

**Memories of Dispossession: Relational Conservation and Mining
Displacements in Botswana**

By

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Acknowledgements

I feel like I have lived many lives over the course of my PhD years. I have lived, learned, and healed more than I ever have in a short time and feel that as a result I am better for it. In my most recent life that began somewhere at the beginning of the pandemic, I started seeing a therapist, which I now recommend to anyone who might be interested. But what happened was something I didn't expect—I was able to become more in touch with myself and ultimately connect this work of justice, land, and the world to all the complex and sometimes benevolent and good, sometimes traumatic and violent, histories I am a part of. It's not that I hadn't already tried to do this, I was just able to do it more effectively. And I know from speaking with friends that I am not alone. Human- and justice-centered research pairs well with connecting back with ourselves. Through my research studying experience of development through memory and through being my own very human self in the world, I have seen and felt how we carry the past with us to the present. This is sometimes ancestral, sometimes buried deep, and other times just waiting for us to connect with it.

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Abstract

Following Botswana's independence from England in 1966, the state carried out successive waves of displacement for wildlife conservation and tourism through the creation of protected areas and allowed mining companies to displace communities elsewhere. These displacements have severed and replaced different human-nonhuman relational networks of displaced people in different ways. Socio-economic, experiential, and socio-cultural differences between displacements include increased dispersal of people who were displaced by the international investment-driven copper mining project, differing familial tensions around the displacement, and separate pathways to strategic land acquisitions. Through interviews, oral histories, and archival work, this research uses memory as an analytical and anti-colonial tool to explore differing relational impacts on Indigenous and pastoralist communities with theoretical support from political ecologies of development. While much is known in critical displacement studies about livelihood impacts and land governance, a relational approach is key to understand the lived experience of displacement and critique ongoing development-induced displacement mitigation practices.

The dissertation is broken up into four main chapters. The first chapter, *Different Pathways of Accumulation in Mining and Conservation Displacements in Botswana*, answers the question this dissertation was proposed to answer: how do people experience displacement for conservation and mining differently? The second chapter, *Dilo Tsa Makgowa, "White People Things," of Development*, describes conflicting development discourses that undergird the tensions of racial capitalism in Botswana and are part of the social context that produces displacement. The third chapter (of which an earlier version won the UW African Studies Jordan Prize award and is published in *Environment & Planning E: Nature & Space*), *Relational Displacement and the Colonial Legacies of Copper Mining in the Kalahari Copperbelt Region of Botswana*, describes how cattle farmers relations shifted during and after displacement for two copper mines in the

Kalahari Copperbelt. Finally, the fourth chapter, ***Relations of Knowledge Extraction & Assimilation in the Okavango Delta***, describes the knowledge and land relations of eight elderly women displaced over four decades ago for the creation of Moremi Game Reserve. This chapter uses my experience to serve as a meta-critique for power and pedagogy in international research by exploring how to do research differently.

Introduction

“Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism.” — Eve Tuck & K. Wayne Yang,
Decolonization is not a metaphor.

“The opposite of dispossession is not possession. It is not accumulation. It is unforgetting. It is mattering.” — Morill, Tuck, & the Super Futures Haunt Collective, Before Dispossession, or Surviving It.

In this dissertation, I take a comparative case study approach to understand how displacement for conservation and mining – industries with differing private and state-led initiatives and political economic drivers – result in different experiences and relational impacts of displaced people. To understand how resettlement shapes long-term modes of living, I investigate whether displacements differ in terms of their relational and experiential impacts across time and the mining and conservation/tourism industries in Botswana; as well as the ways state, industry, and community-level discourses of development inform this experience. Two communities, Toteng and Khwai, serve as representative and intersectional case studies for the different drivers of displacement: copper mining and conservation. I situate displacement within development trajectories, historically embedded political and economic marginalization in Southern Africa, and the ways in which “truths about development” travel across industries. By doing so, I explain some of the ways that different political economic changes in the landscape are co-produced with changes in community experience and non-human, social, and land tenure relations.

For such a dissertation about land dispossession, there is no more appropriate way to begin than with a land acknowledgement, which would be a privilege to forgo (Liboiron, 2021; Figure 1), and is

intimately connected to the topic of development-induced displacement. I will begin with acknowledging the land and ancestral occupants of where I currently reside and where my institution is based. Then I will move to the sites of my dissertation research and in the process describe the complex histories of what it means to be Indigenous in Africa for local people and how, historically and politically, multiple claims to land exist at once and why this complicates development stories. I ultimately use land acknowledgements to set up this project about Indigenous and minority experience of conservation and copper mining displacement. After describing the necessary displacement histories, project questions, and layout of the chapters to come, I return to the question that land



Figure 1. Land acknowledgements should lead to land back--what does this mean for our lives and our work if decolonization is not a metaphor?

acknowledgements should ultimately lead to: what does land back mean for displaced communities (Pierce, @PepePierce, 2021; Figure 1)?

I come to this work from ancestral Ho-Chunk land, Teejop, that the Ho-Chunk were forced to cede to the United States via an 1832 treaty. Despite attempts to forcibly remove the Ho-Chunk in decades to come, many Ho-Chunk people live and resist ongoing settler colonialism in present-day Wisconsin. The University of Wisconsin—Madison, along with 51 other universities in the United States, is a land grant institution and seized over ten million acres of land from 250 Indigenous communities (Lee & Ahtone, 2020). This land became seed money that benefits present-day land grant institutions, and the students and professors that learn and work at them. I often think about what it would look like in my life and work if the University of Wisconsin—Madison decided to *actually* decolonize—that is, give land back to the Ho-Chunk. Because decolonization is only that, returning life and land. It will never be a method. As Tuck & Yang (2012) have described, when we describe our methods as decolonial it is a move to innocence. I take this as a starting point, while also trying my best to ask anticolonial questions that question systems of oppression (Robbins, 2006).

Therefore, there is a tension (really, many—see Chapter 4) of my (and other graduate researcher's) privilege to travel from a land-grant institution across the world to Botswana to ask questions about how people experience displacement for conservation and mining. I've learned in the process of writing this dissertation that such ironies are one of the common elements of development more broadly¹. I don't want to undermine the importance of this work or the fact that the mining companies were also from the United States and Canada (making me a decent choice to critique and analyze their

¹ For example, the green technology that drives the energy transition and the hidden social and environmental costs of this technology. The energy transition is difficult because it is a contradiction. And this dissertation has led me to be most concerned with these spaces from a professional point of view—how does the energy transition (to continue with the example) become just and sustainable? Is it possible knowing what we know about the relational impacts of copper (see Chapter 3), a key component in green technology?

forced displacement); however, the irony is not lost on me that in the process of working to understand displacements that occurred spaces and times away from my home I have come to understand my own place in this world of development relations as one that is also sometimes violent, resistive (anticolonial), and complicated.

This project has two primary sites (Khwai and Toteng), each with their own land histories, that I describe in turn. The sites are in the Ngamiland district of Botswana, roughly 200km away from each other (Figure 2). While doing fieldwork I lived right in the middle of them in the so-called “gate to the Okavango” also known as Maun, Botswana, which at the time of fieldwork was in a moment of such severe drought that the town felt like where the Okavango’s water ends (Figure 3).

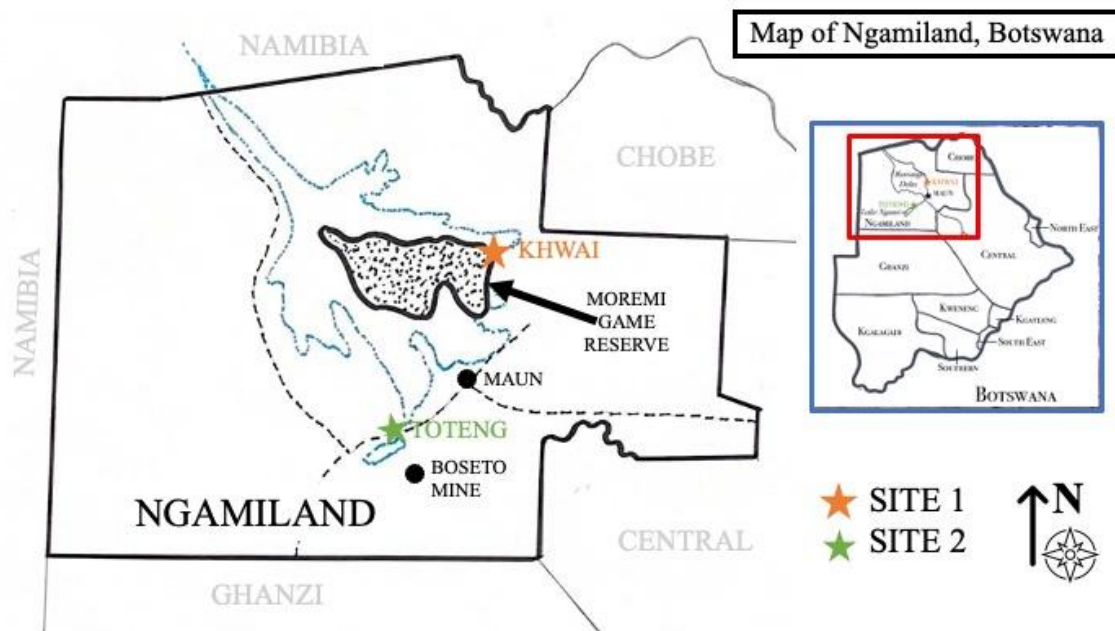


Figure 2. Map of Ngamiland District including both sites.



Figure 3. "Where the water ends" in Maun, Botswana. Photo by Author, 2019.

In Khwai, the Bugakhwe San² people were relocated away from Moremi Game Reserve and their settlement known as Xuku where they practiced molapo farming (flood farming), hunted, and gathered veld products. The San are ancestors of Later Stone Age people and have been lauded as the first people not just of the Kalahari but of humanity (see Henn et al., 2011). As Lee (1979) has

² The San have many names. In Botswana and elsewhere they are referred to as Bushmen, which has racist and sexist connotations (Lee, 1979) but is nevertheless popular outside of the region. In Botswana in particular, they are referred to as Basarwa, which is a more humanized form of another derogatory term Masarwa. Basarwa is the official term of the Botswana government for this group. Yet, none of these names the San have designated for themselves. The name they gave themselves, which I rarely heard, is !Kung, and it is a name that applies to the broader group of San throughout southern Africa. Each tribe in the broader !Kung group has their own name for themselves, in addition to their own dialect. The Bugakhwe San are colloquially (and I now realize, derogatorily) called in Khwai, River Bushmen. These naming conventions are much more complex than I will go into here, but importantly point to the rhetorical tools that have been leveraged to oppress this group.

written, the San covered the whole of Southern Africa around 300 years ago. As the Dutch colonized present-day South Africa, they waged genocidal warfare on San communities. More North in Botswana, rather than extreme violence with the Dutch, the San clashed with incoming Bantu-speaking cattle herders including the BaTswana from the Southeast and the Herero from the Northwest. The BaTswana royalty often took the San and other ethnic minorities as slaves or serfs in their early pre-colonial cattle economy which set the stage for present-day ethnic relations within democracy. Today, BaTswana make up the political majority and there has been an effort to unify the distinct tribes by saying that all citizens of Botswana are BaTswana. However, this has led to erasure of cultural customs, languages, and institutions of groups such as the San and Herero by their lack of recognition. As a result, these groups have been effectively Othered in the state of Botswana.

The history of the San, Batswana, and Herero is but just one of the complex tribal histories in this area of the world that makes Indigeneity a contested topic. For Africans, and particularly African states, instead of seeing one group as Indigenous, they see a heterogenous population of ethnic groupings that have been together oppressed by the colonial state (Sapignoli, 2018). Postcolonial, nationalist African governments who want unitedness and development have in turn oppressed ethnic minorities (Fanon, 1963). In Botswana this has particularly been the San because their nomadic and traditional practices of hunting and gathering of veld products as a primary livelihood source do not align with development and certain ideals of civility that define modern-day life. In resettling a group of San from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the Botswana state “invoked neoliberal good governance and goals of equality alongside a more implicit obstacle of justice: an element of perverse... racism that gives the San’s struggle for justice some of its distinct qualities” (Sapignoli, 2018). In other words, goals of equal citizenship clash with the San being unable to participate as equal citizens due to their classification as inferior.

As a result of some of these tensions, the state representatives of Botswana have not recognized the San as Indigenous. As I wrote in a book review for Sapignoli's *Hunting Justice: Displacement, Land, and Activism in the Kalahari*, academic and legal scholars have differing definitions of what it means to be indigenous, as does the Botswana state. Definitions include traditional ways of life; the status of 'first people'; certain types of knowledge, such as a deep familiarity to one area; and various types of cultural traditions. Even within the group of scholars who recognize Indigeneity in Africa, the definitions vary greatly. Part of the uncertainty of indigeneity is the unknown of who arrived where first (Wilmsen, 1989).

For nomadic groups such as the Bugakhwe San of Khwai, it is even more difficult to lay claim to a certain area. Some of respondent's parents had travelled to Xuku from elsewhere in the Delta. However, for the eight elderly women that I interviewed, the land they are connected to and were violently removed from is within the confines of the Moremi Game Reserve. What the Khwai case shows, though, is that the land for the San is more than just a specific area—it was their source of sovereignty. It would be one thing for them to be resettled to Khwai and still have access to their livelihood strategies of hunting and gathering of veld products, including wild fruits, grasses, and firewood, or to be able to plow. But due to hunting and gathering regulations, human-wildlife conflict, and the boundaries of the park they are unable to engage in any of their traditional livelihood activities and instead rely on monthly payments from the Khwai Development Trust. After the San were removed from Moremi their land tenure relationships were transformed into the modernizing economies of the Delta. Today, their traditional lands are occupied by game reserves and wildlife tourism concessions—long-term leased land that is divided up amongst high-end tourism lodges in the Okavango and a few community trusts.

The second site is made up of Toteng and surrounding villages (Sehitwa and Bothathogo), where the primary ethnic minority groups are the BaHerero³ and Ovambanderu people, who are cattle farmers. They have experienced multiple overlapping displacements having arrived in Botswana as refugees from the Herero-Nama Genocide by Germany in Namibia in the early 20th century (Hitchcock 2017; Nielsen, 2017). As I write in Chapters 1 and 3 their languages, culture, and traditions are not recognized by the Botswanan state, and they have been forced to assimilate to political traditions and nationally-recognized language (Setswana and English). Despite such forced assimilation, I often saw BaHerero women dressed in full traditional garb (Figure 4), coming through the bush to catch a bus or a ride into town.



Figure 4. A BaHerero cattle farmer and his wife wearing traditional Herero clothing at their old farm. Photo by Author, 2020.

The Toteng displacement was driven by two copper companies—Discovery Metals Limited, a Canadian company, followed by U.S.-owned and Botswana-based Cupric Canyon Capital and their

³ The prefix “Ba” is put before names such as Herero to indicate they are a citizen of Botswana.

subsidiary Khoemacau. The companies acquired twelve leased farms, some of which were syndicates of up to ten families. In 2019, Khoemacau prepared to start operations after acquiring the copper projects from Discovery Metals Limited and continued to acquire farms in the region. The displacement process included monetary compensation, with no new land or relocation assistance. It is one of the initial few projects along the Botswana portion of the Kalahari Copperbelt (Figure 5).

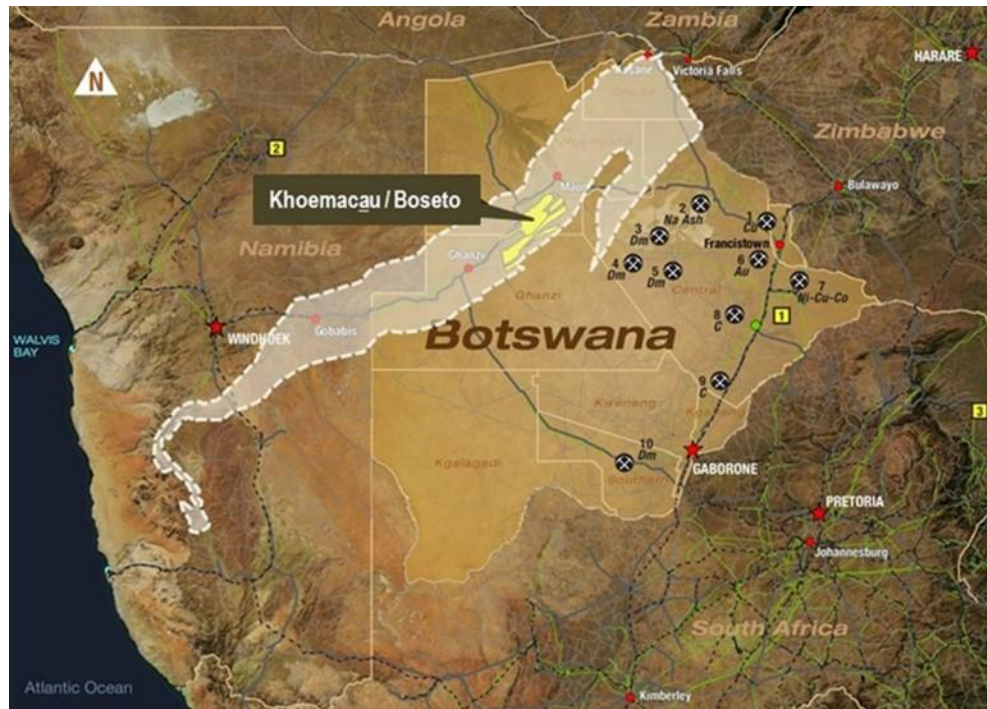


Figure 5. Map of the Kalahari Copperbelt, with the Khoemacau/Boseto mine site in Botswana. Source: African Pioneer PLC (<https://africampioneerplc.com/kalahari-copper-belt/>).

The Herero community in Botswana are no stranger to displacement. Despite their refugee status and subsequent displacement that I explore in this dissertation, they have maintained their identity as shown through traditional clothing and livelihood strategies such as cattle farming. The latter was their mode of production a century ago before they became refugees. This makes acknowledging their land much more complicated. Their violent removal from what is now present-day Namibia forced them to create new roots in the Kalahari, potentially in areas that other groups of !Kung people can lay claim to. Without the authority to state the traditional claims to the land they have currently been

displaced from, I can only ask—how do we give land acknowledgements for refugees displaced off new land?

The two separate groups of people are culturally and socially distinct with different modes of production and different histories of the land, specifically as it relates to the Ngamiland district of Botswana (see Chapter 1 for a table and discussion on their specific divergences). Where they overlap is through lost sovereignty through state- and industry-led displacements and general oppression as ethnic minorities with less state recognition and political power. While there were a couple of Tswana people (the political majority in Botswana) displaced for the copper mines, they all had alternative sources of income in Maun (one even as a well-known lawyer) and saw their farm as a place of rest. Where the San were traditionally somewhat nomadic through their hunting and gathering practices, the sedentary lifestyle of the Tswana allowed them to develop pre-colonial centralized institutions where they would sometimes take the San and other ethnic minorities as slaves ultimately providing the foundation for democracy. In the next section, I move into the questions this dissertation answers. I then continue to build on this story of development in Botswana by describing more of the colonial historical context as well as the country's history with displacement. I end the introduction with project methods and key theoretical frameworks.

Research Aims & Questions

Initially, this project was planned to answer a primary question—how do displacement pathways and experiences differ across different economies (conservation and mining)? This question is explicitly answered in Chapter 1; however, in the process of conducting the research I have learned that displacement is an experience of shifting relations that are locally variable and also characteristic of certain industry traits. As a result, this research most specifically explores the relations that shift, remain, and transform through different types of displacement as well as the discourses that provide

the “truths” necessary for displacement to occur. This dissertation answers a series of four questions, each with their respective chapter:

Chapter 1 (*Different Pathways of Accumulation in Mining and Conservation Displacements in Botswana*): *What are the varying socio-economic, experiential, and socio-cultural impacts of resettlement for two different industries: copper mining and conservation/wildlife tourism?*

As I show in Chapter 1, conservation follows a pathway of what we might more typically expect of primitive accumulation when compared to the copper mining displacement due primarily to displaced people’s assimilation into low-level labor positions in the wildlife tourism industry. Such assimilation into industry did not occur in the copper industry, which mostly imports labor from South Africa. Displacement has previously been a bit of an unpacked black box that is described across the board as accumulation by dispossession. In this chapter, I take a nimbler approach in describing land dispossession to show that it is not just a land grab or primitive accumulation but has very specific effects on people’s lives. By putting this chapter first, it serves as a more thorough introduction to the cases than what I have so far presented in the introduction.

Justified by this chapter’s results, I refer to conservation and wildlife tourism interchangeably as one industry because of their logistical and historical connections, where fancy lodges in the delta thrive due to strong conservation policies in Botswana and a government and economic model that promotes tourism. Conservation through the creation of protected areas, robust wildlife laws, and displacement of human populations ultimately enables the high-end wildlife tourism industry in Botswana. As industries are made up of commodities, the commodity of conservation/wildlife tourism is the consumption of pristine areas and high numbers of wildlife through photography and tourist experience, and formerly through hunting. While conservation is not inherently extractive, it does behave extractively in Botswana for the marginalized San community.

Chapter 2 (*The Dilo Tsa Makgowa, “White People Things,” of Development in Botswana*): *What discourses circulate within predominate forms of development in Botswana and how do they contradict material realities for displaced people?*

The second chapter zooms out and provides larger-scale discursive context within development in Botswana. In particular, it describes discourses that insist Botswana was never colonized; that include the awareness of local people who have experienced status quo development to “white people things”; and an acceptance of white standards within industry. As a result, the paper contributes to post-structural political ecology by asking what discourses circulate within predominate forms of development in Botswana, how they contradict material realities for displaced people, and to what ends—including to maintain certain racial and tribalized power relations.

Chapter 3 (*Relational Displacement and the Colonial Legacies of Copper Mining in the Kalahari Copperbelt Region of Botswana*): *What are the impacts of copper mining displacement for cattle farmers in regard to interspecies, social relationships, and land tenure arrangements?*

The third chapter builds on the first chapter for the copper mining displacement in Toteng. Taking a theoretical approach of relationality, this chapter describes the broad relational impacts of displaced people. Some of the relations explored in this chapter include the emotional impacts of farmer’s family members and neighbors dispersing far and wide; farmer’s disenfranchisement from their cattle and other nonhumans they were connected to through the land; introduced and altered human-wildlife conflict through increased interactions of livestock with elephants and lions; and the new and disruptive relationship between cattle farmers, their families, and the mining industry. By diving deeper into this case, this chapter shows some of the intimacies that are disrupted, remain, and shift through displacement for people impacted by copper mining displacement.

Chapter 4 (*Relations of Knowledge Extraction & Assimilation in the Okavango Delta*):

What creates the researcher-researched binary and what are potential solutions for breaking it?

The final chapter connects the land relations described in the previous three chapters to research relations and the colonial histories methodologies are connected to. It uses anticolonial and antiracist theory and creative methodologies (from Max Liboiron and Carolyn Finney) to explore what doing this research differently to *give respondents what they want* would look like. This chapter has implications for researcher pedagogy and research design to move beyond solely asking anticolonial questions and positionality statements.

Botswana's Colonial History

Discussions of exclusion, removal, or displacement in Southern Africa often include geographically wide-ranging apartheid policies because of the ways they shaped land relations through political processes at different scales (from community to international) and created social hierarchies throughout the region. Botswana is often described as having escaped these race-based exclusions but was itself established as a Kingdom following the series of Difecane and Mefecane wars that drove Tswana chiefdoms from South Africa further into Botswana, where they encountered and likely clashed with Herero-speaking Bantu peoples and Khoisan-speaking herders and hunter-gatherers (Wilmsen, 1989; Hillbom, 2014). Today, certain power dynamics established during the pre-colonial times remain or are reproduced through development processes where minority ethnic groups are often the target for displacements alongside of claims that all ethnic groups are Botswana, citizens of Botswana.

These complex ethnic relations within Botswana are situated within an African context where techno-sciences are used to blame local practices for strained institutions, environmental challenges, and disease, without examining “the political and economic histories rooted in European colonialism

and/or corporate capitalism” (Livingston, 2019, p. 3). Top industries including mining, beef, and wildlife tourism are wrapped up within these historical and ongoing socio-economic and -cultural experiences (Bolaane, 2013; Livingston, 2019). Julie Livingston (2019) uses Botswana to explore self-devouring growth—uninhibited consumption-driven growth in the intersecting realms of water, beef, and road development, that ‘devour’ people’s bodies and life-worlds by shifting traditions and consumption patterns. Botswana’s mode of capitalist growth, its pathway to modernity, has resulted in stark wealth inequality and people left behind (Wilmsen, 1989). It has also resulted in large shifts away from tradition—the medicines and knowledge of rainmaking, for example, have been displaced and replaced with Christian prayer and hydraulic technologies (Livingston, 2019).

The introduction of prayer and these technologies are connected to Botswana’s history as a British Protectorate, Bechuanaland (Figure 6), where British officials ruled alongside of BaTswana chiefs from 1885-1966 (Parsons and The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2022). Protectorate status indicates that one country has some degree of decisive control over another. However, in Bechaunaland, white settlement was limited to some key areas of the country called Crown Lands (Figure 7), as well as due to strong opposition of settlement by BaTswana chiefs. Nevertheless, Botswana was a key territory for the British to access northern colonies in present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia from South Africa. Missionary and trade connections in the Bechaunaland Protectorate allowed the British South Africa Company to colonize Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe). Botswana provides an interesting case of a country that was intimately connected to the colonization of adjacent regions of Africa, but itself escaped large-scale settlement of white Europeans.

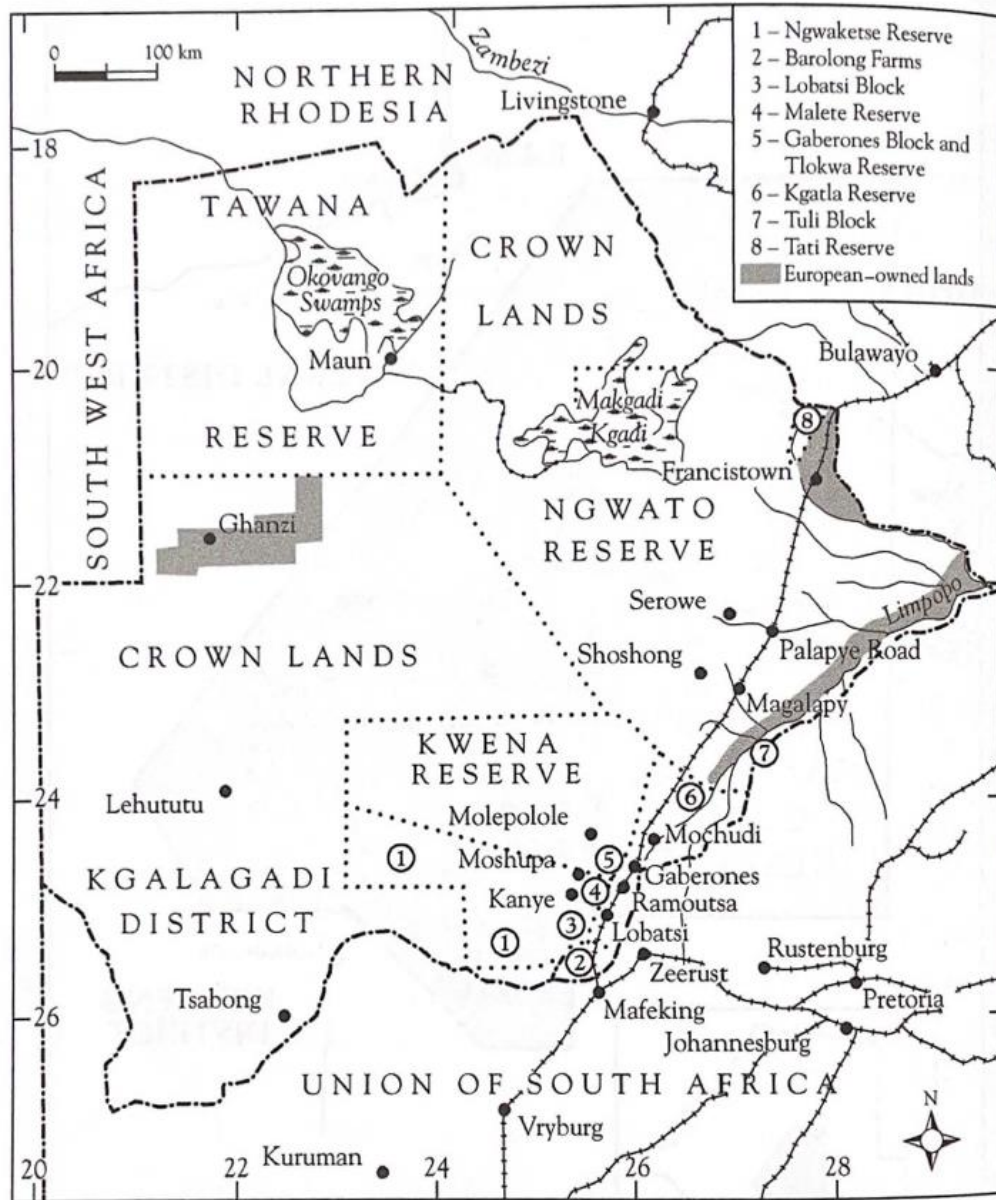


Figure 7. Map of Crown and Tribal Lands in Bechaunaland including European-owned lands. Source: Sapignoli (2018).

Leading up to independence, the British South Africa Company expected Bechaunaland to be easily incorporated into South Africa; however, political movements of BaTswana tribal elite, including one led by the first president Seretse Khama, created a nationalist spirit in the country and formed the foundations of present-day democracy in Botswana. As I write in Chapter 2, nationalist postcolonial African countries often have similar effects on ethnic minority communities along tribal lines as do

colonial governments in terms of reducing sovereignty and access to key resources (Fanon, 1963). This occurs as national parties aim to unify culturally, politically, and socially, which has the effect of erasure on groups with traditional customs that do not align with the national party's.

Thus, while protectorate status did not directly translate to formal (settler) colonization, it had colonial effects on present-day Botswana. Colonialism is a key term throughout this text, for which I refer to Liboiron (2021, citing Coulthard, 2014) for my definition:

“Colonialism is a way to describe relationships characterized by conquest and genocide that grant colonialists and settlers ‘ongoing access to land and resources that contradictorily provide the material and spiritual sustenance of Indigenous societies on the one hand, and the foundation of colonial-state formation, settlement, and capitalist development on the other.’”

So, the colonial experience in Botswana has occurred in two ways. The first, is to advance the European project elsewhere, such as in Zimbabwe, as well as through colonial tools such as language, development strategies, government style (parliament), and through Christianity. The second is through nationalist approaches to governance. While nationalist actors motives are technically statist, they too have colonial effects—in particular through reducing access of ethnic minorities like the San and Herero to the “material and spiritual sustenance” of their societies.

This history of the colonial experience of marginalized groups is not the dominant one throughout Botswana. Rather, as a result of Botswana's successes, it is known as the ‘African Miracle’ due to its escape from the ‘African Growth Tragedy’ (Samatar, 1999), which occurs through a range of issues such as bad policies, poor education, political instability, and inadequate infrastructure (Easterly & Levine, 1997). The designation ‘African miracle’ has paralleled the argument that Botswana has escaped a natural resource curse, where an economy in a resource-rich country stagnates due to

poor governance, conflict, corruption, or volatile commodity prices (Sala-i-Martin & Subramanian, 2008). Instead, Botswana has been very successful in social development and wildlife conservation touting a school in every village and the largest population of elephants in the world. In many ways the country is seen as exceptional, with regular national-level presidential elections and no history of large-scale civil war.

For the San, the stories that I tell here are part of extreme marginalization that occurs along tribal lines in the country, where there are a number of derogatory words that people use casually to refer to the San. Additionally, conservation policies have not been in line with San cultural traditions, typical of postcolonial and nationalist African governments. They were not the only ones impacted by their resettlement from Moremi Game Reserve; BaTswana too had their Tribal Rights to that land shift. However, the Bugakhwe San mode of production and sovereignty was severed as a result of cutting off access to key land and nonhuman relations. Botswana therefore provides an opportunity to critique status quo systems of development—where despite the successes of the country, ongoing oppression of marginalized communities is still a primary mode of operation.

Displacement History

Displacement in Southern Africa has gradually occurred through uneven geographical and social processes (Bond & Ruiters, 2017; Vaz-Jones, 2018). In colonial and apartheid Southern Africa, in places such as the Cape in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia of present-day Zimbabwe, racist ideology followed political exclusion through the exclusion from private property based on social difference (Klug, 2017). These displacements resulted in long-lasting effects that are seen most notably through people living on the margins of arable land or cities and away from employment (Vaz-Jones, 2018; Ferguson, 2015). Displacements are often tied up in long-standing marginalization of groups of ethnic minorities living on land that has the potential to be developed for key industries. Therefore

my discussion of displacement also includes a discussion of each industry's (mining and conservation/wildlife tourism) history.

Mineral extraction in Africa in particular enabled the creation of powerful states from as early as 17th and 18th century Southern African kingdoms (Larmer & Laterza, 2017). Subsequently, copper encouraged settler colonization of places such as in South Africa and the Rhodesian Plateau. Mineral extraction of copper in particular “enabled the establishment of powerful states, able to convert wealth into political hierarchy, the conquering and/or incorporation of neighboring societies, and the exploitation of unfree or subject labor” (Larmer & Laterza, 2017). Colonial driven extractive operations transitioned into the postcolonial era through Structural Adjustment Programs, such as in Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo (Fessehaie, 2012; Makori, 2017; Bridge, 2004).

Mining is Botswana's largest export sector, with diamonds and copper the two most lucrative exports followed by tourism, and then beef (Harvey, 2015). Success after independence was in large part due to parastatal diamond extraction through Debswana, although copper production lagged behind (Taylor & Mokhawa, 2003). Up until the recent and ongoing development of the two mines of topic here (Boseto and Zone 5), there was only one other productive copper mining company—Bamangwato Concessions Limited, another parastatal company that owned the Selebi-Phikwe copper/nickel mine (Giraud, 2011; Harvey, 2015).

The mining of copper in Botswana has been materially and discursively over-shadowed by the larger industry of diamonds in the country (Koitsiwe & Adachi, 2015), which includes one of the most productive sets of diamond-mines in the world (Spar, 2006; Jerven, 2010). Government revenue from the sale of rough diamonds allows for cross-country social development, and simultaneously high levels of dependency on mineral extraction (Taylor & Mokhawa, 2003). With the diamond industry, the institutional foundations were laid with high levels of involvement of the Botswana government in the mineral section—a joint partnership with the diamond corporation DeBeers,

Debswana, and total ownership of mineral rights across the country—to invest in other types of mineral development. While significantly less in amount, copper-nickel production is the second largest mineral export market in Botswana, amounting to 9% of exports in 2012 (Koitsiwe & Adachi, 2015). However, copper mining success in Botswana has been fickle, with early post-independence copper mining projects costing more than they earned (Jerven, 2010). In 2011 and 2012 some of the first mining activities in the Ngamiland District of Botswana began with a Canadian-owned copper mining project in the Toteng area (Kolawole, 2014), which included the displacement described here.

However, displacement history in Botswana goes further back than 2011. The first wave of government-mandated displacement occurred during the colonial period in the 1930s. The initial growth of Botswana beef during this time sparked the establishment of policies to reduce the incidents of the parasite *Trypanosoma* spp. causing sleeping sickness in people and cattle in the Okavango Delta from the 1930s to around 1957. Methods to reduce this parasite and others, all caused by the Tsetse fly, were recommended by experts from other African colonies and included fire, DDT, land clearing, game culling, and relocation of people within the Delta. Bolaane (2013) describes two separate relocations for reasons associated with decreasing transmission of sleeping sickness. The first resettlement was in 1934 for a community of about 470 people from 14 villages, primarily from the Chobe region. At that time, Chobe had consistently more regulations for hunting and settlement than elsewhere in the delta. This was the case from the area being closed for hunting in 1932 until its official designation as a reserve in the late 1959 and a national park in 1968. The second case of community resettlement for disease control took place in 1957 from Nxaragha Valley (Bolaane, 2013). Today, veterinary fences separate wildlife from cattle, bringing the link between cattle production from the creation of Chobe National Park all the way to contemporary wildlife management areas. In many ways, cattle production areas, such as the areas surrounding Toteng, are privileged as ‘clean’ where wildlife areas are seen as ‘dirty’ and disease-ridden.

The designations of Chobe National Park were part of the gradual community shift towards conservation and the addition of protected areas in the 1960s, also indicated by the creation of the Moremi Game Reserve. Discussions to create the Moremi Game Reserve began with the cooperation between white hunters and local Tswana chiefs (Bolaane, 2013). However, the subsequent displacement of minorities such as the Bayei and San people to several communities including Khwai and surrounding communities like Mababe and Sankuyo was more typical of regional conservation policy (Mbaiwa et al., 2008). After the reserve was established, conservation was on its way to becoming a dominant and high-end wildlife tourism economy by the 1990s. Resettlement in the Okavango has resulted in a well-documented reduction in livelihood strategies and incorporation into the tourism industry (Mbaiwa et al., 2011). Wildlife tourism primarily consists of white tourism operators, especially South Africans, and community village development committees. In addition to land and livelihood displacement, communities also experienced subsequent impacts from a 2014 hunting ban, as well as human-wildlife conflict in enclosed areas. Communities often want to own cattle but can only legally do so if they are located outside of protected areas. The accumulation of impacts in communities such as Khwai that have been displaced for conservation in the Okavango, results in a limited access to livelihood strategies and an almost exclusive reliance on the tourism industry, with hardly any local owners of tourism operations (Mbaiwa, 2017).

Elsewhere in the country, San were resettled from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in 2007 and 2012. In between the two resettlements, Ghaghoo Diamond Mine went into the Reserve. Around the same time as the creation of the Moremi Game Reserve, the parastatal relationship between the newly independent Botswanan government and the diamond company DeBeers, Debswana, was established. Debswana is a 50-50 joint venture company that owns both the largest diamond mine in the world (Orapa) and the richest diamond mine (Jwaneng), both in Botswana. Diamonds are only 30% of Botswana's GDP, but they are 60% of the government's revenue through this joint-venture project

with Debswana (Brook, 2016). Debswana initially owned the Ghaghoo diamond mine. However, after pressure from Survival International, including international campaigns that revealed the San's absence from the decision-making process for their own resettlement, the company sold it to Gem Diamonds (Sapignoli, 2018). The mine is still in operation today. In Botswana's mines, expert operations engineers are brought in, rather than people from impacted communities. Community enclosure has thus occurred first through the shrinking of their territory and second through the limiting of access to diverse livelihood strategies (Marx, 1976; Harvey, 1997).

The diamond revenue the country receives in part supports community development, including resettlement from protected areas, through the Remote Area Development Program (RADP; Sapignoli, 2018), which was designed to provide health, social, and education services to San and others who have been removed from various areas, manifested in the form of livestock, government buildings, and basic amenities. This removal process and incidents following removal have been described as violent alleged violations of the law, including going outside of the allowed hunting areas (Sapignoli, 2018). In the process of relocating San, some individuals were tortured or killed, their houses were burned, trees were uprooted, and access to water cut-off, leading to resistance (Sapignoli, 2018). After removal, the San often had decreased autonomy through their increased reliance on government rations. While the government provided livestock, government buildings, and basic amenities to the resettlements, residents of the new villages felt hopeless due to their unfamiliarity with the land which they described as 'poor' referring to the lack of game (Sapignoli, 2018). In addition to diamond mines such as Ghaghoo being placed directly within a conservation area, the funding mechanisms of RADP financially supporting displacements from the CKGR are an example of connections between conservation and diamonds.

These separate cases of resettlement suggest that seemingly incompatible economic sectors are at once in response and tension with one another. The ongoing colonial project of resettlement is not

unique to conservation but rather, is linked very closely to things it is meant to contradict such as copper mining and cattle production. This signifies the history of displacement as a larger enrollment in a modernizing economy, and conservation as just one moment in this history broadly linked to other economies.

Methodologies

The approach of this research was to understand two moments of development—that is, copper mining and conservation displacements—through asking questions about displaced people’s personal experience and memories of landscape and territory. I conducted eight interviews with the women displaced for Moremi Game Reserve (Case 1), twenty-five interviews with farmers and their families displaced by the copper mines (Case 2), and four interviews with conservation industry officials and stakeholders (Case 1). Despite serendipitously meeting a high-level mining official one day at the Tawana Land Board and my best efforts, I was unable to interview anyone in the mining industry. To compensate for this limitation, I reviewed industry produced literature. Each chapter contains a more specified methods section.

I had begun filming oral histories of cattle farmers (Case 2), of which I completed six, when the COVID-19 pandemic halted my research. The oral history films included landscape walks, where farmers took me and my research assistant to their old land and showed us their ruins, as they call them. I was able to do two landscape walks with three farmers (two of them shared a syndicate). Their lands seemed relatively untouched, other than increased development of the roads that lead to the mine. During one landscape walk we stumbled upon the tailings pit. I was looking forward to spending more time around the mine—I had made some contacts with local miners who could give me a tour—which would have enriched the mining portion of the stories I share here but was unable to due to research plans cut short. Landscape walks ultimately elicited more memories of the landscape, which

was the driving analytical approach of this work. I drew from the oral histories and landscape walks primarily for Chapter 3.

Additionally, I spent one month reviewing the archive of the primary newspaper in the Ngamiland district where both sites are, the Ngami Times. I scanned over a decade of relevant conservation and mining development articles, from 2009 – 2013. I spent a few days in the National Archives in Botswana and London; little came from this time—I had planned follow-up visits that did not happen due to COVID-19. I also reviewed industry literature and articles online.

To analyze data, I took an iterative approach to coding in MAXQDA. Within the iterations I took a grounded theory approach to allow the data to speak for itself—this was particularly illuminated in driving me towards theories of relationality as the connections that farmers in Case 2 had to multiple humans, nonhumans, and industries became illuminated.

All the data was anonymized, resulting in some depersonalization of the stories that I share. This was an important part of protecting individual information and was designed into research methods during my review with the Institutional Review Board. As a result, such as in chapter 3, some results come off as generic.

Theoretical Frameworks

This dissertation uses three primary theoretical frameworks. Though it is interdisciplinary, and I have dipped my toes in many more literatures than I introduce here, these are the ones that I hope present themselves most. First are theories of relationality, second includes critical displacement and development studies, and last is feminist and post-structural political ecology. I briefly review them each in turn, saving the bulk of theoretical discussion for individual chapters.

Indigenous & Postcolonial Relationality

Both postcolonial and Indigenous theories of relationality became a large source of inspiration for much of this text. Indigenous Studies scholar Kim TallBear (2019) describes one explicitly spatial Indigenous framework of relationality (a Dakota understanding of existence) that emphasizes the material connectedness among humans and nonhumans. She also describes settler dispossession of Indigenous peoples, their relations, and nonhuman relatives to appropriate land and Indigenous life. She writes “[i]n order to sustain good relations among all the beings that inhabit these lands, we must undercut settler property relations.” The violence of settler state land appropriation extends beyond the lands of North America as the two case studies shows with connections to US and Canadian consumers and mining companies appropriating land and life in Botswana.

Achille Mbembe’s *On the Postcolony* has many parallels with Indigenous relationality theory, I expect in part because both meet the white and colonial West’s past material and discursive violence, as well as its contemporary erroneous and privileged perceptions, with radical resistance. In particular, overlapping notions of entanglement, displacement, and life-worlds speak to common similarities across postcolonial and contemporary Indigenous decolonial studies that cross continents. I do not mean to universalize here, as postcolonial Africa contains and supports vastly different and unique life-worlds that should not be compared with North American Indigenous communities. However, as Achille Mbembe argues, they are part of the same whole, with concurrent notions in postcolonial and Indigenous decolonial scholarship of what it means to live in the wake and with ghosts and legacies of a recent colonial past. As I write in Chapter 3, these reasonings of relationality are distinct but intersect in their disruption of the separatist logic of coloniality (Macklin, 2020), their emphasis of connections between humans, nonhumans, and material things and processes, and their resistance to oppression. Understanding displacement as relational shows the ways that the connections of displaced people and their networks shift, how bad relations carry with them an imprint of colonial

processes, and how relations that remain, persist, and survive through violent forced removal resist the primary goals of dispossession.

Displacement

Scholars largely understand motivation for displacements to be political economic ones, through ongoing primitive accumulation (Fairhead et al., 2012), where people are liberated as capital and labor through new systems of land control and management, and subsequently incorporated into capitalist production (Harvey, 1997). Others use concepts of exclusion to understand displacement, which is not the opposite of inclusion, but rather the opposite of access, rendering exclusion inevitable (Hall et al., 2011). Even the poorest farmer, must exclude others from their land. This theoretical framework was designed to assist reconstruction of the relationship between political economy, power relations, and displacement.

To understand the movement of mining, tourism, and cattle revenue, including what drives these industries, this research draws fundamentally on Marx's theory of political economy to relate it to mining, conservation, and cattle production. The process of exchange hides the production process from the consumer, and results in an opacity of consumption, in this case, of conservation, mining, and beef (Marx, 1976; Schlosser, 2013; Bridge, 2004; Massé & Lunstrum, 2016). Through processes that hide production from the consumer, resettlement "seeks to render people and space more governable," through rearrangements of capital and land (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2019). Displacement is thus a part of the production process that is hidden from the consumer.

Property rights and power dynamics play a key role in determining who is at higher risk of dispossession. Displacement is thus critical for development studies, as economic goals and subject-making occur simultaneously. Deterritorialization through mining and conservation displacements occurs differently through the political economic actors that drive these industries, their inscription

devices, as well as their discursive justifications. For example, ‘the right to develop’ has been used as displacement justification for removals from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) of Botswana, a case that shows the entangled nature of different types of displacements, and where it was unclear whether people were relocated for mining or conservation. The ethicality of displacement thus exists in a gradient where people’s ‘right to develop’ clashes with power dynamics, force, and legitimation, and often determines the justness of displacement.

The diamond, copper, and tourism economies and material conditions differ through the resultant social realities of local communities (Bakker & Bridge, 2006). The production of nature, where nature is an outcome of social relations, understands resources and environments as products of political economy; however, “biophysical materials and processes are not infinitely malleable” (Bakker & Bridge, 2006). This results in obstacles to capital shaping certain social relations of production and their material outcomes, which shape social action when coupled with how ‘nature’ is conceived of through social constructions. Applying these ideas to this project, the production of nature occurs when communities become obstacles to wildlife tourism, and diamond and copper mining, and are resultantly displaced.

For displacement, political economy shapes social decisions, and drives discourses about community development at multiple scales. These processes are transnational, transforming, and ultimately manifest themselves at the local level (West, 2006). Displacement occurs at multiple scales: nationally, through capital; local dynamics through ethnic divides and gender preferences; and solidarity struggles against displacement (Vaz-Jones, 2018).

Post-structural and feminist political ecology

Political ecology informs much of this work. As I write in Chapter 2, both feminist and post-structural political ecology approaches recognize social movements within development as comprised

of multiple actors with complex identities, and as a result these fields acknowledge the conflicts and divergences within and between groups of people (Rocheleau, 2008). Vaz-Jones (2018) takes a multi-scalar approach to connect the individual or household experience to displacement with the goal of describing the embodied effects of neoliberalism, development, and primitive accumulation (Elmhirst, 2015), and the networks that cross scales (Haraway, 2016). Feminist political ecological approaches pay attention to social difference across the scales in which displacements are driven, where uneven experiences of displacement are examined on a basis of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and class (Elmhirst, 2015).

Post-structural Foucaultian analyses focus on social representations and language constructions as reflections of social reality. For studies of power and environmental/community change, such as political ecology, predominant “truths” shape governance, policy, and action. Discourse thus influences materiality as a social practice with material ramifications (Comby et al., 2019). Together, post-structural and feminist political ecology have allowed me to ask questions about status quo development and narratives about development and has grounded my questions in anticolonial theory.

Conclusion

Too often stories of dispossession consider subjugation through colonialism or capitalism as all-encompassing, overlooking life-sustaining relations that remain and occur in parallel with violence of dispossession (Heynen & Ybarra, 2021; McKittrick, 2013; Salih & Corry, 2020). In remembering their shifting relations of displacement, some farmers displaced by the copper mines savored the memories of their old land: “Home is always home. It was the best place we knew. We knew the plants, we knew the soil, we knew the birds. Our friends the birds and wild animals were left there.” While others noted the horror of violence (Tuck & Ree, 2013), such as this quote from a farmer describing their initial contact with people from the mine: “They told us that where our farm was situated there [is copper],

white people things. That's what keeps on haunting me; I wish we never moved." Many farmers I spoke with volunteered that their story of life and death through their displacement needs to be told, and I hope to do them justice.

I began this introduction with a land acknowledgement. As Joseph M. Pierce has said (Figure 1), the point of land acknowledgements is land back. What does land back mean for the displaced communities in Toteng and Khwai? Would it just mean more sovereignty over their land and resources for the San—to be able to hunt, gather, and farm as before. Or a return to their previous land? For the cattle farmers in Toteng would it mean given back the same land, a stake in the copper mine, or new land of similar quality? I ask this as a thought experiment before taking you through my results.

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Chapter 1. Different Pathways of Accumulation in Mining and Conservation Displacements in Botswana

Abstract

Displacements of local populations for resource extraction, energy infrastructure, and conservation are a hallmark of the development state. However, differential impacts from the diverse forces of displacement, owing to their specific material, spatial, and sectoral characteristics, are far from well understood. Southern Africa, in particular, has experienced a wide range of large-scale human displacements in its development history. Through an examination of two histories of community displacement in the Ngamiland district of Botswana, this research evaluates how different logics of development produce divergent personal experiences. The work draws on archival research and interviews with displaced people and local officials in two communities, Khwai and Toteng, that serve as representative case studies for different drivers of displacement: conservation and copper mining, respectively. Conservation displacements are frequently state-led projects while mining displacements are state-sanctioned but corporate-led. Residents of Khwai recall being transported to their current site and becoming subject to conservation and wildlife tourism in the area, which has squeezed them out of leadership positions, access to land, and incorporated them into the industry. Copper mining in the region, conversely, is driven by international private investment. In Toteng, private companies have individually compensated displaced people, rather than provide them with new land. The resulting socio-economic, experiential, and socio-cultural impacts differ dramatically as a result, including increased dispersal of the community, familial tensions, and strategic land acquisitions. The results of the analysis suggest that displacements, while having a common, severely adverse impact on local communities, play out in dramatically different ways. In this case, conservation behaves (paradoxically) more within Marxist industrial models rather than mining.

Introduction

Eight elderly Bugakhwe San women live outside of the popular Moremi Game Reserve in Botswana in the small but well-known village Khwai. They were resettled as a group to Khwai for the creation of Moremi Game Reserve over four decades ago in 1963—one year before Botswana gained Independence from the United Kingdom. The creation of the Reserve and resettlement was carried out by BaTawana (subgroup of BaTswana) chiefs and conservationists from the Ngamiland Fauna Conservation Society (Bolaane, 2013). The women and their families stayed together in Khwai. Many were incorporated into low-level positions in the wildlife tourism industry that dominates the Okavango Delta and is in close relationship with conservation programs in the region.

Two-hundred kilometers to the south an expanding set of copper mines are in what is now known as the Kalahari Copperbelt where BaHerero and Ovambanderu cattle farmers settled after seeking asylum from Namibia during the German-Herero war and genocide in the early 1900s. The copper mine executives have worked with the Tawana Land Board to acquire farms, compensate farmers, and displace them with no new land. Dispossessed farmers and their families scattered to various new vocations, lives, and land within a two-hundred-kilometer radius.

While very different cases of resettlement, these two different communities have parallel experiences of dispossession. I refer to both copper mining and conservation/wildlife tourism as industries because of the ways they both expropriate land, mobilize labor, and produce surplus. Conservation is tightly linked to the industries of wildlife tourism and community development in Botswana in such a way that their political economic processes and impacts on livelihood and experience is inseparable. Enclosure and resettlement for the purposes of wildlife and environmental protection have been shown to bear strong similarities to other forms of accumulation by dispossession (for example, see: Askland, 2018; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012; Bluwstein et al., 2018; Carmody & Taylor, 2016; Cavanagh, 2018; Corson & MacDonald, 2012; Fairhead et al., 2012;

Fogelman, 2018; Massé & Lunstrum, 2016; Peluso & Lund, 2011) where local communities are removed to allow the consolidation of land, minerals, or water resources (Seagle, 2012). In all cases, these removals have had the twin effects of liberating capital for reinvestment elsewhere, either by firms or state agents, as well as driving local populations into new labor markets and livelihoods.

Conservation and mining displacements bare similarities through land acquisition as development actors acquire land through colonial interventions that use accumulation by dispossession as a primary engine. As such, key concepts to this work include primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession, which have frequently been used to understand the global land grab (Hall, 2013). At its base, dispossession means to take someone away from their possessions or land. Primitive accumulation is the original form of capitalist dispossession, in which violent means of obtaining land resulted in dispossessed people becoming poor laborers. Marx described this process as the moment in which the producer is removed from the means of production (Marx, 1976; West, 2016) often occurring through actions of the state and resulting in the commodification of labor and land (Harvey, 2005). Marx was specifically referring to the enclosure of land in England and subsequent dispossession of peasant communities. This dispossession was the necessary precursor to industrial capitalist development. Marx's goal in coining the term primitive accumulation, was to understand how wealth became concentrated and thus, a key actor in this process was the state through private property legislation (West, 2016). In the process of accumulating land, land and labor become commoditized as forms of capital when subsistence means of production are no longer possible and "nature" has been monetized for the market.

David Harvey (2005) built on this work to theorize accumulation by dispossession, a similar process in which land and resources are enclosed, and people and communities are dispossessed for capital expansion (Hall, 2013). Where this concept diverges is through Harvey's argument that primitive accumulation can be happening anywhere at any time (West, 2016). Accumulation is not

over, and we have not moved on, as the cases here show. When communities are resettled (dispossessed) from land for the purposes of wildlife conservation and tourism, and mining, the land is transformed into a commodity within the global economy. Following human removal from the land industries impact the landscape—either through industrial development of production of mineral ore, for example, or the lack thereof for conservation, land is changed as a result of accumulation. Through this material lens, mining and conservation displacements (as well as those for dams and large-scale agricultural acquisitions) are more often analyzed for their similarities than their differences.

This research argues for a more nuanced approach to understanding the multifaceted processes and impacts of dispossession. What is far less well understood is the way different kinds of relocations, driven by different economic exigencies and sectors, produce different effects on people's experience. Within the literature, dispossession is seen as an undifferentiated theoretical process. What impacts do different kinds of removals have both on and within the economies and discursive systems of state agencies and actors, and on the constituencies and populations who suffer forced removal? That is, how do removals for mining differ from those for conservation? I address this question using a comparative case study approach with people displaced for conservation and mining from two communities in the Ngamiland District of Botswana, Khwai and Toteng, respectively. This paper argues that the industry doing the dispossessing results in characteristic changes in the process of primitive accumulation, through land acquisition pathways and effects on labor. Dispossessed people can become assimilated into the industry that displaced them, transfer their subsistence economy to other land, or sell their labor to an unrelated state or private industry—livelihood options that become obtainable through the specific process of dispossession. By understanding the ways that accumulation by dispossession occurs differently and impacts people's experience in a multitude of ways, policy interventions can better meet displaced community needs.

The two case studies show that mining and conservation displacements differ across land acquisition pathways, and for displaced people through labor assimilation and personal experience of resettlement. Displacement is more than just a land grab. It effects people's lives in specific life-changing ways determined through how land is obtained, how a displacement is carried out, and what the livelihood and life-worlding effects are of forced or coerced removal. Where the mining industry's specific pathways to acquire land involved securing mineral rights, obtaining a lease, and subsequent payment, national conservation projects through parks and game reserves are government-led and in Botswana, subsequently incorporated into the wildlife tourism industry. Following displacement, assimilation into wildlife tourism, a predominant conservation industry in Botswana, is common for low-level positions, whereas mining employment was rarer due to the prevalent requirement of mines requiring certain experience or education. Finally, people's experiences of the industries that displaced them diverged on the grounds of approval, with people being more amenable to the closely linked conservation and tourism industries than the mining industry overall. Displacements are ultimately reordering not only land rights but labor relations, with conservation following a more traditional Marxian primitive accumulation of labor and mining conversely transforming the landscape. While conservation, too, has effects on the landscape through tourism, management, and removal of human presence, its mission contradicts the removal of ecosystems and earth that define copper production.

The two case studies of focus here, while specific, are globally generalizable through the inherent development trends of the two industries and how those trends create specific processes of displacement. For example, mining displacements are commonly industry-led whereas conservation displacements are government-led. This has implications for the specific land acquisition pathways and result in people experiencing each displacement differently, even if they share characteristics of accumulation by dispossession. The Ngamiland district of Botswana is an ideal site to compare these two types of displacement due to their accessibility, prevalence within state development plans (mining

and wildlife tourism are Botswana's top industries), and relative uniformity of land policy. This work takes care in describing the particularities of different types of dispossession because it has implications on how to do development in more ethical and just ways. Both the San and BaHerero communities have been Othered in Botswana through nationalist approaches of the majority Tswana government that has forced assimilation through language, lifestyle, and livelihood, these displacements are a continuation of long histories of oppression.

Along with a local research assistant, I collected thirty-two semi-structured interviews with seventeen male cattle farmers, two widows, and seven farmer's wives displaced by two copper mines; eight elderly women displaced by the Moremi National Game Reserve; and four government officials or lodge owners from September 2019 through March 2020. Respondents were identified through snowball sampling and government records of displacement. Interviews were recorded in my car, under trees, and in people's homes, and were transcribed by myself and my research assistant or an external translator if they were in mBanderu or Setswana. I also conducted archival and content analysis through the Ngami Times Newspaper in Maun, Botswana and at the Botswana National Archives. Interview transcripts and archival material were coded iteratively in MAXQDA. The archival and content analysis builds the stories of land acquisition pathways for each of the sites and is supplemented by the stories people told in interviews. However, interviews were structured to primarily tell the stories of people's experience of displacement—an important divergence of separate industry approaches to displacement. Using content analysis and interviews, this research shows the varying socio-economic, experiential, and socio-cultural impacts of resettlement to provide more information on development impacts and how to oppose or remediate the consequences of displacement.

The Botswana Displacement Context

In Botswana, displacements have occurred for the seemingly disparate purposes as conservation, mining, and to quell the spread of diseases to cattle and people transferred by Tsetse flies (Bolaane, 2013). Displaced communities have historically consisted of a variety of ethnic minorities in Botswana, including the Herero, Bayei, and San, who are part of one of the most marginalized groups in the country known nationally as ‘Basarwa’. The two cases described below explore impacts of displacement for two separate communities: the San in Khwai displaced for a game reserve (Case 1) and the BaHerero in Toteng displaced for a set of copper mines. Before describing the specific cases, I provide an overview of land tenure in Botswana as it determines the land acquisition pathways this paper examines.

Land plays a critical role in how a displacement is carried out and has implications for subsequent discursive, economic, and experiential consequences for citizens of Botswana. The San have historically accessed land and natural resources through a land designation known as tribal land. Seventy percent of land in Botswana is designated as tribal land to which most citizens of Botswana have customary rights (Sapignoli, 2018). However, the Land Boards are still able to reallocate tribal land to elite or foreign interests. This often occurs across racial and ethnic lines since the Tswana majority have more wealth than the thirty-seven other ethnic minorities in Botswana. According to USAID (2010) reallocation of land resulted in an 8% loss of communal grazing land by 2007.

In addition to tribal lands, 5% of land is privately owned, formerly European-owned land during the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Figure 7). 25% of land is state-owned and leased for up to 50 (commercial) or 99 (residential) years, such as in the Toteng region where the copper mines have displaced farmers and their families (USAID, 2010). Today, European-owned lands are primarily in the Ghanzi district and used as ranches. Due to the 1975 Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) ranches outside of Toteng that farmers were displaced from behave similarly to freehold ranches yet are

technically communal land that the Land Boards allocate. Tribal areas, through the TGLP have been transformed and rezoned into three main categories as described by Basupi et al. (2017a): “(1) commercial areas where exclusive rights would be granted to individuals and groups with a minimal rental payment, (2) Communal areas, where land tenure system would remain the same but stock limitations would be imposed and (3) reserved areas which would not be allocated to anyone but rather set aside for the future, thus ensuring ‘safeguards for the future generation and poor members of the population.’ In Toteng and surrounding areas, this hodgepodge of land tenure collides due to the prevalence of livestock rearing within the Herero and Banderu communities with leased-ranches (type 1) directly adjacent to communal areas (type 2) (Figure 8).

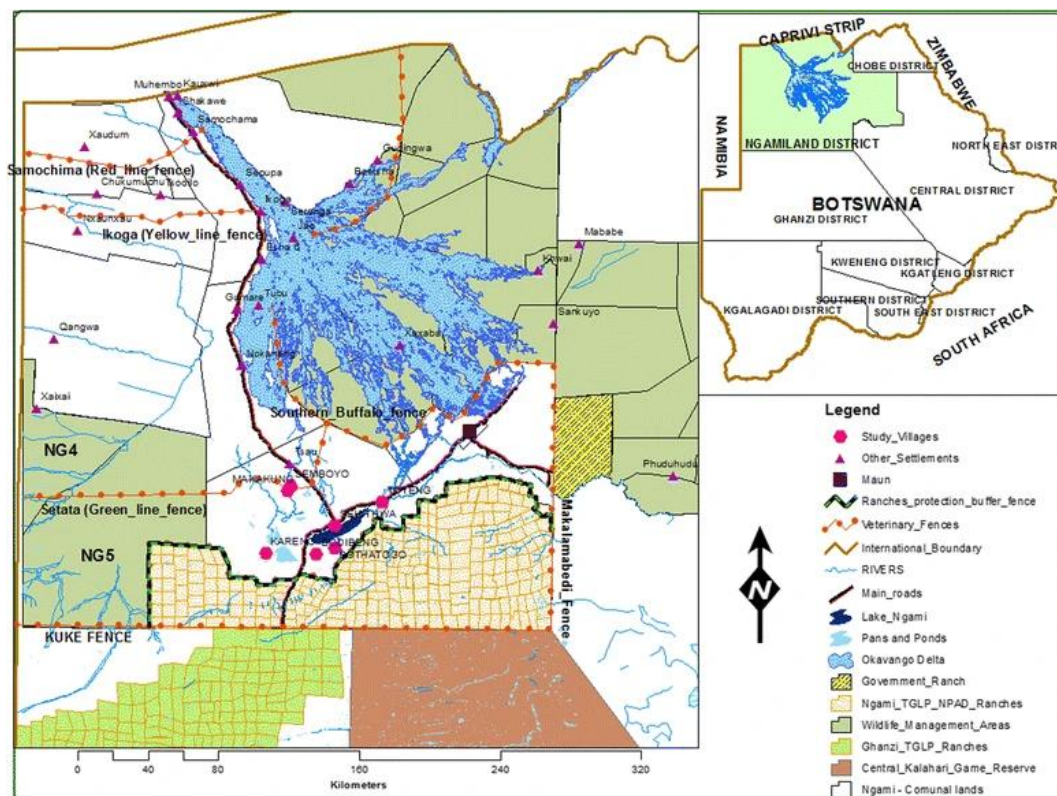


Figure 8. Toteng farmers were displaced from ranches that are in this map designated as 'Ngami_TGLP_NPAD_Ranches.' Some farmers relocated their cattle to the Ngami communal lands. Source: Basupi et al. (2017b).

Case 1: The eight elderly Bugakhwe women who remain from the displacements from Moremi Game Reserve in the early 1960s described their experience to me of what they could remember from their displacement when they were young girls, most of them in their teens. They said that the government and white conservationists came to their settlement, Xuku (located near modern day ‘Hippo Pools’ in Moremi Game Reserve) and told them they would be leaving (Figure 9). The next day the government came with trucks, loaded them and anything they could gather onto them, burned their huts, and moved them to another area, Segagama. About a year later, they all described the government returning to move them again due to a mistake the first time—they were supposed to be dropped on the other side of Khwai river. Instead, the government had relocated them to a place that was still inside Moremi Game Reserve (Segagama) requiring that they relocate them again to where they live today in modern-day Khwai. At the time, they were resettled with male family members; however, today all the men in their families have since passed away. None of the women have received formal education due to their age at the time of relocation relative to the development of the Botswanan state. Most of the women have either worked in the high-end wildlife tourism industry themselves or have children that have. This is in stark contrast with their previous modes of production in Xuku and Segagama. Some groups of San people may have historically been cattle herders (Lee, 1979; Wilmsen, 1989) but by the time this group was resettled from Moremi to Khwai they were living off the land. Hunting was a primary source of livelihood for them as well as gathering veld products including water lilies and wild fruits. Seven of the eight women I interviewed remembered plowing using a method known as molapo where they build a trench system that floods during the wet season. Due to the nature of these livelihood strategies, the Bugakhwe San relied on a much larger area than they have access due today as a result of legal limitations on how much they can hunt or gather.

Discussions to create the Moremi Game Reserve began unusually with the cooperation between white hunters and local Tswana chiefs—a rarity in conservation in Africa during this time (1960s) where Africans rarely had stakes in conservation (Bolaane, 2013). However, the subsequent displacement of minorities such as the Bayei and San people to communities in the Delta including Khwai, Mababe, and Sankuyo, was more typical of regional conservation policy (Mbaiwa et al., 2008). Conservation in Botswana has historically been a state-led project where state actors leverage power to rescind leases or previous constitutional authority over land to transform land uses. Tribal land under the jurisdiction of the BaTswana tribe that is designated as a protected area thus resulted in the displacement of other ethnic minorities such as the Bugakhwe San in 1963 for the creation of Moremi

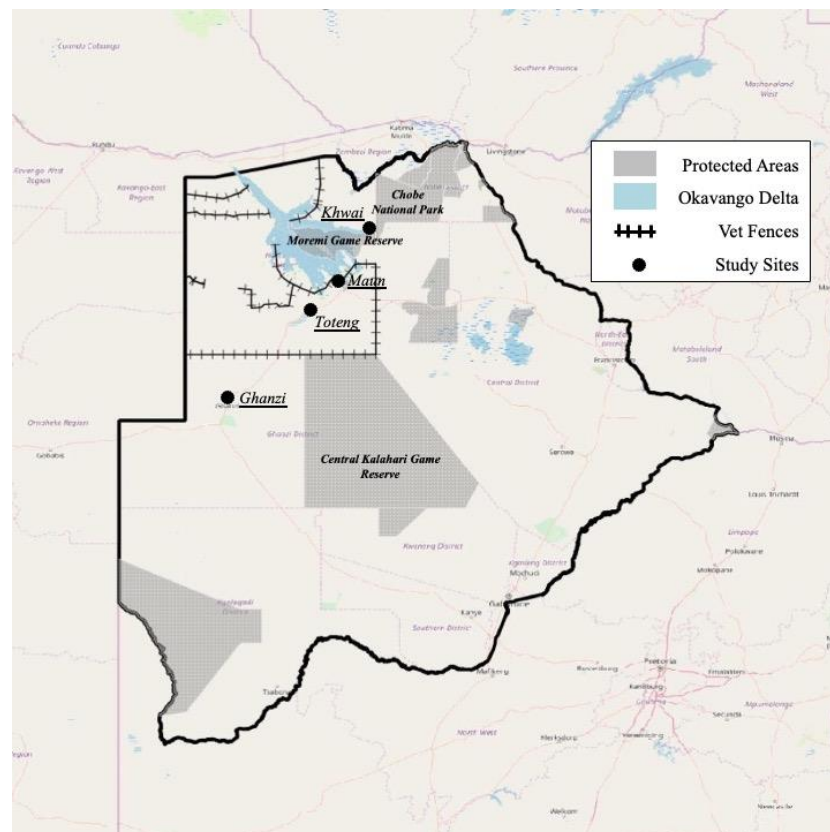


Figure 9. A map of Botswana including study sites (Toteng & Khwai) and relevant other cities (Maun & Ghanzi), Moremi Game Reserve, Central Kalahari Game Reserve, and Chobe National Park.

Game Reserve where tribal land was transformed into state land, as was the case for the creation of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) and Moremi Game Reserve (Figure 9).

After the reserve was established, conservation was on its way to becoming a dominant and high-end wildlife tourism economy by the 1990s. Resettlement in the Okavango has resulted in a well-documented reduction in livelihood strategies and incorporation into the tourism industry (Mbaiwa et al., 2011). Wildlife tourism primarily consists of white tourism operators, especially South Africans, and community village development committees. Communities often want to own cattle but can only legally do so if they are located outside of protected areas. The accumulation of impacts in communities such as Khwai and Mababe that have been displaced for conservation in the Okavango, results in a limited access to livelihood strategies and an almost exclusive reliance on the tourism industry, with hardly any local owners of tourism operations (Mbaiwa, 2017). The Bugakhwe San's new relationship to land in Khwai has forced them into relation with the tourism industry as low-level workers and has completely changed their mode of production.

Case 2: The second case provides an example of dispossession of cattle farmers through monetary compensation without land relocation. Near the village of Toteng (Figure 9), two copper companies acquired twelve farms beginning in 2011, some of which were syndicates of up to 10 families. The farms covered an area of 3000-4000 hectares each. Rather than moving all farmers at once, people were individually approached by the mine. The value of each farm was assessed by the land board and farmers were paid out and told to relocate. No new land or relocation assistance was provided to farmers and farmers often had to split their compensation amongst other members of their syndicate. The span of reaction to this dispossession depended on what other sources of income farmers had but was wide ranging with many farmers growing up on this land and few coming to it later in their lives. Some farmers were left with virtually nothing, they described using most of their money to relocate away from the farm and as a result, could not lease a new farm. Some described themselves

as financially illiterate saying that they knew cattle and not money. Others were educated lawyers or businessmen who visited their farm on the weekends and did not depend on it as a primary source of food or livelihood—this subset of farmers were often Tswana. Farmers widely dispersed following their displacement, with some staying in the Toteng area, some moving to the nearest large town Maun, or up to 250km away to Ghanzi (Figure 9).

BaHerero were the majority group displaced, but there were also four Tswana farmers displaced and one San cattle farmer. It is common for Tswana elite to own a farm on the side in addition to having a primary source of income in town. As is this case here, all the Tswana displaced had alternative forms of income in Maun in the formal economy including as lawyers and shop owners. The BaHerero relied more directly on this land and these tenure relationships that allowed them to rear cattle and other livestock. In general, they did not hunt like the San and their relationship to wildlife was often one of conflict. However, similarly to the San, many farmer's wives recalled collecting wild fruits and other veld products. Their relationship to land differs from the San in that they rely on having a borehole (a well) for access to fresh water for themselves and their cattle.

As an exiled group, the cattle farmers displaced for the copper mines are not new to displacement. The Herero-Nama War and subsequent genocide (also referred to throughout this text as the Namaqua Genocide) took place in German South-West Africa (present-day Namibia) from 1904-1908. As Nielsen (2017) writes: "In 1904, after years of oppression, the Herero people of Namibia... took up arms against their colonial oppressors." The German colonial troops then waged a violent war against Herero, hunting them down and establishing concentration camps. Herero refugees (estimated anywhere from 2,000 – 9,000 people) subsequently settled in Bechuanaland (protectorate era Botswana) in the Sehitwa and Nokaneng districts. Sehitwa is just twenty kilometers from Toteng, where many BaHerero still live today. While none of the respondents had lived through this time, their ancestors surely had. Despite Botswana's attempts at national assimilation, the Herero still hold

onto cultural traditions, of which cattle ranching was a key part. Cattle comprised their mode of production a century ago before being refugees and are their way of life, as many of them described it to me.

After displacement for the copper mines, farmers scattered wide—to the nearest large town Maun, ranch-style leased land in Ghanzi, and cattle-posts, which are communally grazed areas, near Toteng and the surrounding villages. Many tried to maintain cattle and livestock rearing. One farmer who I interviewed twice described himself as destitute in our first meeting. In our second meeting, he had established a home and cattle post with goats and chickens near the village Mogapelwa. However, many other farmers lost all their cattle in the process of relocating and had to rely on primary sources of income if they had it.

In Botswana, the state owns sub-surface mineral rights, rather than individuals or communities. Any private countries wishing to extract minerals, especially diamonds or copper – the two main extractive-industries in Botswana, must pay royalties to the government (Sapignoli, 2018), although how much money and with what rights remains unclear. This provides more of an even-playing field for mining and conservation land acquisitions in the country, in comparison to other parts of Africa and Latin America where concessions are issued without royalties or at low prices (Bebbington & Bury, 2013) and private investments for resource-extraction and development are driving high levels of protected area downgrading, downsizing, and degazettement (PADDD) (Mascia et al., 2014). On the other hand, when it comes to labor, expert operations engineers are brought into Botswana's mining operations, rather than people from impacted communities. Community enclosure has thus occurred first through the shrinking of their territory and second through the limiting of access to diverse livelihood strategies (Marx, 1976; Harvey, 1997).

Table 1. Comparison of the two cases dominant group of people, livelihood strategies before and after displacement, land acquisition pathway of the industry displacing them, and their subsequent dispersal after displacement.

	Khwai	Toteng
People	San	BaHerero & Ovambanderu
Traditional livelihood strategy	Molapo farming, hunting, gathering	Livestock farming & secondary income sources
Dominant new livelihood strategy	Low-level tourism industry positions, owners of tuck shops, and make crafts such as baskets to sell to tourists	Livestock farming & secondary income sources
Land acquisition pathway	Government relocation directly to new village	Compensation and no relocation assistance
Land tenure	Relocated from tribal lands transformed into game reserve.	Displaced from leased land designated by the 1975 Tribal Grazing Land Act. Some relocated to cattle posts.
Dispersal	Relocated directly to new village with no dispersal from primary displaced group. Some of their children move/travel to Maun and other more urban areas.	High level of dispersal up to 200km away since farmers were not provided with new land.

Political Economies of Conservation and Mining Displacements

Deterritorialization through mining and conservation displacements occurs differently through the political economic actors that drive these industries, their inscription devices, as well as their discursive justifications. Resettlement in general “seeks to render people and space more governable,” through rearrangements of capital and land (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2019). Often these rearrangements depend upon pre-existing property rights and power dynamics that play a key role in determining who is dispossessed and how. Exclusion is shaped by power relations, understood through interwoven assemblages between regulation (often associated with sovereign rules and laws), force (state or non-state violence), the market, and appeals to moral values or social norms (Hall et al., 2011). This section explores the political economies of conservation and mining displacements, and their local impacts on communities and the environment. By doing so, I lay out similarities and differences that emerge

in the literature as a starting point on which I base my critical comparison of mining and conservation displacement in Botswana in subsequent sections.

Mining and conservation displacements are not mutually exclusive. Catherine Corson's work in Madagascar reveals that while conservation territorialization through the creation of protected areas may be state initiated, it also provides the vehicle for non-state actors such as foreign aid donors, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and mining companies to assert their authority to generate wealth through conservation (Corson, 2011). As extractive industries alter the subsoil and impact biodiversity, they can subvert mining impacts by incorporating sustainable development strategies that can include expanding protected areas or carrying discourses of degradation by local people. This ultimately allows mining companies a dual mode of acquiring land (Seagle, 2012). Yet, the geographical convergence of mining and conservation displacements is not typical due to land tenure policies and protected areas designated as off limits to mining projects. Rather, mining companies such as DeBeers invest funds in conservation elsewhere to offset mining impacts. Decisions to do so largely depend on country, company, and financial institution prerogatives.

As extraction, and conservation displacements have been linked through similar accumulation logics and spatially, they have also been linked through displacement, and in particular, the ways people's land, livelihoods, or relations are altered to impede access (Lunstrum et al., 2016). Displaced populations in these contexts are often already politically vulnerable or lack ownership to land and other resources. This is an important characteristic of the cases explored here where the Herero and San lacked political rights, including proprietorship of tribal-designated lands in Botswana. Displacements, while similar in terms of land accumulation, diverge through their political economic drivers, justifications, inscription devices, and global affect. The state, international banks (such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund), and multinational and transnational corporations set

priorities for development and extractive-industry investment across Africa, which ultimately drive mining displacement. Colonial driven extractive operations transitioned into the postcolonial era through Structural Adjustment Programs, such as in Zambia, where these programs have deeply transformed local development (Fessehaie, 2012). Extractive operations through and after colonial periods in Southern Africa have been driven by foreign mining investments. Further north in the Democratic Republic of Congo, copper played a key role in colonization and subsequently, neoliberalization that spurred conflicts between artisanal miners and foreign mining companies (Makori, 2017). However, in the past two decades, the Congo received less than 1% of global mining investment in copper despite the country's high-grade copper reserves, because of the combined effects of political turmoil and ongoing civil war on the economy (Bridge, 2004).

Conservation displacements fall into two political economic categories that differ based on their market mechanisms and thus have divergent pathways to displacement: wholesale acquisition of land or changes in policies of who gets to manage and use the land. Here I am distinguishing a broader category known as 'green grabs' which are land grabs, the appropriation of land and resources, for environmental purposes including national parks, tourism, and carbon offsets or sequestration. (Fairhead et al., 2012). Wholesale acquisition of land more often includes programs such as those for carbon offsets or ones associated with plantation-based models such as the United Nations Reduction of Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+). The case study here focuses more on the latter type that changes use and access policies. These include those occurring for the creation or expansion of protected areas, usually associated with eco-tourism and other forms of biodiversity offsets and ecosystem services (Cavanagh, 2018). This type of conservation displacement has been previously shown to rely on state prerogatives (Brockington & Igoe, 2006). State-led conservation displacements are often connected to global pressures to protect wildlife that entail the

creation of national parks and wildlife reserves that exclude local populations and subsequently are incorporated into high-end wildlife tourism.

In addition to land acquisition and market drivers, displacements differ comprehensively through inscription devices. Inscription devices are used to differentiate land as either a protected area or mining concession, to assemble land as a market resource for the appropriate actor (Li, 2014), and differ across displacements. Mining equipment literally peels away the earth after people are dispossessed of the land (Bebbington & Bury, 2013). Tailings pits or mining waste ponds trap nonhuman animals, including cattle that formerly shared land with people who were displaced and wildlife, which is in stark contrast of conservation approaches that often aim to separate wildlife and livestock and to ensure wildlife safety. Veterinary fences and protected area outposts separate wildlife from communities and livestock and determine who is allowed to enter protected areas.

A final divergence are the discursive justifications that differ both across and within mining and conservation displacements and reflect their main actors and powers. Conservation discursive justification includes the necessity of displacement for preservation and conservation of wildlife, as well as degradation narratives (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012) often rooted in colonialism and racism (West, 2016; Bonsu, 2019). Mining displacement justifications exemplify the extractive-industry connection to “development” and international economic investment – it is a way to get out of national debt and/or to ‘develop the nation’. However, in some cases it is difficult to determine the justification for government mandated relocations, because governments will use generic justifications for displacement such as ‘the opportunity to develop’ or ‘giving communities access to fundamental services’. In the case of the very controversial San resettlement from Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana, the government issued a statement describing how it is ‘totally unfair to leave a portion of our citizens undeveloped under the pretext that we are allowing them to practice their culture’ (Sapignoli, 2018, p.34). However, the residents of these communities were not consulted in the

decision for their resettlement, and at the time of removal, they were ignored when appealing to government employees to stop destroying their homes and villages – all of this even though the reserve was made to allow San the right to choose their lifestyle, including the right to hunt (Sapignoli, 2018, p. 37). Another line of government reasoning for removing the San is the separation of nature and civilization, indicating a colonial intolerance to indigenous lifestyles.

Results

The two cases differ in the following three primary ways that can be generalized across similar displacements— (1) through their specific pathways to acquire land; (2) subsequent rates of assimilation into industry; and (3) the differing experience and responses of displaced people inherent to the industry they were dispossessed by. Below, I take each of these in turn to describe them in better detail.

Land acquisition pathways refer to how land is acquired. They diverge based on ownership before acquisition, ownership after acquisition, state land policy, and compensation to former users of the land. These divergences are characteristic of the actor who is doing the development and carrying out any associated displacement.

In conservation displacements (*case 1*), at most the government removes leases of previous users of the land. However, displacement for Moremi Game Reserve occurred pre-independence while land was being politically divided and occurred through unusual cooperation through Ba'Tswana chiefs and white hunters (Bolaane, 2013). Yet the San, who lived on the land, were largely left out of negotiations except for one of their headman, Chief Kwere, who negotiated on their behalf (Bolaane, 2013). To get people off the land they wanted to turn into a nature reserve, the chiefs and conservation officials had to forcefully move people. As respondents described, this entailed government officials burning

down their houses before they were able to retrieve all their belongings and directly relocating them first to Segagama for about a year and then repeating the process again to their current village. Since national parks and reserves are state-managed, and land is state-owned, the government can more feasibly directly relocate entire communities and less feasibly provide monetary compensation due to tight government expenditures, especially during the pre-independence era when early government officials of Botswana had not yet leveraged their natural resources to gain the wealth the country has today.

After government resettlement from Moremi Game Reserve, non-state and international wildlife tourism companies began leasing land throughout the Delta. In the process of state-led conservation, negotiation with non-state industry determined who had the authority to accumulate wealth in the Delta (similarly to the case described in Corson, 2011). This had the effect of squeezing out local ownership in the wildlife tourism industry and instead incorporating local people into low-level labor positions such as cooks, bartenders, and housekeeping staff. The subsequent section describes more of labor assimilation into the tourism industry, which is connected to how land has been divided. Long-term leases (99 years) for tourism operators mean that they have intergenerational access to that land and that local people do not. The Okavango Delta tourism industry has been aptly described by Mbaiwa (2005, 2011) as a case of exclusive and enclave tourism dominated by foreign-owned tourism companies.

For Toteng (*case 2*), farmers held land in long-term leases for up to 99 years. However, since the Botswana government is the primary owner of the land and owns all mineral rights, the Tawana Land Board could revoke those leases and re-lease the land to mining companies. Afterwards, mining officials decided how to carry out the displacement in cooperation with the Tawana Land Board. In this specific case, the mining company decided to compensate displaced farmers without providing new land. The additional issue of acquiring more land from the government by the company is an

added cost and makes relocation not as feasible for mining companies as it is for the government with easier access to different parcels of land.

Actors, in this case industry or state, make trade-offs in deciding the most appropriate land acquisition pathway depending on their available resources. State-led conservation displacements did not center compensation because the government owns all the land, anyway, making direct relocation possible. Similarly, it was less expensive for the mining company to value land parcels in partnership with the Tawana Land Board and provide payment to farmers then to buy them new land.

The most suitable land pathway for the actor fundamentally changes how people experience displacement. The people displaced by the government for the creation of Moremi Game Reserve were displaced together and stayed together thereafter in their new village (Khwai). Yet, farmers and their families compensated to move for the copper mines dispersed widely since they were provided no new land. Moving further apart from one another resulted in much longer periods of time between farmers seeing their neighbors, and family members and friends they formerly shared a farm with. These pathways also set the stage for displaced people's subsequent interactions with and experiences of the industries they were displaced for.

Assimilation into industry for people displaced by the copper mine and for those displaced for the creation of Moremi Game Reserve represents a larger divergence between displacements for these two industries. Particularly, labor divergences included: (1) difference of access to other jobs and industries; (2) required education and skill levels; and (3) the relationships and transparency of each industry to local people and the public.

Since the nature of the conservation and wildlife tourism connection requires preserving and conserving vast amounts of land, communities that have been relocated are often adjacent to or are situated within wildlife concessions. As a result, they are inherently surrounded by safari operations as

the sole industry in the area. Livestock rearing is not allowed in Wildlife Management Areas and there are increasingly more strict limits on veld foraging and hunting. Thus, livelihood development leverages conservation through programs like Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and the need of lodges and safari operators for labor to train local people for low-level positions.

One woman displaced for Moremi Game Reserve worked as a housekeeper in a nearby lodge for thirty years until the mourning period of the death of her mother was too long according to her employer and she was let go. Other respondents described their children and relatives being hired as cooks, bartenders, and housekeeping staff. Two respondents and the local lodge owner described retention issues of younger staff due to theft and alcohol abuse. Additionally, training opportunities for higher level positions such as safari guides, mokoro (dugout canoe) guides, and managerial positions are hard to come by, with lodge owners such as one the I interviewed footing the bill for additional training and there being minimal affordable and accessible training programs for local people throughout the Delta. Instead, training for these positions is more accessible to foreigners, predominantly white South Africans creating a labor situation characteristic of enclave tourism managed by foreigners.

Conversely, the mining industry requires high-level skillsets and degrees to run and manage mining equipment. Farmers displaced for the mines are rarely, if ever, trained as engineers. Instead, Cupric Canyon International contracted out laborers predominantly from South Africa. Additionally with the compensation (rather than relocation) scheme farmers typically relocate far away from the mine to areas where they can either continue to rear livestock or find other employment opportunities. Often, farmers travel to urban areas to find office work or cattle posts up to 200km away. The new relationship of farmers to the mine are, thus, not as intimate as the one that is created for people displaced by national parks and game reserves.

While in both situations, displaced people are not employed in lieu of companies hiring foreign lodge managers and miners, the wildlife tourism industry more closely follows typical primitive accumulation processes seen in industrial labor. Local people, including the women that have been displaced for a place that is being consumed by tourists, make up large parts of the labor force serving those same tourists. Their displacement was followed by assimilation. Even though farmers were not assimilated into the mining industry, they still had to transfer their livestock to new land or find new sources of livelihood. In both cases, divergent labor requirements following displacement are characteristic to the industry displacing them and as a result, have differential impacts on people's lives and experiences.

Differential land pathways and levels of assimilation into the displacing industry resulted in *different responses and experiences of displaced people*. While tourism was fundamentally linked to conservation from the beginning for the creators of Moremi Game Reserve, respondents did not connect it to their displacement. Rather, they understood they were displaced to conserve wildlife and to make the game reserve. They saw their displacement as for the conservation of animals and tourism as something separate for foreigner consumption of wildlife. Respondents thus tended to have more positive feelings for the tourism industry because of their or their children's employment.

Previous studies in this village have shown how assimilation of communities such as Khwai into tourism through programs like CBNRM has resulted in modernization of livelihoods from subsistence hunting and gathering, like the eight elderly women fondly remember from their childhoods to exchange-based livelihoods including labor, selling wildlife hunting quotas, or producing crafts like baskets for tourists (Mbaiwa, 2011). Thus, the burgeoning tourism industry following the creation of national parks transform conservation displacements that begin as changes in access to land into

economic displacements through market mechanisms such as long-term leases for lodges and industry, community-based natural resource management programs, and subsistence take and use limits.

For the copper mining displacement, livelihood changes varied depending on farmers other forms of employment, whether they were able to find new land, and where that land was. The degree of variability was much higher, with some farmers not experiencing much change in the overall sources of income. Many farmers held second jobs in nearby towns to their farm and already had that source of income. Others were able to move to nearby cattle post and maintain their livelihoods based around livestock rearing. All the farmers had nothing to do with the mine in terms of their employment, and interactions were reduced to those with miners and their displacement. Economic displacements took a different turn for farmers displaced by the copper mines. Where people in Khwai had to commodify their former subsistence labor, farmers in Toteng had to either switch livelihoods altogether or find and lease new land appropriate for livestock pastoralism.

Respondents for case 2 tended to be more critical of the copper industry, perhaps because of their lack of direct benefit through employment like the case 1 respondents received. As one farmer said “the mines are good in terms of the nation, but they are not good in terms of the land.” Mining disrupts the soil, the humans and nonhumans that live atop copper ore, and water sources adjacent to mining operations and waste. As a result, respondents displaced for the copper mines were more critical of the industry overall and tended to think of it as more directly embedded within national development schemes. A common sentiment amongst respondents and more generally through popular discourse is that mining will develop Botswana. This is a sentiment that grew through Debswana and diamond revenue funding social development such as through roads and schools across Botswana. However, the copper mines were not formed through joint partnership. Farmers said that eventually they would see how the mines would develop them and their community, but at the moment of displacement they saw no benefits.

Conclusion

Industry modalities of conservation and mining dispossession result in divergent material and lived experiences of displaced people, while simultaneously being enrolled in encompassing colonial approaches to development of which displacement is a part. Geographic and historical contingencies and anomalies result in displacement differences that are not as simple as to only be described by accumulation by dispossession. Each industry is operating within a complex set of land tenure laws, cultural customs, and available natural resources that vary from country to country. However, there are certain pathways towards acquiring land that each industry tends to follow which impact displacement in specific ways.

Displacement differentiations go beyond inscription devices and discursive justifications, and include divergent pathways to land acquisition, labor assimilation, and the response of displaced people to the industry. These pathways are determined by state land policies and driven by the goals and leading actors of the operation. Additionally, the inherent qualities of the industry determine whether labor assimilation is a possibility for displaced people and their response to the industry. In conservation areas that preference the tourism industry, low-level labor needs result in a more consummate primitive accumulation than the mining industry that requires highly educated operators. Mining displacements are less likely to give land than conservation displacements; conservation that involves wildlife tourism is more likely to incorporate local laborers who have been displaced; and the response of displaced people to the conservation industry tends to be more positive than that of the mining industry because of easier access to employment.

Other differences occurred through these two displacements that are not necessarily directly connected to the mode of displacement itself. Specifically, each displacement group had distinct demographics. For the conservation displacement, it was a group of eight Bugahkwe San women. The men from the relocation had all passed on. For the copper mining displacement, it was a group of

primarily BaHerero male cattle farmers (17) that knew and were involved with negotiations regarding the displacement. Two widows and seven farmer's wives were also interviewed about their experience, some of whom commented on how they were left out of negotiations. The mining relocation process was gendered because of cultural norms.

In addition to reinforcing certain gender relations, these displacements also show material impacts of tribalism in Botswana, where Herero and San people are both considered ethnic minorities. They have less political rights than the BaTswana majority, which plays out in school, in parliament, linguistically through nationally recognized languages, and as shown here through development-induced displacement. Who is exploited for development is not merely a coincidence when tribes such as the BaTswana do not recognize the customs and lives of other tribes like the Herero and San. Both displacements began as a case of white and foreign-owned business or interest leveraging local tribalism through collaborations the tribal majority and were accomplished through divergent mechanisms of land acquisition and differing needs for local labor, ultimately resulting in new relationships to industry.

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Chapter 2. The Dilo Tsa Makgowa, “White People Things,” of Development in Botswana

Abstract

This article recounts the conflicting discursive tensions and their material representations of a non-colonized African economy tied up in industries consumed by whiteness. Using archival content and discourse analysis this research describes the ways the conservation and mining industries have been racialized in Botswana. In particular, it describes discourses that insist Botswana was never colonized; that include the awareness of local people who have experienced status quo development to “white people things”; and an acceptance of white standards within industry. As a result, the paper contributes to post-structural political ecology by asking what discourses circulate within predominate forms of development in Botswana, how they contradict material realities for displaced people, and to what ends—including to maintain certain racial and tribalized power relations.

Introduction

When I asked if they knew copper, some cattle farmers displaced by a copper mine in the Kalahari Copperbelt region of Botswana responded “No, I don’t know it; dilo tsa makgowa,” “those are white people things.” They said the same thing for diamonds, a well-known and high-grossing industry in Botswana. High-end wildlife tourism in the Okavango Delta was similarly considered as something for (white) foreigners by some of the eight elderly women displaced by and living on the outskirts of a popular game reserve in Botswana, the Moremi Game Reserve. Mining and wildlife tourism are the two highest grossing industries in Botswana, that have simultaneously been praised for laying the foundation for modern social development and wildlife conservation in the country while also dispossessing people of life and land.

These responses from displaced people occurred in parallel with hegemonic discourses that supersede responsibility for innocence (Tuck & Yang, 2012) for development actors. These discourses include the apolitical discourse that “Botswana was never colonized,” when (non-settler) colonialism and British political and missionary influence has shaped politics, language, religion, and industrial development. People displaced for conservation and mining are aware of these development relations, shown through their phraseology *white people things* when referring to items that are situated within globally dependent economies. Results thus show tensions between the material reality of development and discursive tropes that allow colonial actors to shirk responsibility for power imbalances within racial relations.

Displacement shows the material consequences of colonial legacies and their attendant racism within contemporary development. Rhetorical dispossessions (West, 2016)—representational strategies of nature and culture (“truths” as Foucault (1980) termed them) that are connected to economic and social power and ongoing accumulation and uneven development—in turn, led up to and persisted through consecutive waves of displacements in Botswana. I explore these dispossessions through a genealogy (Foucault, 1980) contextualized by the politics of race in international development (Jacka, 2007; Bledsoe & Wright, 2019; Gill, 2021) and feminist post-structural political ecology. Results indicate three primary rhetorical representations of development in Botswana, including the apolitical exoneration that the country was never colonized, the awareness of local people who were displaced to “white people things,” and the acceptance of white standards in industry. Taken together, these convoluted discourses represent the tensions of a “non-colonized” Black economy tied up in whiteness.

Using the conservation and mining industries in Botswana, I focus on community displacement as a capillary moment in contemporary development (Foucault, 1980) to explore two questions: what discourses circulate within predominate forms of development in Botswana? And, how do they

contradict material realities for displaced people? Public, industry, and government discourse for two primary types of development in Botswana, wildlife tourism and copper/diamond mining, are represented here through archival research, “grey” industry-produced literature, and interviews with eight community members displaced for Moremi Game Reserve, one conservation government official, one locally known wildlife tourism industry stakeholder (also referred to as a lodge owner), and two community trust leaders. Mining officials were unavailable to be interviewed; to fill this gap, I rely on secondary publications from company websites including press releases. The archival data were primarily drawn from the district of Ngamiland’s regional newspaper, *The Ngami Times*, as well as from online newspaper publications including Mmegi Online and Daily News. Data was analyzed in MAXQDA through an iterative approach using codes assembled in the field as well as while going through the data. Before turning to the empirical results of this analysis, I begin with a brief history of development in the country to situate contemporary development politics in Botswana.

History of Development in Botswana

A series of pre-colonial wars drove Tswana chiefdoms into the geographical space of present-day Botswana. During the colonial period, when Botswana (then Bechuanaland) was a British protectorate, predicated on “parallel rule” with Britain and local Tswana chiefs, Tswana elite were able to solidify their power over other groups in the country such as the Herero, San, Bayei, and Kalanga. Even though it is lauded as escaping colonialism, pre-independence Botswana (known as Bechuanaland) was part of the 1901 British Colonial Empire (Brittanica, accessed 29 March 2022).

Modern day wealth inequality is part of a centuries-old process that extends from Tswana kings in the late 18th century (Wilmsen, 1989). Royal Tswana owned the means of production, while San-speakers and others provided the labor to produce surplus product, in which the Tswana were able to engage in trade with European explorers (Wilmsen, 1989). King Khama had a vast income due to

post-colonial political economies, which occurred both through and with oppression of members of other tribes. Two post-Independence presidents have been descendants of King Khama and while they have somewhat differed in their political approaches, they maintain pre-colonial tribal power structures within a recognized democracy—itself a legacy from a colonial power (England).

Development of the cattle economy during the colonial period exacerbated wealth inequality as the colonial administration and Tswana elite worked in concert to establish cattle-post boreholes controlled by the latter (Hillbom, 2014). The colonial cattle economy thus provided a foundation on which “rapid resource-driven growth combined with increasing socio-economic inequality” continued after independence (Bolt & Hillbom, 2016). Not only did this have long-term political economic impacts for the San people and other ethnic minorities, it also resulted in consistently racist anthropological descriptions of Indigenous people as “primitive” and “traditional”:

San traditionalism...and the cultural conservatism uniformly attributed to these people by almost all anthropologists who have worked with them until recently, is a consequence... of the way they have been integrated into the modern capitalist economies of Botswana and Namibia.

Early capitalism in Botswana had the double effect of prolonged wealth inequality and the persistent sensationalizing of the San as outsiders. Homogenizing demographic characterizations overlook the many ethnic groups in the country including the San, Kalanga, BaYei, and BaHerero people (Jerven, 2010). These narratives of homogeneity compound with ahistorical descriptions of “traditional lifestyles” to result in ethnic minority exclusion from and lack of access to capital. Racialized and gendered wealth inequality in Botswana continues to grow and has become characteristic to the entire region of Southern Africa (Bond & Ruiters, 2016; Hovorka, 2006).

During the colonial period, the Bechuanaland Protectorate was governed under parallel rule with the British government acting as an advisor for BaTswana governance. Thus, settler colonialism did not (necessarily) occur during the “scramble for Africa,” because diamonds and copper were not discovered until after Independence as gold was in South Africa and Zimbabwe, both settled, now post-(settler)colonial states. Despite not being militarily settled, Botswana was influenced by the English language, British parliamentary-style democracy, and through Christianity—all strong facets of present-day Botswana society.

When Botswana gained independence in 1966 from Britain, it was one of the poorest countries in the world (Ulriksen, 2017), in part due to little social or economic investment in the colonial period (Hillbom, 2014). Today the World Bank considers Botswana to be an upper-middle income country (World Bank, 2021) due to its sustained growth rates facilitated primarily by diamond extraction, but to a much smaller extent high-end tourism and continued cattle ranching on communal lands, as well as its stable elitist government.

While Botswana has extreme wealth inequality occurring along tribal lines, it is also known as the ‘African Miracle’ due to its escape from the ‘African Growth Tragedy’ (Samatar, 1999), which occurs through a range of issues such as bad policies, poor education, political instability, and inadequate infrastructure (Easterly & Levine, 1997). The designation ‘African miracle’ has paralleled the argument that Botswana has escaped a natural resource curse, where an economy in a resource-rich country stagnates due to poor governance, conflict, corruption, or volatile commodity prices (Sala-i-Martin & Subramanian, 2008). Botswana’s success is attributed to its stable democracy, a British-style parliament.

Despite the country’s political successes, Hillbom (2014) argued that Botswana is in a natural resource trap, exemplified by its high “economic growth with social development and political maturity but not...economic development.” Other authors have echoed this and predicted that a future

decline in Botswana's diamond industry is inevitable, calling on a need to continue to diversify the economy (Harvey, 2015). In many ways, the expansion of conservation and the eco-tourism industry is Botswana's response to these calls for diversification (Lenao & Basupi, 2016) and to effectively be competitive within the global economy. The resulting benefit for local communities through government programs such as CBNRM is questionable as strategies devised under the guise to enhance livelihoods of local and often rural people act instead as means towards modernization and to meet the needs of international producers and consumers. Community development programs are often advanced to maintain power dynamics than to train people to become leaders, managers, and owners in the industries that dispossessed them from life and land.

This study focuses on two communities in Botswana, Khwai and Toteng, that were impacted by development-induced displacement in conservation and copper mining, respectively. The industries of focus are therefore conservation and mining in Botswana; however, development impacts such as the ones that I discuss also occur in aid-based development, for example. In the next section, I describe the theoretical approach to understanding development discourses in this paper: post-structural political ecology.

Post-structural Political Ecology of Development

The core aim of political ecology is to tease out the power relations that manifest because of political economies that have wide-ranging environmental and social impacts. Post-structural political ecology applies discourse analysis to understand relationships of power between society and nature (Escobar, 1996). Both feminist and post-structural political ecology approaches recognize social movements within development as comprised of multiple actors with complex identities, and as a result these fields acknowledge the conflicts and divergences within and between groups of people (Rocheleau, 2008). Post-structural Foucaultian analyses focus on social representations and language

constructions as reflections of social reality. For studies of power and environmental/community change, such as political ecology, predominant “truths” shape governance, policy, and action. Discourse thus influences materiality as a social practice with material ramifications (Comby et al., 2019).

West (2016) uses the term rhetorical disposessions to describe discourse as it permeates through space and the economy in Papua New Guinea and produces autochthonous (Indigenous) people as outsiders. In this process, as West writes, Papua New Guineans are not passive recipients. Instead, they viscerally experience disposessions by struggling against and theorizing them. The same is true for the case described here—dispossession violence has not undone displaced people’s awareness of racial and economic relations nor has it led them to want nothing to do with dispossessing industries. Rather, local people want either access to land or access to upward mobility in the industries that have accumulated the land.

Dispossession occurs as part of an international system of development, where contemporary space-making processes do not occur in a vacuum but build upon specific racialized histories. As Achille Mbembe (2001) describes, Africa doesn’t subscribe to the West’s notion of the individual, so the West sees societies of Africa as nothing at all. However, the west has long sought-after Africa’s natural resources, and especially it’s mineral resources. In doing so, internationally funded industries through their “white space-making practices...[including] displacement... reinforce white supremacy and Black horror” (Hamilton, 2021).

Globalized industries in Botswana have foundations in colonial extraction and exploration and thus make present-day discourse situated within racial relations in development. As geographers Adam Bledsoe and Willie Jamaal Wright (2019) argue anti-Blackness is a precondition for capitalist expansion, occurring on land that is open for appropriation due to the ways that “Black lives [embody the] absence of value... and the assumed lack of Black cartographic capacity in the dominant spatial

imaginary.” They argue that through the ongoing expansion of global capitalism, the functions of the nation-state transform subordinate to the agenda and increased power of capital. This results in the ability of corporations to “directly structure and articulate territories and populations and make nation-states merely instruments to record the flows of the commodities, monies, and populations that they set in motion” (Bledsoe & Wright 2019 citing Hardt & Negri, 2000). Finally, they note that “as global purveyors of capital increasingly replace the nation-state as controllers of sovereign space, the various populations within these formerly bounded territories become subject to a number of shifts.” Such as, in this case, displacement from land and life.

Achille Mbembe (2013) argues that the word “Black” emerged in concert with the emergence of global capitalism, as nation-states moved towards technocratic development solutions. This term resulted in exclusion in the form of bodies and land, where Black men became “the living crypt of capital” in chattel slavery, and land was stolen and used for capital gains. Mbembe (2013) continues that the dualism of Blackness also contains “a conscious desire for life, a force springing forth, buoyant and plastic, fully engaged in the act of creation and capable of living in the midst of several times and several histories at once.” This quote importantly lends itself to the pluralisms that “mainstream” development paradigms overlook.

Botswana as a postcolonial African state has relations to colonialism through the assimilation of Christianity, parliament, the English language, and a standardization of industry based in Western (and white) standards. The structural racism designed into these tools, that in everyday life seem relatively benign, reinscribe racial oppression through the modes of production that define industry. Legacies of colonialism have been a primary source of inspiration in modern African institutions (Bonsu, 2019) to exercise control and authority over the resources of communities along tribal lines. This is ultimately a result, as Fanon has written of “the violence of the colonized.”

“The violence of the colonized... unifies the people. By its very structure colonialism is separatist and regionalist. Colonialism is not merely content to note the existence of tribes, it reinforces and differentiates them. The colonial system nurtures the chieftainships and revives the old marabout confraternities. Violence in its practice is totalizing and national. As a result, it harbors in its depths the elimination of regionalism and tribalism. The nationalist parties, therefore, show no pity at all toward... the traditional chiefs. The elimination of... the chiefs is a prerequisite to the unification of the people.” Pp. 51

National parties in Botswana, while having begun to diversify in recent years, are comprised primarily of the BaTswana—the wealthiest and most powerful tribe in the region. This has implications for how the government of Botswana has leveraged colonial tools to meet their resource needs. However, what other choice did they have? Again, Fanon: “The arrival of the colonist signified syncretically the death of Indigenous society, cultural lethargy, and petrification of the individual. For the colonized, life can only materialize from the rotting cadaver of the colonist” (Pp. 50). Thus, modern day development in Botswana both oppresses ethnic minorities that do not subscribe to a nationalist vision of the country and allows for neocolonial tools of international development.

Discourse results

The research presented here describes one way how the racialized industries of tourism and mining are filtered through different discourses. In this section, I go through three predominant discourses and rhetorical representations of development in Botswana. (1) The first is the common apolitical sentiment that Botswana was never colonized, with implications that it has not experienced the negative racialized impacts of colonialism. (2) Second is the awareness of local people who have been displaced for development to “white people things,” the commodities that they were displaced for

and that are oft consumed by white people. (3) Finally, the third is the acceptance of white standards, colonial actors, and colonial tools. The three discourses together represent racialized tensions of development in a “non-colonized” African state.

Botswana was never colonized

The former Minister of Wildlife, Environment, and Tourism in Botswana Kitso Mokaila stated "when you politicize issues, you lose objectivity" to Casper Bonyongo, an academic arguing for reform in Community Based Natural Resource Management policies to improve livelihood prospects of local people (Figure 10). Such statements as the Minister's contribute to apolitical discourses of the land that are not located within a community's politics. These discourses contribute to anti political machinery in development where decision systems exclude marginalized people. Apolitical discourses are key pieces of the antipolitical development machinery. By making statements that marginalization within wildlife tourism is not political, or not even an issue, the ability for alternative perspectives to the status quo to present themselves, for marginalized voices to advocate for themselves, is diminished. The development machinery churns on. The popular discourse, of which I heard in observation numerous times, that Botswana was never colonized is one such apolitical discourse.

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Academic punches holes in CBNRM policy

By Bright Khali

LETLIAKANE - A University of Botswana academic had a field day here on Saturday when he tore to pieces conservation policies which he feels need to be changed to for the improvement of livelihoods of ordinary citizens.

Casper Bonyongo was a panelist at the Environment and Development dialogue here which was part of the World Environment Day celebrations.

The dialogue was held under the topic "Makgadikgadi Wetlands system, a treasure for livelihoods improvement. Reality or Myth?" In the true spirit of a debate, Bonyongo was the first to take to the floor and heated the dialogue by saying outright that the topic was a myth. To qualify his position, Bonyongo went on to ruffle feathers when he said Botswana generally understand crop and livestock production better.

"This is the sector that they are familiar with, and are ready to take risks in, in a bid to improve their lives," he said. He said anything besides that would be imposing a concept they are not familiar with, and which would be bound to fail. He said the tourism sector would only be an alternative if a lot of things were to be changed, including some policies and programmes. Bonyongo derided that protected areas, a notion he said was borrowed abroad, was wrong applied in Botswana as those areas have always had people residing in them, giving the example of the Basarwa of the CKGR. He said those areas have now become "the playgrounds for rich people" while communities derive nothing from them, yet these very areas have in most cases taken all land that initially was used for agriculture. Bonyongo said protected areas should start paying for their existence to improve people's livelihoods.

He added that foreign concept which locals, especially communities, found difficult to comprehend and dismissed the Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme as a failure in which communities are expected to manage the money, while the resources are managed elsewhere. He said the programme should rather be termed "Community Money Managing" because that is what these communities do.

Another panelist, George Maphane, a farmer from Gweta, said the Makgadikgadi system was a treasure that can improve the livelihoods of communities in the area. His take was for those in authority to find out what people want, rather imposing concepts that people are not familiar with. He noted again that there was a tendency by those in authority to over prescribe to communities. Maphane said there is a problem of planning forever, "and that there is never enough time for implementation", also dismissing the performance Management System as a major hindrance in delivery.

Tumelo Nthayakgosi, from Debswana, said the Makgadikgadi was a perfect alternative for mining - "this is an untapped natural resource that can help in diversifying the economy of this region."

At question time, the Minister of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, Kitso Mokaila - who appeared to have been offended by some issues - stood up to say that he did not want to defend anything. He then delved into what amounted to attacking the panelists for the positions they took, especially Bonyongo. "When you politicise issues, you lose objectivity. The Agriculture sector has since independence been heavily subsidized, but it's been going down and losing its position in the major contributors to the economy. 'Should we continue giving all the attention while it's clearly not doing well? This are some of the thing that academics do not want think about," he said.

He said CBNRM failed at implementation because things were not done right from the beginning. Mokaila's main prey of the evening was a private media reporter who had asked a question on the measures in place that would protect the interests of the communities if they get into joint venture partnerships so that they do not get cheated. Though not directed to him, the minister responded: "Let me answer the question from the journalist, because you people always seem to be far from the truth. 'The tourism industry in Botswana was started by foreigners when Botswana thought going into the bush was very dangerous. Botswana has ne be re Makgawa e hatla eng mo sekweneng a tla jwa ke diau' (what are these people doing in the wilderness? They will be eaten by lions.)" He said dismissed the impression that some people were getting more from the industry than others. Bonyongo stood his ground, saying his debate was to make people think outside the box, and provoke dialogue.

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TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR DEVELOPING AN ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT PLAN FOR PROPOSED TOURIST CAMPSITE
THE TSODILO HILLS WORLD HERITAGE SITE

1. BACKGROUND: The Tsodilo Management Authority is an institution which has been established to oversee the development and implementation of the Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site project. Its membership has been drawn from the Government of Botswana, Non-government Organizations and the Tsodilo Community. The primary objective of the project is to "ensure the successful long-term management of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site through equitable benefit sharing and sustainable management of the area". The attainment of the above objectives is dependent upon successful undertaking of the following two initiatives, "the organization of the community through involvement and employment and the conservation of flora and fauna through the development of tourism". The Authority wishes to engage consultant(s) who have proven experience with environmental impact assessments studies to develop an Environmental Management Plan (EMP) for a proposed tourist campsite within the Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site Buffer Zone.

2. Objective: The main objective of the exercise is to "prepare a detailed Environmental Management Plan (EMP) elaborating Environmental Management Strategies for the proposed campsite prior to implementation to manage the impacts associated with the day to day operations of the project" in particular the consultant will carry out an evaluation of the "environmental consequences" of the proposed campsite and the associated works in order to ensure that they are fully included and appropriately addressed at the earliest stage of project development on par with economic and social considerations". The assignment shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Environmental Impact Assessment Act of 2005, and associated guidelines as issued by Department of Environmental Affairs as well as other statutory instruments.

3. Scope of the EMP:

3.1 General
The Environmental Management Plan should incorporate a review of relevant reports and documents (including, but not limited to, applicable legislative documents, the Tsodilo Management Plan, Okavango Delta Management Plan and others) and updates to give a description of the concept and the proposed development.

3.2 Public Consultations: The Consultant is obliged to carry out public consultations, in order to ensure that all the salient aspects of human activities are addressed by the study. The Consultant shall therefore ensure that all relevant Government (including the Local Authorities), NGOs, Private Sector, Community, interested and affected parties (IAPs), and the general public are adequately consulted. Consultation of relevant government departments is critical as it will enable the study to take into consideration relevant policies, guidelines and regulations (By-laws) that have a bearing on the proposed development.

3.3 Specific Tasks

- Undertake a situational analysis of the project area
- Review the policy, legal and administrative framework relevant to the proposed developments
- Assess plans of various Government departments for the area and analyse probable impacts and influences
- Predict and outline likely impacts and recommend appropriate mitigation measures

Figure 10. The newspaper clipping of the Minister of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism saying that when conservation is politicized credibility is lost.

In his 1994 study in Lesotho, James Ferguson argues that state-led development does not reduce poverty significantly, nor does it introduce new capitalist opportunities. Instead, it produces unintended outcomes through the ways in which 'intentional plans' interacted with unacknowledged structures and institutions. Ferguson argues not to focus on what development does not do, but rather on the side effects it produces. In Lesotho, a development project intended to improve agricultural production instead had the primary outcome of linking the Thaba-Tsheka region to the capital through the construction of a new road, which resulted in the establishment of a new district administration and gave the Lesotho government a much stronger presence in the area including through an increased military presence (Ferguson, 1994; p. 252-253). The crux of Ferguson's argument is that the antipolitical mask of development and its ability to reduce poverty via technological and capital

investment effectively allowed for the inconspicuous establishment and expansion of state bureaucratic powers. Development is discursive; it is a plan with unintended consequences and something to be analyzed. It also has specific material impacts.

The popular circulating “truth” in Botswana that it has never been colonized and that it has instead escaped colonialism is a commonly carried discourse amongst citizens of Botswana. Despite the ubiquity of this knowledge (see one example in Figure 11), the country today exists as a postcolonial state through its political, linguistic, and infrastructural orientations, as well as its incorporation into global economies alongside its neighboring African countries, and the ongoing influence of white foreigners on the country’s political economies. What Botswana avoided through bypassing the technicalities of becoming a settler colonial state was the explicit racial violence that occurred through stolen land, such as in neighboring South Africa and Zimbabwe, despite modern day conservation and mining induced displacements. As Gressier (2011) documents, “white Botswana distance themselves from colonialism and the negative stereotypes of whites in Africa through focusing on the ways in which Botswana differs historically and politically from neighboring countries.” However, this effectively diminishes the racial social dynamics that permeate political borders and serves to remove responsibility from white and political actors. It also serves to undergird the severity of impact of the Botswana state and industry exercising colonial tools of control and authority over the resources of Indigenous and local people.

The political, linguistic, and infrastructural colonial legacies that remain in the country include the adoption of similarly structured political institutions as those of the United Kingdom (such as parliament), English as a national language, road orientations, and pervasively, Christianity. Additionally, natural resources during the colonial period were commodified for consumption within Europe and have since continued to grow. For example, Botswana’s political economy of beef during the protectorate period became deeply embedded in beef markets in Europe.

The colonial urge to ‘civilize’ and ‘develop’ is now a role of the government and Tswana elite; while white men and women (‘expats’) in the country are generally well-meaning environmentalists or naturalists. White conservation in the country is often characterized by wealthy and white-initiated conservation campaigns (to save the rhino, for example) that vilify poachers and ignore the longstanding socioeconomic drivers that lead local people to poaching—a dangerous way to earn a lot of money for their family, that often ends in death. Wildlife tourism plays a key role in conservation through high-end tourism lodges in the Okavango Delta and elsewhere.

These remnants of colonialism are historical legacies that maintain through present-day, while simultaneously neo-colonial tools attempt to maintain certain power structures. Extractive development industries continue to drive Botswana’s economy through ongoing processes of colonization. The mining industry grew through and with colonization of Africa and the world. De Beers (Debswana parent company) was started by Cecil John Rhodes, a notorious colonist of Southern Africa whose statue came down at the University of Cape Town in South Africa in 2015. Referencing this symbolic victory towards universal justice, postcolonial scholar Achille Mbembe noted that “Rhodes prefigured the extraction and privatization of ill-gotten wealth neoliberalism today has pushed to a refinement unseen in the history of humankind” (Bangstad & Nilsen, 2019). Rhodes’ connection to present day neoliberalism, Mbembe described, is part of a relationship between slavery, colonial exploitation, and modern-day resource extraction, which can be represented by his role in the origin of De Beers. Debswana’s influence as a leader of the economy and within social development

in Botswana are not mutually exclusive of these colonial and racially driven histories.



Figure 11. Newspaper clipping highlighting a portion of the article that says, "As a country we were never colonised."

Foreign-interest development in Africa has been shown to be more about racialized power dynamics than well-being of marginalized people (Bonsu, 2019). Édouard Glissant (1997, p.14) wrote that "most of the nations that gained freedom from colonization have tended to form around an idea of power—the totalitarian drive of a single, unique root—rather than around a fundamental relationship with the Other." This is true in Botswana, where the political majority Tswana people often marginalize other ethnic minorities in the country through displacement, lack of recognition of cultural customs and other languages besides English and Setswana, and through alliances with

historically colonial economies (see also Fanon, 1963), relationships that arose during the colonial protectorate period.

Further, colonialism often takes many forms, each of which reproduces dispossession. As Mies and Shiva (1993) write:

In the early phases of colonization, the white man's burden consisted of the need to 'civilize' the non-white peoples of the world — this meant above all depriving them of their resources and rights. In the latter phase of colonization, the white man's burden consisted of the need to 'develop' the Third World, and this again involved depriving local communities of their resources and rights. We are now on the threshold of the third phase of colonization, in which the white man's burden is to protect the environment - and this too, involves taking control of rights and resources. The salvation of the environment cannot be achieved through the old colonial order based on the white man's burden. The two are ethically, economically and epistemologically incongruent. Mies and Shiva (1993, pp. 264–265, as quoted in Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017)

For the San people in the Okavango Delta, seemingly all three forms of colonization are occurring at once—assimilation, lack of access to resources through “development”, and an adjacent to environmental conservation.

“White people things”

In addition to political and social structures, economies, and religion, many English and white South African nationals have effectively settled in Botswana and are owners of the industries local people refer to as “white people things.” Tourism development has been described as both about power over operations and space (McEwan, 2001), as well as an “intrusive white endeavor” undertaken by employing earlier colonial modes of governing (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017 citing Biccum, 2011

& Duffield, 2005). Of the over 224,000 overseas tourists in 2018 that travelled to Botswana the majority reside in the United States (28.6%), Germany (18.8%), and the United Kingdom (14.9%). Ultra-luxurious lodges in the middle of the Okavango Delta in Northern Botswana, the focus of this study and the area with the most wildlife-based tourism in Botswana, are marketed as having an abundance of wildlife in pristine wilderness. While hidden from this marketed dreamland, tourism has been associated with exploitation through the destruction of place and community self-determination (Hambira, 2021). Ownership within the tourism industry has been shown to be predominately owned by foreign companies and investors, with 53.8% of lodges 100% owned by foreign safari companies, 28% jointly owned by Botswana- and foreign-owned companies, and only 18.5% fully owned by Botswana citizen companies (Mbaiwa, 2017). The result has been revenue leakages to foreign countries and poor employment opportunities for locals. While data is unavailable for ownership by race—all lodge owners that I interviewed were white South Africans.

State and racial outsiders owning the means of production is common between the mining and conservation industries. The copper mining companies that drove displacement for the communities in and around the village of Toteng in the Ngamiland district were local subsidiaries owned by parent companies in the United States and Canada. Diversification of mineral investment is a high priority for the government because of the well-established joint partnership the Botswana government has with the international diamond company De Beers, known as Debswana. However, respondents were not blind to who the beneficiaries ultimately were—not them and not the land. And mineral extraction benefits both owners and consumers. For diamonds, the U.S. accounts for the largest portion of demand consumption worldwide at 48% (Statista, accessed 1 April 2022). Ultimately this intimately connects consumers in the United States with the hidden social and environmental costs of mining development and displacement in Botswana.

Respondents were aware of the ways that development-induced displacement maintains non-white people through displacement for the commodities of wildlife tourism and mining. Not only did these development forces displace them from life and land, but they've been largely excluded from participation within these industries or use of their sellable products (diamonds, copper, and safaris). Instead, these industries have primarily benefitted foreigners (Figure 12). Development within and by the mining & tourism industries examined here are globally dependent on foreigners either for production in terms of labor and management and consumption. Further, tourists consuming wildlife at luxury lodges either through photography or, prior to 2014 and after 2019, hunting are the beneficiaries of government conservation programs that alter the lives of Indigenous and local people in the Okavango Delta and Kalahari Desert.



Figure 12. Clipping from the Ngami Times with the headline 'Tourism favors foreigners'.

Acceptance of white standards

Apolitical discourses, including those that Botswana was never colonized, halt discourse around issues of identity- and culture-based power dynamics from natural resource management and allow

for acceptance of white “standards” in industry. For example, within the tourism industry, one lodge owner described global standards that tourists expect when they arrive somewhere. These standards have been determined by white people for white people as the “right way” to do industry. A broad example of this is that everyone be able to speak English which is part of certain educational standards, as the lodge owner described it to me. White people often also set the standard for what it means to be hard-working or lazy—a common discourse, which I heard from the lodge owner as well. The issue is that if people do not conform to certain standards or timelines of the development pace, they are vilified.

This is true even for non-profit development in Africa by big international non-governmental organizations (BINGOs), including those focused on conservation and improving people’s livelihoods, and that are often based in Europe or North America. They too enforce subjugation and racist ideologies about the inferiority of African people. One ubiquitous and even popularly accepted way of making western standards the superior way of operating within development projects is through “capacity building,” where development officials build the capacity of local people to improve their own lives. The assumption of capacity building is that the African way of doing things is inferior; the right way is the western way. This sentiment is carried through to both conservation and mining, the industries of focus in this paper. This discourse is not even questioned very much in the literature—I was able to find only two works about how this is a commonly accepted term that is meant to undermine local authority (Eade, 2007; West 2016).

Whiteness has apparently been elected to save people across the worlds from themselves, their non-white traditions, or ways of being in the world. Particularly actors that inhabit whiteness, that have reached adulthood through whiteness, or have learned whiteness through proximity recognize modernization as the “right way” to do things. Development thus fundamentally undermines the notion of pluralism and invalidates other ways of being in the world. Through programs such as

capacity building, which are widespread, development actors “build local people’s capacities.” They are often not required to learn local languages or traditions. They are not required to build capacities of local people themselves. In other words, a development actor is not required to build their own capacity of local people, such as through their language, the specific ways they know wildlife, hunt, engage in farming, or have specific kinship structures. In the process they are reinforcing whiteness and their own perceived superiority.

Conclusion

I began this paper by asking what discourses circulate within predominate forms of development in Botswana? And how do they contradict material realities for displaced people? Development and displacement are material practices, driven by discursive realities. On the surface the discourses of local people noticing white people things on the one hand and apolitical and a-colonial development discourses on the other are contradictory; however, the latter exists as a way for neocolonial mining companies and international wildlife tourism operations to maintain power by not taking on responsibility for racial and class-based inequality. Local people are both aware of this, have accepted it as part of their life, and are interested in upward mobility. These tensions are reflected in convoluted discourses of development in the press and industry that illustrate a “non-colonized” Black economy tied up in whiteness.

By taking displacement as a capillary moment to understand the unintended outcomes of development, this research shows the intimate land- and life-based connections, relations, and discourses that circulate to meet specific goals. Rhetorical dispossessions such as the ones outlined here—those that claim natural resource management is apolitical or that Botswana was never colonized—prolong the life of dispossession. Rhetorical dispossessions provide the reasoning for continued oppression of ethnic minorities to achieve a nationalist vision that includes international

development investments. Some of these discourses, such as “capacity building,” are still commonly accepted within the development space, but are ultimately about maintaining power rather than improving well-being.

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Chapter 3. Relational Displacement and the Colonial Legacies of Copper Mining in the Kalahari Copperbelt Region of Botswana⁴

Abstract

Displacements are understood as having wide-ranging impacts on livelihoods and community access to resources. Using interviews and oral histories of farmers displaced by a copper mine in Botswana, the research described here demonstrates that displacement not only changes lived experiences of those who are displaced, but also has broad relational impacts by dispersing displaced people's family members and neighbors, disenfranchising farmers from their cattle and land, shifting the ways that human-wildlife conflict plays out, and creating a new and disruptive relationship between cattle farmers and the mining industry. Postcolonial and Indigenous scholars have long written about human-animal kinship and ongoing colonial and capitalist relations that weave (sometimes disparate) communities closer together or further apart (Todd, 2016). The work described here demonstrates that this knowledge allows for a clearer understanding of how displacement impacts the material worlds of people and nonhumans displaced by the disruptive forces of resource development.

Keywords: Displacement, copper mining, relationality, nonhumans

Introduction

"As life-enhancing entanglements disappear from our landscapes, ghosts take their place." — Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet (Ghosts)

⁴ This chapter is published in *Environment & Planning E: Nature & Space* (Huckleberry J (2022) 'Relational Displacements and the Colonial Legacies of Copper Mining in the Kalahari Copperbelt Region of Botswana', *Environment & Planning E: Nature and Space*. Online First. Doi: [10.1177/25148486221081391](https://doi.org/10.1177/25148486221081391)) and won the African Studies Jordan Prize for Best Paper in 2021.

Critical displacement studies have reiterated the wide-reaching livelihood and household level impacts that displacement has on families and individuals. Extractive industry displacements in particular have been linked through accumulation by dispossession (Kesselring, 2018; Barney, 2009; Carmody & Taylor, 2016; Cavanagh, 2018), where people are excluded through new systems of land control and management, and subsequently incorporated into capitalist production (Harvey, 1997). The displacement case described here centers around land accumulated in the Toteng region in the Ngamiland District of Botswana through market-driven international investment in the Kalahari copper deposits. Accumulation in Toteng was enabled by government ownership of all mineral resources that allows for quick acquisition of land by private companies. This is an example of primitive accumulation where the violent dispossession of a group of people through actions of the state shift ownership of the means of production (Harvey, 2005; West, 2016), which in this case included the earth, farms, and fodder that sit above sought-after copper ore.

However, this research does not take a descriptive and material approach to these displacements, although that is an important piece of this story. Instead, it investigates the changing relationships that characterize the experience of displacement. Based on cattle farmer stories of experience and memory of displacement from the Toteng copper mining region collected over 2019 and 2020, copper mining displacements of cattle pastoralists in Botswana show how displacement has impacted farmers or subsistence users and their relations. More specifically, by attending to the relational elements of displacement, this research seeks an understanding of displacement using empirical and oral histories that highlight the impacts of displacement and resource extraction on interspecies, social relationships, and land tenure arrangements. How do relationships to family, land, and nonhuman animals change through displacement, and how are people's life-worlds reassembled in lived experience? By life-world, I refer to Achille Mbembe (2001, p.15) as he defined the "set of material practices, signs, figures, superstitions, images, and fictions that, because they are available to individuals' imagination and

intelligence and actually experienced, form what might be called ‘languages of life’ that are “not only the field where individuals’ existence unfolds in practice; it is where they exercise existence—that is, live their lives out and confront the very forms of their death.” It is these life-worlds that are twisted and transformed by the U.S. and Canadian copper companies in Toteng, re-shaping lives and relational worlds the owners will never know. They remove the life-enhancing entanglements referenced in the epigraph and have left behind ghosts in the Kalahari Desert: cattle carcasses and homestead ruins (Tuck & Ree, 2013).

Displacement Context & Methodology

The Boseto and Zone 5 copper mines that displaced farmers from 2011-2015 are adjacent to a group of villages located in the Ngamiland District in Botswana—Toteng, Sehitwa, and Bothathogo (Figure 13). The BaHerero and Ovambanderu farmers that make up much of the population in this area arrived as refugees of the Herero and Namaqua genocide waged by Germany in the early 20th century (Nielsen, 2017; Hitchcock, 2017). Their languages (mHerero and mBanderu) are not nationally recognized—in school, parliament, or on the radio. Rather, they have been forced to assimilate by using Setswana, English, and conforming to longstanding Tswana political tradition in the kgotla (court) system.

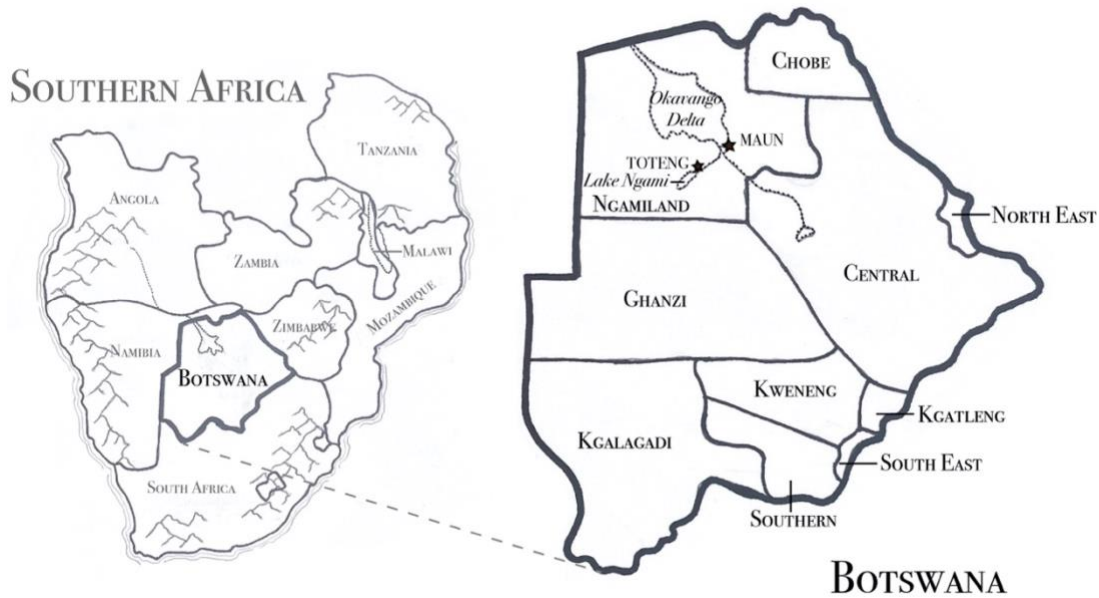


Figure 13. Map of Botswana by Author.

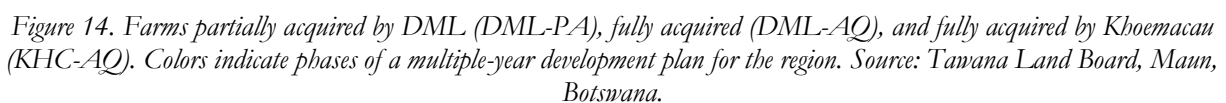
BaHerero and Ovambanderu are traditionally pastoralists and often their dominant source of livelihood is livestock rearing (Magole, 2009). In the village of Toteng, the primary access point to the Zone 5 mine, cattle pastoralism has historically been a primary source of livelihood occurring in a large export economy of Botswana beef. Shifts in land tenure for copper mining development have resulted in changes in community management of rangelands and natural resources (Basupi et al., 2017). Since most land in Botswana is lease held and owned by the dominant Tswana tribe (effectively, the government) farmers are in a precarious position of the leases being forfeited, which often results in them moving to areas with communal grazing.

Botswana has largely avoided Structural Adjustment Programs because of its successful state-controlled diamond mining industry (Odysseos, 2011), made possible, in part, because of this land tenure structure as well as government ownership of mineral rights that are handed over to international companies for extractive resource development. Land policy is an obvious pathway to economic and social development within Botswana, but that comes with visceral consequences for

those wrapped up in spaces of capital interest. The displacement from the Toteng region is thus not a singular event in the country. Elsewhere in Botswana, a government-led displacement of San Bushmen from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) for obfuscated reasons gained international attention from human rights organizations like Survival International (Sapignoli, 2018).

Distinct from the displacement of San from the CKGR, the displacement discussed here was carried out and negotiated largely by two copper companies—Discovery Metals Limited and Cupric Canyon Capital—with logistical support from the Tawana Land Board. The Tawana Land Board moved the leases from farmers to the companies beginning in 2010 when the mine began clearing farmers' land prior to negotiation, as some respondents shared. Subsequent community meetings were directed by Discovery Metals Limited and the compensation assessment committee was comprised of government officials and representatives from the copper company. Discovery Metals Limited fully acquired seven farms and partially acquired three farms beginning in 2011 (Figure 14). Four farmers reported refusing the compensation amount that was offered, indicating it was much less than what they paid to lease their farms. One reported paying 1.7 million BWP (around 155,500 USD) and was offered 50,000 by the company, which they described as an insult and not enough money to pay for litigation. Farmers also reported that the assessment process of their farms was not transparent. Due to the small amount of compensation, many farmers failed to buy farms elsewhere unless they had income from other business. Instead, since many farmers depended on livestock rearing as their main source of livelihood they had to move to nearby communal areas. This first wave of displacements impacted seven farms and up to one-hundred people prior to a multiple-year decommissioning of the project beginning in 2014 when Discovery Metals Limited sold the operation to Cupric Canyon Capital.

The U.S.-owned and Botswana-based Cupric Canyon Capital and their subsidiary Khoemacau purchased the mine and acquired two additional farms (Figure 14). Similarly, to the initial wave of



With the assistance of a local research assistant, I collected twenty-four semi-structured interviews with seventeen male cattle farmers, two widows, and seven farmer's wives from September 2019 through March 2020. I also conducted six oral histories with farmers that were audio-recorded with

the interviewee's permission and transcribed verbatim. We identified people to interview through snowball sampling and records obtained through the Tawana Land Board. We recorded interviews under trees at people's cattle posts or new land (if they had it), at their old land, at their friend's houses, their place of work, or in my car to escape the intense heat of the Botswana sun. Interviews were transcribed by myself and translated by my research assistant if they were in mHerero, mBanderu or Setswana. Following transcription, I analyzed the interviews in MaxQDA using an iterative coding process, building on a series of codes based on interview notes. I then took a grounded theory approach in the analytical software. Of the people interviewed, five were able to find new land, five were only partially displaced from their land, eleven moved to communal areas, and three found no new land or communal area to move to. Outside of a few wealthy lawyer and businessperson outliers, many farmers that were displaced grew up on these farms. They knew and loved the places where their parents were buried, where they had invested their labor in their livestock and the land.

This research centers the memories people have of displacement—of the relocation process itself, of the old land, and of where they relocated to. For the oral histories, we conducted landscape walks, as the landscape harbors memories and memorials that can prompt rushes of memory or erase them (Gold & Gujar, 2002; Kosek, 2006; Legg, 2007); these reminders exist across space, such as landscape formations (Basso, 1996) or memorials that serve to make permanent certain memories over others (Johnson, 2005). In remembering, places can become imaginary spaces in which memory becomes creative and nostalgic, but forgetful of certain actions, such as memories associated with violence (Legg, 2007), displacement (Brockington & Igoe, 2006), and other forms of erasure. The interviews, landscape walks, oral histories, and resultant memories demonstrate the deeply personal impacts of displacement. At the same time, I recognize that public memories are shaped by internal power struggles within communities, where some versions of knowledge and stories are given privilege over others, such as, in this case, the knowledge of men (Hamilton & Shopes, 2008; Spivak, 1988).

Additionally, as a settler, I am outside of the epistemologies and ontologies that shape relationality for Indigenous and African people and scholars in much deeper, life-worlding ways than multispecies assemblage theories I discuss below. I have come to these theories through the academy rather than living and breathing them. I use them here to argue specifically towards anticolonial displacement studies, because displacement is fundamentally about land relations and farmers emphasized their shifting connections to their relations in interviews. I am not innocent (Tuck & Yang, 2012) as a Western researcher and can therefore not conduct decolonial research without repatriating life and land. However, I can critique oppressive extractive industry development and the displacements it drives that are often hidden from consumers, and I do that as I examine my own complicity.

While oral history as a practice was promoted by movements around decolonization, feminism, and civil rights, the method itself and resulting descriptions are necessarily re-presentations where the researcher mediates between the original speaker or person being interviewed and the audience for which the research was intended (Hamilton & Shopes, 2008). In this research, this mediation began during interviews and oral histories where the translations provided by my research assistant were sometimes on-the-spot and sometimes lost. For example, the word ‘compensation’ in Banderu is translated roughly as ‘to wipe one’s tears away.’ I am echoing the long-known sentiment that meaning and memory are sometimes lost-in-translation. With inspiration from Marisol de la Cadena’s (2015) careful interrogation of translation, the conclusions I draw were composed with partial connections to my research assistant, the people we interviewed together, and the composition of transcripts that we both produced. In the results, I use quotes from people we interviewed to represent direct memories, knowledge, and insights of the relation-making and -breaking experiences of copper mining displacements, to share stories from ‘point-zero’ of the displacement (Gahman, 2020). Many farmers I spoke with volunteered that this story of life and death through their displacement needs to be told, and I hope to do them justice.

Relationality & Displacement

This case study contributes a relational approach to understanding displacement from disruptive forces of resource development by focusing on shifting connections between humans, the land, and nonhumans. Relationality has been theorized and practiced by Indigenous scholars (see Brooks, 2018; Simpson, 2017; TallBear, 2019; Todd, 2016), postcolonial scholars (Mbembe, 2001), and more recently through relational philosophies of multispecies assemblages like those of Donna Haraway and Anna Tsing. These reasonings of relationality are distinct but intersect in their disruption of the separatist logic of coloniality (Macklin, 2020), their emphasis of connections between humans, nonhumans, and material things and processes, and their resistance to oppression. Understanding displacement as relational shows the ways that the connections of displaced people and their networks shift, how bad relations carry with them an imprint of colonial processes, and how relations that remain, persist, and survive through violent forced removal resist the primary goals of dispossession.

The process of resettlement “seeks to render people and space more governable,” through rearrangements of capital and land (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2019). Displacement forces new regimes of control over land and access to resources through long-standing political tools and infrastructures, such as eminent domain and state ownership of mineral rights. Pathways to displacement are differentiated based on the primary displacing actor, such as the government or private industry, as well as the mode of compensation. In Botswana, international copper politics interact with small-scale and subsistence cattle production through processes of spatial, temporal, and economic displacement by which people are rendered governable in the process of resettlement. What follows are brief descriptions of the ways space and time are used to understand displacement, followed by how theories of relationality coincide with experiences of displacement and its associated shifting life-worlds.

Space—land (and sometimes water) is the limiting factor in every displacement. The social and material qualities of land, their evolution through the displacement process, and how people experience that evolution have varied and multiple effects. Three main qualities of land, indicated by Tania Li, show how displacement is intricately tied up in place. (1) Land holds different value and meaning for different actors – it can be a home, a source of food, or an opportunity to commodity markets depending on whether you grew up on that land, are a farmer, or a prospective mining company. (2) The materiality of land makes it stationary and specific to that place, “you cannot roll it up and take it away.” And finally, (3) inscription devices assemble it for a specific resource depending on an actor’s goals (Li, 2014), which differs across different types of displacement drivers as well as for whom the land initially belonged to.

Temporal displacements occur when people are displaced through time via a loss of pasts and futures that are no longer accessible to them (Askland, 2018). This can occur through displacement in place or “involuntary immobility” (Lubkemann, 2008), and in addition to physical displacement. Temporality of experience requires we pay attention to the many different time scales that certain types of development and their associated displacements are imbricated in. Tsing et al. (2017, eds.) ask how many types of time are, in this case, experiences of development wrapped up in? On the slow geological scale, there is the formation of copper ore, which is directly opposed to the rapid boom and busts of the copper market that fluctuate with the global economy (Tsing et al. Eds., 2017). The latter has been termed an extractive pace, where constantly shifting time agendas shift with the global economy and local conditions (Kesselring, 2018). Fluctuating timescales of family history begin to overlap with the extractive pace, changing human relationships to family, friends, neighbors, work, land, and the nonhumans wrapped up in each of those. Rob Nixon (2011) points out that the “past of slow violence is never past,” impacts and changes that arise during displacement live on—in memory, as industrial particulates from past exposures to pollution, and in new material realities.

A multitude of temporal and spatial conditions can be found through using and understanding “assemblages—including the more-than-human, other-than-human, [and] inhuman” (Haraway, 2015). Assemblages can be used to understand how people, nonhumans, and their myriad of connections move differently through the places and histories that displacements are involved with. As Anna Tsing (2015, p.8) notices, “life seems to have gotten more crowded, not only with... ecological histories, but also with international relations and capitalist trading practices.” These interweaving webs of activity create complex lifeways for humans and nonhumans alike. However, extractive colonialism and dispossession exist because of colonizers who want land and resources (Simpson, 2017; Brooks, 2018). While these drivers may be simple, they are violent; their mitigation and management strategies remain inadequate; and they have impacts that reverberate across networks, such as those of displaced farmers. Dispossession reverberates. It is expansive and goes beyond physical land loss to spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and political severing from hubs of networked relationships (Simpson, 2017).

Of networked relationships, kinship and human-animal relations are paramount and their relational shifts have been studied and written about by Indigenous scholars for decades (Daigle, 2016; Todd, 2016). Anthropologist and Indigenous scholar Zoe Todd describes ways of being “that acknowledge to be human is to exist in relation, & that to be in relation is to be caught up in the existence...of many other beings, existences, relations” (Todd, 2020). To be in life-enhancing relation with other beings is to be incompatible with international mining companies that displace communities for extraction and production. By preferencing mining over (primarily) subsistence cattle production, the government of Botswana is altering, severing, and replacing life-worlds of cattle farmers and their families, an enduring legacy of colonialism.

African postcolonial scholars have long recognized such legacies and celebrated diverse ways of being in the world, particularly on the African continent (Ogunyankin, 2019). Both African postcolonial scholars and Indigenous scholars have called for the need to go beyond Western

descriptions of modernity and hegemony in reshaping protocols and policies (Ogunyankin, 2019). However, displacement takes place in specific locations with long histories and therefore, in distinct ways on the African continent. African postcolonialism is characterized by material and epistemological worlds that exist in relation to persisting political economies of inequality after colonization (Ogunyankin, 2019), where Africans have been defined by the west as “*other*” and all that the west is not (Mbembe, 2001). In other words, while postcolonial theory insists colonialism has an enduring legacy on the African continent, it disavows these colonial master narratives and celebrates multiplicity. This approach decenters the stories of dispossession that consider subjugation through colonialism and capitalism as all-encompassing and through the process overlook life-sustaining relations that remain and occur in parallel with the violence of dispossession (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Heynen & Ybarra, 2021; McKittrick, 2013; Salih & Corry, 2020).

Postcolonial relationalities and explorations of non-Western postcolonial worlds can thus shift critical displacement studies away from colonial master narratives and towards recognizing the evolving wide-reaching experiential impacts of displacement for nonhuman, social, and economic relations in the face of settler-state led extractive industry development. Achille Mbembe uses the concepts of entanglement and displacement, for example, to describe how inequality persists in postcolonial African countries, taking as a starting point the distinctive temporalities and subjectivities that define shifting life-worlds. Relations shape these life-worlds. They can be bad relations that disrupt or life-enhancing that remain, sustain themselves, and center joy, family, and access. These can only be understood through positionalities and ontologies that shape relationality for Indigenous and African people, in this case the BaHerero Ovambanderu farmers displaced by the copper mines.

In the subsequent results sections, I build on the theoretical framework described here to show that empirically, relations shift through displacement and are as wide-ranging to include distant familial relations, friendships, domestic and wild interspecies relationships, and land tenure arrangements, as

well as introduce new relations to copper ore and foreign miners. Elsewhere, displacement has been explored relationally by Byrd et al. (2018) who argued that dispossession translates people, land, and nonhumans into value form through processes of financialization and abstraction that reduce life-worlds to capital relations. Abstractions of dispossession within extractive industry overshadow the ways that displacement disrupts, maintains, and shifts farmer life-worlds and the human and nonhuman relations they are connected to.

Results: Changing Relations of Displacement

Results of the qualitative analysis indicate there are three main areas where farmers experienced relational impacts from land dispossession. (1) The rearranging of their nonhuman relations; specifically, their connection to the nonhuman environment, including land, access to water, their kinship with and ability to raise livestock, and their interactions with wildlife. (2) Their social relations and worlds that include relationships with their family members who they often shared a farm with, and their neighbors. And, (3) the shifting economies and land tenures defined by their new relationship to the mine. The impacts described below are overlapping and intersectionally compounding—they are not siloed and interact in varied ways. For example, many farmers had to face finding new land with little money as well as dealing with lost and dying cattle. Others were mourning the loss of a loved one, while simultaneously looking for new sources of livelihood and income. What follows is an exploration of the ways networked relations shifted for cattle farmers when a copper mine acquires their land.

Rearranging Nonhuman Relations

For people across Botswana, interactions with their nonhuman environments have historically been and continue to be life-defining relations. Cattle have been a source of passion, community, and

have even shaped political hierarchies for people of Botswana for centuries. Farmer narrations of their displacement often focused on cattle and intersected with drought, human-wildlife conflict, and foods they relied on. The significance of such a nonhuman connection is often missed in displacement studies that focus on livelihood impacts of development, rather than relational impacts, because the emphasis is on “development” that occurs within a particular ontology of life—typically one that centers western ideas of modernity. While livelihood is still important in the research presented here, quality of life is not necessarily always determined by how much money someone makes, despite the discursive ubiquity of “GDP per capita” to determine if someone has all of their needs met. This research trend mirrors the trend in development that transformed farmer relationships to cattle in Botswana, beginning right before Independence, when cattle began their techno-economic transformation to beef, where they would be produced for the global market (Livingston, 2019). This transformed relationship to food, shifted problems of malnutrition to ones of obesity and hypertension; to each other, where political and racial elite had the upper hand in commercial production; and to their animals, away from a “time when humans thanked [them] for the gift of their flesh” (Livingston, 2019, p. 37). This is an important context in which the cattle farmers of the Toteng region were displaced. They had assimilated into production of beef to be sold to the Botswana Meat Commission, but were not competitive at a corporate scale, did not engage in feedlot practices, and still maintained interspeciated kinships marked by the slaughter of a cow for special occasions. Thus, relationality shows what connections not only give life or take life away by centering the relationships that matter, but those that transform into hybrid forms.

Cattle play both a traditional subsistence and modernizing role in Botswana. Since Independence and the growth of the beef industry for export to Europe, cattle production has expanded to become economically viable for most farmers, industrial for few. While most respondents have not scaled up production to be industrially viable, they all engaged in both subsistence and market-based beef

production. This production is not just a livelihood but a way-of-life; it is culturally defining, where a cow slaughter accompanies important celebrations. All respondents mentioned their cattle, emphasizing that this is where their specialization lies, the reason they needed land to begin with. Farmers often equated livestock with life, “We ended up losing our livestock... We have lost our way of life.” As their leases were taken from them to be given to the copper companies they described losing their land and the process of their cows becoming lost or dying from a myriad of causes: in the tailings waste pit at the mine; because of the drought that followed them through their displacement; from increased human-wildlife conflict with lions or elephants; or as they wandered astray, towards the old farm, after cattle had been relocated themselves. The loss of their cattle led to impoverishment: “Now we are impoverished... I’ve lived all my life depending on cattle until now, and now the money [the mine is] giving us... I can’t even afford to fuel the vehicle. Cattle are dying in the lake. At the ranch the cattle wouldn’t die this way.” Farmers had structured their entire lives around these creatures—with losing their land, as the preceding quotes exemplify, they lost their cattle and their ways of life. This is a result of complex cattle (and beef) social and economic relations that exist locally as well as through global connections, colliding and rupturing with the introduction of copper production. For the Toteng farmers, cattle and what they needed for their survival were significant relations that shifted with shifting land tenure.

Cattle had their own memories of the land, as one farmer described their return journeys to the old farm after being relocated: “We intentionally delayed [relocating] because we had livestock. It wasn’t easy because the livestock were accustomed to the old land and could go astray. Livestock of those who moved earlier were coming back to the old land.” Cattle that returned to their old land travelled at minimum twenty kilometers across roads and developments carved out of primarily savanna woodland desert by the mining companies and their contractors. Most of them were not found again and died through the causes previously mentioned. The co-experiences of memory of

homelands and (im)mobility impacts after displacement for cattle and farmers represents intersections of oppression across socio-economic and species boundaries (Joyce et al., 2015). Through the displacement, hierarchies of power are carried out by the government and copper company that subjugate humans and more-than-humans based not just on the physical space they occupy but on discrimination of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and species (Gillespie & Collard, 2015). The intimate connections cows have with the lifeways of humans resulted in their own displacement and ultimately death—an important consideration of the wide-reaching impacts and changing relations of mining-induced displacement. Displacement studies often overlook the impact of various forms of migration on nonhuman relations, outside of studies focusing specifically on wildlife conservation displacements. The example of shifting life-worlds for cattle themselves, is just one way that experiential impacts are more wide-reaching than colonial master narratives suggest.

Fundamentally life-giving water and rain are important to the long-standing lifeways of cattle pastoralism and are critical for the growth of grazing pastures in the desertous, savannah-woodland landscape of the Kalahari Copperbelt. One farmer described that what he missed about his old farm was “the structure of the soil, the grass itself, how it [caught]... the rain.” Rain provides a critical release following seasonal periods of very dry heat for Botswana and their livestock, as well as the country’s high numbers of wildlife that rely on the seasonal rains for food and water. The vast majority (78.4% of approximately two million people) of Botswana live in rural areas, where rain and interactions with animals they rely on and coexist with define daily life (Kolawole, 2014). In particular, the Herero and Banderu farmers of Toteng and surrounding areas use a grazing method that relies on small groups of kinsmen and seasonal fluctuations in water where they move closer to Lake Ngami during the dry season and back to their boreholes during the wet season. The leased land that they were displaced from and have used since the early twentieth century is where their boreholes were and allowed for this seasonal and sustainable grazing (Magole, 2009).

When people recalled their old land, they not only remembered the structure of the land itself, its productivity, or the grasses that fed their livestock, they also remembered the water—how it fed their livestock and their family. They connected their old land to a time when there was no water crisis, when their borehole was productive and provided sweet (not salty) water for their livestock to drink. As one farmer described: “These days we are living a difficult life. Our cattle are dying due to water scarcity.” The material impacts farmers and their families experienced due to relocation were compounded by environmental pressures, particularly the multiple-year drought that resulted in cattle dying across the district of Ngamiland. “Some of [our cattle] are stuck in the mud [at Lake Ngami] because we don’t have boreholes. We don’t have land we can take them to.” As farmers were displaced from their land and boreholes, shifts in precipitation (as shown in historical data) were concurrent with erasures in the farmer’s ability to continue using their traditional, seasonally designed grazing system. At the time of interview, Botswana was in the middle of a multiple-year extreme drought. This fact literally makes history greener and inevitably shapes memory of past land (and rain) to be sweeter. However, as Mutopo & Chiweshe (2014) point out, land grabs are also water grabs (Livingston, 2019). Water is an especially important resource for this landscape—where rains are seasonal and there are multi-decadal oscillations of drought and ample rain (Wolski et al., 2012). It is not surprising then, that water so often played into their memory of the old land, where the availability of sweet water was equated to the health of their livestock and themselves, a literal life-giving relation. Farmers and their cattle’s relationship with water exemplifies relations that are not simply material, but temporal and scalar—occurring at climatic scales of time and space as well as at the hyperlocal scale of a droplet of water.

Human-wildlife conflict (HWC) and interactions are persistent relations for people and biodiversity conservation in Botswana (Buchholtz et al., 2020). However, the ways that HWC manifests can shift with shifts in land tenure and drought. Ten farmers described HWC as increasing

due either to the presence of the mine before farmers were displaced or at their new land. Open water pits, such as the tailings waste pit, attract elephants, especially during drought. This became a problem for farmers prior to relocating and for those that haven't had to relocate for now, as elephants knocked down their fences causing their livestock to go astray, or stepped on their cattle after they got stuck in the mine's tailings pit, as indicated by a farmer: "Our cattle got stuck in [the tailings pit], and elephants would step on them into the mud, due to competition for water at the mine." Additionally, five respondents described now having difficulties with lions eating their livestock at their new land, where they are located closer to the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. "I am nowhere now. From this farm I went to other people's lands, somewhere close to the [game reserve] and my cattle got killed by lions, they are finished." When elephants, lions, and drought interact with displacement—the story often ends with cattle and often, the cattle's end. However, human-wildlife connections have historically been fraught through disrupted crops and infrastructure making this relation one that is carried through displacement.

As Livingston (2019, p. 47) writes: "[t]he cattle post, the ultimate site of rest and pleasure in Botswana, is also a portal into an older mode of interspeciation and sociality." A cattle post is a communal, unfenced area; compared to the ranches farmers were displaced from—fenced, leased areas. Cattle roam freely outside of leasehold ranches, such as in cattle posts, until they hit the veterinarian fences that separate wildlife from livestock. These fences are meant to reduce transmission of foot-and-mouth disease so cattle can still suitably be sold on the European beef market. The rest and pleasure of the cattle post is even more true for the ranch, where farmers don't have to worry about their cattle going astray. The ranches that farmers were displaced from provided peace and food for themselves and their livestock: "We stayed on land where we could milk and have sour milk, we could sell the milk and make money. We stayed in a quiet place, there was no noise and so our livestock lived peacefully." Farmer's relations include the land itself, the water, food, and peace

the land provides, the animals that use the land, as well as how the land is treated by them in return. Stewardship of land and land policies often define contemporary land relations and, in this case, resulted in a relational shift when farmer's land was transferred to the mines. Connections to the land and relations that matter to farmers remain through memories and new access to different land for some.

Memories of food, peace, and connections to nonhumans associated with the land and the land itself were primary memories for many displaced farmers and their wives: "We used to lead a good life when we were there. We didn't need anything. We were living well. We used to eat various kinds of food and at our will." When recalling memories of foods provided by the land respondents became particularly nostalgic. As Legg (2007) has shown, sweet memories such as the abundance of food might override memories associated with hardship and could make present conditions seem less favorable. Some respondents that were displaced from the land connected not having cattle after displacement to not having a quality of life and their (in)ability to feed or take care of their children: "If I wasn't compensated, I could be gathering wild berries, grinding and giving [them] to my children to eat, but now [the farm] is taken." Others recalled different types of productivity or beauty they missed about the land—gathering wild berries and grasses; trees that they knew; the peace and quiet that came from being away from the village; and their healthy cattle. Respondents would note that "at [the old farm] there is life; there is no hunger," but rather complete access to sour milk, churned butter, wild spinach, field crops, game, their livestock, and wild foods. Having access to growing or collecting food in rural Botswana is significant as 64.4% of rural residents were below the poverty line in 2010 (Kolawole, 2014). Being unable to access food is stressful, which is perhaps why many respondents noted living more peacefully when they shared their memories of food: "I remember that I used to be relaxed, drinking sour milk. The conditions were really favorable before these mining activities came

in.” For some, their removal from the land took away secure access to water and foods, the non-human relations they relied on for survival, and left memories of abundance in their place.

Social Relations

Farmers shared land in Toteng amongst large families and groups of friends as a gathering place for special occasions like weddings, funerals, and celebrations, and a place of rest. Social networks grew on the foundation of the land and its associated nonhuman life-worlds, where farmers supported themselves and their kin during and after displacement. Even in the process of relocating, which happened at different times for every syndicate, farmer’s neighbors supported each other by sharing their boreholes until they were able to find new land. However, many farmers and their wives hadn’t seen each other since moving from the land. One respondent described having not seen their friends or family they shared the land with for the three years since they relocated at the time of interview.

With compensation and no new land, families that formerly comprised syndicates on farms acquired by the copper mines were broken up: “We were living a peaceful Herero life. Like the way we lived alongside [of our neighbors], we were hurt when they relocated because we had family ties. Now we feel that the mine brought inconvenience because it broke us apart.” Individual family members physically dispersed throughout the Ngamiland district and into the adjacent district, Ghanzi, sometimes over 200 kilometers away from each other. Nineteen people ended up dispersing to Maun, the nearest large town to Toteng. Others moved to a nearby cattle post (communal area), Mogapelwa. After displacement, some people reported not having seen the neighbors on adjacent farm syndicates that farmers and their families had grown close to since they had to leave their land. The physical dispersal of farmers and their families is distinct for this displacement when compared to studies of resettlement that place entire villages in a new location because farmers were not provided new land.

Instead, farmers were given only money, which added strain to relationships in addition to physical dispersal. A wife of a farmer motioned to a common sentiment amongst people displaced by the copper mine—that money is easily mismanaged: “Money is like ripe fruit ready to be eaten; like served food; anyone will easily go into the pots. It is like served food; that is how money is.” Often, people said this through a common saying—that money cannot be eaten. Money is not life sustaining food like what they had access to on the farm or what they grew up learning about and had decades of knowledge on how to manage. Stories of mismanagement of money were often connected to critiques of the mine not providing new land or financial education and assistance. (These were among the most common requests for what the mine and the land board could do differently for future displacements.)

Mismanagement often manifested through disagreements. The wiping away of farmer’s tears (compensation) was shared amongst members of a syndicate, typically amongst family, which resulted in contentions around finances. For many people, compensation was not enough to buy a new farm and some wondered whether their brother, for example, took more money for himself. Displacement thus not only strained an individual farmer’s ability to provide for himself and his family but his relationships with fellow members of his syndicate through disputes over money: “Money is not a joke, it broke relationships.” The introduced financial relation and dispersal of kin shows how dispossession reverberates beyond physical land loss (and compensation) to severing spiritual and emotional relationships to the land and one another (Simpson, 2017).

Relationships were also strained for some who turned to alcohol or split from their partner for other reasons surrounding conflict brought on by displacement. Seven people I interviewed were concerned about the rise in alcoholism and said that alcohol broke relationships when men used up compensation money partying in Maun: “The thing is, my husband was not okay. He bought those cattle but then due to alcoholism he ended up reselling them again because he is a heavy drinker.”

Without new land to once again share amongst themselves, the overall effect of this compensatory process (of wiping one's tears away) was the division of families around money issues and physical departures from one another: "Relationships, marriages were destroyed... some got divorced because of the mine..." Not only did the mine create literal toxins that killed non-human kin of farmers, the cattle dying in the mineral waste of the copper tailings pit, it also influenced toxic relationship dynamics amongst loved ones. Toxins from the mine are both material and relational, moving through each on different scales of time—one as industrially produced chemicals become parts of human bodies (Murphy, 2014) and another with the reordering of intimate relations.

Additionally, decisions on how to split up compensation was always in the hands of the male farmers: "Only the husband was given [money] and [he] would take care of his wife and the children." Women recalled often not knowing how much they were compensated because their husband or son dealt with finances: "No, [my husband] is the one who knows that; he was the one whose name was in the syndicate; even the amount of money they got; I didn't even see the papers." Compensation was given primarily to men unless a main shareholder of the farm was a widowed woman, such as one situation where a widow accepted compensation on behalf of her late husband. Because of Herero and Banderu gendered hierarchies, the experience of displacement through compensation and no new land was uneven for women when compared to men. Women who were forced to relocate described being more unsafe now, at their new land or location, than they were before on the farm: "The way the surroundings or the landscape were, you could walk in nature and feel relaxed, safe, and free without fear of anything. This side a woman cannot easily walk in the bush alone." Additionally, respondents described increased interactions between the almost exclusively male population of miners and women who live in Toteng, with the presence of male miners increasing the precarity of being a woman in the village. The presence of the mine restructured social life by introducing a large group of outsiders to the villages and re-emphasized existing gender relations.

Shifting economies

The Zone 5 and Boseto copper project's material conditions are different from other displacements in Botswana through the social hierarchies of local communities and proprietary companies (Bakker & Bridge, 2006). Shifting economies and land tenures for local people were defined by their new relationship to the mine, whether through their displacement or, for other local villagers, through the introduction of miners and secondary industries to the adjacent villages. For the people displaced by the mines, the physical removal of earth for copper production occurred by accumulating their land, often driving them to new geographical areas and economic pursuits. For everyone, on the surface the new mines might be taken as only displacing a few families; however, the impacts of the mines have reverberating effects not only through displacement but through shifting economies and environmental impacts.

The presence of the mines, the networks of moving people and nonhumans, and shifting economies are enabled by state laws in Botswana, such as state-ownership of mineral rights. Multiple respondents referenced that what was theirs was only on top of the land: "The land underneath isn't ours. Our land is on top." The state opens up mineral extraction to international investments, for minimal benefits to local farmers who struggled to purchase new land with the compensation given. Status quo development and state land law has thus neoliberalized natural resources and land, that formerly played integral parts in significant relationships farmers had with their families and neighbors, cattle-pastoralist traditions, and for some, connections to the land where their parents are buried. This displacement has made material multi-dimensional aspects of land, where there is a literal divide between what is above the land and below it, with the bones of farmer's ancestors buried in the state's legal jurisdiction.

The copper ore beneath the land that farmers knew quickly becomes an international relation with a concealed history after its export, where the stories of farmer displacement are hidden from copper consumers. Environmental and social impacts are hidden from consumers of copper (Marx, 1976). Hidden are the interactions of international investment and production of copper in the mining process, and the displacements that have deeply relation-breaking and -making effects. Hidden are also the social relations that are tied up across the farmer communities, Botswana state, and international copper companies. These social relations shape nature through the physical peeling away of earth and extraction of copper ore adjacent to pastoral grazing lands, to make this dry-savannah resource and environment a product of global political economy (Bakker & Bridge, 2006). As one farmer said: “Really the mines they are good in terms of the nation, but they are not good in terms of the land.” As cattle production is replaced with copper production, cattle, their farmers, and their farmer’s families are replaced with dust, ore, and internationally-contracted laborers. Through this process the copper mines have brought new geographies of harm through the physical removal of earth and people, and the introduction of new pollutants that have long-lasting effects on the environment and in people’s bodies (Nixon, 2011).

Villagers adjacent to the mine, including farmers who were displaced, are incorporated into this international economy through shifting village demographics, needs, and local economies. When I asked about positive things the mine brought to the surrounding villages, respondents often described new developments through secondary industries, such as shops and bars, road improvements, and general ‘urbanization’ of Toteng: “Business is good [in Toteng] and that means it’ll be the first to have a bank.” Often, people mentioned the upliftment or development of the nation more generally, alongside of describing how they had been left behind: “I knew that eventually it would be beneficial for me and the rest of the population of the country.” Julie Livingston (2019) points out that “[i]n development discourse... roads have long been fetishized as the magic amulet that will end poverty,

Botswana was no different.” In Botswana, like the United States, a car has become an economic necessity that has unintended consequences, such as an increase in poverty through lack of alternative transportation. Roads are built in political economic contexts that make cars and socio-economic assimilation necessary. For people displaced by the copper mine, this sometimes meant preferencing compensation money for a new vehicle, in lieu of new land, effectively completely altering their economic prospects.

One person partially displaced was briefly employed by the mine, as well as other displaced people’s children, improving their outlook of the mine. Others were excited about the employment and development opportunities the mine offered. However, the mine contracted out many smaller companies and employed people primarily from South Africa. While the mine developed housing in Toteng for the miners, restructuring the community, they began operating an open pit mine, restructuring the land as well. The housing development meant tens of miners coming into the village influencing new economies and social relations.

These relational shifts are expected to continue as projections of copper demand for infrastructure, plumbing, and wiring range from 275-300% increase for the period 2010-2050, determined using projections for per capita GDP and levels of urbanization (Elshkaki et al., 2016). With continued copper production will likely come continued and wide reaching spatial and temporal displacements that extend from mineral development patterns over the last two decades. Since the 1990s, copper investment decreased in developed economies and increased in developing economies (Bridge, 2004), furthering the risks associated with foreign mining investment.

Conclusion

In the Kalahari Copperbelt of Botswana, copper-mining-induced displacement had broad relational impacts—with people’s family members, neighbors, their cattle, and the land that their

livelihoods depended on. Displacement has not only changed the material worlds of humans but of nonhumans they previously held daily interactions with either through altering the subsoil itself, lost cattle that return home, or decreased access to subsistence use of veld products. This story begins to demonstrate the wide-reaching networks and threads that shift with international investment driven mining displacements. This exercise is critical to understanding the real impacts of displacement and recognizing current displacement mitigation strategies as inadequate. It's not only the farmer that was displaced, but his cow that died, the sour milk he can no longer drink, and the decades of cattle pastoralism he can no longer do.

The visceral effects of displacement and the time scales that are carried through displacement through memory and changed relations, on farmer's, their family's lives, and their non-human companions, have been severed, replaced, and dislocated by the copper mine. This is not a new conclusion—decades of work by Indigenous and postcolonial scholars around the world have critiqued the ways that development has impacted relations through time and across space (Todd, 2016). However, this approach could shift critical displacement studies away from maintaining the transformation of farmers into capital relations and towards better understanding the wide-reaching life-world impacts associated with resource development. Uneven experiences of displacement that are examined relationally and on a basis of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, and species allow for a clearer understanding of complex visceral and life-changing impacts (Elmhirst, 2015; Gillespie & Collard, 2015).

The complex world of postcolonial relations that maintain and shift through displacement show how displacement studies can be anticolonial, a field that is fundamentally about land relations. Present-day settler-state led extractive industry, which includes the North American copper companies financing mineral extraction in Botswana, maintain colonial imprints—land relations within a global field of power that often underwrite one group of people assuming access to another's land (Liboiron,

2020; McMichael, 2017). The land relations that foreground imperialism and extractive conquest of human and more-than-human bodies in Africa are colonial legacies of control in spaces that have been forcefully fought over by Europeans in the past, such as through the Berlin Conference that artificially shaped present-day political boundaries across the African continent. While traditional displacement studies focus foremost on livelihood impacts, a postcolonial relational approach does this in addition to recognizing the wide-reaching experiences of displacement for nonhumans, farmers, and their families to better understand how life-worlds shift or stay the same. Relational displacement studies show the multiplicity of displaced people's lives—the emotional, spiritual, and non-economic physical impacts of displacement, as well as resistance and sustaining relations that occur in parallel with dispossession.

People who were displaced by the mine called their old homes and land their “ruins,” many of which are still there, yet to be taken down or transformed by the mine. Farmers past lives are held in their ruins, for now, and even after they are removed they will be held in their memory. Anna Tsing (2015) describes the reliance on capitalism and the potential of life after capitalist ruin: “Industrial transformation turned out to be a bubble of promise followed by lost livelihoods and damaged landscapes. And yet: such documents are not enough. If we end the story with decay, we abandon all hope--or turn our attention to our sites of promise and ruin, promise and ruin.” At once, the sites of the copper mine and farmer's ruins are evidence of lost livelihoods and damaged landscapes, and also of promise of modernity—development for Botswana and production of the necessary copper for our modern lives. The two are spatially co-occurring and incompatible through their broad relation-breaking effects and the violence surrounding the copper companies' and government's material rejection of farmer relations. Life in capitalist ruin might be made more possible with the acknowledgement of these wide-reaching relations and uncovering of the life-enhancing entanglements that turn to ghosts in the shadow of industrial mining development.

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Chapter 4. Relations of Knowledge Extraction & Assimilation in the Okavango Delta

“Ethics do not exist in a vacuum, but rather are deeply affected by matters of identity and context.” - Amina Mama

Sitting underneath a Mopane tree in Khwai village in the Okavango Delta in early 2020, an elderly woman lamented to me about researchers—how they came, took what she knew, and never returned. “They come here saying they are students. They go back and pass their studies, but we don’t see any results. It is mere politics nothing more.”

This woman was part of a larger group of people displaced for the creation of Moremi Game Reserve in 1963, three years before Botswana gained Independence. They were relocated to Khwai village, a popular and relatively accessible tourist destination in the Okavango Delta. I was there asking questions for my dissertation research about how they experienced and remembered this displacement, their old land, and how their new land compares. Their observations about research are part of larger issues of researcher-researched relations in the Okavango Delta, Botswana, and Africa more broadly, where white privilege is often embodied in an international researcher. As Idil Ires reflects:

“[O]ur position gained by the white privilege to travel afar and inescapably serve as part of a deformed research business reveals a far more cruel power imbalance we must reflect on than our researcher authority in navigating the daily research agenda. However, the ability to grasp and reflect on the political, economic, and historical realities we embody is not a muscle we

can flex in an overnight flight to another continent. It needs to be trained and embedded in the research design.”

Researchers, and especially graduate researchers such as myself, are often underprepared for how the very presence of our bodies on other people’s land shapes first impressions of who we are and subsequent interactions to come. Our identity is associated with other people who have come before us and share our characteristics. For example, it is easy to associate researchers in international development with the white savior complex, which is a notion as Idil Ires writes “that usually applies to the context of non-African volunteers engaging in teaching, fundraising, and healthcare services “to save” the less fortunate in the continent, although they could have also contributed to solving fundamental social issues in their countries.” Researcher presence can thus reinforce social stereotypes, rather than contribute to more equitable development or knowledge production. And without beginning with critical reflexivity, researchers might be coming from a place of white saviorism.

The white savior complex applies particularly to wildlife conservation in the Okavango Delta and is connected to engrained white supremacy and colonialism. The elderly woman in Khwai’s observation of research politics is imbricated within the contested knowledge relations of the wildlife eco-tourism industry in Botswana where “white people” is used interchangeably to describe “tourists” and white South Africans dominate ownership within the industry. Thus, the research business that I am a part of is in turn a part of South African ownership structures and a wealthy and predominantly white consumer base that drives certain “standards” within the industry. Ultimately, this industry has economically assimilated the San people of Khwai, who have been squeezed out of access to land as the government transfers access to their traditional lands and livelihoods to the tourism industry.

It is within these dynamics that I examine my own positionality and share the relations that respondents shared with me—their shifting relations to the land, their family’s relations to the tourism-conservation industry, and to researchers—following their displacement from Xuku, their previous

settlement within the contemporary boundaries of Moremi Game Reserve. Research relations and land relations are not mutually exclusive but connected to political and economic histories (Liboiron, 2020) that have implications for pedagogy as well as community-based conservation. In Khwai in particular, the San people are impacted not only by neocolonial conservation and a predominant tourism industry, but tribalism in the form of oppression by the majority BaTswana group. Within this context research relations that include identity, research practices, and colonial histories, create a researcher-researched binary. This binary is fluid and anti-essentialist, yet formulation of research in traditional ways concretizes it (Butler & Athanasiou, 2013). In this paper I ask: what creates the researcher-researched binary and what are potential solutions exists to break it?

Another woman later the same day commented “As this young girl is taking information from us concerning our history, all I ask for is change in Xuku [where they were displaced from]. If I don’t see change from you guys, the next person to come, I will be turning them back. It hurts me because a lot of BaTswana do the same thing from the city, Gaborone. We share but see no results.” It would be erroneous of me to say that the research I have done there is any different. Especially as the COVID-19 pandemic halted my research and a lack of funding has disabled my return, unforeseen circumstances are making me accountable to this research and work in different ways. It begs the question: How can academics do such work ethically, without leaving community members behind, and especially in the face of unforeseen circumstances? With myself as an example, I argue that research of community livelihood and experiential impacts throughout the Okavango Delta, and likely in other popular safari destinations throughout the world, should be foregone for efforts to instead improve community conservation policies. To truly be antiracist, researchers must go beyond critical reflexivity through the antiracist pedagogy practice described by Diab et al. (2017) as a “willingness to be disturbed,” a place where we (uncomfortably) might decide to forego research or displace funds to projects and needs of the researched community—to *give them what they want*.

This is also in line with the anticolonial method of refusal plastic pollution scientist Max Liboiron uses in their lab. I specifically refer to the research reforms that I engage with in this paper as anticolonial and antiracist, rather than the popularized term ‘decolonial’, since decolonization only means one thing: to repatriate life and land (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Anticolonial processes and methods, as described by Liboiron (2021, p. 27) “are characterized by how they do not reproduce settler and colonial entitlement to Land and Indigenous cultures, concepts, knowledges (including Traditional Knowledge), and lifeworlds. An anticolonial lab does not foreground settler and colonial goals... Anticolonial here is meant to describe the diversity of work, positionalities, and obligations that let us “stand with” one another as we pursue good land relations, broadly defined.” Fundamentally, as I have learned going through the aporia, international research seems counterintuitive to anticolonial research goals. The privilege and ability to show up and ask questions of communities shows how researchers hold a sense of entitlement to land that is not their own. However, these issues don’t just begin when we travel internationally—they begin at our home institutions and countries and for settlers, entitlement has shaped our lives. This paper aims to explore ways to do research better and more ethically to “stand with” the communities we work with.

These conclusions have emerged through the interviews I did with the eight elderly women displaced for Moremi Game Reserve, as well as a predominant safari lodge owner in the Khwai concession who the women were familiar with. His company has provided low-level positions for people from Khwai and updates to the village such as a solar panel charging station and new thatch roof for their kgotla (village court meeting place). I also interviewed two board members from the Khwai Development Trust and one government official familiar with Community Based Natural Resource Conservation in the Khwai area. Ultimately, I move away from the popular conclusory move of suggesting more research to instead encourage more critical and reflexive pedagogy for graduate and undergraduate students aiming to study internationally (and more broadly, a transformation of

the Academy); a disinvestment in resources for destination-based wildlife and community research; and a reinvestment of those resources into community conservation. I start in the next section by reviewing research practices that (1) ask anticolonial questions about institutions and (2) use positionality statements as a way of recognizing power dynamics before suggesting ways to make anticolonial and antiracist research more actionable.

Research & Dispossession as Relationally Connected

In Khwai, I observed and heard from respondents an astute weariness with research and researchers and how the research enterprise is connected to white foreign consumption of wildlife tourism in the region. These narratives are contextualized within the wildlife tourism industry, as well as my own self-reflexivity in re-producing them. My critique of my research on dispossession, is thus a meta critique that connects dispossessive land relations to dispossessive research relations as land management is bound up in social relations (Nightingale, 2011). Research on land dispossession is also a relation to dispossession if the person conducting the research is not from the dispossessed community. Previous research critiques, particularly in political ecology, have focused on institutional connections of the research industry to the colonial project (Robbins, 2006), as well as researcher positionality (Hausermann & Adomako, 2021). Acknowledging and engaging with the history of research and our positionality are key parts of making research more ethical. I build on this work later in the paper to argue for altered methodologies that shift power dynamics using anti-racist pedagogy (Diab et al., 2017) and anti-colonial methodologies (Liboiron, 2021).

Institutional Histories

Western-based research is rooted in global power relations and colonialism. Early environmental scientific research in Western Africa was an exercise of colonial actors (including researchers) to

control local populations (Fairhead & Leach, 1995) through data collection and analysis of foreign lands (Robbins, 2006). Colonial research had the combined effect of shaping discourse as well as land policy. In India, modern-day forest policy was shaped by colonial forestry practices (Robbins, 1998). In a postcolonial world, research foundations based in colonialism still shape global power relations, whether through privileged researchers traveling all the way across the world to liaison with communities that have never left their district or through damage-centered research approaches (Tuck, 2009). Often, good-intentioned researchers come away with knowledge that turns into talks and papers, monetizing other people's stories even when they are not in the room. Thus, even the most well-meaning and "woke" researcher is complicit in reproducing the colonial academy (Robbins, 2006). Research ultimately dispossesses as it reproduces social structures.

For Africa in particular, globalization has simultaneously left the continent out discursively (Mama, 2007) and at the same time makes use of the continent's resources through extractive resource development and military intervention (Bourgois, 2006 as cited in Mama, 2007) but also through seemingly more well-intentioned means including through wildlife conservation, volunteer tourism, and a diverse variety of human-centered studies.¹ As scholars Ranjan Bandyopadhyay and Vrushali Patil (2017) argue in critiquing volunteer tourism, "well-intentioned and progressive particular efforts towards the 'less fortunate in other parts of the world' may be, without a critical theory of global power relations and imperial histories, such efforts may end up reproducing problematic processes instead." The same is true for academic research. While contemporary international researchers are more equipped to recognize and engage in critique of colonial imprints in modern-day development, giving their work qualities of anti-colonialism, research maintains legacies of colonial methodologies.

Tied up in racial and colonial dynamics, resettlement seeks to maintain certain power dynamics through uneven development, unequal social relations, and the denial of full citizenship rights predicated on access to land (see Carmody & Taylor, 2016; Bluwstein et al., 2018; Peluso & Lund,

2011; Ray & Saini, 2011). Conservation often reflects intolerance of Indigenous lifestyles (Brockington & Igoe, 2006) and results in a “rupturing [of] the unity of the human and natural world.” Where research seeks to chart, track, and understand, industries that must displace people keep good order of mineral ore and human bodies through dispersal and geographical restraint (Byrd et al., 2018). The academy also maintains a power imbalance as western institutions and researchers are given more credibility within academic spaces. Both research and dispossession are bound up in colonial land and institutional histories.

Political ecology (PE) has done a lot of work to illuminate colonial imprints within environmental studies and anthropology. Piers Blaikie spearheaded understanding the political pasts of natural resource management and the way that certain conservation mechanisms are symbols of colonial oppression or sites of resistance (Blaikie, 1985; Rocheleau, 2008). PE particularly offers mixed methods approaches that include different actors and objectives; integration of social, technological, and biophysical approaches and questions; and multi-scale analysis that includes global influences, regional and local impacts, and household-level experiences (Rocheleau, 2008). Yet, the well-known contradiction of PE is that it is done primarily by researchers from the so-called “global north” in the “global south.” Many PE scholars, especially feminist PE, have incorporated a more critical positionality reflection, like the ones I have discussed below. Because of its more holistic approach to understanding human-environment interactions, PE is well-positioned to move beyond illuminating colonial legacies of land management and recognizing researcher complicity to re-writing research approaches to undermine colonial institutional reproductions of the academy more actively.

Positionality Statements

In her talk, “Is it Ethical to Study Africa?”, Amina Mama (2007) describes the answers to her question as “ultimately questions of identity, epistemology, and method.” Identity is an imperially historical process that shapes epistemologies (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017). Ethicality thus requires

critical reflexivity on researcher's behalf to understand how they are perpetuating certain power dynamics. Taking the impact of our(my) research seriously, is both an academic matter and (more importantly) and ethical imperative (Mama, 2007) when situated in discourse and neoliberal policy on the African continent. In other words, our own identities are embedded within varied social dynamics that we reproduce unknowingly. The alternative being intentionally undermining power dynamics we train to understand, recognize, and subvert.

As a Fulbright U.S. Student Program recipient, my very presence in Botswana was seen by the U.S. government as advancing my country's international agenda. My positionality as white, American, and female both shaped people's experience of me, as well as ways that I have been conditioned to perform in the world and the historical legacies that I am a part of (such as settler colonialism in the United States). Fulbright as a political project and my own positionality are part of the structural conditions that construct researcher-researched binaries. As historian Sam Lebovic (2013) has written, Fulbright was created at the end of WWII, when the United States traded military material for embassy lands and scholarship programs like Fulbright, effectively having other nations pay for Americans to travel and learn all around the world. Fulbright was expanded during the Cold War to spread American values. While the program is meant to foster exchange between nations, it offers no model of cultural exchange to its scholars, as in my case, and seems to see Americans as well inherently well-equipped to do the delicate work of interacting with communities far from their own.

Through this program, I leveraged privilege to conduct research on the dispossession of eight elderly women for a national park within a context of dispossession driven by colonial and white agendas. Leading my own research study, I often felt marred in confusion on what was ethically appropriate—an indication of a need for more ethical scenario planning in international research contexts prior to on-the-ground research. At times, people expected more from me than I could give including a return of their land and lives that were taken from them. As an American, I was seen with

someone as power to “get the government to listen,” as one respondent said, or as someone with money. Relative to some, the latter was true; yet in America it is quite the opposite, and I was considered low-income. At the same time, my male research assistant was often respected more within patriarchal social dynamics and as an insider, but when I was alone with women, it was easier for me to connect with them.

Positionality changes interpersonal relations depending on where you are, who you are with, and when. As Hausermann & Adomako (2021) write, positionality can not only give us a better understanding of our places and power in global and local interpersonal research dynamics, it can also encourage “more thoughtful and ethical methods and data interpretation.” The familiar tools of research we continue to draw from (i.e., interviews, land change science analysis, lab science, and surveys, to name a few) reinscribe the ways of thinking and valuation that measure difference or “good” knowledge (Finney, 2021). Academic theories, papers, and talks sterilize, as Carolyn Finney (2021) describes, the “multidimensionality of difference lived on an intellectually manicured landscape.” She asks what we miss with familiar research tools that we draw from? Even with a critical lense, the methods we use reinscribe ways of thinking, analysis, and valuation that determine a right-type of knowledge for the academy. In the next section I explore alternative ways of doing research that build on the urge to critique colonial science and development as well as to articulate our positionalities. Importantly, creativity beyond reflection is key—how can we re-create or transform methodologies to be anti-racist and anti-colonial?

Redefining International Research Ethic Imperatives

Recognizing institutional histories, shaping research to ask anti-colonial questions, and examining our varying levels of complicity through our positionalities, while critically important as starting steps, are simply not enough. Indigenous and anti-racist scholars have been taking concrete actions in

research to *do things differently*. And as a result, have gradually made substantial reforms to make research anti-colonial and anti-racist, as opposed to making new justifications for doing things the same.

Anti-racist pedagogy and decolonial theory can help us to articulate new actionable commitments. As Diab et al. write, “[r]hetorical moves that have the potential to re-design, transform, and move us closer toward racial justice [include] (1) embracing a willingness to be disturbed (2) articulating our commitments, and (3) making these commitments actionable.” A willingness to be disturbed refers to a willingness to be reflective and open to new understandings beyond our immediate reactions to complicated social situations. Confessional accounts such as land acknowledgments, positionality statements, and reflections on complicity play a role as a starting point, only. The authors argue that these personal narratives as they relate to race can trap us into a cycle of reproduction of racism, and while they are important there is nothing inherent in the narratives themselves that lead to transformation. They go on to suggest that anti-racist pedagogy moves from “conjecture to policy making, from problem-posing to solidarity building.”

Recognizing personal narrative as true and stopping there does no work at all—it is, as Tuck and Yang (2012) call it, a move to innocence. Even so, personal narrative and reflexivity are crucial starting points for actionable anti-racist research that early-career academics and graduate students must be trained in because all research is or has land relations (Liboiron, 2021). But we must move to the next step, which is designing research that fosters even power relations. Some ways to do that include paying respondents, letting them say no to research, and intentionally incorporating both facets into research design. This might mean operating on a model of refusal, such as the one plastic and anticolonial scientist Max Liboiron uses in their lab Civic Laboratory for Environmental Action Research (CLEAR, 2021).

The CLEAR lab values statement applies to the argument proposed here to keep yet move beyond positionality statements and designing research to promote institutional power awareness towards re-designing methodology to change our research relations. Their lab statement:

“Our core value, **humility** (understanding we are always connected to others, both human and non-human, in different and uneven ways) requires **accountability** (the actions that enact gratitude and responsibilities for and to those connections). **Collectivity** is manifested in how we approach our interactions with others, both in how we stand with others on their own terms, and how we refuse certain types of relations.” (CLEAR, 2021, p. 6)

Humility is critical for positionality statements; accountability for recognizing our complicity in research and asking hard questions about fraught colonial and extractive pasts; and collectivity in reshaping research relations born of oppressive origins. As it currently stands accountability in the academy is asymmetrical—we tend to be very accountable to budgets and financial reports, to our bosses and advisors, and to our publishing record. Our accountability does not tend to span to a world of relations (including the communities we are conducting research in) unless we make an intention for it to do so and design actionable steps for it to happen. The “researched” are aware of this gradient of accountability that skews towards systems of reporting for the academy, rather than to themselves.

The ability to refuse research and data sovereignty is one way to even out the research-relations power dynamic. As Professor Max Liboiron said in their talk *Research, Communication, and Land Relations*, “Indigenous data sovereignty means that Indigenous people own the data and you have to earn it—it starts with a no and I work for the yes” (Liboiron, 2021). As researchers, we must be able to say no to research when it doesn’t feel right, and we must work to distinguish the difference between when something is uncomfortable and unwanted by research participants. Additionally, we must design research so that communities and respondents can refuse to participate at any point, including after data is collected. Power dynamics in the field are crucial to understand to design research such that

people can actually refuse, rather than feel pressured based on someone's presence, for example. And perhaps if this is not the case, we should be knowledgeable, willing, and able to understand when to refuse the research ourselves.

As researchers, interpreters, and storytellers we must be able to put ourselves into another person's experience. This requires, as cultural geographer Carolyn Finney has written, "a kind of going 'into the woods' of our own assumptions, biases, beliefs, and disciplinary truths if we want to see beyond our own experiences and engage difference." (Finney, 2021). This goes beyond positionality statements to changing how we relate with the world. Finney writes "how that story comes alive relies on our ability to engage and embrace those expressions of lived difference that do not always fit into our accepted frameworks and ideologies about all things green." She invites us to take off our shoes and get dirty to find what is real and what bogs us down in theory. Importantly, she recommends doing this not using the familiar tools of colonial pasts that we are all well acquainted with (interviews, archival research, ethnography), but to be creative through new ways of engaging our research. She shares the following approaches: take risks to get dirty and rigorously tell stories; used informed improvisation to make space for creativity and experiences that we have not known previously; embody multiple forms of knowing including and beyond theory to music, art, and other forms of expression; and look for the spaces between the words to find the alternative narratives that traditional empirics might gloss over.

One existing form of research that attempts to move away from traditional approached is community-based participatory research. This approach answers some of the questions I'm asking by collaborating with the community to form an equal partnership throughout an entire research process. This process is iterative and geared toward social action. Some of the ethical issues associated with it include, as Kwan and Walsh (2018) write: "(i) balancing community values, needs, and identity with those of the individual; (ii) negotiating power dynamics and relationships; (iii) working with

stigmatized populations; (iv) negotiating conflicting ethical requirements and expectations from Institutional Review Boards (IRBs); and (v) facilitating social action emerging from the findings.” The type of research I am engaging with is not necessarily mutually exclusive from community-based participatory research; however, I am suggesting tools that are also always included in such research projects. I am also suggesting tools that can be used outside of community-based participatory research, in scenarios where, perhaps, the community doesn’t want to design or lead research. These include creative methods that move beyond traditional colonial tools as well as anticolonial techniques of interacting with communities (like refusal and community peer review). Ultimately, the goal should be to do *all* research better, by engaging communities in ways that meet their goals as well (rather than just the researcher’s or the academy’s), which is a key reason I do not limit this discussion to community-based participatory research. In the next section, I explore different creative and anticolonial methods by applying them to a case study and suggest that community-designed interventions in place of status-quo research could both give people what they want and still be legible in the academy. And perhaps it could also help to bridge academic and social divides.

As researchers, we must decide what approaches work for us and what we can leave behind, as well as how much of this we are willing to take on. *Doing things differently* happens gradually, we don’t have to have all the answers or do all the work ourselves today. In fact, rest as protest of productivity demands is liberating, especially for historically oppressed groups (see The Nap Ministry). To that end, ethicality of research should not be left to graduate students or women but should be institutionalized beyond the IRB. The academies that are training international researchers are entrenched in colonial, racist, and sexist histories, making accountability unevenly distributed. Who is accountable for extractive knowledge relations? Is it the graduate researcher? How much of the accountability is taken on by the research institution that makes this type of work seem mandatory? And what kind of lateral space is given to graduate students and on-the-ground researchers to negotiate ethicality being brought

into these spaces? These questions highlight the tension between the individual researcher and larger research collective and how accountability is distributed. To that end, what are things the researcher does that could exacerbate or diminish their accountability within the collective? Ultimately as a collective, we must make changes in ourselves and hold our peers, colleagues, and institutions accountable to the best of our abilities.

Community-based Solutions as Alternative Development Models

In this section, I work through a potential model (or different way of doing things) to move from problem-posing to change. As Amani Mama (2007) has written:

“[I]t is well worth taking globalization’s discontents more seriously, and absolutely *not* leaving them to the United States’ national security and military interested currently dominating the global landscape. It is imperative to take steps to protect scholarship from the influence of these interests... It requires that we move beyond our liberal tradition of policy neutralism to develop a more radical ethic, one that actively questions and challenges global hegemonies.”

I hope to propose here through a critique of my own research a more radical approach to anti-colonial and anti-racist research in Africa. This proposition comes because of an aporia (Wainwright, 2008), in which I have recognized myself as the colonial researcher by observing myself honestly. Scholars researching Africa from well-resourced U.S. universities have an ethical responsibility to engage not only with African intellectuals but to take other knowledges seriously and to give respondents what they want. This can be described as an anti-imperialist approach to research (Mama, 2007), one that rejects an objectification or commodification of Africans. This comes in parallel with a need to support this group of people in the world—their culture has been exploited and research

can and has told those stories. How can research move past just telling these stories to facilitate support and give respondents what they want?

While my research in Khwai was anti-colonial institutionally through my asking questions about colonial modes of control, for residents it was unhelpful. They were more interested in questions answering contemporary problems of their new lives, of which they had been living for decades. If I were to do this research again, I would have centered anti-colonial questions more specifically around the issues they were concerned about through coordinating and monitoring success of managerial or guiding training workshops in collaboration with the Khwai Development Trust and the local lodge owner. I would have done my best to *give them what they want* using more rigorous and creative guidelines such as those of Liboiron (2021) and Finney (2021).

I came to this meta-critique of research through asking questions about experience of displacement for a community resettled for the creation of Moremi Game Reserve in the Okavango Delta in the early 1960s. Conservation displacements have been shown to be extensions of the colonial state, either through the creation of national parks (Brockington & Igoe, 2006) or through dispossessions that result from capital accumulation for REDD+ timber plantations, mirroring modes of governance central to colonial conquest (Carmody & Taylor, 2016). These types of displacement are usually associated with eco-tourism and other forms of biodiversity offsets and ecosystem services (Cavanagh, 2018), which require specific estimations of natural resources (Osborne, 2015; Robertson, 2006). As Robbins (2006) has written, “If carried out by people with institutional authority and power (e.g. foreign researchers), such accounts can become the stuff of policy that dramatically impinges on local livelihoods and survival,” and as this research shows, for land relations as well.

In the Okavango Delta, the predominant forms of employment and economic growth have been in the high-end wildlife tourism industry. Wildlife researchers and filmmakers are often connected with luxury lodges and liaison with safari guides. The Indigenous Bukahkwe San (River Bushmen)

people rarely, if ever, hold positions as safari guides despite intimately knowing the Delta. Rather, these positions are either held by white ex-patriates from South Africa, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, or white or Black Motswana.

The women displaced for Moremi Game Reserve over four decades ago, form an influential group of village elders in Khwai, one of whom is the current village headwoman. Their children have come to know a completely different life from theirs—one that is more urbanized and global through their access to resources, knowledge, and ideas from places outside of the Okavango Delta. While they still lack important access to resources and their voices are oppressed through tribal marginalization, they have adapted to a new lifestyle, deeply embedded within the tourism economy, and are respected on the local level as elders. Since relocation, all their male family members have passed away. The women have either worked in the high-end wildlife tourism industry themselves or have children that have. As a result, they have a positive outlook on the tourism industry because it is what currently gives them employment and conserves wildlife. They see the government as the ones that displaced them to protect wildlife from over-hunting in the early 1960s. Wildlife conservation was important to them; however, they consistently have problems with elephants and still would like to be able to hunt.

Despite their connection to the land, animals, and veld products, foreigners (or white people, as respondents often referred to them) have oft been the primary consumers, owners, and beneficiaries from tourism and the game reserve adjacent to Khwai. Additionally, the San community has been put on display through cultural tourism, where their traditions—such as bush walks and fire dances—are shared with tourists who have come to see them. The government has encouraged this while simultaneously supporting a development model that does not allow them to partake in traditional modes of production as they are assimilated into new economies. While respondents were clearly aware of this, they also offered ways forward for themselves, their children, and their community within the tourism industry. In other words, they recognized that tourism was for white people and

foreigners but saw in it potential for themselves to benefit. They specifically wanted to be trained as owners and managers of lodges, and safari guides. They wanted to be managers within an industry that has taken over their traditional lands because it is now a large part of their life. And at the same time, they also had more traditional requests to access veld products in the reserve, including grasses they use to weave and sell baskets to tourists. Their lives have simultaneously modernized and stagnated as the tourism industry has kept them locked in low-level labor positions. Their story is thus not one necessarily about their experience of displacement that I was interested in, but about their new relationship to labor, industry, and research, and the ways these have impacted their access to land.

The social and cultural reproduction of the wildlife tourism industry has created a situation in which decision-making for local people is hyper local and sovereignty is restricted by political and economic boundaries that determine where “wildness” begins and who gets to consume it. The dynamics of tourism in Botswana show that the Okavango Delta, wildlife, and local people have been incorporated into the neoliberal world order (Duffy, 2014). The effects of this are uneven and not entirely negative, but research has not existed outside of commodification of these spaces.

One lodge owner that I interviewed told me there are very few opportunities for local people to train as guides and managers. Training runs around 42,000 Pula (\$4,000 USD) a guide, and while the lodge owner has a budget to train around 14 guides, a subset of which are local people. Training fees are unfeasible for villagers in Khwai to pay, including the women displaced for Moremi Game Reserve with their small revenue check from the Khwai Development Trust, which is about \$60USD.

So, how could I have done this research differently? Respondents had little hope the government could do anything to give them what they want, one responded: “If she has learnt something she should just go, there is nothing that can come from the government. Nothing!” However, there are

ways that a researcher could connect them with training opportunities they requested, rather than asking them questions about a past they had moved on from and that only brought up residual pain.

The work for doing research differently begins at home institutions in courses. Recently, there has been an increase in ethical teaching of fieldwork that has included work to make the field more accessible, inclusive, and safe (see ADVANCEGeo's 'In the Field' resources, 2022). This work rigorously advances solutions to mental health and discrimination challenges that researchers-in-training might face when they first arrive in the field, specifically in the geosciences. I see a complimentary set of courses that would have benefitted my own training around understanding positionalities, histories of methods, ethical dilemmas that researchers face in the field, deeper dives into methodological design, or even courses that support thinking out of the box in methods. The reality is that there are minimal requirements for methods courses with most programs requiring students just take one or two methods courses. These courses are often survey courses that give students broad sweeps of all methods, but do not provide students with field-preparedness.

In terms of research design, I would start by designing the research study using the refusal guidelines that I discuss above to ensure respondents had more opportunity to refuse at any point, rather than merely gaining verbal consent for Institutional Review Board (IRB) purposes. While IRB currently maintains some levels of accountability at the institutional level and is an important process that researchers must go through, there are ethical tensions when it comes to vulnerable groups of people. In particular, as (Hugman et al., 2011) write: "It relies heavily on a complex approach to legal rights and obligations (and limits to these) that in turn depends on the capacity of people to exercise their rights. It assumes knowledge, confidence, and other personal and social resources to understand and to be able to claim redress should the need arise." The authors go on to suggest multiple stages of informed consent or opportunities to refuse research—at first contact, after the research progresses, as they see the data, and then during a community peer review process (Hugman et al.,

2011; CLEAR, 2021). So not only would the research I'm proposing include more community-specific design and make iterations of research possible, but it would also include multiple stages of consent and respondents' input on final deliverables both for their own purposes as well as the work that goes into academic publications. This would ultimately make research that could be changed based on issues that mattered to respondents—what they thought was most important, and what they needed and wanted.

Using research funds and through collaborating with community leaders, including the lodge owner and people from the Khwai Development Trust, I would have coordinated a managerial workshop training, and assessed its effectiveness in *giving people what they want*. This process could be improvisational and iterative, the latter being more feasible for researchers who are able to live and work in a place long-term, to improve the research and build stronger community skills in ways that they want and need. To assess the effectiveness of the research, parameters of success would be determined by community members, rather than western academic standards that deem research publishable or rigorous. This could include whether they were able to gain more managerial skills, access to veld products, or labor equitability within the tourism industry.

The goal of this work would be to shift power dynamics away from extractive research land relations, towards relations that are actually mutually beneficial. Academic research abroad has been described as academic tourism—where a researcher (hopefully with some idea of global power relations) goes to collect data only to return home to benefit from published articles (Campbell, 2008). Anticolonial research does not include the research that extracts stories and solely looks great on paper (on grants, published articles, CVs, tenure packets, books, etc.) but rather, the research that adds value to people's lives. It requires researchers ask people what they want, assess whether it is us that can give it to them or not, and be willing to walk away if the answer is no (be willing to be disturbed). Research of community livelihood and experiential impacts in Khwai and likely in other popular safari

destinations in the Okavango Delta and throughout the world, should be carefully questioned, reflected on, and build on a method of refusal. But most importantly for anti-racism, it must be prepared to move forward with action items through collaborations with communities, policymakers, and stakeholders, such as in this case to improve community conservation policies.

Conclusion

Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar and activist Leanne Betasamosake Simpson describes theory and praxis as interdependent, where practices and processes are political. Research practices are political and social and thus, should have theoretically informed methodologies. Scholars must learn (and support graduate students in their learning) how to develop anti-colonial research design *before* going into the field. We must be able to answer the questions: what does moving beyond reflexivity statements look like in research design? And how can we apply critical social theory to methodological approaches? This begins with understanding our positionality in power dynamics that have historically created a researcher-researched identity binary and in turn becoming creative on how to break those power dynamics. This work is especially difficult in institutions and departments that are not supportive of social change and requires that administration step up. How can we transform research if our institutions are stuck in a marred past?

In choosing to critique a research industry and hegemony that I am complicit in, I have made an ethical choice. Ideally, this work would have happened intensively prior to my beginning fieldwork, which has implications for university pedagogy in training graduate student researchers. Socially ethical scholarship must be willing and able to refuse itself—perhaps in the moment I realized Khwai was oversaturated with research, I could have turned away. With better preemptive planning, I could have set the stage better for respondents to refuse interviews with me (Liboiron, 2021), rather than feel that they can't say no with this outsider at their doorstep. I could have also better designed this research

study to be something the community wanted or needed, such as designed around the efficacy of a guiding training workshop that I set up through connections in the industry, local lodge owners, and with grant money. I could have used improvisation, creativity, and getting dirty to collaborate with the community in managerial workshops and community-development centered focus groups. However, this work was an aporia and I have learned these lessons by going through the experience of a colonial researcher, even as I asked anti colonial questions. Given the current university international research pedagogy, I could not have come to the conclusions I have here without going through this aporia. Innovation in methodologies to move away from the colonial imprint of research is ongoing and has yet to be embraced by the academic masses.

To undermine colonial and racist systemic academic structures, we must start with a critique our own mis-knowings and the systems we are complicit within, design research questions to be anti-colonial, and bring creativity to our methodologies. This can take a variety of forms, a few of which covered here include incorporating a method of refusal into our research, designing community-led research, and asking questions like: what if instead of conducting this research, funds were displaced for community-led projects? And to that end, how can researcher funds be equitably redistributed for the types of training programs that respondents described?

Since it is often junior level academics conducting research in the “field,” senior scholars must support refusal and change within research. However, researchers more broadly in the field face dilemmas of accountability—particularly when it comes to moments that signal that a project needs to change for ethical reasons that span beyond IRB—where they do not have (or feel that they do not have) the leeway to change course. Additionally, researcher experience of the field shifts based on historical hierarchies of power in the academy through race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality. These hierarchies must be subverted for all academics to conduct research ethically, without leaving community members behind, and especially in the face of unforeseen circumstances. Design research

so it is led by local people and give them what they want—allow them to refuse and pay them for their time and labor sharing their stories. This type of research will in turn be legible in the academy through appropriate training of scholars and perhaps even help institutions of higher knowledge bridge academic-social divides. Through being willing to be disturbed, we will also be willing to fail, try again, and outlearn our complicity, even knowing that this work might not ever be done.

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Conclusion

“The experience [of dispossession reveals] one basis of relationality— we do not simply move ourselves, but are ourselves moved by what is outside us, by others, but also by whatever “outside” resides in us.” Butler & Athanasiou (2013, p. 3)

Status-quo growth and development brings opportunity and access to new forms of technology, health care, and food, but also forms of hidden oppression including displacement, worker exploitation, and disproportionate exposure to pollution and climate change. Extractive-industry displacement, in particular, provides heavy metals and fossil fuels necessary for electricity and modern-day luxuries like cell phones, increasing our connectivity and providing many of the foundations for our present society. At the same time, however, it requires removal of people and land, sometimes occurring indirectly such as with pollution-induced displacement. Global eco- or wildlife-tourism travel and the green economy are at concert with extractive-industry development because of one of their shared foundations: displacement that is hidden from the consumer.

In this dissertation I have described how conservation and copper mining displacements differ from each other using a comparative case study approach. I also dove deeper into each case through grounded theory and described what the data most clearly showed to me—including interspecies, social, land, and research relations. I contextualized these more intimate relations with some of the larger prevailing discourses of development that enable state- and industry-led displacement. My primary theoretical lens to do this was Indigenous and postcolonial theories of relationality and feminist and post-structural political ecology.

Studying development and its processes, including displacement, theoretically through relations leads to one possible conclusion; in particular, that “[t]here is no generalizable strategy of action in Relation that can be developed” (Glissant, 1997, p. 178). This unfortunately goes against what society

writ large wants, which is easily applicable solutions, and the generalizability of “good research.” However, relational approaches are an attempt at holistically understanding multiplicities of knowledge and worlds. Objectivity is foregone to include research as part of relations (Glissant, 1997); relations as more than hegemony; and relations as ever changing. Thus, the conclusions I drew here might be different based on how my own relations influenced this work versus someone who grew up in Botswana, for example, making deep meta-analyses into research even more imperative.

Main Contribution & Implications

Even so, there are some specific implications of this work. The stories of relational displacements and development discourses that I have presented in the previous pages lead me to a final question—what are we supposed to do about it? The most obvious answer to this is land back. As I explored in the introduction this is particularly complicated in Africa and Botswana where traditional claims to land are subverted by tribes in conflict with one another. If I were to suggest give the land back, I’m not sure I would be well received. My hope is to be as practical as I am radical in suggesting new ways of doing development. I know that displacement will continue with increased copper mining and ecosystem pressures, how can it be done better?

Therefore, my first recommendation is monetary reparations, which I believe is the next best thing to land back. I suggest reparations that extend beyond skewed assessments of land by giving people a stake in ownership in the industry that displaced them. Make farmers partial owners in the copper company; make the eight elderly ladies’ owners of the lodge—especially if they must assimilate into the tourism industry. I remain skeptical that farmers were paid an appropriate amount for their land since the mine had a stake in assessing their land. Additionally, with no monetary relocation assistance how could they be expected to find new land and move there without additional funds? If

a group of people must be displaced, the government's duty should be to protect them as a citizen if it is truly invested in the development and wellbeing of the country's citizens.

As I wrote as part of The CritRest Collective Antipode Symposium (Huckleberry, 2021), “[t]he critical restoration of mineral extraction reconsiders the role of local ownership in fostering development (in lieu of dispossession) for local communities. As Kathryn Yusoff (2021: 663) writes, decolonization is “a geologic process”, and to start the farmers displaced by the mine already know what they need: “If our government was clever, we would be the shareholders of those lands ... We are supposed to be the directors.””

The idea to make displaced people owners in the industry came directly from farmers. Which leads me to my second suggestion for doing things better: listen to people and believe them. This is both in development practice as well as in research practice. *Give people what they want*. As I showed in Chapter 2, local people are often vilified as lazy within standards that are not their own but rather white standards that are overlayed on their life-worlds. Development actors view life through the standards they have inherited and reinscribe certain ideas about how people should be in the world. They do not see life through the pluriverse and the result is that people are not listened to—that when farmers asked for relocation assistance or new land, they were simply ignored. By taking a relational approach to displacement studies, my hope is that I have shown some of the more complicated life-world shifting that occurs in status quo development.

After these suggestions there are some more obvious ones including state regulations that companies must meet before displacing a community. Regulations that do not allow them to start operations until they have employed a certain percentage from the community. Further regulations that help them to retain those employees through training and education opportunities. For conservation displacements, I recommend that it be reconsidered that tourists and outsiders are given preference over the needs of local communities.

Finally, connected to reparations, land back, and increasing community access to natural resources, reparations can also come in the form of access to veld products or other key relations that I've discussed in the previous pages (like cattle, wildlife, and clean water, to name a few). By restoring nonhuman relations people are deeply connected to and preferencing those relations over capital growth, displaced people can in some ways experience what it might be like to get land back. As language and literature scholar Joseph Pierce recently mused: "If #LandBack is about restoring and sustaining relations to land, then it is also, and perhaps mostly, a call to relationality. Because if land is not "land" in a settler sense, but a series of relations, then restoring land is essentially restoring relations" (Pierce, @PepePierce, 2022).

Limitations

This study of course has a set of limitations. The first, and arguably the most critical, was that I was unable to follow up with communities or engage them with all the parameters of justice and anti-colonial methodological design that I had intended and that a study of this nature warrants. As a result, I have effectively reproduced certain research harms that I critique in Chapter 4. While perhaps I could have put in more effort to return to Botswana by finding funding—the COVID-19 pandemic realistically put a wrench in the feasibility of a return trip.

Second, the study includes limited industry input especially on the side of copper mining. I had liasoned with a copper mining executive, a Motswana man who I met serendipitously one day doing reconnaissance at the Tawana Land Board; however, despite promises of meetings, they never precipitated. While I mitigated this short coming with grey literature from industry websites, it is still a valuable and missing perspective from the work. Additionally, I had more conservation and tourism industry interviews scheduled that had to be cancelled due to COVID-19.

The third and final (for now) shortcoming of this work is a common predicament of qualitative research, which is that these results have been filtered through my own experience. Someone else, including someone from Botswana, would have had very different things to say. This is at once both a benefit and handicap in understanding and revealing new findings. I have a fresh pair of eyes to these situations and, I believe, an appropriate positionality to critique western practices of consumption and production. However, having come to a community that was not my own I had a lot to learn and there are many things that were undoubtedly lost on me.

Conclusion to the Conclusion

This dissertation was a journey for me to experience and write and one that I hope I am better for. I'm not sure that the conclusions I draw are novel, and I'm also not sure that I want them to be, because in the process of asking questions about the oppressive nature of extractive industries (of which I include both copper mining and wildlife tourism), I haven't been able to stop asking questions about the extractive nature of academic work. As such, this research has become as much about extractive land relations as it has been about my relationship to this work, and how they are deeply inseparable. Despite the fraught personal experiences of doing international work that (hopefully) privileged academic researchers undergo, the stories that I have collected and tell here are important and necessary to share. I also now have a clearer idea of the path ahead of me and the work I need to do next.

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