, more or less coinciding with the calendar year 1994. Whichever formula will be chosen, the project will involve extensive travelling on my part all over the huge territory of Botswana (bad roads necessitating the use of a four-wheel drive vehicle), and travelling funds will have to be included in the budget.

However, all these details are open to discussion.

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[vervang deze bibligorafie door een meer up-to-date]

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At an earlier stage I have committed myself for the organization, in 1993, of a 'national' (i.e. small -scale and inexpensive) conference or workshop on Botswana. The idea then was to bring together a group of researchers of Botswana in the Netherlands. The present proposal is an alternative, and perhaps the funds implicitly set aside for the original idea (a few thousand guilders, at most) could be used as the ASC contribution to the newly proposed conference, to be held in Gaborone, late 1993?

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APPENDIX. Papers produced within the research project 'The Growth of Urban Society in Francistown, Botswana'

ARTICLES

1990

'Een maaltijd op het land: Religieus veldwerk in Botswana, 1990', in D. Foeken & K. van der Meulen, *Eten met Gerrit*, Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1990, p. 112-122

1991 a. 'De chaos getemd? Samenwonen en zingeving in modern Afrika', in: H.J.M. Claessen (ed.), *De chaos getemd?*, Leiden: Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1991, pp. 31-47.

b. 'Becoming a *sangoma*: Religious anthropological field-work in Francistown, Botswana', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 21, 4: 309-344.

ARTICLES IN THE PRESS

- a. 'African Independent churches and the state in Botswana', paper read at the conference on 'Power and Prayer', Institute for the Study of Politics and religion, Free University, Amsterdam, 10-14 December 1990; in press in a collective volume *Power & Prayer* (ed. A. Koster), based on the same conference, 60 pp.
- b. 'Minority language, ethnicity and the state in two African situations: the Nkoya of Zambia and the Kalanga of Botswana', paper presented at the Conference on African Languages, development and the state, Centre of African Studies, SOAS, 25-27 April 1991; 40 pp., in press in: R. Fardon & G. Furniss, eds., *Language and languages* [prov. title].
- c. 'Making sense of urban space in Francistown, Botswana', paper read at the Symposium 'Urban Images: Cities and Symbols. Symbols and Cities', Centrum voor Niet-Westerse Studies, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, January 6-9, 1992, 28 pp.; in the press in: P. Nas, red., *Urban symbolism*, Leiden: Brill.
- d. 'Divinatie met vier tabletten: Een belangrijke vorm van niet-kosmopolitische medische technologie in Zuidelijk Afrika', 40 pp., ter perse in: Sjaak van der Geest, ed., *Antropologische perspectieven op medische technologie* [voorlopige titel].

RESEARCH REPORTS

1989 a. 'Housing procedures and urban social patterns: A preliminary statistical analysis of applications for site-&-service (SHHA) plots in Francistown in the years 1984-1988,' Francistown: Applied Research Unit Ministry of Local Government and Lands, Republic of Botswana/ African Studies Centre, Leiden, 75 pp.

b. (with the assistance of E. Krijnen³) 'A preliminary quantitative analysis of plot "owners" in the PWD squatter area, Francistown, 1989', Francistown: Applied Research Unit Ministry of Local Government and Lands, Republic of Botswana/ African Studies Centre, Leiden, 90 pp.

IN PREPARATION

Four tablets: A Southern African divination system in its transregional and historical context, 150 pp. [draft completed]

CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PAPERS (only in so far not included above in later versions)

1990 a. 'Church, cult, and lodge: In quest of therapeutic meaning in Francistown, Botswana', paper presented at the 6h Satterthwaite Colloquium on African Religion and Ritual, Cumbria (U.K.), 21-24 april 1990, 58 p.; also seminar paper, University of Cape Town, August 1990, and University of Louvain, January 1991.

b. 'Independent churches, politics and the articulation of ethnicity in contemporary northeastern Botswana', centREpol-VU (Centre for the Study of Religion and Politics, Free University, Amsterdam) formal lecture, 22nd June 1990, 31 pp. [rough draft paper available only]

In addition a Dutch-language M.A. thesis by this author could be mentioned, Erasmus Universiteit, Rotterdam, 1991, on the PDW squatter compound, Francistown.

'Four-tablet divination as transregional medical technology in Southern Africa:, mechanics, spread, origin and contemporary significance', 12 pp. paper read at the Annual Conference, Association for Anthropology in Southern Africa, University of Durban-Westville, 16-19 September 1992; seminar on 'Diagnosis and Divination', University of Amsterdam, 27 November 1992.