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Ecotourism and its subversion of broader gender orders in rural Botswana

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of Johannesburg, in fulfilment for the requirement of the degree of Master of Arts in Tourism and Hospitality
Submitted 25 September 2015
Plagiarism declaration

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Thanks must be given to Africa Insight and the Journal of African Studies for seeing the value in this research and for respectively accepting to publish articles relating to it. Critiquing Botswana's national ecotourism strategy through a gender lens-gaps and opportunities for the future was published by Africa Insight in their December 2014 edition and compromised of material which is also found within the literature review of this thesis. Strength, mobility, and variety: Central discourses which undermine tourism's ability to subvert broader gender orders in Botswana has been accepted by African Studies with
publication forthcoming. This article combined information from the most taken-for-granted dichotomies to emerge within Moreomaoto (Cattle care vs. Child care) and Meno A Kwena (Housekeeping vs. Maintenance) to assess the potential for subversion.

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Abstract

There are many assumptions regarding the effects of tourism on the gendered lives of people. Oftentimes it is assumed that women are particularly affected by tourism without the necessary research to back such assertions, such as Botswana’s National Ecotourism Strategy (NES) which states that tourism may be positive for women but negative for men. Inspired by this binary construction, and with a theoretical framework which forges a staunch gender lens, this thesis explores how one ecotourism camp, located in rural Central District Botswana, subverts the broader gender order within which it exists. The research is based upon the use of participant observation, interviews and an analysis of family trees. The key conclusion is that the extent to which the ecotourism camp alters existing gender orders is limited. Not only is the camp structured through discourses similar to those of the broader gender order but there are few competing interests and limited cross-cultural interaction which would facilitate any subversion (whether positive or negative). This leads to the questioning of whether ecotourism, as a developmental concept, has been stretched too far.

Key words: Ecotourism, gender, subversion, Botswana, discourse analysis
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List of Acronyms

AU – African Union
BAMB – Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BMC – Botswana Meat Corporation
BTO – Botswana Tourism Organisation
BWP – Botswana Pula
CBNRM - Community Based Natural Resource Management
DAWN - Development Alternatives for Women in the New Era
DoT – Department of Tourism
GAD – Gender and Development
GDP – Gross Domestic Product
GST - Global Sustainable Tourism Council
ILO – International Labour Organisation
MoCI – Ministry of Commerce and Industry
NEPAD - New Partnership for Africa’s Development
NES – National Ecotourism Strategy
RPC – Research and Publication’s Committee
SADC – Southern African Development Community
TIES - International Ecotourism Society
TSOL – Total Social Organisation of Labour
UN – United Nations
UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USD – United States Dollar
UNWTO - United Nations World Tourism Organization
VDC – Village Development Community
WB – World Bank
WID – Women in Development
WTTC – World Travel and Tourism Council
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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEM AND RESEARCH QUESTION

1.1. Introduction

The UNWTO (2007) was slower than other United Nations (UN) related bodies to attach gender to its mandate for responsible and ethical tourism. When it did, it focused mainly on how tourism can provide women with new employment opportunities. However, it has also headed the creation of reports on women and tourism (Peeters, 2009; UNWTO, 2010) which are attempting to gain a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between the two. This is critical because, as pointed out by Tucker and Boonabaana (2012), one must identify what the contextual and local factors are in the gendered organisation of people’s lives. They note that there is a need to understand the “shifting moral and spatial boundaries” which have allowed for changes in gender relations. That is, Tucker and Boonabaana (2012) are making a call for more nuanced research which identifies the complexities and dynamism of gender relations and moves away from broad overarching meta-discourses and economically instrumentalist agendas. This sentiment is shared by Peeters (2009: 27) in the conclusion of the UNWTO Report on the existing literature on tourism and gender when she states:

“With respect to women empowerment in tourism, the predominant focus in the world has been and still is on economic empowerment. However, empowerment entails much more than just economic empowerment. To be able to assess the level and degree of women empowerment in a region, country, sector, project, organization or company, future research should incorporate all forms of empowerment: psychological, social, cultural, political and economical. Within these studies the role of politics, legislation and policy and the whole variety of contextual factors (economical, social, cultural, ecological and including the family circumstances) as well as the interrelationship between these and between class, race, ethnicity and class should be investigated” (Peeters, 2009: 27).

The UNWTO Report is a contribution to understanding not only available literature on gender and tourism but also women’s current ‘status’ in the industry. The focus on women, however, is a residual or left-over from the Women In Development (WID) paradigm where women are ‘inserted’ into development strategies without understanding the relationships which place them in the positions they are in and recognises that not all women are disadvantaged in the same way, not all men are advantaged in the same way either (vice
versa), and the power dynamics between the two (and each other) must be contextualised (Cornwall et al, 2007). In fact, Peeters (2009: 26) goes on to state that there is a lack of detail orientated and in-depth research on the matter:

“Statistics only are not enough: it is important to know what are women’s perceptions of and experiences with empowerment in terms of their abilities and capacities; and their choices and opportunities in the global political economy of tourism and social innovation? In this view it is also important to incorporate issues of work life balance and to include the whole family” (Peeters, 2009: 26)

Despite such gaps, Rogerson and Rogerson (2011: 218) have noted that gender does not feature in the top 24 themes dominating research on tourism in Southern Africa. They state that there remains, “little attention across the SADC region on tourism work (employment), gender, training, and tourism education”. This observation is in spite of the SADC Protocol on The Development of Tourism which explicitly states that women need to be involved in the development of tourism throughout the region (Article 2.3). On a global scale, it is shown on Figure 1.1 that only 8% of academic literature which considers tourism and gender is located in Africa; with majority of research found in Asia (25%), Europe (24%) and South America (20%) (UNWTO, 2010: 19):

![Figure 1.1 Geographic coverage of academic literature: World macro regions (Source: Peeters, 2009: 19)](image)

Pritchard et al (2007: 4) skilfully argue for why there is a dearth of such information and attempt to link it to the power dynamics within academia itself: “Indeed, tourism’s
scholarship continues to be largely rooted in the tenets of rarely articulated or questioned masculinist scholarship governed by supposedly value-free principles of empiricism” (Pritchard, 2007: 4). Therefore, it is unsurprising that when academia itself has been slow to pick up on the connections between gender and tourism, international bodies (such as the UNWTO) have been too.

That said, some research has been sensitive to questions regarding how tourism may have positive and negative impacts on people’s gendered lives (Dilly, 2003; Epler Wood, 2002; Kinnaird and Hall, 1994; Scheyvens, 2000; Manwa, 2009; Relly, 2008; TIES, 2013; UNWTO, 2011). Interestingly, in many such works women are exceptionalised as being particularly affected by tourism with rhetoric such as ‘Tourism has positive impacts for the community, especially women’. Two examples can be highlighted:

One the one hand, tourism, like global assembly, can encourage vital economic and employment opportunities for local populations, especially women. In this view, the development of tourism can be seen as a means to help integrate local populations, especially women, into the development process (Tamborini, 2007: 30)

If the analysis of new work as feminized and resembling house-work is right, the aspect of the habitual means that women have the required “feel for the game” in the new economy and, accordingly, that the on-going changes in working life promise opportunities, especially for women (Veijola and Jokinen, 2008: 169).

It is generally, implicitly or explicitly, believed that women will have better access to money and employment through tourism which, it is understood, will then give them more decision making power in the home. As much as women are perceived as reaping the economic benefits of tourism they are also framed as being especially affected by tourism socially:

In many tourism destinations, spreading prostitution has caused an increase in severe and often life-threatening diseases, in particular for women (GenderCC, 2015)

However, changing gender relations may be evident as women, particularly, move their traditional domestic labour into the public domain (Kinnaird and Hall, 1996: 97).

It [the industry] must also work with governments to enforce local laws aimed at preventing exploitation, particularly of women and children, in what has become a form of modern slavery (Bolwell and Weinz, 2008: 26).
What the above all point to is a general consensus that tourism influences the ways in which gender is structured. These changes may be ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ depending on the given location but it is almost always given that tourism shifts the way in which gender is practiced and structured, particularly for women. In this regard, tourism is believed to be subversive.

‘The subversive’ challenges what is contextually seen as normal (Alvesson and Deetz, 2006: 266; Butler, 1999; Foucault, 1978) and, is visible in the handful of examples above. Such subversive tourism discourses are present in academic work on tourism, but they are prevalent in policies and national frameworks too (Ferguson, 2009). Botswana’s 2002 National Ecotourism Strategy (NES) is one such document.

1.2. Research problem and question

While the NES is primarily gender blind (Hirtenfelder, 2014) it does make an explicit reference to gender when discussing (eco)tourism’s\(^1\) social benefits and downfalls which clearly also articulates similar subversive discourses to those mentioned previously, stating that tourism does not only provide jobs but can lead to changes in family structure and gender roles therefore subverting existing gender orders in Botswana:

> Tourism development can lead to changes in family structure and gender roles, resulting in new opportunities for women and young people [as well as] leading to tension and loss of self-esteem for men and older generations (NES, 2002: 12).

A gender order is the practice of gender, that is, how women and men practice what it means to be a woman or man in that context which establishes gendered structures and norms (Connell, 1995: 50-64). That is, it is how gender is ordered. In the NES narrative there are different gender orders meeting, institutional ones (tourism) and local ones (community). It goes on to make the assumption that the changes tourism causes in local gender orders are experienced positively for women and negatively for men, hence subverting the way gender was previously organised.

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\(^1\) (Eco)tourism is used when discussing matters which relate to tourism generally or when I would like to remind the reader that ecotourism is part of a broader idea of tourism. When referring to ecotourism in particular ‘ecotourism’ is used.
Therefore, one is compelled to ask: Has Botswana’s ecotourism experience translated into opportunities for women and not for men? Have men’s identities been so shaken by the introduction of (eco)tourism employment that they are experiencing anxiety, tension and loss of self-esteem? Tourism can lead to changes in family structure and gender roles – why? How? Is this as a result of interaction with tourists or the availability of a new form of employment? Due to the poor reflection of the NES on what it meant with its gender narrative and the scant research in Botswana on the relationship between tourism and gender, this thesis seeks to answer the following:

Does the organisation of labour in an ecotourism lodge subvert broader gender orders in Botswana which shape how labour and life are organised generally? If so/not, how?

Questions such as these are particularly important when one heeds the warning of some researchers that ecotourism can often be more insidious in its power relations than mass tourism and is in need of closer inspection (Butcher, 2007; Scheyvens, 2000). As such, this research will offer a modest contribution in identifying how the gender order in an ecotourism camp subverts (whether positively or negatively) the gender order of the community with which it is in. That is, it will consider how (if at all) the introduction of an ecotourism lodge to a specific area shifts ideas about family structure and gender roles in the broader gender order.

1.3. Structure and Way Forward

This thesis is structured in a standardised fashion with the first chapters providing background into the subject matter as well as the research processes, the next chapters are then focused on analysis, before finally a conclusion is drawn.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review and policy context by looking at both existing information on ecotourism as a concept and current African attempts to certify it before dealing with the contentious connection of (eco)tourism and development (of which gender equality is a critical component). The conversation up to this point is broad, locating both existing research in tourism as well as African references to the subject. The last section of this Chapter, however, focuses specifically on Botswana and research which has unpacked some of the challenges the country faces with regards to tourism. Botswana eco-certification
as well as its guiding document, the aforementioned NES, are also then discussed in terms of their gender sensitivity.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for this research. It discusses what is meant by ‘gender order’ and how one is moulded through ideas of the norm. Foucault (1978) and Butler (1999) provide the main theoretical arguments from which to grasp how to understand both gender as a norm and subversion or the disruption of that norm. Both theorists privilege the use of discourse in achieving such ambitions, recognising language as both reflecting and constituting reality. However, additional theories are needed in order to grasp how gender orders at differing levels are shaped. Glucksmann’s (1995) ‘total social organisation of labour’ (TSOL) and its move away from separating the cash economy from other forms of labour is useful here as it provides a means of not only understanding ‘webs of relations’ but also identifying the discursive tenets which helps to form them. Acker (2006) provides the theoretical and conceptual tools needed to understand an organisation as an ‘inequality regime’ which reproduces inequality based on notions of difference thereby aiding in identifying the organisation’s gender order.

Chapter 4 touches on some of the methodological considerations for this thesis noting that it is informed by and through feminist methodology which privileges transparency and reflexivity in both the research processes and dissemination of findings. This provides the epistemological and ontological background for the methods used to acquire information including a case study approach, participant observations, and in-depth semi-structured interviews. It is in this chapter that the case study, Meno A Kwena and Moreomaoto, are introduced and the reasons for doing so explained.

Chapter 5 unpacks the broader TSOL in Moreomaoto, the village which neighbours the ecotourism lodge. Using Glucksmann’s (1995) theory it both identifies and extrapolates the activities that participants identify as most important to the organisation of their lives (irrespective of whether it is in the paid economy). It is revealed that the four main activities to emerge are cattle, crop, and child care as well as paid employment. Chapter 5 provides the background needed to engage in the discussion about the key features of the broader gender order which makes explicit the underlying discursive assumptions that justify the gender division of labour identified.
Chapter 6 unpacks Meno A Kwena as an inequality regime using Acker’s (2006) theoretical and conceptual tools. This chapter unpacks how the ecotourism camp Meno A Kwena is structured based on and through inequality and how this is then articulated in a steep hierarchy which is both gendered and racialised. This paves the way for discussing the key features of Meno A Kwena’s inequality regime as a gender order, which considers the discursive assumptions upon which its gender order is framed.

With the key features of both gender orders (the broader and the institutional) in hand Chapter 7 sets about comparing the contours of the two gender orders by focusing on the similarities and differences which shape their respective gender divisions of labour. This discussion leads to Chapter 8, the last analytical chapter and the conclusion of this thesis. It answers the question raised in the introduction regarding whether this ecotourism camp has the potential to subvert a broader gender order and provides the reasons for how this has come to be.
CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND POLICY CONTEXT

2.1. Introduction

A significant amount of work grapples with debates on ecotourism, how it is conceived (the concept and type) as well as how it is managed (accreditation). However, there is less work on how these conceptions and processes are materialised on the African continent and even less when one considers the interaction of gender relations and ecotourism. That being said, there is a growing base of academic literature but it remains small. What follows is a brief consideration of information available on 1) ecotourism, 2) (eco)tourism and gender, and 3) (eco)tourism strategies on the continent 4) before turning attention to Botswana in particular.

The academic focus on tourism and its relationship with the environment is not surprising considering tourism is one of the, if not the, largest industry in the world (World Bank, 2013; NEPAD, 2009). It comprises of numerous players from a variety of industries and collectively can have devastating impacts on ecosystems. Tourism is not only associated with the destruction of natural habitats but also the perversion of local cultures and the disruption of ‘traditional’ lifestyles (Epler Wood, 2002: 5, 38; Schellhorn, 2010; Weaver, 2005:445). On the other end of the spectrum, tourism houses huge economic potential which can aid in counteracting social and environmental ills (Epler Wood, 2002; Vereczi, 2007). Such normative objectives are, however, more likely to be present in some alternative forms of tourism than others, such as ecotourism.

2.2. Ecotourism?

The term ‘ecotourism’ was first used in the English language by Romeril in 1985 (Weaver, 2005: 439) albeit the lines between tourism and its environmental responsibility were cemented in the Davos Declaration which sought to place the industry at the forefront of global responses to climate change (UNWTO, 2007b). Conversations about ecotourism’s social, environmental, and economic potential gained traction in 2002 during the United Nation’s (UN) declared “Year of Ecotourism” (Scheyvens, 2000: 232; UN Resolution 53/200; Weaver, 2005: 440). These were further reiterated in 2011 with the signing of a UN
resolution, *Promotion of ecotourism for poverty eradication and environmental protection* 65/173, which notes that ecotourism is an instrument in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (Rogerson, 2012: 33; Saarinen et al, 2013). Ecotourism is, therefore, a popular form of tourism due to its largely sustainable development contours. However, this close relationship also contributes to the fuzzy edges and contestations of what is actually meant by ‘ecotourism’ (Weaver, 2005: 442).

Like many widely used terms, ‘ecotourism’ is a fluid concept with a variety of characteristics depending on the speaker. Nonetheless, Fennell (2001: 408) analyses 85 definitions of ecotourism and finds the concept mostly defined with reference to its natural location (62.4%), conservation (61.2%), and culture (50.6%) with local benefit (48.2%), education (41.2%), sustainability (25.9%) and impact (21.25%) also featuring highly. However, it is noted that 68.3% of these definitions were developed in 1993 or before. Considering the fluidity of language, it is interesting to note that two decades later many definitions of ecotourism still house these characteristics. One such example is the widely used definition provided by The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) which incorporates five of the seven characteristics identified by Fennell (2001):

“Ecotourism is responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people.” (The International Ecotourism Society, 2013)

Although it is unclear what exactly constitutes ‘well-being’, the above definition clearly involves elements of natural location, conservation, local benefit, sustainability and impact with education and culture making an appearance when TIES lists the objectives and characteristics of ecotourism. Similarly, all seven of the tenets identified by Fennell (2001) are represented in the UNWTO’s listed characteristics of ecotourism (see Table 2.1)

That is, despite being subject to a wide range of definitions since it was coined in 1983 there are, at present, generally agreed upon features of ecotourism. Considering the above, in general, ecotourism is a form of nature based tourism which not only privileges the conservation of the natural environment but also recognises the responsibility of the tourism industry in the economic development of local populations while remaining culturally sensitive and educational (Black and Crabtree, 2007: 4-6; Epler Wood, 2002: 7; Weaver, 2005: 440-442). It is easily confused with other alternative forms of tourism, such as ‘nature
based tourism’, ‘responsible tourism’ and/or ‘sustainable tourism’ but as much as ecotourism houses parts of these it cannot be collapsed into them (Black and Crabtree, 2007: 4; Chafe, 2007: 180; Epler Wood, 2002: 11; Weaver, 2005: 439)

Table 2.1: Characteristics and objectives of ecotourism according to TIES and UNWTO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International Ecotourism Society</th>
<th>UNWTO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. “Minimize impact.”</td>
<td>1. “All nature-based forms of tourism in which the main motivator of the tourists is the observation and appreciation of nature as well as the traditional cultures prevailing in natural areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect.</td>
<td>2. It contains educational and interpretational features.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts.</td>
<td>3. It is generally, but not exclusively, organised for small groups by specialised and small locally owned business. Foreign operators of varying sizes also organise, operate and/or market ecotourism tours, generally for small groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Provide direct financial benefits for conservation.</td>
<td>4. It minimizes the impacts on the natural and socio-cultural environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people.</td>
<td>5. It supports protection of natural areas by:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Raise sensitivity to host countries’ political, environmental, and social climate” (TIES, 2013)</td>
<td>a. Generating economic benefits for host communities, organisations and authorities that are responsible for conserving natural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Creating jobs and income opportunities for local communities, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Increasing awareness both amongst locals and tourists of the need to conserve natural and cultural assets” (UNWTO, 2014)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Based on TIES, 2013a and UNWTO, 2014).

Ecotourism is clearly a type of nature based tourism but according to Chafe (2007) it is also a form of responsible travel and for Epler Wood (2002) it relates more closely to rural and cultural tourism than to adventure tourism, another form of nature based tourism. However, few of these accounts for the fact that ecotourism can slide into more banal forms of mass tourism if its boundaries are not correctly monitored and it becomes too preoccupied with generating profit, allowing for other core components such as education and cultural sensitivity to fall by the way-side (Butcher, 2007; Weaver, 2005).

Therefore, one must caution against seeing ecotourism as a silver bullet because it, like mass tourism, is at risk of damaging ecologically sensitive habitats and may not adequately consider issues of fairness and control over resources (Epler Wood, 2002: 5; Schellhorn,
2010; Weaver, 2005:445). That said, Epler Wood (2002: 7) recognises ecotourism is an ideal type which cannot be “a perfect model in every instance” but one that can strive to achieve the sustainable ideals housed within it.

Weaver (2005) further develops the notion of ecotourism as an ideal type and recognises that ecotourism has both ‘comprehensive and minimalist manifestations’. ‘Comprehensive ecotourism’ is more holistic, involves deep learning, is transformational, and takes into consideration environmental and sociocultural components. ‘Minimalist ecotourism’, on the other hand, is nature based, non-transformational, requires superficial learning, is status quo based, and only considers the environment, not sociocultural impacts (Weaver, 2005: 444). Weaver (2005) then distinguishes between hard and soft variants of ecotourism (see Figure 2.1) before concluding that comprehensive ecotourism should, ideally, house a variation of hard and soft characteristics so as to further advance its economic, social, and environmental sustainability (Weaver, 2005: 446-448). Although attractive, Weaver’s (2005) dichotomous model has been criticised for not sufficiently accounting for “differences in actual sustainability outcomes” (Black and Crabtree, 2007: 7).

![Figure 2.1: Characteristics of hard and soft ecotourism as ideal types (Source: Weaver, 2005)](image)

Some authors, most notably Butcher (2007: 18), disrupt the taken-for-granted assumptions in discourses which have “an uncritical acceptance of ecotourism as an exemplary sustainable development in rural areas”. Butcher (2007: 23) argues that ecotourism discourses are primarily concerned with conservation and that the benefits to people are positioned around that core objective. He primarily sees the goals for achieving ecotourism as a ‘developed
world pursuit’ which is much to the demise of the ‘developing world’ as it curtails their ability to economically develop through the normative ideals of the West:

Ecotourism is at the cutting edge of conservation initiatives as it seems to proffer opportunities for people to benefit from preserving their natural environments rather than changing them. Its ethical credentials, then, reside in its ability to combine conservation with limited development goals. More traditional forms of tourism are regarded as less ethical as although they generally yield more in the way of economic development they are deemed to be environmentally destructive and culturally problematic…. the premise of mass tourism, as an exemplar of modern development, has been subject to rigorous criticisms. Yet ecotourism, as a development strategy, has acquired a certain moral status which shields it from criticism precisely through its counter position to mass tourism, the latter assumed unethical (Butcher, 2007: 10, 40)

Therefore, despite the general excitement around the potential of ecotourism, research has begun to emerge which is critical of the isolated nature of such endeavours and questions ecotourism’s ability to influence conservation or development (Sproule, n.d.: 233; Butcher, 2007). However, the pressure mounted on tourism to be a development strategy has been critiqued and rather, it has been suggested, it should be viewed as “more a part of a menu of solutions to the dilemmas of ‘economic and social development in a volatile global economic environment” (Saarinen et al, 2013: 226). As such, there are numerous questions around not only what ecotourism means but what it should achieve. Consequently, this value-loaded concept is difficult to measure and monitor but as it moves into ‘adolescence’ there is an increasing desire to not only think about what ecotourism could mean but to measure its success and resist ‘greenwashing’, the use of ‘eco’ language without necessarily applying better environmental and social practices (Black and Crabtree, 2007: xxiii; Epler Wood, 2002: 19; Spenceley, 2005, 2008).

2.2.1. Ecotourism certification

Green certification emerged as a common strategy following the 1992 Rio Earth Summit. The first gathering for ecotourism and sustainable tourism certification took place in November 2000 resulting in the Mohank Declaration (Black and Crabtree, 2007: xxv). Black and Crabtree’s (2007) compilation of work on ecotourism certification aptly maps the benefits and downfalls of different forms of monitoring and evaluation. They note that voluntary tools demand best practice more than those which set minimum standards.
Voluntary measures include awards of excellence, codes of conduct as well as certification and accreditation. The latter two are the best forms of voluntary practice because they encourage “quality system components, such as benchmarking, performance indicators and auditing” (Black and Crabtree, 2007: 18). These certifications build on internationally, regionally, or nationally agreed upon characteristics of ecotourism and their benefits include: competitive advantage, improved ethics, better efficiency, increased productivity, and flexibility (Parsons and Grant, 2007).

Notable examples of certification and accreditation in Africa are those found in Kenya, Namibia, and South Africa. The organisation of these accreditations differ somewhat but are generally based on staggered levels of sustainable achievement: Bronze, Gold and Silver in the case of Kenya’s EcoRating Scheme initiated in 2002 (Ecotourism Kenya, 2014b); One to five Desert Flowers in Namibia’s Eco Awards (Ecoawards Namibia, 2014a); or South Africa’s Fair Trade Tourism which gives ‘Fair Trade Badges’ to accommodation and other products for their sustainable practices. South Africa’s Fair Trade Tourism is also one of only 13 bodies in the world (the only in Africa) recognized by the Global Sustainable Tourism Council (GST, 2014). All of these initiatives are run by civil society organisations and are indicative of attempts to measure sustainable practices in African tourism. However, there are also international schemes which some countries subscribe to, including: International Standardisation Organisation (41 African States are members), Green Globe 21 (three African resorts), Blue Flag (Mauritius, Morocco, South Africa, Tunisia), and Green Hotels Association (Namibia).

By its own admission, the emphasis of Kenya’s EcoRating Scheme overtly focuses on economic sustainability and believes it translates into environmental benefits for communities

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2 To expand: the process of accreditation involves both a self-assessment and audit before a certificate is issued which can be displayed and used for marketing purposes for two years (Ecotourism Kenya, 2014a; Muriithi, 2013; Spenceley, 2005: 6). At present there are 16 Gold, 50 Silver, and 30 Bronze eco-certified accommodations. Kenya’s ecotourism initiatives also involve a member’s charter, eco-awards, codes of conduct, and two publications (Ecotourism Kenya Guide and the Green Directory) (Ecotourism Kenya, 2014c). Although started in Kenya, the scheme has expanded to include other applicants from East Africa

3 Eco Awards Namibia accolades one to five desert flowers and at present 45 establishments have dessert flowers (One desert flower: 0; Two desert flowers: 21; Three desert flowers: 9; Four desert flowers: 10; Five desert flowers: 5). The number of flowers one receives is based on the percentage scored in the assessment phase of the process with one flower being between 40-55% and five flowers being in excess of 90%.

4 Because of this achievement it is now branching beyond South Africa’s borders into Southern Africa. To be accredited by Fair Trade Tourism, establishments first do a self-assessment before paying to go under review for certification (Black and Crabtree, 2007; FTT, 2014a; Spenceley, 2005: 3-4). Importantly, some of the money paid for certification is inserted into the FTT Development Fund which is then used to assist FTT certified business when in need (FTT, 2014b).
(Ecotourism Kenya, 2014a). Conversely, *Eco Awards Namibia* uses strong environmentalist rhetoric by focusing on waste management, conservation, energy, and construction. It also encourages staff development and social responsibility albeit these are subsidiary to the aim of environmental conservation (Ecoawards Namibia, 2014a). By contrast, *Fair Trade in Tourism* in South Africa is social in both orientation and design and seeks to achieve fair, ethical, and respectful tourism. Tanzania and the Seychelles also have ecotourism strategies and like the above lean more toward one of the pillars of sustainable development (economics in the case of Tanzania and the environment in the case of Seychelles). The tendency of side-lining social factors in favour of economic and environmental ones (with the exception of *Fair Trade Tourism*) has been criticised for focusing too much on quantitative factors and not giving enough consideration to qualitative components (Sproule, n.d.: 246).

Social relations, including gender relations, by their very nature are difficult to measure. They are not as quantifiable as economic or environmental impacts and are based on a wide range of variables. That said, there are common trends which allow academics and practitioners alike the ability to draw generalisations about human behaviour. Following the postmodern turn and the increasing analytical deconstruction of identity; the need to understand local social practices is more pressing, as identified by Peeters (2009). Furthermore, fragmented voices and nuance are appreciated more than before, in relation to meta-analysis and grand theories (Maxwell, 1996). That said, accreditations’ focus on the economic factors of ecotourism strategies in Africa (and beyond) may be expected, especially considering the increasing advocacy of the tourism and development nexus.

### 2.3. The connection of development and (eco)tourism in Africa

The relationship between people and the natural environments within which they live are intimately interrelated as nature structures the tools and needs of people and, in turn, people’s needs and technological advancements alter nature (Omari, 2010: 6). Weaver (2005: 441) captures this relationship as follows:

“The boundary between nature and culture is often blurred and natural ecosystems are substantially the consequences of activities undertaken by indigenous people over several millennia” (Weaver, 2005: 441)
For others, however, the relationship between the environment, tourism and development is more closely associated with employment. Snyman (2013: 2-3) notes that climate change is increasing small scale farmers dependence of the market economy due to changes in weather patterns and water availability and that tourism enterprises offer a significant economic activity in further constricting environments. Her study then focuses on the role of ecotourism in reducing poverty, especially in “impoverished agriculturally marginal rural areas”, through increasing household income and finds that long-term employment is effective in reducing poverty better than ‘simple transfers’ which results in dependence (Snyman, 2013: 2-4). Subsequently, Snyman (2013: 3) states that ecotourism provides an opportunity “for wealth transfer from the affluent who want to enjoy the environment, to the poor, who frequently suffer from it”. Here Snyman (2013) places the environment and classed individuals in a relationship which is clearly shaped through power dynamics and a transfer of resources (money for environment). Snyman (2013) also then discusses how this relationship fosters a growing recognition of the need to sustain biodiversity as well as to understand how power and customs are intertwined therein (like Weaver above notes). However, she also mentions how widespread feelings of resentment among rural communities are about the rights of animals being privileged over their own needs, which is particularly acute for those living adjacent to national parks.

Building on similar sentiments, others such as Monterrubio and Espinosa (2013) have stressed that blanket statements for describing people’s environmental constraints are not useful because “the specific conditions of the destination area will play an important role in defining at a micro level the characteristics of employment of any type of tourism”. They then reiterate that the employment provided by tourism enterprises, particularly those found within rural areas, can create large changes in the economy of families before saying that ecotourism may be a step in the right direction toward empowering such families in their restrictive environments. Therefore, one should be sensitive to how humans interact with and influence their environments and vice versa. Like any other continent, the African continent has a diverse range of environments in relationship with people.

According to Rogerson and Rogerson (2011) most academic literature currently available on tourism in SADC relates to South Africa (65.6%), Botswana (8.9%) and Tanzania (7%). Further, there appears to be an increasing focus on the ‘tourism-development nexus’ which is expected considering the emphasis on development by Southern African Development
Community (SADC), New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), and the African Union (AU). ‘Destination development’ is the most dominant research theme relating to tourism in SADC with 99 articles released between 2000 and 2010. Interestingly, the next most dominant theme is ‘eco/nature tourism’ with 59 articles for the same period (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2011: 218).

It might not be that unexpected to some who have argued that ecotourism is part of a Western discourse which has been framed as community development but which is central to a global economic development agenda (Butcher, 2007). Kinnaird and Hall (1994: 6) aptly state that “international processes of tourism development have been perceived as part of economic and political power relations within a political economy perspective of global development and underdevelopment.” Rogerson (2012: 41) somewhat supports this sentiment when advocating for more research on ‘the African tourist’ and the need to carry out tourism research which is not only more theoretically informed, but is also critical of the prevalence of tourism theory from ‘the West’.

Tourism in much of Africa was initiated “by colonialists for colonialists” (Mbaiwa, 2002: 110), however, post-independence some countries have viewed it as a tool for development with countries such as Gambia, Uganda, Tanzania, Mauritius, South Africa and Botswana all actively ensuring that tourism is part of their development agendas (Rogerson, 2007: 361-2). Increasingly tourism is spoken of not only as an industry but a contributor to the achievement of several development agendas, the most notable being the reduction of poverty (Rogerson, 2012: 35; Saarinen et al., 2013). Snyman and Spenceley (2012) subscribe to such beliefs stating that tourism and it’s pro-poor potential can be scaled up in Africa if the areas of employment, value-chain linkages, and equity can be properly managed by employing more local people, instituting learnerships, testing viability and marketability of any tourism endeavour, while simultaneously also developing guides and tools for best practice.

Therefore, it is unsurprising that the AU/NEPAD African Action Plan (2009: 75) states that “Tourism is a recognizable global industry, which can have great impact on local development trends”. The benefits of tourism in this document are overwhelmingly economic in rhetoric, like much of the discussion on tourism in Africa, but it does mention that in order for tourism to be successful on the continent it also needs to promote social inclusion and poverty alleviation because tourism embodies the potential to achieve development goals,
Despite being in its infancy (NEPAD, 2009: 75; Rogerson, 2012: 33). These sentiments are shared in the SADC Protocol on the Development of Tourism, however it also mentions the importance of social inclusion, with specific reference to gender equality as well as an emphasis on creating industries that emulate the principles of sustainable development (Article 2, 3 and 11). The protocol notes that in order for tourism to aid in the region there is a need to establish service standards through registration, classification, and accreditation (Article 9) as well as additional research on existing tourism industries (Article 8).

From the previous section, it is clear that there are several African countries that are championing the drive for more socially and environmentally sustainable enterprises on a national scale, namely Kenya, Namibia, South Africa and Tanzania (and Botswana, which will be discussed later in this section). With these countries having some of the most developed tourism industries on the continent their shift, ahead of others, toward greener tourism practices is not unexpected – particularly, as they move into spaces which could help diversify their current tourism offerings.

2.3.1. Economics and (eco)tourism in ‘Africa’

Not only are Botswana, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, and Tanzania some of the only countries with sustainable tourism strategies but they were also included in the eight sub-Saharan African countries considered to have achieved tourism success by the World Bank. They identified four types of tourism industries in the region (Christie et al, 2013: 5-6):


2. **Potential** (illustrated interest in tourism but lack governance): Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, and Swaziland

3. **Emerging** (performing well but there are market failures): Burkina Faso, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, The Gambia, The Seychelles, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe
4. **Consolidating** (maintaining tourism success): Botswana, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa, and Tanzania

Therefore, national government strategies are imperative to the development of tourism for helping to design policy and regulatory frameworks but also for incentives that encourage best practice (Rogerson, 2007: 370). Building on its findings, the World Bank has said that Africa is not doing enough to facilitate the economic growth of the industry because their market share of global tourism only grew from 3% in 1980 to 5% in 2010 as opposed to the staggering increase of Asia Pacific from 8% to 22% for the same period (Christie et al., 2013). This is astonishing when one notes that the number of tourists arriving in sub-Saharan Africa (the highest economically performing region on the continent) has increased by 300% since 1990. The World Bank attributes this slow growth to lacklustre infrastructural development (notably in transport and accommodation) and little effort to energize job creation (Christie et al, 2013).

Staying with the economic dimensions of African tourism, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) conducts research on the impacts of tourism on GDP, employment contribution, historic growth as well as expected growth. It is revealed that in 2014 travel and tourism amounted for $US 83.3 billion of Africa’s GDP (up from $US 75 billion in 2013) as well as 8.6 million direct jobs. Including its indirect and induced impacts travel and tourism amounted to 8.1% ($US 196.8 billion) of Africa’s GDP and sustained more than 20 million jobs meaning that it generates almost 1 in 14 jobs on the continent (WTTC, 2013, 2015a).

As much as tourism is contributing to the continent’s GDP and job creation it has been noted that these benefits are not equally distributed in communities. Furthermore, economic issues are compounded by unrealistic expectations, initially, of the outcomes and benefits for communities as well as poor understanding and comprehension of community power dynamics and relations, such as gender (Sproule, n.d.; UNWTO, 2010).

### 2.3.2 African (eco)tourism and gender

In 2010, the UNWTO (2010: 24) found that the three countries with the highest concentration of women in the hotel and restaurant sectors of the developing world were all African: Mali (81.8%), Ethiopia (80.1%) and Lesotho (79.5%). That said, the lowest performer, Egypt
(3.3%), was also from Africa showing that not all African countries share the same tourism experiences, certainly not with how labour is organised according to gender. However, Africa (47%) had a lower regional average of women in tourism than other developing regions, namely Latin America (58.5%) and the Caribbean (55.4%). Africa also had the lowest average for the number of tertiary services graduates (36.8%) with only Uganda and Kenya having a higher proportion of female to male graduates. Not only are women poorly represented as graduates but as teachers too, with merely one in five tertiary teachers being women (UNWTO, 2010: 32-33).

However, the report notes that African countries excel when it comes to female ministers of tourism and that women are more likely to be ministers of tourism in Africa, particularly East Africa, than of other ministerial posts. That said, women remain grossly underrepresented as tourism association chairs (UNWTO, 2010: 34, 37) illustrating that leadership in the top echelons of national tourism does not necessarily disrupt the gendered nature of leadership structures throughout it. The report finished with several recommendations for the African continent which are summarised on Table 2.2.

**Table 2.2: Summary of recommendations for Africa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Recommendation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>1.1 Develop awards and recognition for tourism companies that have advanced women and provide a woman-friendly work environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3 Promote the concept of credit and loans by merit of operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.4 Promote the development of women-only business loan and loan officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3.4 Examine opportunities to provide training for mature women engaged in informal tourism activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>4.5 Monitor and publish annually the number of women in tourism leadership positions in the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>5.1 Conduct value-chain assessment of the informal tourism economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2 Identify ways to increase access to credit and training for self-employed women working in tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.4 Develop a means of monitoring vulnerable and disabled women working in tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.6 Develop a support programme specifically for vulnerable women working in tourism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: UNWTO, 2010: 82)

The above recommendations are finance and economic orientated and the entire document could be critiqued for failing to consider men. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that
these recommendations are helpful and represent one of the first attempts to consider the continent and the relationship between tourism and gender.

2.4. Gender, (eco)tourism and economics

Many national and policy debates relating to gender (not just with ecotourism) tend to be written using efficiency language inspired by the WID paradigm. This means that women are only included in tourism and functioning inasmuch as there is economic need for them to do so (Datta, 2004; Dilly, 2003; Ferguson, 2009; Sheyvens, 2000). Chant and Sweetman (2012) severely critique such ‘smart economics’ discourses because they do not justify women’s inclusion because it is ethically correct but rather because it makes economic sense. Such sentiments are in contrast to calls in new, more flexible frameworks - such as the Gender and Development (GAD) and Development Alternatives for Women in the New Era (DAWN) - which encourage sensitive views of gender relations that are contextually defined so as to better consider the dynamic and powerful ways in which relations between men and women shape access to and utilisation of resources (Datta, 2004; Hirtenfelder, 2014; Ndimande, 2001).

Similarly, Chant (2002, 2006) is critical of the feminisation of poverty and states that discourses of ‘empowerment’ and ‘opportunities’ are used “without any specification of its meaning making it useless in the implementation of projects geared towards ‘development’” (Chant, 2006: 202). Because women are framed as ‘the poorest of the poor’, especially those in rural areas, ecotourism is constructed as having particular potential for them in employment. However, many have noted that women tend to be concentrated in the least skilled and paid jobs in the industry despite making up a large number of the employees (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994: 16-17; Monterrubio and Espinosa, 2013; Sproule, n.d.; ILO, 2011; UNWTO, 2010).

Using feminist thinking, Scheyvens (2000) moves away from viewing ecotourism as a solely economically beneficial enterprise which can conserve nature but one that, if implemented and managed correctly, can actively contribute to women’s empowerment (see examples in the introduction). Scheyvens (2000) sought to identify how ecotourism can be economically,

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5 ‘Empowerment was used in this way by Peeters (2009) and Scheyvens (2000) for example. Although Scheyven’s (2000) was more nuanced and did try to look at varying aspects of what constitutes ‘empowerment’
politically, psychologically and socially empowering for women and goes on to criticise the absence of any gender analysis in the implementation of ecotourism. This is because Scheyvens (2000) sees the empowerment of women as central to the achievement of sustainable development. However, she frames women’s participation in ecotourism facilities as not only the pursuit of equality in and of itself but rather identifies the exclusion of women as a missed opportunity. She goes on to state that ecotourism facilities which fail to incorporate women and facilitate and support their active participation also fail to ensure that the ecotourism initiatives are “reflecting the interests of diverse groups of community members” and may not be utilising the expert knowledge of the environment that women have. Although some of Scheyvens’ (2000) arguments slip into essentialism and her use of a utilitarian approach of including women could be criticised for failing to fight for women’s equality in itself (without economic motives) the complexity of her analysis in regard to the social effects of (eco)tourism is refreshing.

Like Scheyvens (2000), the UNEP Report written by Epler Wood (2002) primarily considers women’s involvement in ecotourism initiatives and states that despite female participation remaining low there are some examples of good practice such as the Langtang Ecotourism Project in Nepal where women have created a ‘cultural revival’ and are economically sustaining themselves through craft cooperatives. That said, there is little space afforded to questioning how these practices might maintain unequal gender relations or what they have meant in terms of women’s and men’s shifting home lives.

Relly (2008) is unique in challenging researchers to focus on the household as a means of understanding multiplier effects of tourism and non-labour lodge expenditure. Sadly, however, the analysis remains in the economic realm not focusing on the ways in which such economic benefits are distributed/created socially and what the impacts are of tourism in the home lives of those working at or living near a tourism establishment. By contrast Chant (1997) deftly illustrates how women and men’s status within their home and community lives (in Mexico and the Philippines) shape not only the types of jobs they are able to gain access to in tourism (if at all) but the spaces in which they can move, both of which are informed by perceptions and preferences of employers resulting in distinctly feminised segments of tourism work. For Chant (1997), the economic impacts of tourism must be understood as crafted by social relations and cannot be understood in isolation from their gendered construction.
It is clear from the above that the majority of tourism literature tends to focus on the economic impacts of tourism, mostly for women. In fact, the scant literature on men in tourism is startling. Despite men making up the majority of tourism employees in most countries they also tend to be the individuals most concentrated in skilled jobs that are higher up the hierarchy in the division of labour.

2.4.1. (Eco)tourism and the gendered division of labour

Having conducted an extensive literature review Monterrubio and Espinosa (2013) find that that few studies have tried to consider the characteristics of ecotourism employment and the perspectives of employees regarding their work. Rather, they note, that most research has had an overtly environmental focus. That said, they go on to note that tourism employment is highly gendered but are cautious to point out that despite the common discourse that tourism is a feminised industry it is not always dominated by women with men in some camps illustrating higher variability in the jobs they acquire and women being almost entirely absent. Nonetheless, the Global Report of Women in Tourism also makes use of two extensive literature reviews (The Baseline Research Agenda and The Inception Report) to create indicators for helping to measure the ‘progress’ of women in tourism and it aptly summarised the key issues. These are shown on Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: A comparison of key issues from the baseline survey and inception report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baseline research agenda: Main issues</th>
<th>Inception report: Key Issues to address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women’s role in the informal sector</td>
<td>Supporting women in the informal sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s status in the labour market</td>
<td>Promoting equal pay for women and the promotion of women to senior positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s participation in development projects</td>
<td>Supporting women’s participation in tourism decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual exploitation and trafficking</td>
<td>Protecting women from sexual exploitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s access to credit</td>
<td>Assisting women to access to land and microloans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Encouraging women to partner with NGOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s access to land</td>
<td>Working conditions for women in tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal rights for women in tourism in employment</td>
<td>Helping companies improve benefits for workers with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community development initiatives</td>
<td>Promoting low-capital home-based craft industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills, training, and education</td>
<td>Education and training for women in tourism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: UNWTO, 2010: 14)
Using these issues the report identifies five themes which should have indicators established for them, namely: employment, community, leadership, entrepreneurship and education (UNWTO, 2010: 14). Table 2.4 provides a summary of the monitoring framework.

**Table 2.4: Monitoring framework: Issues and goals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Framework themes</th>
<th>Key issues</th>
<th>Goals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Employment       | • Equal participation of women in the tourism workforce  
                    • Equal pay for women in tourism  
                    • Equal occupational status for women in tourism  
                    • Better working conditions for women in tourism | Goal 1: Create equal opportunities for women working in tourism    |
| Entrepreneurship | • Women as tourism employers  
                    • Women’s access to land and finance for tourism | Goal 2: Inspire women’s tourism entrepreneurship  |
| Education        | • Women’s access to tourism education  
                    • Women as tourism trainers | Goal 3: Advance women through tourism education and training         |
| Leadership       | • Women as tourism decision-makers  
                    • Women as tourism business leaders | Goal 4: Encourage women to lead in tourism                         |
| Community        | • Women working in tourism at home  
                    • Vulnerable women in tourism | Goal 5: Support women in community and home-based tourism enterprise |

(Source: UNWTO, 2010: 15.)

Using aggregate data from a variety of sources, including the ILO and UNESCO, 11 indicators are identified to monitor the ‘progress’ of women in tourism in 172 countries. It finds that women are well represented in the formal sector but, as has already been established, tend to be concentrated in lower end, clerical and service jobs (UNWTO, 2010: 24). This has repercussions because even though women constitute 49% of hotel and restaurant sector jobs in the developing world, they take home significantly less provisions than men (even in comparison to men in the same sector) (UNWTO, 2010: 25). These findings were reiterated by Baum (2013: 15) who noted the reasons behind inequality in the tourism labour market due to:

1) Direct discrimination whereby women are paid less;
2) The undervaluing of women’s work which is based on gendered perceptions of skills and is related to lower pay scales;
3) Segregation of jobs where women and men are concentrated in different work because of perceptions of lower skill and gender stereotypes;
4) Traditions and stereotypes about women and men have structural outcomes contributing to the gender division of labour; and

5) Women tend to experience more challenges with balancing their work and family lives which often makes part-time, flexible work (also lower paid) more attractive

Purcell (1997: 41) argues there are three main elements which determine employers recruiting women for particular jobs.6 ‘Women’s jobs’ can be *contingently gendered jobs* which happen to be done primarily by women despite the demand being gender neutral – the concentration of women in these, often low-paid jobs, is tied to broader structural challenges; *sex-typed jobs* where sex-related attributes or qualities define the job; and *patriarchally prescribed jobs* where certain jobs are deemed ‘appropriate’ for particular people because of their normalisation and their relation to other spheres of behaviour, for example the stereotype that women are mothers first and workers second. These three categorisations are intimately related to one another but the latter two illustrate how gender itself can become a defining attribute. It is clear to see, then, that the gender division of labour within the tourism industry (or any given ecolodge) is not isolated but attached to several structural and historical factors which shape perceptions, opportunities, and accessibility (Chant, 1997; Ferguson, 2011; Kinnaird and Hall, 1996; Scott, 1997).

The gendered division of labour can be contemplated in a number of ways. For example, one can view it by directly looking at aggregate data (Baum, 2013; UNWTO, 2010) and considering how the numbers reflect the feminisation/masculinisation of an industry. Although more aggregated data on how labour within tourism is divided is sorely needed, some authors (Elmas, 2007; Epler Wood, 2002; Purcell, 1997; Veijola and Valtonen, 2007) have noted that as much as statistics do help to give an overview it is also important to look at the qualities (rather than quantities) which are ‘needed’ for particular people to be viewed as appropriate for a particular job. Acker (1990) points out how such job qualities are not neutral but rather defined through racial and gendered constructions of suitability. For example, women tend to be concentrated in service, clerical, and housekeeping jobs in tourism work because these are framed as being less skilled whereas men are more concentrated in ‘skilled’ and ‘professional’ jobs as managers, owners, and guides which is shaped by contextual factors, including ‘family ideology’ (Elmas, 2007: 307).

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6 Her article is located in the United Kingdom but the analytical distinction is still useful to note here.
Some academics have taken the debate on the gender division of labour in tourism a step further. They have looked at how such divisions are reflected in and create gendered spaces in tourism (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000; Pritchard et al, 2007) and questions have begun to arise not only about how labour within tourism destinations itself are organised according to gender but how gender division of labour enables tourists to travel in the first place. That is, the division of labour is linked to the ‘division of leisure’ meaning that there are discourses which enable both the division of work and play and that these tend to be gendered and racialised (Swain, 1995).

One source which directly addresses ecotourism and gender is a dissertation titled: *The construction and influence of local gender roles on practice in a global industry: Ecotourism in Ecuador*. Central to Weinert’s (2008) dissertation is globalisation. Fitting ecotourism practices within wider global power relations while attempting to understand local realities gives Weinert’s (2008) work a novel design and provides for some interesting results. For example, Weinert (2008: 154) notes that the positive narrative of ‘opportunities for communities’ fails to adequately account for how perceptions inform who has access to employment and how gender may subtly inform everyday practices.

Based on this, Weinert (2008: 155) urges for a better understanding of how managers make their decisions as this influences the extent to which one can achieve (or practice rather) ecotourism. In general, Weinert (2008: 157) found that managers of ecolodges in Ecuador had poor understanding of local gender norms and relations and that unequal gender relations in the ecolodges reflected inequality in Ecuador more broadly. Beyond the perceptions of managers, Weinert (2008: 159) also noted that despite tourists recognising that there tended to be a gender division of labour within ecolodges, few problematised it. So, to understand the complexities of not only unequal global power relations but also national inequalities and how they are informed and maintained through unequal gender relations Weinert (2008) suggests studying ecotourism lodges and generating more information in this largely unexplored area. As valuable as Weinert’s (2008) contribution is, the focus remains primarily within the work place and little attention is accorded to how perceptions of tourists, managers, and workers not only influence relationships within the lodges but within the these individuals home lives too – something that could have certainly been thrashed out more considering the multi-level (global, national, work organisation) analysis Weinert (2008)
employed. Nonetheless, Weinert’s (2008) work is seminal and provides a valuable account of how ecotourism and its development agenda are gendered.

The ‘large’ amount of information on ecotourism versus the dearth of information on gender in tourism (and ecotourism more specifically) in Africa gives credence to the warning put forward by Scheyvens (2000: 234) that ecotourism has been “placed on a pedestal” and is in need of more critical analysis. This is the case even in countries that illustrate a dedication to gender equality and have strong tourism industries, such as Botswana.

2.5. (Eco)tourism in Botswana

Botswana is a peaceful sub-Saharan African country that has incredible spaces of wilderness and is well known for the Okavango Delta, one of the most bio diverse regions in the world. Botswana’s investment in tourism is predictable considering tourist activities significantly contribute toward its economy. The total contribution of travel and tourism to the country’s GDP in 2014 amounted to 8.5%. Additionally, the industry is thought to have contributed to 10.1% (69,500) of jobs for the same year (WTTC, 2015b). The increasing economic importance of tourism in the country prompted the government to recognise that it needed to preserve the very nature and culture on which such revenues are contingent making it one of only a few (aforementioned) African countries actively pursuing a more sustainable tourism industry which is both environmentally and socially sensitive.

However, like many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, and indeed the world, Botswana is faced with issues relating to increased mobility, poverty, inequality and environmental degradation (Cassidy, 2001: 6; MoCI, 2000: 20; Moswete and Lacey, 2015: 600; Leno et al, 2013; USAID, 2010). In specific reference to tourism the high numbers of expat ownership and the poor training of local people has been criticised, with questions asked about who benefits and querying why so few Batswana⁷ are in management positions in the industry (Mbaiwa, 2008; Spenceley, 2008). The government of Botswana has actively tried to ensure that communities are included in tourism and benefit from its rewards, through Community

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⁷ A note on terms: 1) Batswana: The plural form of Motswana, terms used to describe people of Tswana decent living in and nationals of Botswana. 2) Motswana: The single form of Batswana, terms used to describe people of Tswana decent living in and nationals of Botswana. 3) Tswana: A branch of Bantu Speaking people living in Southern Africa. The Tswana ethnic group forms the majority of Botswana’s population, referred to as Motswana (S) and Batswana (P).
Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes (Spenceley, 2008). However, the primary economic benefits of tourism appear to still be in hands of expatriates in what Mbaiwa (2008) calls ‘enclave tourism’. While Massyn (2008) agrees that expatriates still profit the most from tourism he believes that “radical indigenization” is not the answer to the redistribution of tourism money. Rather, he advocates that such ‘leakages’ need to be understood in the context of the socio-cultural roots which make such tourism possible in the first place. Rogerson (2012: 38) would agree that focusing on ‘plugging’ the leakages would be an inappropriate strategy and that the country should rather divert its energies toward actively seeking new, local linkages.

Issues of expatriate ownership and economic leakage are not the only tensions in Botswana’s tourism industry – it is also faced with a resource ‘conflict’ in which two of its biggest industries, tourism and beef production, are at odds with one another over land use (Mbaiwa, 2002: 120; Darkoh and Mbaiwa, 2002). Land boards and chiefs allocate lands to locals who use it to farm both crops and cattle with only 8% of the total land area of the country being used by commercial farmers (USAID, 2010). These land issues are further aggravated by the close proximity of wildlife and pastoralists which exacerbates human-wildlife conflict, particularly with elephants and lions (Hitchcock, 1997). Therefore, the tourism industry in Botswana is faced with a series of strengths but also challenges and weaknesses (see Table 2.5):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wildlife and wilderness</td>
<td>“Infancy” state of tourism development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political and economic stability</td>
<td>Limited tourism awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness of people</td>
<td>Bureaucratic procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good physical infrastructure</td>
<td>Weak tourism organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>Threats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product diversification</td>
<td>Unbalanced development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in rural communities</td>
<td>Negative socio-cultural impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase of industry standards</td>
<td>Regional political instability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of economic tourism</td>
<td>Negative environment impact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: MoCI, 2000: 7)

Despite fences also being erected in order to reduce the number of cattle dying, as a result of wildlife, they have been reported as having complex consequences for those who live near them (Boone and Hobbs, 2004; Hitchcock, 1995, 183; Kufner, 2006; McGahey, 2010: 44).
Such fences can exacerbate existing resource conflicts and breed distrust of government because villagers feel that it is actively curbing their ability to mitigate against changing environmental conditions, but it also reduces the long distances farmers have to cover in order to retrieve their cattle which have direct financial benefits due to Botswana’s beef industry (McGahey, 2010:44).

In order to address some of the abovementioned threats and weaknesses Botswana identified ecotourism as having the potential to diversify and improve the country’s tourism offering, further enhancing movements away from a mining-dominated economy to one that is more sustainable and which can capitalise on the country’s natural beauty (MoCI, 2000: 7). The NES (2002: 5) states that the document was “guided by the goal of facilitating the development of tourism to areas of natural and cultural heritage”.

2.5.1. The principles and objectives of the NES

The direct involvement of the government of Botswana in tourism development was a shift from the 1990s when such development was only under the control of the private sector. However, the eruption of tourism in the 1980s meant that a series of issues (land use conflict, over-use) and opportunities (infrastructure development, job opportunities) emerged and prompted intervention by the government to regulate the industry (Malesu and Morontshe, n.d.). Unlike the aforementioned sustainable tourism initiatives on the continent, Botswana’s ecotourism agenda and accreditation has been primarily driven by the state, as opposed to civil society.

That said, the NES was a product of extensive consultation with civil society and included several workshops with not only government agencies but also with NGOs, the private sector, and communities (NES, 2002: forward). This development process was funded and supported by the European Union (EU) Commission, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and Symbiosis Consulting (NES, 2002: forward) which clearly indicates that even at a policy level the development of such strategies is deeply interwoven in international relations and global development strategies.
In line with this, the NES (2002: 5) also makes use of the internationally used definition of ecotourism used by TIES (“Ecotourism is responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people”). Although this definition is widely used, the NES opts instead to base its strategy on core ecotourism principles which will further enable the development of their certification (BTO, n.d.), namely:

- “Minimising the negative social, cultural, and environmental impacts
- Maximising the involvement, and equitable distribution of economic benefits to, host communities and citizen entrepreneurs
- Maximising revenues for re-investment in conservation
- Educating both visitors and local people as to the importance of conserving natural and cultural resources
- Delivering a quality experience for tourists” (NES, 2002: 5-6)

These principles are, in turn, used to shape the eight core objectives (and their respective actions) of the NES, which are clearly developmental in design. Table 2.6 shows the eight objectives of Botswana’s NES and the respective actions linked to them.
Table 2.6: The NES: 8 Objectives and their respective actions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Key issues and actions (as identified in the NES)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Objective 1 | **To ensure that the planning, development and management of tourism in Botswana is consistent with the concept of sustainability**
Without careful environmental and cultural planning tourism can be unsustainable. As such, tourism must be aware of its carrying capacities and other environmental restrictions while simultaneously providing those within the industry examples of best practice. There is a need to acquire more baseline data to better monitor tourism impacts. Tourist practices must abide by ecotourism principles and carry out self-regulation through accreditation which will encourage engagement in conservation and contribute to local economic development. |
| Objective 2 | **To facilitate the development of economically-viable and effectively managed ecotourism enterprises**
In order to make ecotourism lodges economically viable the high costs of green management will need to be reduced, access to information on ecotourism must be improved and locals must be assisted with necessary economic provisions. There is need for further training to ensure local ownership and successful enterprises. Unrealistic expectations of communities need to be managed and market research needs to be conducted. |
| Objective 3 | **To increase the number of Batswana meaningfully involved in, and benefiting from, the tourism industry**
Primarily social and concerned with the number of local people ‘meaningfully’ involved in (eco)tourism. The NES suggests increasing the number of employees in senior level positions, increasing the number of who own such enterprises and assisting Batswana identify tourism opportunities. Objective 3 problematizes the concentration of Batswana in low skilled jobs and goes on to note that tourism can be disruptive to local life. |
| Objective 4 | **To promote marketing initiatives which support the sustainable development and diversification of the tourism industry in Botswana**
Is economic in orientation and mainly concerned with marketing and promotion. Action needs to ensure both the product and geographical diversification of Botswana’s tourism which can be achieved through strong marketing of the country as an ecotourism destination. Stakeholders need to be kept up to date with market needs and desires because of increasing competition in nature based tourism across developing countries. To curtail greenwashing the NES suggests that a comprehensive database on ecotourism needs to be established. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective 5</th>
<th>To enhance understanding of the concept of ecotourism among all stakeholder groups, and to raise awareness of the costs, benefits, opportunities and implications of ecotourism development for each</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primarily about promoting awareness and understanding of conservation which is specifically targeted at two groups 1) Tourists/visitors and 2) Batswana. Tourists should be educated on local ecology, history, and culture as well as rules and regulations which promote suitable behaviour culturally, environmentally and economically. Batswana, on the other hand, need be made aware of the benefits of the industry (both economically and in terms of conservation) without setting them up for disappointment with unrealistic expectations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective 6</td>
<td>To facilitate the development of tourism infrastructure that minimises negative impacts, maximises the benefits of ecotourism, and is sensitive to target market expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism infrastructure needs to be culturally and aesthetically pleasing and not environmentally damaging. Such infrastructure must ensure that all components of the tourism product abide by ecotourism principles. ‘Best practice’ guidelines need to be distributed and green technologies utilised. Prior to any construction environmental and social impact assessments must be carried out and must be monitored thereafter on an on-going basis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective 7</td>
<td>To promote consistently high quality ecotourism standards throughout the country’s tourism industry in line with international target market expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Best practice guidelines must be developed and distributed to stakeholders. Good performers must be rewarded. Accreditation is used to avoid greenwashing and false marketing. Guidelines and accreditation also ensure that tourists are not only aware of what their product will entail but that the sustainability of the product is monitored. In order to be credible, the accreditation will need to be self-supporting and thorough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective 8</td>
<td>To facilitate the development of Botswana’s ecotourism industry through improved inter- and intra-sectoral co-ordination and collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collaboration across government departments (including development sectors not directly related to tourism), as well other stakeholder groups is needed. This should be done with the intention of ensuring benefits for all involved as stakeholders involve public, private, community and NGO sectors - lack of coordination between these groups leads to ineffective performance and redundancies. Therefore, there is need to ensure respective players are clear on their roles and mandates which could be facilitated by an inter-departmental working committee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: The synthesised table comes directly from Hirtenfelder, 2015 but the full information is found in the NES, 2002.)
The objectives and actions are developmental in orientation despite the NES (2002: 6) explicitly stating that “it is not intended to address general tourism development issues” but is rather a complement to the Botswana Tourism Master Plan (2000). This is misleading because the objectives eschew a normative development agenda informed by sustainable development which aims to improve both the country and industry - even though this ‘improvement’ does tend to be primarily in the language of economics which assumes that economic improvement will reduce social and environmental constraints.

2.5.2. Botswana’s ecotourism certification

Botswana developed a national certification model, rather than adopting an international model, so as to ensure that the measures are more contextually sensitive. The government of Botswana believes that certification protects socio-economic structures as well as promotes conservation of the environment on which the industry depends (Malesu and Morontshe, n.d.). It is also believed to foster increased respect for local culture and to contribute towards communities’ sense of ownership. Lastly, certification has industry related benefits because as it can reduce operational costs and provide a marketing advantage (Malesu and Morontshe, n.d.; BTO, n.d.). The initial standards were piloted in 12 volunteer tourist accommodations, in collaboration with the Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) and Biokavango (Malesu and Morontshe, n.d.). These resulted in the creation of Botswana’s newly launched (2008) eco-certification whereby any accommodation or tour operator can be awarded with one of the following:

1. **Green**: “The standards for this level deal primarily with the environment management system.”
2. **Green +**: “This level provides higher standard for those who have achieved the first level.”
3. **Eco**: This level “defines those facilities that have met all the principles of ecotourism [mentioned above]. The level reflects the facilities’ commitment and involvement of communities including cultural resources enhancement and socio-economic responsibilities, nature conservation, environmental management and interpretation of the surrounding.” (Malesu and Morontshe, n.d.; BTO, n.d.).

Accreditation is based on the performance of lodging facilities and tour operators have in place as well as through detailed onsite evaluation which includes observations and discussions with clients and staff. Participation in the accreditation system is voluntary and encourages best practice. Lodges, camps and tour operators are given accreditation for a two
year period and are subject to monitoring visits (BTO, 2013). There are 240 performance indicators with varying rating systems to measure the extent of compliance for different service providers (different types of accommodation and tourism operators) (BTO, 2013). 

The majority of the accommodation establishments that are certified (of which there are currently 15) are concentrated in the North West District (12) which is home to the Okavango Delta. Others are situated in the Central District and the Ghanzi District. Most of these establishments are graded on the highest tier of the accreditation, ‘eco’, with only two with ‘green+', and one with ‘green’ labels. The full list of currently certified accommodation can be seen in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Camps in Botswana with eco-certification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Certification</th>
<th>Name of Camp</th>
<th>Owned by</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eco</td>
<td>Jacana Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jao Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalahari Plains Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>Ghanzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kwetsani Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Little Vumbura Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meno A Kwena Tented Camp</td>
<td>Owner operated</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mombo Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Savuti Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Xigera Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zarafa Camp</td>
<td>Owner operated</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green+</td>
<td>Camp Kalahari</td>
<td>Owner operated</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tubu Tree Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Vumbura Plains Camp</td>
<td>Wilderness Safaris</td>
<td>North-West</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These were all valid at the time of the fieldwork, March 2014 (Source: Author)

According to the preliminary report (BTB, n.d.) all accommodations reviewed make a concerted effort to employ local staff with a roughly even split between men and women. Although this may seem less equal when one looks more closely at who is doing what work. However, other than looking at the financial and numerical labour implications for local communities there was no measurement of the social impact of such tourist accommodation (BTB, n.d.). Rather, the accreditation focuses on easily measureable variables like sewage treatment, water conservation, gas use and, use of long-life materials. In terms of social

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Aspects the focus is on issues such as whether crafts can be sold and use of fair employment practices (in terms of numbers and positions, with gender being a criterion).

2.5.3. Gender and Botswana’s (eco)tourism

The nuance in Massyn’s (2008) work illustrates both how the labour, finances and marketing of tourism in Botswana are not only racialised but gendered too. He finds that despite women making up in excess of half of those working in the tourism lodge industry, women only earn 64.8% of the average wage paid to male employees. The UNWTO’s estimate is even lower with them stating that women in Botswana take home only 57% of men’s earnings (UNWTO, 2010: 25). This average is particularly striking when one notes that Africa was the second best developing region with women, generally, earning 90% that of their male counterparts.

Conversely, the same report finds that Botswana is the second best performer in the developing world when it comes to self-employed women (71%) in the hotel and restaurant sector; and, the best in Africa with women contributing as family workers (78%) (UNWTO, 2010: 38, 40). Botswana also does well when it comes to the prevalence of female leaders and entrepreneurs in the tourism industry (UNWTO, 2010: 32-34). However, men are generally overrepresented in the Executive Bodies on Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) even though recruitment explicitly states there should be parity – the difference is attributed to women having to fulfil social functions or their husbands not allowing them to participate (Cassidy, 2001: 15). Therefore, women’s involvement in paid and unpaid activities in Botswana’s, though high, is uneven and fractured. Further research is needed to better understand why as well as to monitor the gendered impacts of tourism endeavours.

Cassidy (2001: 6) notes that Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) can alter how environments were previously managed, which can exacerbate issues of inequality between women and men. In turn, she raises critical questions about the opportunities available to women and men in the management of natural environments and criticises the assumption that the benefits of tourism are evenly experienced/distributed. Cassidy (2001: 9) states that women, particularly those in rural areas, tend to have fewer economic and political opportunities with women generally owning fewer cattle than their
male counterparts and men better equipped to travel further distances to generate money. Herein, Cassidy (2001: 10) highlights an important contradiction in CBNRM, if the focus of such tourism enterprises hinges on wildlife and wildlife is considered the preserve of men where does it leave the benefits for women?

Moswete and Lacy (2015) attempt to answer such questions by focusing on cultural tourism, they find that women mostly discuss how working in/for tourism is directly related to economic empowerment, increasing their capacity to provide for family members. Importantly, Moswete and Lacy (2015: 609) state that all eleven women they interviewed were ‘forced’ to become breadwinners with ten being single mothers and one whose husband was unable to find formal employment. Self-employed women (doing handcrafts and art work, etc.) express higher feelings of freedom from their interaction with the tourism industry than those who work directly in lodges because they have better management over their time and costs of their products. Furthermore, these same women express greater opportunity to interact with tourists and have cross-cultural experiences. However, to accept that tourism enables women to empower themselves is to assume that they were not able to do so previously and that tourism is changing the gender orders that constrained such freedom, a subversive discourse similar to that found within the NES.

The NES should be commended for including gender, family relations and inequality within it even though there is little baseline information and understanding about the relationship of such practices in Botswana with their tourism industry (Hirtenfelder, 2014; NES, 2002: 16). That said, it is disappointing that despite the prevalence of gender in the discussion of host-social and cultural impacts (see Table 2.8) there was little in the way of further explanation as the document goes on to explain, in detail, its eight objectives (listed above), their issues, and what actions need to be taken (Hirtenfelder, 2015; NES, 2002: 15-54).
Table 2.8: Positive and negative host-social and cultural impacts of tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Tourism development can lead to:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Changes in family structure and gender roles, resulting in new opportunities for women and young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Strengthening of local traditional and encouragement of creative art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Cultural exchanges and improved understanding of acceptance of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Improved amenities at the destination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Maintenance of community stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Strengthening of community pride and identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Empowerment of local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Promotion of indigenous resource conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• <strong>Improved quality of life</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Facilitates meeting visitors and promotes cultural exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Increased accessibility of rural community to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Support of local language(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Improvements in quality of police protection in rural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Tourism development can lead to:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Changes to family structure and gender roles, leading to tensions and loss of self-esteem for men and older generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dilution of local language and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Commodification/demeaning of cultural ceremonies which are re-enacted for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Changes in traditional arts, craft, dress, festivals as a result of adaptations for tourists’ tastes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• <strong>Gender inequalities in employment and the community</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Increased pollution and the spread of disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Heightened tension due to inequalities in benefits and costs within communities, and between communities and tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Destabilisation of communities leading to increased social problems such as crime, begging, alcohol, and drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• <strong>Reinforcement and exacerbation of existing social inequalities</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• <strong>Changes in moral conduct, family relations, community organisations, and safety levels</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Offence may be caused when residents are confronted by tourists inappropriately attired (e.g. in revealing clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Loss of privacy and invasion of traditional/sacred sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Loss of language, artefacts, and access to places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recreational and community conflicts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: NES 2002: 12)

For example, when discussing Objective Two⁹ (NES, 2002: 23-28) the document fails to acknowledge that access to finance, costs of business, and the skills needed to run one’s own...

⁹“To facilitate the development of economically-viable and effectively managed ecotourism enterprises” (NES, 2002: 23-28).
business are gendered. Women and men in different spaces have varying access to financial resources and decision making power, a nuance which is not captured in the document. Rather, the language masquerades as being neutral with the actions suitable for all people in the same way. One of the most obvious examples of neglecting to find gendered actions of reforms is in the discussion of Objective Three\(^{10}\) (NES, 2002: 29-33). It recognises that although the tourism industry generates new jobs these jobs are often low-skilled and low-waged but it is gender blind in that it fails to recognise that women are concentrated in the lowest paying sections of tourism (Rogerson, 2012: 37, Peeters, 2009 UNWTO, 2010). Therefore, although gender impacts have been identified there has been a failure to discuss the eight objectives in a gender sensitive fashion but instead gender has been added as an afterthought (Hirtenfelder, 2014). Even more gender blind, Botswana’s Tourism Master Plan (MoCI, 2000) fails to mention anything relating to gender equality or relations in its policy guidelines or development strategy.

These oversights in their tourism documents are made more serious when one notes that Botswana has made a commitment to mainstreaming gender, particularly after making obligations relating to CEDAW (UN, 2008) and the Beijing Platform for Action (GeAD, 2014) which, among other things, expects that “all national laws have been reviewed to make them gender sensitive and the courts have also supported gender equality” (GeAD, 2014:15). However, not enough has yet been done to achieve this in the country’s (eco)tourism strategy with documents only paying discursive lip-service to gender (Hirtenfelder, 2015).

### 2.6. Concluding remarks

Ecotourism is a contested concept that embodies a series of ideals which are normative in design. Although ecotourism builds strongly on the tenets of sustainable development, certification criteria tend to privilege one of the three pillars (economic, social, and environmental) over others with social practices, such as gender, either being invisible or only superficially and numerically incorporated. Strategies toward gender equality and ecotourism are both viewed as tactics toward development, sustainable development in particular, but the connections made between the two have been largely absent in academic

\(^{10}\)“To increase the number of Batswana meaningfully involved in, and benefiting from, the tourism industry” (NES, 2002: 29-33).
and policy debates. This is clear in the scant amount of literature on the subject\textsuperscript{11} and may be attributed both to how tourism education is itself gendered (as identified by Prichard, 2007). Nonetheless, this has policy implications mirrored by the lack of gender focus in African eco-certification strategies which have also failed to build a bridge between their dedication to sustainable tourism practices and gender equality. That said, however, even when gender makes an appearance in (eco)tourism policy and certification it is framed by the WID paradigm and articulated through efficiency language which has long been critiqued in feminist circles.

Despite the tendency of ecotourism being written about as having the ability to change family life and social relations (particularly for women) whether through altering people’s relationships to their environments or injecting more money into rural economies, there is little research on the matter. This kind of oversight is related to a broader tendency of not problematizing alternative forms of tourism (Scheyvens, 2000; Butcher, 2007). Social debates on (eco)tourism are often collapsed into economic ones about GDP and job creation but it is obvious from the above that the NES does more than that.

Botswana’s NES takes the position that (eco)tourism has the ability to subvert (both positively and negatively) existing gender orders because women and men are framed in a zero-sum game where men are seen as ‘the losers’ in tourism and women the ‘beneficiaries’. In order to identify whether (eco)tourism does have such defined positive and negative impacts for women and men, a theoretical framework, informed by gender and feminist theory, is needed.

CHAPTER THREE:

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

The aim in this chapter is to provide a conceptual discussion about ‘gender order’ and ‘subversion’ before focusing on two theories that are well suited for understanding gender orders operating at different levels: the broader community (Glucksmann’s 1995 ‘TSOL’) and the tourism organisation (Acker’s 2006 ‘inequality regime’). The theories utilised in this theoretical framework together help to forge a strong gendered theoretical lens enables complex and nuanced analysis.

Gerson (2004) notes that any study which attempts to understand work and family without adopting a gender lens will result in misleading assumptions of how life is organised and change is experienced. Consequently, she suggests such research should:

1) Transcend gender stereotypes by moving away from notions of homogeneity while recognising the fluid dynamism of gender.
2) See gender as an institution and to resist framing work-family dynamics as individual problems but rather as emerging from institutional sources which recreate inequality.
3) Recognise that change is multifaceted and may simultaneously involve both rewards and difficulties; and
4) Acknowledge that diverse family forms have varying strengths and needs.

In essence, Gerson’s (2004) guidelines suggest an analysis which is nuanced and moves away from viewing women’s and men’s experiences of work and family as uniform, standardised, and normal. Ontologically, Gerson (2004) takes the view that reality is fractured and complex, rather than complete and unchanging. Many feminist theorists have built on such ideas stating that ‘an objective truth’ is an illusion and that social reality is rather a compilation of partial perspectives (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1993; Haritaworn, 2008; Hartsock, 1983) which, over time, enable one to see more of the social, but never the whole in all its complexity. An ontological stand such as this resists simple dichotomies such as those raised in the literature review and the NES which paints women’s and men’s
experiences as standardised and unproblematic without considering how experiences and realities are formed. The below discussed concepts (‘gender order’, ‘subversion’) and theories (‘TSOL’ and ‘inequality regime’) help to forge a framework which enables an analysis that moves beyond and complicates simplistic constructions of the relationship between gender and work.

3.2. Gender orders?

Through his concept of ‘biopower’, Foucault (1977, 1978) explores how powerful the ‘norm’ is and how it not only subjugates but also produces. Through a series of discourses about aptitude and capacity (anatomo-politics), particular populations (bio-politics) are subjugated and continue to produce/practice particular identities which in turn have a normalising effect on how social orders are structured through practices of inclusion and exclusion.

For Foucault (1978) the best way of attempting to understand people’s most taken-for-granted assumptions about how life should be organised is through discourses. That is, discourses which people have naturalised and do not question (or subvert). For Foucault this is tied to issues of knowledge because what knowledge is considered ‘true’ or ‘normal’ is a matter of power relations. What people think to be ‘true’ is generally prescriptive delimiting what is encouraged and not. Therefore, to ask what is true is not a useful analytical question because it exists within the power dynamics that produce knowledge. Rather, one should ask how such knowledge is produced and to then identify the power which made it possible (Foucault, 1978: 92).

Foucault (1978) outlines how ‘technologies of power’ are used to order social life at a variety of levels (in the prison, asylum, sex and science) to maintain hegemonic power. Such technologies include the cellular division of labour which establishes taken-for-granted hierarchies of social order and attaches particular bodies to particular tasks in division of labour which is centred on ideas of normalcy. The separation of male and female bodies into naturalised, cellular division of labour is a core practice which is reiterated and maintained in discourse to maintain power and order social life.

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The normalisation of gender roles and practices is achieved through the process of configuring space and practice into what is perceived as being normal action for women and men. The barometer for normalcy is context-specific and shaped by lived experiences and desire. When someone states that something is ‘natural’ for a woman or man they are simultaneously being prescriptive and outlining what their gendered expectations are and the practices they should do to fulfil them. In these statements and metaphors it is generally ideal types which are expressed – achieving these hegemonic ideals is largely impossible but the pursuit of them is what guides action giving indications for ‘correct’ behaviour which is both enabling and restrictive (Connell, 1995). These “habitual and violent presumptions” seek to create legitimate ways of being because “part of what is so oppressive about social forms of gender is the psychic difficulties they produce” (Butler, 1999: viii).

These ideal types become apparent in narratives about how people should and should not behave. These are particularly evident in discourses which are least problematised and most naturalised. Ideal types are highly apparent when they are given as binary constructions (man/woman; rational/irrational; logical/emotional; strong/weak; doctor/nurse, and so forth). Therefore, metaphors and dichotomies are especially easy ways in which one may identify gender orders, or the boundaries of them at least.

The gendered contours and webs of gendered relations which establish daily life, when mapped together, can be called ‘gender orders’. How gender is practiced is continually shaped and informed by (as well shaping and forming) other social structures such as race, class, age, sexuality, and nationality. That is, gender does not exist in isolation but is articulated through other notions of difference which are all shaped by historical and contextual factors (McClintock, 1995). However, in some instances one’s gender difference may be more pronounced than their racial difference and vice versa. Therefore, in any analysis of gender, one must also be sensitive to how any gender practice may be simultaneously, although not necessarily equally, informed and shaped by other social pulls and structures. Nonetheless, recognising gender is not static or in isolation does not mean that it is in a constant state of flux and relativism. Rather, due to its continued practice and it’s taken-for-granted place in the organisation of social life; patterns of how such practice are arranged emerge. These patterns include the naturalisation of the gendered division of work, the legitimacy of decision making power, and access to and control over resources.
Life operates on various planes and levels and therefore, gender orders function at varying levels too. The gender order within a specific home, although shaped by broader gender norms, is not necessarily the same as a global gender order. Within both orders there are different ‘players’ and different gendered conventions which drive practice. Connell (1995: xxii) illustrates how in today’s world of intensified globalisation, different gender orders are ‘meeting’ but that they still exist within and contribute toward a broader, global gender order:

“Imperial conquest, neo-colonialism, and the current world systems of power, investment, trade, and communication, have brought very diverse societies in contact with each other. The gender orders of those societies have consequently been brought into contact with each other. The gender systems that result are local patterns, but carry the impress of the forces that make a global society” (Connell, 1995: xxii).

It is important to note from the above how Connell (1995) contextualises the global gender order according to historical events which have fashioned the international landscape. Similarly, as one ‘scales down’ one will note that different communities and nations’ gender orders too have been shaped by historical events and process which have formed their cultural practice and in turn, gender practice. Therefore, according to Connell (1995: xxi) the world gender order is a “structure of relationships that interconnect the gender regimes of institutions, and the gender orders of local societies, on a world scale” (Connell, 1995: xxi).

‘Practice’ and ‘articulation’ are used because gender and the boundaries of what constitute femininity and masculinity are continuously negotiated and acted. Judith Butler (1999) provides a means of understanding gender not as a structure that exists beyond individuals only to be imprinted on them, nor as an entirely essentialist, innate characteristic – rather, she discusses how one’s gender is the product of a ‘repetition of acts’ in what she calls ‘performativity’. Using a play as a trope, Butler (1999) explains how through continuously practicing gender, scripts are maintained and that those who veer off their scripts of femininity or masculinity are likely to face punishment even though the ideal attainment of them is impossible. The idea of gender as something in motion is powerful because it opens up the possibility for subversion, and even change.

Gender is ordered at different levels (such as the home, in the work place, globally) and these varying orders continually crash into, shape, and contradict one another. They are not
necessarily uniform with each being shaped by their own historical processes and shaping future gender processes too. A hegemonic gender order is the most agreed upon and least problematised of orders and generally one to which other orders aspire, that is an ideal type or norm. It must be understood that no-one can exist outside of a gender order; rather individuals are continually negotiating them, building on them and resisting them in conflating and contradictory ways. Gender orders are resilient and generally resistant to change but they are also malleable. It is here that tourism is believed to have subversive potential, the ability to alter existing ways in which gender is practiced.

3.3. Subversion

A subversive act is not necessarily something that goes against the law but is rather something which rattles social convention, the way things are *normally* done. Therefore, in order to understand a subversive act the analysis which is attempting to do so must be highly contextualised otherwise the given act and its subversive potential cannot be understood. For example, take Butler’s (1999) discussion below:

“I am not interested in delivering judgments on what distinguishes the subversive from the unsubversive. Not only do I believe that such judgments cannot be made out of context, but that they cannot be made in ways that endure through time (“contexts” are themselves posited unities that undergo temporal change and expose their essential disunity). Just as metaphors lose their metaphoricity as they congeal through time into concepts, so subversive performances always run the risk of becoming deadening clichés through their repetition and, most importantly, through their repetition within commodity culture where “subversion” carries market value” (Butler, 1999: xxi).

For Butler (1999), all of this is framed within normative discourses and research should seek to understand what constitutes intelligible life and its given reality as well as how “presumptions about normative gender and sexuality determine in advance what will qualify as the ‘human’ and the ‘liveable’” (Butler, 1999: xxi). Further, one may not be able to pinpoint a specific action/performance which is subversive because these change over time and space. In addition, ‘the subversive’ also runs the risk of becoming normal, and non-subversive through being continuously practiced. Therefore, in order to identify what is subversive one needs to identify, within a particular context, that which makes people uncomfortable. The subversive challenges what is contextually seen as normal. This speaks directly to the purposes of this research which seeks to identify, through participants, what is considered ‘the norm’ and to see
whether the presence of ecotourism has managed to disrupt it. Indeed, the objective in this research is not to prescribe how gender and ecotourism should interact but rather to open up an enquiry of trying to understand how they do.

In order to illustrate subversion of the norm, Butler (1999: 174-180) discusses drag. The cross dressers themselves are not examples of subversion – rather the uneasiness they are able to elucidate is. When someone tries to place them in a ‘box’ saying “that’s a man dressed as a woman” they are trying to fit the cross dresser within what they consider real (which is betrayed by the positioning of ‘man’ first) without attempting to conceive of a different gender identity (Butler, 1999: xxi). This disruption discursively illustrates what is expected of men and what people regard to be the boundaries of the ‘gender matrix’. Butler’s (1999: 45-91) conception of a heterosexual gender matrix is very similar to that of gender order. She notes that we all exist within the gender matrix, cannot ignore it, or view it from some elusive ‘outside’. However what is included or excluded from it can be resisted and such resistance comes to the fore most when ‘the norm’ is challenged. Resistance is best considered in how the repetition of gender as an act can be altered:

“The task is not whether to repeat, but how to repeat or, indeed, to repeat and, through a radical proliferation of gender, to displace the very gender norms that enable the repetition itself” (Butler, 1999: 189).

In respect of the specific goals of this research the analysis seeks to interrogate how the performance of gender (in a series of repetitions) is similar or different to the wider performance of gender and whether it is able to splinter the ways in which gender is constituted whether through self-criticism or even parody (Butler, 1999: 187). Accordingly, it is argued that:

“The critical task is, rather, to locate strategies of subversive repetition enabled by those constructions, to affirm the local possibilities of intervention through participating in precisely those practices of repetition that constitute identity and, therefore, present the immanent possibility of contesting them” (Butler, 1999: 188).

Therefore, in order to identify whether a gender order has been subverted one needs to identify the performative actions that have established it. However, the performative actions which inform such a gender order may be different at the organisational level versus a larger,
broader level and, as such, theories are needed which help to grapple with these different levels of analysis. This will, in turn, enable one to identify whether one has the ability/potential to subvert another.

3.4. Understanding the larger gender order: labour and the economy

There is a long history of feminist thought which has attempted to disrupt what is considered labour and the economy (Acker, 1990, 2006; Adkins, 2001; Bergeron, 2001; Cameron and Gibson-Graham, 2003; Hartsock, 1983). This has involved several strategies such as bringing to the fore ‘the reproductive realm’ and highlighting how ‘the formal economy’ is contingent on the care work, and attempts to equate economic value to such work. Cameron and Gibson-Graham (2003) criticise some of the ‘counting in and adding on’ strategies because they tend to have a starting perspective of the economy as a whole. Cameron and Gibson-Graham (2003) believe that this ‘whole view’ of the economy undermines much of the transformational potential of feminist politics and would rather argue for theories which enable an alternative conception of economy, like that of Gluckmann’s (1995). Cameron and Gibson-Graham (2003) show how deconstructing existing conceptions of ‘the economy’ while also ‘adding to it’ provide a way forward for feminist thinking:

“In all these moves a rigid and oppositional dichotomy is dissolved. It is possible to see greater diversity within the layers of the economic cake and, importantly, we think, connections across what were previously thought of as separate and opposed layers. The multiple axis of differentiation that Brandt identifies suggests that economic practices and enterprises can be conceived as having multiple identities, rather than a singular and essential identity that places them on one or the other side of a ledger” (Cameron and Gibson-Graham, 2003: 151).

Cameron and Gibson-Graham (2003: 152) are envisioning non-capitalist economies which are more dynamic than ‘just’ money but are, rather, “emptied of any essential identity, logic, organising principle or determinant”. In this move, they allow for a richer understanding of the economy, one which is sensitive and open to how it is discursively constructed while avoiding collapsing it into capital. In trying to conceptualise this open-ended idea of ‘the’ economy they acknowledge that it involves:

- “Different kinds of transaction with their multiple calculations of commensurability
- Different ways of performing and remunerating labour
Accordingly, these considerations allow for a more context-specific, and complex analysis of how the economy is structured. Figure 3.1 maps the different core elements of the economy (transactions, labour, and organisational form) and would best be used when attempting to understand the economy of a specific ‘sector’ such as child care which is the example used by the authors and shown on Figure 3.2.

However, the intention of this thesis is not to understand the economy of (eco)tourism, but rather to understand the gendered organisation of labour related to an ecotourism camp and the implications this has for broader social organisation. It is here, that Glucksman’s (1995) theory is useful as she is not relegating labour to one industry per se but rather starts from the position of labour and how the introduction of a paid wage and the limits of domestic care all shape how labour, and social life generally, are organised.

In order to illustrate the embeddedness of activities, Glucksman (1995: 71) discusses how certain activities, with the emergence of mass production in the United Kingdom, are interconnected and as such could be considered ‘work’ in the ‘total social organisation of labour’ (TSOL). This is achieved by considering the relationships between activities rather than within a particular institution. For example, who you find working where is also associated with the availability of labour and when labour moves into one realm (say paid employment) it has social implications for another (say the availability of labour for child care).

In this discussion, Glucksman (1995) urges us to avoid viewing the economy as complete (much like Cameron and Gibson-Graham) but as enmeshed in a web of relations which are socially messy and certainly gendered. As noted in the previous section gender is a key organisation of life whether that is in the home, the workplace, communities or the world at large (gender orders). Therefore, it is not surprising that gender is a critical structure and practice in the TSOL.
Figure 3.1: A diverse economy
(Source: Cameron and Gibson-Graham, 2003: 152).

Figure 3.2: A diverse economy of childcare
(Source: Cameron and Gibson-Graham, 2003: 154)
With little reflection as to how these different realms influence and form one another much writing on labour explicitly, but more often than not implicitly, equates paid work with the productive realm and unpaid work with the reproductive one. It is false dichotomies such as these (Productive/Reproductive) that Glucksmann (1995: 66-67) is resisting and, as such, is critical of Marx. Glucksmann (1995: 66-67) states that Marx failed to look at labour as organised beyond the commodity sector or to fully appreciate the labour that is needed in order to secure a work force which is ready to enter paid employment. TSOL, then, is a theoretical and discursive disruption of such constructions and states that because something is paid work it is not removed from also being something else:

‘Work is inscribed in a web of gendered, personal, and often sexualised relationships. If the structure of relationships and the division of labour of paid work do not exist in a vacuum there is no sense in which it could be viewed as ‘purely economic’…. The boss/secretary and doctor/nurse duos, for example, represent a particular articulation of economic, gender, and sexual relations characteristic of specific forms of work organisation, which contrasts with their mode of articulation in the domestic unit’ (Glucksmann, 1995: 66).

Therefore, according to Glucksmann (1995) paid work cannot only be understood as an economic activity but should be understood as embedded with and through other activities. This conception resists the establishment of distinct boundaries for what constitutes work. Furthermore, Glucksmann (1995: 63) notes that if one is to talk about how norms and expectations in the home are linked to divisions of labour within the work place then a theory which cuts across these is needed and one should avoid viewing them as autonomous from one another. Therefore, anyone hoping to carry out an analysis of the TSOL within a particular community, at a particular point in time, would need to be considered with a wide range of activities and how they relate to each other:

“Historically, neither the institutions and spheres, nor the contours of the boundaries between them, nor the extent of differentiation between them have been static. Nor has the proportion of all work expended in each been fixed: which aspects of production and reproduction have been performed where, and whether men’s or women’s labour has been located primarily in some institutional spheres rather than others, have changed over time” (Glucksmann, 1995: 67-68).

Accordingly, as much as inequalities in different spheres (such as at home, at work, or in school) cannot be collapsed into one another, they are structurally connected (Glucksmann,
However, one of the only ways to understand how social life is organised is to pay analytical attention to how such boundaries are discursively constructed and in turn “bound together, in a changing nexus of relations” (Glucksmann, 1995: 67). Identifying and analysing these “nexus of relations” is critical because:

“Once the gendered division of labour between the household and formal economy is taken seriously it becomes possible to appreciate the thoroughly gendered basis of the structures of paid employment” (Glucksmann, 1995: 68).

Acknowledging that such relations are contextual and that there is a relationship between varying gender orders is important. What labour will be analysed should not be defined and decided upon before research has been conducted because “the TSOL does not entail any zero-sum, conception of a finite amount of labour,” rather what constitutes as labour emerges during substantive analysis (Glucksmann, 1995: 69). Therefore, a definition of what work is, and is not, should not be pre-defined. Rather, one must “move towards a relational perspective where ‘work’ activities are understood to be such because they hang together and interdepend in a way that makes it worth thinking of them as forming distinctively economic relations” (Glucksmann, 1995: 69-70).

Additionally, Glucksmann (1995: 69,68) states that TSOL must not be seen as starting from within one institution “interpreting the ‘outside’ from the standpoint of a particular ‘inside’”. Instead, TSOL tries to identify the connectedness of activities in relation to one another which may be articulated differently throughout history. In common with the work of Cameron and Gibson-Graham (2003) Glucksmann (1995) is moving away from traditional ideas of the economy and is disrupting the borders of what it constitutes:

“In suggesting TSOL as a new approach to theorising work, I have maintained the importance of treating work as work, structured by economic relations, but without reverting to economic reductionism. Accepting that the relations and structures of ‘work’ may comprise economic, political, cultural, gender, sexual and other elements which are embedded in and differentiated from each other in a variety of articulations should not mean that we throw our hands up in despair at the complexity, plunge into philosophy and abandon all theoretical categories” (Glucksmann 1995: 74)

Therefore, the concept of TSOL allows for an analysis which is sensitive to how life may be organised according to structures of difference, such as gender, but encourages a focus on
how it is practiced through the organisation of activities and how those activities operate in relation to one another. Glucksmann (1995) provides a flexible way in which to understand how life is organised through activities, and who carries them out is guided by a given gender order. Therefore, TSOL enables one to analyse the broader structuring of life without failing to take into consideration activities which may not be paid and fall within non-markets (as identified by Cameron and Gibson-Graham (2003). Although this study is limited to one ecotourism camp and the influence it has on broader gender relations, it is still critical to understand how work and labour within the camp itself is arranged.

3.5. Understanding the gender order of an organisation: Using inequality regime

One of the most influential theorists to write about labour and gender is Joan Acker (2006) who has been particularly praised for her theoretical contribution, ‘inequality regimes’, to understanding the institutional organisation of difference. According to Acker (2006) all organisations are ‘inequality regimes’, that is, the work within them and who does it is arranged based on inequality and difference. She goes on to define them as “historically specific patterns of race, gender, and class relations within particular organisations” (Acker, 2006: 109). Therefore, different people are placed on different levels of the organisational hierarchy based on perceptions relating to their identity; meaning that who does what work is not a neutral phenomenon but a product of unequal social relations which frame some people as ‘naturally’ better suited for specific tasks than others.\(^{13}\) This can result in the racialisation and gendering of specific types of employment. These unequal processes and power relations have material consequences as they shape pay scales as well as the mobility of people within the hierarchy.

Acker (2006) believes that work organisations are sites in which broader inequalities are reproduced, challenged, and recreated. These inequalities are fluid and dynamic and are historically and contextually informed. The visibility and legitimacy of inequalities (whether they are based on gender, race, sexuality, age, class, and so forth) can alter from organisation to organisation. It is important to note, however, that Acker (2006) does not view organisations in isolation but instead recognises that the people who work within them

\(^{13}\) Several authors have considered this in tourism. Take note of Elmas (2007), Epler Wood (2002), Purcell (1997), Veijola and Valtonen (2007)
operate and function within other spaces and that these different spaces ‘interpenetrate’ one another:

“Class practices are not confined to organising boundaries….the same bodies move between organisations and other spaces; individuals construct the links as they go about their daily business. The demands of work impinge on the demands of home, family, and community and, to some extent, vice versa. Class-linked identities formed at work travel with people into home and community” (Acker, 2006: 108)

‘Inequality regime’ is, then, a useful analytical concept because it does not frame organisations as static but rather as dynamic and porous. Consequently, Acker (2006: 110) “attempts to present an approach that can capture moving realities, complex interplays at particular moments in time”. In order to carry out such analysis one needs to identify key components of inequality regimes which (re)create and maintain inequality:

3.5.1. Bases of inequality and organising processes that reproduce inequality

The differing distribution of jobs within an inequality regime is generally based on perceptions of difference. These perceptions of difference (whether based on gender, race, or class) are formed through historical and cultural processes and lead to varying patterns of inclusion and exclusion (Acker, 2006: 111). Importantly, these notions of difference do not exist in isolation from one another but rather constitute, undermine, reinforce, and resist each other.

Crenshaw (1991) coined the term ‘intersectionality’ to indicate how one’s race, gender, and class intersect with each other in given contexts and can result in triple burdens for those who are viewed as ‘others’ in all three categories (in the context of America, at the time, this was a poor, black woman). Intersectionality opened up a means of discussing the fluidity of difference but has also been criticised for being too static and only noting that such identity traits intersect with one another. McClintock (1995) would urge that such differences are ‘mutually constitutive’, which she calls ‘articulated categories’. These articulated categories inform and shape each other through historical and cultural processes and practices.

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14 For example Weinert (2008) was able to show how managers’ ideas about gender influence ecotourism’s organisational structure in Ecuador because their perceptions were tied to broader inequalities within the country.
(McClintock, 1995) which are, in turn, emulated in the organising processes of places of employment.

There are several processes which help to organise labour within organisations as based on inequality. The most obvious are the organisation of work into jobs and hierarchies, recruitment and hiring, as well as wage setting practices and supervisory relations. Work comprises of a series of tasks one can call jobs. Foucault (1977) would call this a ‘technique of power’ – how discipline is characterised by being ‘cellular’ in order to make the parts of an organisation interchangeable. As such, these jobs are located on hierarchies which involve implicit assumptions about who should do what work, often resulting in highly racialised and gendered jobs where one sees the concentration of a particular ‘type’ of person (Acker, 2006: 113). Job design, organisation, and accountability all house gendered and racialised assumptions making ‘the very idea of skill gendered’ (Acker, 1990 and 2006). This type of coding of activities helps to attach particular bodies to specific tasks and in turn furthers the genesis of discipline by assuming that the division of work into parallel segments is normal and natural (Foucault, 1977).

As such, this goes on to influence the very processes which get ‘the right person for the job’, recruitment and hiring. People are hired based on their perceived skill (which is gendered) but also whether they have the ‘right qualities’ for the job which are both viewed as personality traits (caring, kind, assertive) and body appropriate (strength, dexterity). Therefore, “Images of appropriate bodies and assumptions about how desired worker characteristics are associated with particular bodies are held by employers and by employees themselves” (Acker, 2006: 116). These gendered and racialised bureaucratic processes and assumptions further reproduce inequality through unequal wages which have very real material consequences (Acker, 2006: 117).

3.5.2. The visibility and legitimacy of inequalities

It is established that all organisations operate through unequal processes but the visibility of such inequalities varies from organisation to organisation and individual to individual. Inequalities within organisations and the bases for them are often taken-for-granted

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15 Take for example the concentration of women in housekeeping in tourism work (ILO, 2011).
hampering their visibility. Furthermore, those in positions of power are less likely to see such inequalities because “one of the privileges of being privileged is…to not see one’s own privilege” (Acker, 2006: 118). That is, someone may be a white female manager and fail to see her privilege as white but is intensely aware of her gender and how it shapes her position and role in the organisation. This ‘privileged’ perspective sounds much like feminist standpoint theory, or situated knowledges rather (Harraway, 1988). However, just because an inequality is visible it does not necessarily mean that it will be viewed as illegitimate. Some observers may view unequal organising processes as natural and necessary.

Although organisations operate on the organisation of work based on inequalities such arrangements can be viewed as acceptable and legitimate. One of the most common discourses used to justify such discrepancies relates to skill. Broadly speaking, Acker (2006) found that the concentration of women and people of colour in the least skilled jobs (also read lowest paid jobs) in the United States of America are frequently still viewed as legitimate, based on discourses of ‘the market’ being the core driver of how labour is arranged. Therefore, the legitimacy of a base of inequality and its ensuing organising processes may be “in the eye of the beholder” as they experience, at a personal level, highly institutional patterns of inequality (Acker, 2006: 120-122).

3.5.3. Control and compliance

There are various ways in which compliance within inequality regimes is achieved. The hierarchy and bureaucratic discourses are direct controls whereby managers and supervisors dish out tasks which contain gendered and or racialised meanings and implications. Workers may, however, also control themselves through identifying in social interactions what is considered appropriate (internalised controls). Yet such compliance is not necessarily an indication that the worker considers such unequal processes as legitimate because compliance may also be a strategy of self-interest. Therefore, the controls which drive people to comply with work being arranged around inequality involve obvious, direct, and indirect controls (Acker, 2006: 122-124).
Inequality regimes are the product of power relations meaning that both within and beyond the organisation there are competing interests and desires which may, in turn, change how differences are organised. The ability and extent of resistance to and subversion of inequalities depends on the effectiveness of controls. Challenges to the organisation of work, as based on difference, often originate in policy and political environments before influencing inequality regimes. Affirmative action is a key example for how legal and political mandates are created to push organisations to correct how labour is arranged according to inequalities. However, the organisation of tasks based on differences is surprisingly resilient and strategies are identified to continue practicing them (Acker, 2006: 124-128). Furthermore, competing interests are also a matter of identity as workers themselves may defend differential organising processes in order to hold on to the title of said work being defined as men’s work or women’s work even if this means a reduction in pay. That is not to say, however, that the gender order of inequality regimes cannot be disrupted:

“Under some circumstances an organisation’s inequality regime may be shaken. This may happen when the visibility of inequality is high, legitimacy is low, controls are weak, and the political/economic environment encourages dissent” (Acker, 2006; 129).

Acker (2006: 130) goes on to caution that in order to see how inequality regimes function and how they are disrupted in today’s world one needs to look beyond ‘traditional organisation boundaries’ where all the labour for a particular product or service is contained within one locality. Rather, the ways in which work is organised are becoming more complex due to the transnational nature of how labour is organised with the increase of globalisation. However, it is important to remember that there are not an infinite number of ways in which inequality regimes are formed because these are shaped by contextual laws, social conventions, and economic markets. Furthermore, inequality regimes are not static but change over time and in order to create less hierarchical and unequal relations it is essential to comprehend the embeddedness of such arrangements (Acker, 2006: 130).

This last concession of Acker’s (2006) is particularly important for this study because as much as the organisation of difference within an ecotourism camp is based on local contextual factors and gender orders; these tourism destinations also tend to be designed for
and owned by people from ‘outside’ who may subscribe to different gendered expectations and orders. Therefore, seeing an ecotourism camp as an inequality regime located within an international market helps to identify it as a site of contestation and a space from which to understand how labour and power interact. Consequently, as much as this research attempts to understand the effects of a particular ecotourism camp on its community’s gender order it is also able to understand how labour in Botswana and the tourism industry at large may be organised.

Lastly, this theory is compatible with TSOL in that it recognises that as much as inequality regimes reproduce, exacerbate, and even change how difference is practiced how this is achieved is also in relation to broader activities and contexts. That is, whilst the subversion of relations cannot be understood in isolation from wider actions the notion of ‘inequality regime’ provides a useful analytical lens for understanding how they are arranged within organisations.

3.6. Concluding remarks

Life, in a variety of spaces and contexts, is organised according to gender norms and practices which are monitored and deemed appropriate through a variety of social interactions. The appropriateness of gender practices can be compared against what the ideals are for women and men in that context. The contours of these actions and ideal types are what are known as gender orders. These orders exist at a variety of levels (including in families, communities and work places) and may be based on the similar or different ideas of femininity and masculinity. It is within these fractures and the spaces in which differing gender orders overlap with one another that an opportunity exists for subversion, a disruption of gender norms, practices and performativity.

In order to access how such orders are arranged one needs additional theories. It is contended that the work of Glucksmann (1995) provides a means of understanding how activities, across a variety of spaces are gendered in what she calls the ‘Total Social Organisation of Labour’ while Acker (2006) gives specific conceptual and theoretical tools which can be used to understand specific work sites, ‘inequality regimes’, and how they are arranged based on ideas of difference. Together these two theorists allow for an analysis that can focus on the activities participants deem to be work without falling into a dichotomous trap of bifurcating
labour into paid and unpaid activities. Further, these theories allow the analysis to identify the contours of two gender orders: one at a broader, activity level regarding how everyday life is arranged and the other at an organisational level regarding how a specific camp is arranged. By identifying the borders of these gender orders and then looking at their similarities and differences an analysis can be pursued of how one order has the potential to subvert another, possibly by disrupting the repetition of gendered acts (‘performativity’, as identified by Butler, 1999). The boundaries of gender orders are best recognized through discourses of the norm which establish the more rigid contours of a gender order where there is little flexibility and mostly taken-for-granted assumptions about the activities women and men should engage in.

Therefore, if one were to find that gender orders are structured on similar ideas regarding what is appropriate or inappropriate behaviour for women and men the chances of subversion would be low. The chances for such subversion would remain low if there is limited interaction between those who practice/perform in different gender orders (no matter their similarities or differences). Disrupting standardised ideas about how women and men behave (whether positively or negatively) cannot hope to be achieved if those operating in the orders have no opportunity to see, hear or contemplate such differences. If one hopes to subvert taken-for-granted gendered practices it is only possible if two orders with different ideas regarding such practices meet and then if there is meaningful interaction and learning once they do.
CHAPTER FOUR:

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND METHODS

4.1. Introduction

The methods employed in this study align with and make use of the theoretical considerations outlined in Chapter 3. Several were decided upon prior to going into the field (case study approach, semi-structured interviews) whereas others were identified while there (family trees, drawings). However, before focusing on these specific methods and how they were utilised it is necessary to pose certain critical questions because what constitutes valid knowledge is both an epistemological and ethical debate. Do all research methods result in equally valid information? Who determines what is valid? What impact does the researcher have on this validity? Should all research be aiming for the utopian, universalism of positivism whereby the researcher is believed to be nothing but a detached observer of the human experience? These are complicated questions with no simple answers, but at the centre of much of the debate is the idea of objectivity and whether knowledge can be obtained via neutral means.

Therefore, the foundations upon which knowledge is produced using qualitative and quantitative methods may differ and this will have implications for how their findings are discussed and represented (Iacono et al., 2009: 41; Denzin, 2009: 146). One researcher could present their findings as objective, truthful, generalizable whereas another may present them as inter-subjective, partial, and context specific. Considering the theoretical premises of this thesis, which are contingent on recognising that gender is a dynamic, multifaceted practice and performance which shapes and is shaped by history, it is evident that the latter form of knowledge production (inter-subjective, partial, and context specific) is better suited to answer whether the gendered practices of an ecotourism camp may potentially subvert broader gender orders. This said, not all qualitative methods are built upon the same premises and considering the overtly gendered focuses of this thesis more transparent, feminist methodologies are particularly appealing. Therefore, this chapter will first grapple with some epistemological and ontological matters by discussing feminist methodologies before discussing the aforementioned methods.
4.2. Broad tenets of feminist methodologies

In both qualitative and quantitative models, feminist theorists implore researchers to be ethical and transparent about how they, themselves, are part of the research process including how it was conceptualised, designed, collected, gathered, interpreted, and disseminated (Kasper, 1994; Denzin, 2009: 151). Some would argue that reflexivity, positionality, and power are critical when undertaking research, particularly using participatory research (Sultana, 2007). This can be achieved through recognising that the researcher is part of the research process and the production of knowledge (often made apparent through the use of ‘I’ in the writing stages of research) and that they too go into the field with worldviews and ideas which may differ from the participants in their study and will contribute to how the field is analysed (McDowell, 1997: 388).

Furthermore, researchers (as the producers of knowledge) wield more power in the representation of reality and should be open and honest about how participants’ reactions to them may differently affect the types of information they obtain. For example, being a foreign woman trying to interview male elders in a rural patriarchal society may produce different results to that of a local, male from the same region doing the interviews. This is not to say that either of the sets of information produced are ‘wrong’ but rather that how they differ and how the men who engage in the interviews react to different interviewers is telling of how social life is ordered and the power dynamics therein. Rather than denying that such power relations exist and impact the knowledge produced, feminist theorists embrace it stating that by being transparent with such dynamics they are better able to understand the social world (or worlds), as well as how knowledge on it is produced (Haraway, 1988 Harding, 1993). One of the most successful means of accessing such knowledge has been through language and discourse analysis.

Informed by the works of Foucault (1977, 1978) and Butler (1999), much of the tenets of discourses for the purposes of this thesis have already been discussed in Chapter 3. It is important to note that although a popular theory, methodology, and method not all theorists are in agreement regarding the boundaries of discourses and discourse analysis. Some, such as Fairclough (2010), maintain that not all social reality can be accessed through discourse whereas others (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Wetherall and Potter, 1987; Foucault, 1978; Butler, 1999) would argue that discourse and language are what constitute reality and give it
meaning. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) provide a detailed account regarding discursive analytical strategies and go on to note that most discursive theorists, even beyond the three they consider, would agree that:

- “Language is not a reflection of pre-existing reality
- Language is structured in patterns or discourses – there is not just one general system of meaning … but a series of systems of discourses, whereby meanings change from discourse to discourse
- These discursive patterns are maintained and transformed in discursive practices
- The maintenance and transformation of the patterns should therefore be explored through analysis of specific contexts in which language is in action” (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 12).

Using language and an analysis of discourses helps to identify critical avenues through which fractured realities are created, maintained, and resisted. Bacchi (2005: 199) argues that “discourses use people” and that “people use discourse”. Therefore, as much as people are born into discourses which were created beyond and before them and which both constrain and enable them (Foucault, 1978) they are also able to use these discourses to their advantage asserting their agency within social structures not of their design but within which they must now participate.

An analysis of discourses is “a political theoretical focus on the ways in which issues are given particular meaning within a specific social setting” (Bacchi, 2005: 199). That said, discourses are never complete full representations of the world because one’s ability ‘to see’ the world from all sides, at the same time is impossible creating a multitude of realities (Haraway, 1988). It is argued that through the collection of a series of partial perspectives, each of which provide and create reality, one may garner a fuller picture of how social life is ordered, identify dominant social patterns as well as gauge their relative importance.

Recognising that the social world is fractured and that knowledge produced should be highly context-specific, the best means of acquiring information for this study would have been through extended ethnographic fieldwork which utilises a life history as an approach (Dhunpath, 2010; Geiger, 1986). This type of research would require significant field work time commitment which was beyond the scope of this study. The decision was taken therefore to adopt a case study approach. The use of case study was opted for as it too can yield nuanced, in-depth results which can lead to more involved analysis (Iacono et al, 2009:
41; O’Reilly, 2009: 27) and in turn, inform policy development. Due to time and cost considerations it was decided to focus on one camp.16

4.3. Case study: Meno A Kwena, Moreomaoto

Fieldwork was undertaken in March 2014 in Central District, Botswana at one ecotourism camp (Meno A Kwena) and its neighbouring village (Moreomaoto). Meno A Kwena’s gender order, Moreomaoto’s gender order, and the overlap between these two gender orders serves as a case study for trying to explore the subversive potential of an ecotourism camp on the gendered practices, structures, and processes of a broader gender order.

In selecting a case study the 15 certified camps in Botswana were all contacted and asked whether they would be interested in hosting a researcher, myself, during the ‘data-gathering’ stages and then again, for a further period for the dissemination of findings. I openly communicated that I was interested in the gender relations both within the camp and beyond its borders. Further, I explicitly stated that there would be no compensation and that whilst I would be open with my research findings, and encourage collaboration, it was important for the camp owners to realise that they may not ‘like’ my findings and that if they opted to use their camp’s name in research outputs it may put them at risk of backlash. These types of disclosures were ethical in design so that upfront the respective camp authorities were clear about what my needs were as well as the limitations of my research.

Only one camp, Meno A Kwena, replied. This response was unsurprising as it is one of only three camps which are individually/family owned and run in comparison to the majority (12) which are operated by Wilderness Safaris. The primary owner of the camp, David Dugmore, expressed a keen interest in the research as he felt that more needed to be done to understand the social dynamics of Central District, particularly because of the wildlife-human conflict. Initially David elected to keep both his name and that of the camp confidential but later said he did not see the necessity in doing so. This decision was a gain for the research as Meno A Kwena faces distinct environmental constraints and in trying to keep their location

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16 At the time the fieldwork (3-24 March 2013) was undertaken the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) had not yet been incorporated into the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and had a policy which stipulated that researchers could only enter the field for a maximum of three weeks, irrespective of budget. This type of policy is clearly more in favour of positivist research design and does not lend itself well to ethnographic research methods.
anonymous the research would have lost much of its nuance and impact.\textsuperscript{17} Such anonymity would have been more possible with camps in the Delta due to the high concentration of ecotourism camps in the North West Region of the country (Figure 4.1).

David’s name is, however, the only name that is not anonymous in this research as it would have been difficult to mask his identity due to him owning and directing the camp. All other participants were given pseudonyms (with some minor details being distorted too) in order to keep their identities secret from David and any other interested parties. David is many participants’ boss and I needed to ensure that those working at the camp felt confident and comfortable engaging in the research process. However, there are some people (particularly

\textsuperscript{17} Meno A Kwená is only one of two ecocertified camps in the Central District.
those at the top of the hierarchy) whose jobs are unique and whose identities may be inferred by reading this thesis. In these instances, a point was made of notifying participants that someone may be able to ‘figure out’ who they are and all gave permission to continue with interviews with some even saying their names could be used. It was decided not to do so as to try and maintain the anonymity of other participants.

4.3.1. Participants

Meno A Kwena is located on the banks of the Boteti River and is enclosed by a veterinary fence which zigzags the length of this portion of the river. Meno A Kwena is 17kms from Moreomaoto, where the majority of the participants (30 of 45) for this research reside. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide a profile of the participants in this research.

Table 4.1: Participants not working at Meno A Kwena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Affiliation with Meno</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Translated</th>
<th>Recorded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bontle</td>
<td>BT</td>
<td>Baruti aunt</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>44:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dikeledi</td>
<td>DI</td>
<td>Itumeleng’s mother</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>37:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorata</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgomohtso</td>
<td>KG</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>MY</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masego</td>
<td>MO</td>
<td>Mogotsi’s sister</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oaitse</td>
<td>OI</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segomotso</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>School principle</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>33:24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunny*</td>
<td>SU</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>16:03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumelo</td>
<td>TU</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 10         | 5       | 10                   | 5         |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Affiliation with Meno</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Translated</th>
<th>Recorded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boipelo</td>
<td>BP</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>24:07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditiro</td>
<td>DR</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gofaane</td>
<td>GF</td>
<td>Baruti uncle</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>20:38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagiso</td>
<td>KI</td>
<td>Former employee</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>01:10:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katklego</td>
<td>KT</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>21:34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thabo</td>
<td>TH</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>57:01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The chief</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>Organisation and land</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>01:02:53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 7         | 4       | 7                    | 3         |
| 17        | 9       | 17                   | 8         |

(Source: Author)
Table 4.2: Participants working at Meno A Kwen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th># of children</th>
<th>From Moreo</th>
<th>Family tree</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Translated</th>
<th>Recorded (alone)</th>
<th>Recorded (groups)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amogelang</td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>01:42:09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dineo</td>
<td>FN</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>01:22:50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>03:30:13</td>
<td>40:08 (Joshua)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabella</td>
<td>IS</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>01:28:49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itumeleng</td>
<td>IT</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>02:39:04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kealaboga</td>
<td>KA</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>02:02:10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>DI</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesedi</td>
<td>LS</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>01:46:20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>N</td>
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<td>01:01:33 (Mogotsi)</td>
</tr>
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<td>02:52:02</td>
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<td>Pano</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>N</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author)
As can be seen from above tables, there were 45 participants in total, 28 of whom work at Meno A Kwena (61% of the organisation). Of those 28, 23 did interviews and 22 participated in the research by drawing family trees. The 17 interviewees not working at the camp were critical for this research as they offered additional insights into the activities that constitute the organisation of life in Moreomaoto as well as for gauging the extent to which tourism is present in the lives of those not directly related to the camp. That said, of the 17 only seven were not in some way affiliated with the camp (through a family member working there or through Meno A Kwena’s social activities at the school and library).

On my first day at the camp, with the help of a translator, everyone working there was informed about the research. They were told that pseudonyms would be used and the need for consent forms for interviewees was also explained. The rest of the time at the camp, I immersed myself in its activities. I frequently awoke before 05:30 and often only left participants after 20:00. During this time, I was interviewing, conducting observations, or participating in camp activities and duties, methods which will now be discussed.

### 4.4. Participant observations

Participant observation is a method for understanding how everyday life is practiced (O’Reilly, 2009: 150). Although preferred for longer ethnographic studies, participant observation is also useful with smaller case studies. In organisational research, enquiry from inside is when the researcher is within the organisation, trying to understand how it operates, as opposed to enquiry from outside where company files and literature on or produced by the organisation are analysed (Iacono et al, 2009: 42). Most participant observation will oscillate between the two. In this study, enquiry from outside was conducted prior to entering the field, as well as during the write-up stages of analysis but the primary method for information gathering was enquiry from inside – where immersion took place.

To participate is to join in an activity or interaction which your participants are doing whereas to observe one takes a step back and record what one sees happening around oneself. The extent of participation is often ethically difficult terrain, especially when researchers want to conceal their identities (Iacono et al, 2009: 42; O’Reilly, 2009: 154). Although covert research can return interesting results, it may be criticised for deceiving participants. In this project, all participants were aware of the research and its goals.
Observations were conducted throughout the process and recorded as field notes. I was analytical of not only what interviewees said but also observant of the spaces in which they worked, at what times of day and with whom. I was sensitive to how conversations were managed around meal times. Not only did I document what I saw around me, the length of time waitresses spent cleaning, or how housekeepers seemed to walk in the shadows but also how I felt during the research process and how I was managing several ethical dilemmas.

Field notes, however, were not only used as a direct means of observing and ethical reflection but in many ways were also the beginning of an analysis. It was a place where re-reading and further reflection on interviews and the questions which arose after them led me to start putting together strands of information based on patterns. Another crucial method for identifying patterns of how social life was organised was through the use of family trees.

4.4.1. Family trees

The use of family trees was not part of the original set of envisioned methods. However, once interviews commenced it became apparent how complex family networks and relations are. An aid to help follow participants’ narratives was needed and family trees were thought of as potentially being an effective method to do so. They became a valuable resource for understanding how family relations have changed over time as well as for visually being able to identify how family labour and responsibilities are distributed. I attempted to sit with each participant who drew a family tree to ensure that I understood the dynamics therein and upon returning from the field spent considerable time creating Microsoft Word versions of their trees. In June 2014, I returned to the field to discuss my initial results with participants as well as show them their digitised family trees and make any corrections where needed.

Table 4.3: Family tree legend

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Works in tourism</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Late/Passed away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>In paid employment</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Gives money/portions of salary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle caretaker (if in family)</td>
<td>Goat caretaker</td>
<td>Live together (shading match)</td>
<td>Person whose tree it is/Employee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author)
Specific symbols were used on the family trees to indicate a particular phenomenon (see Table 4.3) but it is important to remember that some family trees show more than others. Some participants spent extensive time on their family trees, trying to map not only their familial relations but that of their siblings too, whereas others only gave their direct family relations, some included only their grandparents, and others the grandparents of their partners, and some gave detailed information regarding the ages and locations of those on their trees (useful for seeing mobility) whereas others did not. Almost all described their aunts and uncles as their mother’s or father’s brothers and sisters. This has been left this way in the trees because this is how interviewees also discussed their relations.

For those who did both interviews and family trees (17), some of the gaps were filled in post-fieldwork. Of their own fruition, five participants who did not want to do interviews but were intrigued by my presence did family trees too. Family trees were a wonderfully interactive tool which helped participants to explain how their lives are organised, helped in understanding them, and will now serve as a useful means of disseminating and explaining findings. Another interactive method that was used while in the field was the drawing of pictures at Moreomaoto Primary School.

4.4.2. Pictures: When I grow up

All children at the school were asked if they would draw a picture of what they want to be when they grow up. These were a snapshot tool to see the extent to which children consider tourism jobs possibilities for their future. In total 143 pictures were drawn (84 boys and 59 girls) \(^{18}\) by pupils from Grade 1 to Grade 7 (See a handful of examples in Annex 2).

The school principal gave permission for the pictures to be a school activity. Each child was informed that the activity was not compulsory but most children were excited to participate. I was not present when they actually drew the pictures and I did not ask them to explain anything about them once they were given to me. I took photos of each of the pictures and then returned them to teachers so that children could take them home.

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\(^{18}\) Not all of the students completed the task so I cannot read too much into the fact that the numbers of female students reduced but what I can deduce is the extent to which children even contemplated a tourism job as a job they could do in future.
These pictures were used in comparison with answers participants gave for questions regarding what they hoped their (grand)children would be when they grow up. However, the validity of these may be questioned because I was in no position to evaluate what else might have shaped children’s decisions. Some pictures were drawn in groups, copying each other, and in other instances they may have been inspired by jobs they came across in media. Nonetheless, these pictures did provide a snapshot idea of the extent to which tourism is considered a future prospect by children. The primary means of gathering views on how life was structured were, however, interviews.

4.5. In-depth, semi-structured interviews

In total 40 interviews were undertaken (23 at Meno A Kwena, 17 in Moreomaoto) for this research. Most of them were conducted individually, with a few exceptions: Gorata, Kgomotso and Mary opted to do their interview together; Emma and Joshua did one joint and one individual interview each, as did Baruti and Mogotsi. Jack was present during some of the interviews with David but listened more than he participated. In the seven instances where participants asked that their interviews not be recorded their responses where documented in notebooks during the course of the interview and extensive notes were written immediately following them.

Interviewees were given the space to decide the agenda of the interview with open ended questions being asked such as: What do you do in the village? What is life like in Moreomaoto? However, as soon as some patterns began to emerge around particular activities (which interviewees identified in previous interviews or family trees) more targeted, but still open ended, questions could be asked, such as: How does the marriage process work? How are crops looked after? By who and why? Therefore, the interviews were semi-structured, where interviewees were able to bring up their own ideas and from that follow up questions were later deducted. Where possible, interviewees participated in follow-up interviews (15) but oftentimes those working at Meno A Kwena would only have limited availability.

Thirteen interviewees required the aid of a translator. With the help of the camp, a translator in Moreomaoto was identified. I also sought the help of one employee at Meno A Kwena
who had a strong command of the English language.¹⁻⁹ Neither of these two individuals are professional translators and this raised some concerns as to whether they were interfering with respondents’ answers and/or fairly representing them. It was reiterated that everything should be translated and that they should avoid filtering anything. Because they were not professional translators a sample of the interviews were given to Setswana transcribers who gave feedback regarding the quality of the translations. It was reported that the translators did a fair job of presenting interviewees’ views.

Extensive time was spent transcribing each of the interviews, verbatim. Only ‘um’s’ and ‘yeah’s’ were excluded from the transcripts. False starts were included (indicated with --.) as these frequently illustrate a person’s train of thought, the same symbol (--) was used for incomplete sentences. When a grammatical error made by the interviewee may hinder the reader’s comprehension their meaning has been better conveyed in square brackets. Where information has been excluded for the purposes of condensing sentences these have been indicated by ellipses.

During the transcribing process several themes became more apparent for the analysis stages. Once all 40 interviews were transcribed they were coded using Atlas.ti software resulting in 827 codes in total. These codes were then sorted into 37 ‘code families’ where connections relating to particular activities became increasingly apparent. To aid the analysis process, ‘network images’ were used which illustrated correlations and connections between different codes which was useful in grasping the complexity of activities.

4.6. My identity and its effects on participation

As mentioned in the discussion on feminist methodology, another frequently discussed component of qualitative research (participant observation in particular) is how relationships between ‘the researcher’ and ‘the researched’ are ethically maintained. Hume and Mulcock (2004: xi) would call participant observations “a self-conscious balance between intimacy with, and distance from, the individuals we are seeking to better understand” by placing oneself in social spaces which are awkward and different from one’s own. As such, my ability to perform as a participant was affected by my identity in the research field.

¹⁻⁹ Both of these individuals were Batswana and were paid for their work.
In order to gain access to employees at the camp I needed to move and operate in their spaces, however, these spaces were deeply gendered (as will be more elaborated on in the findings). Access to female participants was enabled by the fact that I was more welcomed in their spaces. Many mornings I spent time with different housekeepers, helping clean tents. The gendered expectation that I, as a woman, know how to clean gave more leeway in entering their spaces and they welcomed interactions which were away from the eyes of management. Entering male spaces, however, was often met with unease. I would stand by while men worked on erecting tents or fixing cars only for them to look uncomfortable and to even, at times, express that it was not safe for me to be where such work was happening.

Differently to gender, my race, class standing, and language lent to other means of access. I was sincerely welcomed by the managers as well as the owner (all white, middle class expats). I often found the best time to talk to and interact with them was during meal times (which were racialised) and that they frequently assumed I shared their worldviews. However my different nationality and racial profile allowed me to be more ignorant with Batswana participants, both staff and villagers, because there was an assumption that I did not understand cultural practices such as ‘Lobola’ and ‘Tshenyo’.\(^{20}\) In both of these I was allowed to express issues of consistency and curiosity and participants were at ease with my presence. Therefore, the extent of my ability to participate was also shaped by my location and identity.

In order to more fully understand the operationalization of the camp and who does what work, I tried to be not only a researcher but at times a tourist (engaging in some of their tourist offering like ‘Bushmen walks’ and ‘Boat rides’), and a helper (with domestic duties and waitressing primarily). Therefore, in many ways I was both an insider (white, middle class, woman, tourist) and outsider (white, South African, middle class, researcher) in the process depending on who I was speaking to, about what, when. This experience reiterates Sultana’s (2009: 382) views on the positionality and subjectivity of research:

> Positionality and subjectivity are tempered both spatially and temporally, and are unstable and not fixed. Dynamics change with context, and the insider-outsider boundary gets blurred. There is also a

\(^{20}\) Both of these will be discussed later in the paper but in short ‘Lobola’ refers to the costs that are paid by a man’s family to a woman’s when they are to be wed. ‘Tshenyo’, however, is the cost that is paid by a man if he has made a woman pregnant before marriage (this is only valid for the women’s first child).
politics of time in the research moment, so that temporal positionality becomes important (Sultana, 2009: 382).

Sultana (2009), goes on to defend reflexivity as critical to research not as a means of ‘navel-gazing but rather “to reflect on how one is inserted in grids of power relations and how that influences methods, interpretations, and knowledge production” (Sultana, 2009: 376). Throughout the research process I have attempted to acknowledge such power dynamics. They were acutely documented within my field notes and even with the use of ‘I’ in the write up of this method section. I have made my presence as a researcher (and the decisions I made within that role) known. I have further attempted to make some reflexive reflections in the footnotes of this write up.

4.7. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to provide both a view of the methods used in this research as well as how they are comprehended using feminist methodologies. This chapter has subsequently given background information on both the case study (Meno a Kwena and its neighbouring village Moreomaoto) as well as basic profiles of the 45 participants.

Participant observations and interviews with the aid of other methods, such as family trees, help to comprehend the complexity of the gender orders within which participate live and participate. The discourses accessed using these methods allow for the identification of activities which most shape the contours of both the broader gender order (Moreomaoto) as well as the organisational gender order (Meno A Kwena) which will now be explored and analysed in the next chapters of this thesis.
CHAPTER FIVE:

UNPACKING THE BROADER TSOL IN MOREOMAOTO AND BEYOND

5.1. Introduction

The aim in this chapter is to begin by unpacking the Total Social Organisation of Labour in the case study area. The analysis unfolds in two major sections. First an exploration is undertaken of the broader TSOL found within Moreomaoto (and even Botswana). The second section turns to focus specifically on how the camp itself operates as an inequality regime. The intention of this division is not to reinforce a dichotomy between different localities but rather to see how they are balanced on varying discursive presuppositions. This will later enable the extrapolation of the web of relations and assumptions upon which the divisions and activities are based. At times, when relevant, the discussion on Moreomaoto’s TSOL merges into tourism and Meno A Kwena; this is because there is a connection between these activities and, as mentioned in the theoretical section, the overlaps between different activities and spaces are ‘socially messy’. This further helps to locate the analysis not within a specific institution but rather how activities are related to one another.

Remembering that what constitutes as work is defined by participants themselves, and that their reality is shared through discourse, this analysis is structured privileging activities they raised as paramount to the organisation of their lives (primarily activities around cattle, crops, child care, and paid employment). Cattle care emerged as one of the, if not the, leading concern around which activities in Moreomaoto are arranged. It therefore provides a useful starting point for understating how activities are embedded with and through each other, in a division of labour which helps to constitute a gender order.

5.2. Cattle activities

According to Hitchcock (1995, 1997), Botswana’s livestock industry has tended to privilege national over local concerns. That said the government of Botswana has developed a sophisticated beef industry which includes small scale farmers and pastoralists selling their cattle to the state, via the Botswana Meat Corporation (BMC). Cattle are sold for between 2,500 – 8,000BWP (250-800 USD) each depending on their size, health, and breed. The
prices given by participants ranged significantly from one another as indicated by the large value range. That said, farmers do get paid more if they sell their cattle to the BMC as opposed to a local butcher (Who may only pay them 1000-2000BWP). However, in order to sell to the BMC the farmers’ cattle must abide by the strict requirements needed for the cattle to be sold to the European Union (EU). In order to meet EU regulations, the cattle need to be tagged and cordoned in areas free of foot-and-mouth disease. This, as was mentioned in Chapter 2 prompted the construction of veterinary cordon fences around the country from 1950 onwards (Boone and Hobbs, 2004:148).

In 2004, one such fence was completed on the western boundary of the Makgadikgadi Pans National Park (bordering Moreomaoto). The fence zigzags through the Boteti River, which was dry at the time of construction. It is evident from Figure 5.1 that much of the river is fenced outside of the park. It dips into the park at Khumaga and by two lodges (Meno A Kwena being one of them). Upon first being built, the fence was responsible for large numbers of wildlife death, primarily those of zebras that were blocked between two fences or cornered by savvy lions (Brooks, 2010: 132).

![Figure 5.1: Makgadikgadi Pans National Park Fence and the Boteti River (Source: Gibson, 2010: 12)](image-url)
A core objective of the fence was to prevent further wildlife-cattle/human conflict. However, in 2008, when the river began flowing, tensions flared (Perkins, 2001: 115). The water halted electricity running through the fence and therefore no longer deterred elephants from crossing and destroying it. The fence has, subsequently, become an inappropriate measure for keeping wildlife, including predators such as lions, from entering Moreomaoto, destroying crops and killing cattle (Brooks, 2010: 130). The Chief of Moreomaoto, a male Motswana who has been Chief of the village since before Meno A Kwena was established, explains:

TC: The fence is broken by the elephant. When it’s broken the cattle go through the fence and the lions will kill them. The lions will come as well outside and they will [kill] cattle outside so cattle as well will go to camp and they will destroy… there is tension in between [us] because [of that].

Due to the inefficiency of the fence, elephants destroy crops and lions kill cattle to which farmers retaliate by poisoning and killing wildlife. Not only are cattle under threat from predators but the lack of access to and competition over water can lead to their weight loss and eventual death. As the Chief continues:

TC: During this rainy season it’s good because everything is OK, it’s fine. We are ploughing, the animals graze well…. By the winter that’s when the grass will die. After then that’s when the cows or grass die. After then the cows won’t have anywhere to graze. Even the animals won’t have anywhere to graze. So it will change the lives of people as well, because they will need to sell these cows.

The Chief explains how drought affects farmers’ provisions, particularly during the dry months, June to September, when lack of rain leads to grass dying which in turn diminishes cattle’s grazing space. Consequently, farmers often allow their cattle to graze inside the National Park, despite it being a restricted area. The fact that these dry months are also high tourism season, leads to further tensions as tourists do not want to see cattle while visiting and farmers resent having land taken from them which was previously available. Whether from wildlife attack or drought, when farmers lose cattle, they lose money.

Considering the beef industry is second only to diamonds in its contribution to Botswana’s GDP, as well as how there are a variety of stakeholders present, from international trade agreements and governments to individual families, it is little wonder that cattle are often

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21 Mbaiwa (2002), Darkoh and Mbaiwa (2002), and Hitchcock (1997) have discussed the tensions between the country’s beef production and its tourism industry.
referred to as ‘The Bank of Motswana’ and seen as being central in the activity of securing provisions for daily survival.

5.2.1. Securing provisions for survival through cattle, the Bank of Motswana

David, the male expat who owns Meno A Kwena, believes that cattle are important to Batswana because of the protection and provisions they provide in a context defined by erratic weather:

DD: It’s their [Batswana] everything. It’s their money. It’s their savings account. They fall back on cattle when everything else fails. You know they all grow crops but there’s unreliable, insufficient rain to grow crops. They will grow crops when they can and when crops fail they still have cattle to use to purchase land, or wives, or even feed off of, if they have to, as a last resort.

The overwhelming majority of respondents reiterate David’s view that cattle serve as a savings account and source of income. However, they also state that they are reluctant to sell their cattle unless absolutely necessary. This unwillingness is captured in a conversation with Amogelang, a single Motswana woman from Moreomaoto:

AM: The cattle is so important because it’s the one that can help us in our lives to growing [raising] our child, taking them to school, that money take for selling for buy some uniforms for the school, we pay some school fees
CH: Why not sell your cattle and start your own business?
AM: You can’t do like that. It’s difficult and very hard. You can’t every month selling [cattle] or every year selling [cattle].
CH: Why not?
AM: We sell the cattle while we are having a big problem or a big something that [cattle] gives you to fix

As much as cattle are a financial provision they are not a daily one. Rather, as Amogelang explains, they serve as a type of insurance and financial resource in times when money is sorely needed for bigger financial needs (‘for school fees’, ‘gives you to fix’); a view supported by other Batswana interviewees who mention selling cattle to pay for school fees, buy coffins, or build their houses. Reneilwe, a Motswana woman from Moreomaoto, put it succinctly when she says cattle help because “you get money in a short period of time, like
when you’re having problems.” Similarly, Neo, also a woman from Moreomaoto, explains the sense of security she has from knowing she owns cattle:

NE: I won’t be afraid for looking for my cattle because I am eating from my cattle and the cattle are my bank. It’s the bank of Motswana. So even if David can say “No, we don’t need you here”. I know that I have my bank at home. Even if I can leave my cows going away I [will] even have a hunger at home.

Cattle are, then, not so much an active bank as they are an insurance policy. If Neo were to lose access to paid employment (like that at Meno A Kwena) she would survive as long as she has her cattle (‘I have my bank account at home’). However, she doubts she would be as resilient if she lost her cattle (‘I will have hunger at home’). Her reference to hunger is important because cattle are not only a monetary provision but an edible one too; “they bring a source of food, like milk and meat,” says Bontle (female, Motswana). In addition, cattle are important for crop care as a source of labour, “most people are farmers. They depend on cattle for ploughing,” explains Kagiso (male, Motswana). Cattle are, therefore, important for a variety of reasons which Kagiso, continues to summarise:

KI: With our cattle we can do leathers from their skin, we can do --. We milk them. We live from their milk as local farmers. So some we plough with them, we plough, we using them to plough. So these cattle are playing a very good job or very good role in terms of how they help our lives. So that is why when the lions come and kill the cattle farmers get angrier than they used to.

Considering cattle are important for access to materials (leather), food provisions (meat and milk), and labour (ploughing) it is not surprising that farmers are angry when they are killed. However, cattle are important beyond the monetary provisions they provide because having ‘a bank’ of cattle is also integral to feelings of self-worth and identity. This is exemplified by Motsumi, a male Motswana, who is one of the highest earning employees at Meno A Kwena, but refuses to give up on the idea of owning cattle.

Motsumi works as a guide at the camp and on top of his 6,050BWP (596USD) salary, he earns approximately 1,000BWP (98USD) worth of tips each month. Unlike many of the other respondents he was not given cattle by his parents but intends to buy some once he is married to his fiancé, this despite being relatively financially secure. Interestingly, Motsumi is not from Moreomaoto, like the other aforementioned interviewees, but he too has a deep attachment to cattle. When Motsumi is challenged as to why he would want to buy cattle, as
opposed to investing his money he retorts, “even our presidents here they do have cows. No matter how much money you have in your bank, as a Motswana you have to have a cow”. In this he illustrates how cattle are not only a financial and monetary provision but a social one as well, interwoven with constructions of personal and national identity which are cemented in cultural practices and social events, such as weddings.

5.2.2. Gendered marriage negotiations and the organisation of home life

Weddings and the negotiations in which families engage in prior to a marriage taking place are an essential component to how Batswana life is practiced. Central to this practice are cattle and how they are exchanged in lobola negotiations, an amount paid for by a man to the family of the woman he wishes to marry. Interviewees say lobola is a means of thanking the woman’s family for raising her and to compensate them for the loss of her labour, when she moves to her new husband’s compound, as Baruti (male, Motswana) explains:

BR: [You pay bride price] because usually they say now you are taking their--. Now [she will] no longer be their child. She’s no longer working for them, she’s working for you…. Maybe sometimes you find that she’s a working person who is a bread winner there, so when you take her [from] those people there’s no [way] they [can survive].

Baruti’s explanation is sensitive to how women move between homes following wedding and how such movements relates to labour and financial resources. However, many participants offered little to no reasoning for the practice simply saying that ‘that was the way they were brought up’, illustrating the normalisation of the practice. Despite being a normal part of how life is organised in Botswana, lobola negotiations are shifting due to higher financial expectations in marriage discussions. Consequently, men are either turning to the cash economy, choosing not to part with their cattle, or they are delaying negotiations altogether.

Nonetheless, high living costs exacerbated by erratic weather patterns and conflict with wildlife as well as a reluctance to part with cattle, are contributing to fewer people marrying, which is also indicated by the rapid decline in polygamous marriages. Take for example Kealaboga’s (female, Motswana) extensive family tree below:
One should note that while Kealaboga father was a polygamist, none of her seven brothers are in such a family structure. When asked why she thinks there is a move away from men having many wives, she says:

**KA:** It might be jealousy or quarrels between men and women, you see? I think for a long time when they get married there were no quarrels.... There are more quarrels [now] because the problem is going to be money because if you have four wives and your salary will be 1,500 [Pula] you won’t even manage to give the wives and the daughters everything, you see?

Like Kealaboga, the Chief of Moreomaoto relates the reduction of polygamy to higher living costs saying that it is too expensive to try and feed four wives. Food, once again, surfaces as a critical issue and one can directly see how a reduction in access to natural provisions would affect a family structure such as polygamy. Fewer natural provisions mean that keeping cattle alive is more difficult and therefore more precious in lobola negotiations. Further, there are fewer means of keeping several wives satisfied, therefore making polygamy less plausible.
Like Kealaboga, however, other women from Moreomaoto also believe that jealousy and competition between women are to blame:

IT: But I think they still have many [more] wives [than] in the past…. That first wife is the one that can tell the husband “go and marry another wife” because --. So that she can help me do the [house duties]--. But today they [wives] are jealous --.

DI: So the males are not willing to marry more than one wife because if they marry more than one conflict starts at home…. The wives will just fight because they will be together, unlike in the olden days whereby the man will have many ladies and he will have very big fields to fit all the ladies…. They will be fighting for the man because nowadays ladies are [more] jealous than in the old ones [laughs].

The juxtaposition of cost for men vs. jealousy of women illustrates how higher costs and living expenses for men have resulted in competition over resources for women/wives (‘your salary… you won’t even manage’, ‘they will be together’). This reduction in polygamy has also meant that women have less access to help with their house duties as they no longer ask a husband to take an additional wife.

Although marrying later may be financially viable it is not something women or men would like to put off indefinitely as they acquire higher status once they are married. Although previously married, Amogelang says she is harassed and insulted because she is not married and hopes she can marry again in future because then she will be respected. These sentiments are shared by both Lesedi and Itumeleng who say that married women are better greeted and offered chairs to sit in meetings. Like women, men also acquire status from marriage. This is made most clear by Pano (male, Motswana) who says that a man is not respected if he is not married because:

PO: The married one the place is always very smart, everything is going well. If the kids are there the kids will be in good hands with the mother, she will take care of them…. a man who doesn’t have a wife, a man can’t do a clean[ing] job when it’s a woman’s job.

Although not yet married himself, Pano brings to the fore how ideas of marriage are central to the organisation of the home and the division of labour. Pano later explains his morning routine before arriving at Meno A Kwena and how he wakes up at 05:00 because he has to “make a plan” regarding what food his girlfriend must prepare, “Yah, she makes the food, I
come up with the plan and she will do it”. Pano lives together with his girlfriend, even though it is customary to only move in together after marriage, because she needed a place to stay. Nonetheless, Pano clearly exerts himself as the leader of the family, the person who makes decisions for others in the household. While he is at work it is his girlfriend’s job to execute his decisions.

In addition to having an organised home, married men are invited to attend special events and engage in the lobola discussions of others. “So those who are married are the only people who can interfere on the marriage,” says Baruti. Therefore both men and women acquire additional respect and access to different spaces and activities when they are married; making the decline in marriage due to increasing costs of living one worth noting.

Cattle are, then, central to how life at home is organised. Should lobola discussions be carried out, a woman will move from her home to that of her new husband, the home she leaves will lose labour provisions but gain financial ones either through cattle or cash, or a combination of the two. Furthermore, the higher costs of maintaining cattle, exacerbated by erratic weather, contribute toward dwindling polygamous practices which previously gave wives access to additional labour provisions but now only ignite competition over home resources. Therefore, cattle and their role within lobola and tshenyo negotiations are central to how people move between homes and the social implications thereafter. However, they are also part of how activities at home, themselves, are organised with the division of labour for cattle care itself being clearly gendered.

5.2.3. The dominance of men in caring for cattle

Everyone is involved in cattle care. Villagers normally live in family compounds, have shared fields for their crops (as allocated by the Chief) and then a cattle post on the outskirts of the village. Cattle posts are outcrops which have fences erected out of sticks and wire; these kraals are designed to keep cattle and goats safe at night. In the mornings cattle are led by their caretaker to ‘greener pastures’ where they spend the day grazing. Cattle roam throughout the area and are even found inside the National Park, particularly during the dry season which is also the high tourism season. At dusk, they are guided back to their kraals.

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22 Baruti did also later say that a man can gain respect if he is not married but older, how old is what would then become critical because age is highly revered.
Care for cattle, therefore requires high mobility. Those who are lucky enough to have horses will use them but many will make use of donkeys and operate on foot.

Although the above narrative was constructed as gender neutral it is in fact extremely masculinised. Cattle are cared for by a man, or small group of men, making it a cornerstone of Batswana masculinity. Men maintain the cattle post fence ensuring it is sturdy and that there are enough thorns to keep predators at bay. Men are also the ones who move with cattle while they graze. If not with the cattle, these men will find them later in the day to bring them home. Boys are taught from a young age how to care for cattle and it quickly becomes a part of their identities.

Hovorka (2012: 879) has written about how the association of men with cattle was entrenched prior to colonialism and engrained in ideas of manhood and Batswana identity. Subsequently the colonial administration (being a male pursuit itself) funnelled money into livestock and established it as a staple industry for the country. Hovorka (2012: 879) uses this backdrop to illustrate not only how cattle care shapes, how space within villages is utilised, but also how it affords men with status because it drives the local economy (as was seen above). In turn, Hovorka (2012) demonstrates how women and the smaller livestock they care for (primarily chickens) are invisible and carry little to no symbolic power.

That said, not all men experience cattle care uniformly (Townsend, 1997: 418). Older men have a monopoly over cattle ownership and how land is distributed while younger men are reliant on these elders to set up their own household in future. Consequently, older men make use of younger men’s labour (to care for their cattle and land) in exchange for these men absorbing younger men’s fertility costs (Townsend, 1997: 418). Therefore, young men’s labour is often in high demand, particularly during lengthy marriage discussions where he tries to keep his potential wife’s family happy (Townsend, 1997: 410). That said, Townsend (1997: 417) as well as Darkoh and Mbaiwa (1997:150) found that cattle care, while central to masculine identity in Botswana, is changing and being challenged by the demands of the globalised beef industry and modern schooling which are disrupting these age-defined relationships.

Although the relationship between age and cattle care may no longer be as clearly defined, men’s role as cattle caretakers remains naturalised. Amogelang, a woman from Moreomaoto,
simply states that men care for cattle because they “are the one’s born for that”. Despite her being the only child to her mother and father this idea remains fixed with her simply saying “when we grow up [we] saw that the men was the one who look after the cattle”. With responses such as these, one gets the sense that men look after cattle because ‘that’s the way it’s always been’. This normalisation is best illustrated by how difficult participants found articulating why men are ‘the one’s born for that’. This is illustrated in the below conversation with the Chief of Moreomaoto:

CH: And who looks after cattle?
TC: The men
CH: Why is it the men who look after cattle?
TC: In the bush, going in the bush and take the cattle in the kraal
CH: Why can’t a woman do that?
TC: The man is a man [everyone in the room laughs]
CH: What does this mean?
TC: The man they are tougher or stronger or braver than the ladies. They are brave again to go into the bush.

‘The man is the man’ response aptly illustrates the naturalisation of this division of labour, however the Chief does try to give some reasons for why he believes men are better at cattle care, most of which speak to traditional notions of masculinity: strength, bravery, and toughness. The Chief openly cites men as simply being stronger and more capable than women and therefore more able to look after cattle. This was a common view, with cattle care work described as ‘heavy’ or ‘hard’ and therefore not suitable for women. These discourses of strength and masculinity ensure that men are at the center of cattle care.

Also common are discourses that men are more mobile and therefore more capable of such activities. Sethunya (female, Motswana) believes men are cattle caretakers because they are the ones who “can run all over and they can [also] go alone in the bush looking for the cattle”. Therefore, the ideas of men’s physical capabilities serve as justification for why cattle care has been normalised as men’s work, an activity which is dominant in the structuring of Batswana life. Thabo, a male government official who was raised and trained elsewhere and now works in Moreomaoto as a librarian, explains:

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23 According to Cassidy (2001) men are believed to be better equipped to travel and earn money. Furthermore, she states that wildlife have been constructed as the preserve of men which also better enables their access to tourism employment.
TH: The men they will be charge of, let’s say, more of the hard work…. You realize that they [men] will be there looking after the cattle, looking after the goats making sure that the parents --. Or that the family has some food. That’s the role of the traditional family, how it work[s].

Although Thabo is originally from Gaborone, an urban area, as opposed to Moreomaoto, a rural village he too owns cattle and notes the importance of their care:

TH: If the man can’t get a job normally --. But even if he is not working but he’s bringing more money into the family, like he’s a farmer --. Let’s say he’s a farmer [because] by being a farmer at the lands he can get some sorghums, maize meal, and sell them at the different shops, he can bring more money. The cattle if he sell[s] to the BMC or the local butchery and bring[s] more money into the family

Men, being discursively constructed as the cornerstone of cattle care, gives them power and status while also ensuring that they fulfil their hegemonic roles of feeding and providing for their families. Thabo identifies both cattle and crop care as forms of labour, even if they do not provide a regular wage. Therefore, men are the primary caretakers of cattle not only because they are believed to be better physically suited for the work but because it is critical to achieving their role of providers. What is also evident from the above excerpts is that as much as men are ‘obvious’ cattle caretakers, women are described as inherently lacking. Women are believed to lack in the strength, mobility, and even bravery needed for the job, a sentiment made clear by Motsumi (male, Motswana):

MT: Ya, [cattle care is a] man’s job. Not ladies…Because ladies I mean they are scared to go where man’s can go. Cause you know cows can get into thick [bush] as this so ladies always shy to go in there…. You know ladies. Not really shy, I would say they are scared.
CH: Of?
MT: They think maybe the lion can come out or the elephant or something
CH: Are the men not scared of the lions and the elephants?
MT: No, not really
CH: Why not?
MT: Maybe it’s the braveness we’ve got. I don’t know, maybe. Because [with] us unless you can see something by the eye that’s when you can say “Oh something’s there” but otherwise you just go but we know there were some wild animals in there but if we want to go somewhere to get something we go.

Like the Chief, Motsumi too believes men are better ‘by nature’ for cattle care work, whereas women are inherently lacking. A similar view is held by Baruti, a man from Moreomaoto,
despite his aunt being the one who cares for his cattle. From an analysis of Baruti’s family tree, however, it is clear there are no other male options available to look after his (and other family members) cattle (see Figure 5.3)

Most of Baruti’s male relatives are either not in Moreomaoto (Francistown, Maun), passed away, or are too young to fully take on the responsibility of cattle care. Furthermore, his paternal uncle is unable to do the work because of issues with his legs. Therefore, only women were left to help Baruti look after his and their cattle when he entered paid employment. Women then, only tend to assume the responsibility of cattle care in the absence of any men to help. Neo (the same female Motswana who previously mentioned how cattle are a core provision for survival) makes a similar observation saying that women took over caring for cattle when men were not available because they had travelled to work in the mines in Johannesburg, leaving a labour void:

NE: It’s not for only men because even in a long time we have been married but the men were staying there by Johannesburg and the women were staying with these cattle and we had to look after the cattle. So I think that this job [cattle care] is for both of us.
Neo’s views are decidedly different to many respondents where she believes both women and men are capable of caring for cattle, this because she has done and continues to do it herself an action inspired by both an absent father and boyfriends. Figure 5.4 shows Neo’s family tree.

**Figure 5.4: Family tree – Neo (Source: Author)**

Despite working at Meno A Kwena until 17:00 every day, Neo insists on looking after her ten cattle herself saying that she does not trust herd boys to do a good job. She lets her cattle loose before leaving for work and then herds them back once she has returned home. She then proceeds to say that even though it consumes a lot of her time cattle are too important as a provision and for cultural practices including lobola and/or tshenyo negotiations for her sons in future. Another example of women assuming the responsibility of cattle care in the absence of men is Lesedi’s (female, Motswana) mother who is looking after her cattle because her sons are too young and the older male relatives in her family have passed away as is shown on Figure 5.5.
These were the only three times, during the course of fieldwork, that women were identified as the primary cattle caretakers in the family, and in these instances it was because men were not available (not because they were believed to be equally capable). Lesedi was asked directly, if this was the case:

CH: If your father was alive … [would] your mother still be looking after the cattle?
LS: … Ya it was going to be looked after [by] the father
CH: Why? If the women can do it why is it the man who is looking after them?
LS: Because if the father can see that some goats or cows are not there he might even go so far away to look for those things.
CH: Why can’t the women go far away?
LS: To go far away women are so scared.

Even though it was a woman in Lesedi’s family caring for her eight cattle she still believes men are better suited for the task as women are too afraid (‘scared’) and cannot travel long distances (‘go far away’). Once again men’s mobility and strength and women’s lack and fear

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24 Amogelang, mentioned that her father’s new wife helps with such work but is not the primary care giver.
are used to justify men’s role as cattle caretakers. Participants were often vague when it came to explaining women’s fear; only Neo said that women were not afraid but lazy. Nonetheless, it is believed women are afraid because the ‘bush is thick’ and in turn women cannot see lions. This is curious because surely men would share the same fear. However, this suggestion was again met with arguments of men’s strength (‘tougher’, ‘harder’, ‘stronger’, ‘braver’) and ability to move in different spaces (‘the bush’, ‘the kraal’, ‘we go’, ‘far away’) and women’s supposed lack in that regard (‘shy’, ‘scared’, ‘compound’).

That said, as much as men are the primary caretakers of cattle, women are also intimately involved in the process. Women join their husbands, fathers, brothers, and uncles at cattle posts, they look after men by cooking their meals, they ensure cattle posts are kept clean and they also engage in other activities such as milking the cows. Women own and can sell their cattle but the act of caring for them is more often than not beyond their reach. Women and children alike care for chickens and sometimes goats but these were not prevalent in people’s discourses of their lives. Goats and chickens were rarely mentioned even though they are more likely to give family meat provisions (due to cattle being reserved for bigger occasions and necessities). When women, who are already mostly removed from cattle care, enter paid employment the effects are smaller than that for men who are established within a cattle care chain prior to the introduction of paid employment.

Therefore, for men entering paid employment having someone else look after their cattle could be a challenge to their own masculinity and identity. All of the other employees (other than Lesedi, Neo and Baruti) who have cattle and are now working at Meno A Kwena have men looking after their cattle, generally fathers, brothers or herd boys. Men are, however, less likely to ask another male relative (especially if they are older and not married) to look after their cattle but prefer to pay for a herd boy (who is often younger) to do the work on their behalf. A herd boy is paid between 350-500 BWP a month to look after someone else’s cattle which is a significant in a village where most people do not have access to any paid employment.25

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25 Toward the end of my time in the field it also began to emerge that this relationship might be ‘nationalised’ or ‘ethnicised’ with particular nationalities (Zimbabweans) or ethnicities (San) being preferred as herd boys. The reasons for these preferences are unclear and require further research.
Cattle care is, then, undeniably male in design and as more men move into paid employment, which requires their time, cattle care chains emerge. These care chains are increasingly capitalist in design with the introduction of caretakers from outside the family (herd boys) who are paid for their services. Through the establishment of such masculine care chains the status and power that comes from cattle work is also left in male hands as men in paid employment are able to disavow their labour. That said, cattle are not the only provision or concern around which labour and activities are arranged. As is evident from the above, crops are also central to how life in Moreomaoto, and further afield, is organised.

Although cattle have long been contributors to Botswana’s GDP as well as the organisation of family life, the establishment of smaller, capitalist chains is attributed to the increase in wage employment and move away from purely pastoral living. As much as men are associated with cattle care, women are with child care.

5.3. Crop activities

In common with the situation of cattle, the state has had a hand in securing crop care as a core activity in Batswana life. The Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) was established in 1974 to provide a market for locally grown crops and to ensure a sufficient supply of staple food products (such as sorghum, oil seeds, pulses and beans) at decent prices (BAMB, 2015).

The annual income for farmers selling crops to BAMB varies depending on the size of one’s field, the level of rain in a season and, subsequently, the yield one is able to harvest. Participants say they get anywhere between 700-12,000BWP (69-1,182USD) per year for their harvests, which is significantly lower than cattle returns but an important provision for survival nonetheless. Some farmers will, however, only engage in subsistence farming, therefore not acquiring any cash provisions from their fields.

However, as with cattle, poor rainfall and ill maintenance of the fence threatens crop production. A woman from Moreomaoto, Mary, says “Drought destroys many things in our livelihoods. It kills many cows which we milk. We are supposed to plough and when its drought we can’t plough”. Plants die from inadequate water and soil is less manageable and nutritious too. These environmental effects are worsened by wildlife. Lesedi believes crop
supplies are dwindling because of “problems of animals and rain”. When asked why she thinks she re-joined, “I am not thinking. I can see how. I can see that the elephants are destroying the crops nowadays. [There are] more elephants --. They are so plenty”.

Wild animals, elephants in particular, are a critical issue for villagers such as Lesedi because they can destroy entire fields which greatly reduce their chances of producing a good harvest. In fact, a few days prior to field work Pano’s family’s field was wrecked by elephants. Once again people from Moreomaoto feel the effects of the poorly maintained fence on their livelihoods and the need to establish practices which counteract them, such as putting up chilli and thorn bushes to deter elephants. Therefore, both the production and protection of crops form core components of the total organisation of labour in Moreomaoto, with the activities therein being deeply gendered.

5.3.1. Caring for crops: The gendered division of labour

When asking about the daily lives of people in Moreomaoto people are quick to point out the significance of farming in the village and the substantial amount of time it requires. This is particularly important for those who are in paid employment. For example, Itumeleng joins her mother in the field after she finishes work at Meno A Kwena. She says that she is tired because of all the work she has to do, including helping in the fields, cleaning the yard, and collecting firewood. Itumeleng’s work load is intensified by the fact that none of her siblings are available to help (see Figure 5.6) because they have either passed away, live/work elsewhere (Maun and Gaborone) or have other responsibilities (such as cattle care).

Because her father has also passed away, Itumeleng is the only one available to assist her mother with crop care, which is one of the primary reasons why she chooses to work closer to home and has asked to be on day shift at Meno A Kwena (night shift employees stay at the camp for 24 days at a time). Many of Meno A Kwena’s employees, however, do not manage to work in the fields as regularly, only helping on their six off days a month. Some have given up on farming entirely, such as Reneilwe, who explains why she did not plant crops for the current season:

CH: Who’s looking after your fields when you’re at work?
RN: I got it [fields] but this year I didn’t plough
CH: You didn’t plough, why?
RN: I spend the most of my time at Meno A Kwena and if I plough they get damaged, .... and now my grandmother is helping me with my children and I don’t have anyone to look after the fields.

For Reneilwe, the only assistance she has is from her grandmother, who is unable to carry out both child care and crop care responsibilities. This illustrates how as one moves into new activities, whether paid or unpaid, they may leave gaps in the web of relations which organise social life. Even though some employees at Meno A Kwena may be unable to effectively manage both duties, once again relying on either family members to work on their behalf or, as was the case above, not partaking in ploughing at all.

One will observe, however, that where halting cattle care seemed unfathomable, there is less sentiment attached to crop care. That said, crop care still forms a core part of villagers identity and organisation of life with people such as Boipelo (male, Motswana) saying people from Moreomaoto “live on growing crops and selling their cattle. That’s the main thing”. However, how the activities associated with this care are organised are shaped through
distinct ideas as to who should be doing what work. The gendered\textsuperscript{26} nature of which becomes apparent when asking who does what at home and in the fields.

It emerged that as much as everyone is involved in crop production, the activities in the fields themselves are gendered with men ‘building fences’ and ‘ploughing’ and women ‘weeding’ and ‘harvesting’. It has already been established that working with cattle is seen as physically demanding work which women are believed to be less able to do. This may also explain why men are constructed as those who plough whereas women weed and work with hoes. Omari (2010) found a similar situation in Seronga where men worked primarily with cattle and donkeys in making use of their land as well as finding that men were the primary ones who looked after cattle while also being seen as an important cultural symbol. In addition, Omari (2010) found women were more likely to take on these responsibilities if men were absent.

The relationship between ploughing, cattle, and masculine identity is deeply engrained, as Tau (male, Basarwa) recognises, “Between man and his wife it is very very different now because a man have to look after cattle and ploughing is also man’s job”. Tau is notable here because he is a ‘Bushman’ from Xai Xai. Owning cattle and pastoralist living was not part of San culture, before: “Man was doing hunting of the animals and the women have to go out into the bush to collect some wild fruits to bring home”. The role of these men has shifted from hunting wildlife to caring for cattle. Needless to say, men continue to be represented in a closer relationship with animals and women in a closer one with plants and food.

This is corroborated by Cassidy (2001: 9) who in an earlier investigation, noted the correlation between women and food in Botswana. She found that men were readily associated with green wood and wildlife whereas women were in charge of, or socially expected, to manage far more plants (fruit, berries, firewood, water, roots, and leaves), many of which overwhelmingly relate to food and drink (palm leaves being an exception). Omari (2010: 19), outlines how much time women and men spend on activities relating to various natural resources in Seronga and Chobokwane finding that women devote considerably more time than men to collecting water, gathering reeds, cutting grass, accumulating firewood, as

\textsuperscript{26} It did begin to emerge that this work may also be divided by age as well with older people more likely to engage in field work than younger people. However, I did not manage to acquire enough information regarding this. Nonetheless the intersection between age and gender in crop care could provide for an interesting dynamic for future studies to explore.
well as doing laundry whereas men devote more time to fishing, herding livestock and working in formal and informal jobs.

According to participants, women sew and reap crops as well as, importantly, cook them but that does not necessarily mean that they are the ones who get to make the decisions about how food is distributed. Tumelo (female, Motswana) articulates this power dynamic when she says her “Husband has the most power because he is the head of the family. He is the old person in the family.” In the family, men are construed as the ‘heads’ and ‘decision makers’ whereas women are viewed as caretakers, with cooking being one of their important duties.

5.3.2. Caring for the family: Women cooking

Tshiamo (female, Motswana) works for Meno A Kwena as an administrator but is located in Maun. She lives in an urban area, as opposed to a rural one, but even there the idea of women being the primary cooks at home is obvious:

CH: You cook every day? But I thought you said your husband cooks?
TS: He --. Not every day. What I’m saying is we have to have a fresh meal every day. So sometimes when I’m there he cooks spinach and I come home and cook the starch. So we share. If he’s not working.
CH: But you cook most of the time?
TS: Most of the time, ya. You know how men are [both laugh] because now he’ll say the reason why I married you was to come help me.

Although Tshiamo says her husband shares cooking responsibilities, she cannot help but admit that he only does it “If he’s not working”, this despite the fact that she works in a full time job herself. Therefore, this, like men being the primary caretakers of cattle, is a much broader discourse than just one only from Moreomaoto. Coming back to Moreomaoto, women who work at Meno A Kwena also assume responsibility for cooking duties at home. They express that they help to cook and clean when they are on their off days. For example, Lesedi says when she is off from work she usually cooks. Itumeleng is also responsible for cooking at home: “When I’m home I’m the one who’s doing the cooking but sometimes [it is] my mum”. For Lesedi and Itumeleng, like most women interviewed, cleaning and cooking are normal because they have been doing it since childhood as opposed to their brothers who were with their fathers at cattle posts. Further, if they are unavailable to assume cooking
duties another woman will, generally, undertake them. In these narratives of cooking (as well as cleaning) men are invisible. When Pano, who had previously exclaimed the importance of marriage for an organised home, is asked to explain why women do all the cooking and cleaning, he answers:

PO: Because men they’re not always home. They are not always home. Every morning they will go out to dig up some money for piece works out there maybe at the kraal, maybe at the farm.

Even if men are absent because they are working at the cattle post or in the field, this is enough reason for them to assume little to no responsibility for cooking. There is also an element of stagnation in Pano’s explanation as he frames men as moving between different spaces (‘go out’, ‘out there’, ‘kraal’, ‘farm’) but women as still and located only in the home. According to his explanation men are not the primary cooks because “they’re not always home” which means he thinks women are. The most common explanation for women being overrepresented in the task of cooking is ‘because they are home, while men are at work (paid employment)’. This deduction is surprising, especially considering women’s prominence when it comes to crop care. That said, it may be more attached to traditional conceptions of men as the family providers; a sentiment Gofaane (male, Motswana) shares when he discusses whether women and men have different responsibilities at home:

GF: I am the head of the family so I am supposed to look after the family. So the ladies will look after the children or the grandmothers will look after the grandchildren and they should bring the food to the family, like going to the fields

Here Gofaane does not mention cattle in his explanation as he was one of a few who did not own cattle because his parents did not give him any and he made no effort to acquire some. Nonetheless, it is clear that Gofaane is describing how he believes work in the home should be arranged with men assuming responsibility for the family as a whole and women taking primary responsibility for feeding the family, especially children, through crop provisions acquired in the fields. This was not, however, the only justification for women’s overrepresentation with cooking. Gorata (female, Motswana) provides another perspective:

AA: Traditionally the women will do the cooking and the sweeping and the men will do the hard labour, the hard part of it. [He will] take an axe out of the wood and plough. I’ll cook, clean and bath the kids
Here, with Gorata, we also see that cooking is not considered hard work and is therefore believed to be more suitable for women. Yet again, another gendered dichotomy is emerging men/ploughing: women/cooking when thinking about how life is organised through a series of activities, in this instance those related to crops.

Although a woman cooking is the norm, there are exceptions where men assume the responsibility of such duties. For example, Ofentse cooks for himself following the death of his girlfriend and his mother and because he lives alone. Similarly, Lebogang (male, Motswana) stays alone, as opposed to with a girlfriend, wife, or mother and hence assumes the responsibility for cooking, not only for himself but his eldest child as well (see Figure 5.7). Therefore, while frequently told that both men and women cook at home, much like both look after cattle and care for crops, upon further inspection it becomes clear that men such as Lebogang and Ofentse only cook if there is no woman available.

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27 The reasons for seemingly high number of deaths was unclear during the course of the interviews and is in need of further research.
Although family care has been central to all of the activities discussed so far, primarily for the security of provisions, with the focus on cooking we have started to move toward a focus on activities which care for the maintenance of the home itself as well as how important social relations are organised. In the discussion of crop care and cooking it is also apparent that women are the ones who are expected to clean. Women are in charge of both cooking and cleaning in the home for themselves, their husbands (should they be married), and other family members. It is unsurprising then that the connection between women, food, and cooking would be extended as a part of child care too.

5.4. Child care activities

Another one of the key areas around which much labour is organised within Moreomaoto is child care. 28 As with crop care and cattle care, caring for children results in several life provisions and challenges. Although children are invisible in much of the above discussions, they are also involved in the labour of looking after crops, cattle, and general household needs. “[When we were children] we were ploughing, looking after cattle, helping my mother” says Lesedi (female, Motswana). The labour of children becomes most evident when participants spoke about their lives growing up. Take for example the conversation with Motsumi (male, Motswana) below:

CH: What did you have to do at home [as a child]?
MT: Like during the rainy season like now when we have to plough we would plough for them
CH: For your grandparents?

28 The questions about participants’ childhoods and families were generally open ended. Because of my background I am largely ignorant to the intricacies of cattle care or crop care, they do not feature within my daily life and I have no personal lived experience by which to measure how the labour is organised or how feelings are attached to them (although I do recognise similar discourses in my context). I largely had the benefit of being an ignorant outsider who was learning about the processes and work involved in this care and had not attached preconceived ideas to them. However, when it comes to child care I had not considered prior to going to the field my own conceptions of child care. I only truly appreciated this when it came to people’s answers about family care, and child care in particular. When I asked people to tell me about their mothers, fathers, grandmothers, etc. I had expected to get general explanations about those individuals’ personalities but this was rarely the case. More often than not I was told about the work they do, their roles. When I asked about children in particular I had expected to hear love for them, where they are in school as well as their individual personalities but again this was rare. Rather I was told very practical, almost stoic details about how people manage their children daily. Answers were far more practical, than emotional, which is how parents in my friendships circles might react. I write this here because I am writing about the labour of children but my intention is not to say that these care takers do not love their children. I am simply not using words like love and attachment in the way I traditionally know them because that is not how respondents cited their own experiences.
MT: Ya and we help with cattle as well because if we are there our grandfather doesn’t have to go to the cattle post. We are doing that as the boys because we have to do mokoro [a traditional type of canoe], we have to pole, to get to the island where the cattle are
CH: So it’s a man’s job looking after cattle?
MT: Ya, man’s job. Not ladies

Motsumi grew up in the Delta so he had to learn to navigate water using a mokoro from a young age. A number of aspects are enlightening in Motsumi’s explanation, namely: the centrality of rain and water to his story, the reinforcement of cattle care as men’s work (which is established early in boys’ lives) and that he stayed with his grandparents for parts of his childhood. Most important to consider now is the work he was expected to do as a child, such as ploughing, caring for cattle, helping his grandfather, and using the mokoro. Having to work as children was a common narrative throughout interviews. Another example is Pano, who was also staying with his grandmother when he was young and when asked to describe her, says:

PO: She was very old. I was doing all the stuff at that age. I was doing the cooking, I was doing the fetching of firewood, water, everything, even dish washing.

Therefore, as children respondents were not passive bystanders being looked after but were active participants in home care, assisting their caretakers with a variety of tasks. Children are a source of labour power and are an integrated part of the labour network in the home/compound, village and country. Rarely is this spoken of as a hindrance but rather as ‘the way it is’. The reflection below is one notable exception:

NE: For those first years it might be as if we were being abused by our parents. At 4 o clock we have to wake up. We have to give ourselves some sorghum and we have to heat the sorghum to make a porridge because we didn’t have any maize-meal which we used to buy so we did those things. Then after that the mother took us, by 6 o clock 7 o clock, by the land to look after [chase] the monkeys.

Neo discusses how difficult life was as a child not only because she had to wake up early to help with work (cooking, chasing monkeys) but also because there was not enough money to buy maize-meal meaning they had to harvest and make the sorghum they grew. She was then asked if this meant that she did not go to school:
NE: The parents didn’t want us to go to school for a long time. We just schooled for two years and they just took us off for [out of] school….They were taking us to the cattle post to look after the cattle

It is interesting that Neo mentions also working at the cattle post (in addition to cooking and chasing monkeys) but it is understandable when looking at Figure 5.4 of her family tree. Only two of her seven siblings are boys and her father was absent, working in the mines in South Africa. Together these made the availability of labour power for cattle care scarce. This could have contributed to school being viewed as non-essential because working with cattle or crops was more significant at the time. Although Neo’s lack of access to school could be explained by the lack of male labour power in her home, it may also be tied to broader historical structures in which school appears far less important for girls generally. This is made clear by Thabo when he explains why the library in Moreomaoto has set up a reading programme for the elderly, particularly women:

TH: The only people who know how to read and write is the man, our fathers, because they learn that -- .... Our great grandparents they think that a women’s job is to stay at home but the father is the one who has to work that’s why you realize that during the past only men went to school but the girl child didn’t go to school at that time. So the government have to realise that there is a gap between our father and our mother.

Thabo explains the differential access to education for women (‘only men went to school’), the consequences of such (they can read) as well as the reasoning for its organisation (‘for women to stay at home’ and ‘for men to find work’). However, the ideas that schooling is not important or only for boys is changing. Sethunya has finished Form 5 of School and when asked if she thought access was changing for girls, she answered:

ST: Ya now it’s important. Before maybe our parents think that it’s [not] important for us to go to school or whatever but today it’s very important for us. Normally when we stay in our home when we are together we share the idea “how can we survive in life”.

One gets the feeling that schooling is no longer something that diminishes labour provisions but provides opportunity for future ones (most participants’ own children are now in school). In both cases, caring for children is an integral investment for parents ensuring that they are looked after later in life. The better off children are, the more comfortable parents’ lives will
be in old age, as Dikiledi (female, Motswana) explains when discussing what jobs she hopes her grandchildren will have in future:

DI: As they grow we are looking after them, we taking them to school or preschool, so that they can learn to help the parents when they get employment. The children when they have grown up they can help the families. So that’s why we have to take them to school, so that they can help us after that.

Dikiledi goes on to say that she hopes her grandchildren become government employees, “so that they can help in the family”. Therefore children, the provisions they provide for, and their care, are an essential part of life in Moreomaoto, and Botswana broadly speaking. Children need to be fed, sent to school, cleaned, and generally looked after which requires labour of the children themselves, but also of their parents and other adults. However, like with cattle care and crop care, the activities required for child care are based on a gendered division of labour, with women taking the most visible role. Women are naturalised in these roles because they act as an extension of activities which are already considered within women’s domain, such as cooking and cleaning. Together with this, there are other processes at play which cement the practice and perception of child care, and its subsequent duties, being primarily the forte of women. That said, children also give women status, as mothers. When discussing her polygamous marriage, Bontle (female, Motswana) explains how her fertility helped her to reach prominence in the family:

BT: When I was married my husband had four wives, so I was the fifth wife. So all these ladies didn’t have any children so I was the one who got the children so that made the husband to make me number one. I had many children, three of them, so I was the first lady even though I was the last lady because I was admired as very important in the family because I had many children….

Despite being the last of the wives to join in the polygamous relationship she was the most revered because she had more children than the other women. Her status is also elevated because she is a wife. As was discussed previously, to be married is to be respected. Although being married is ideal when having children the rising costs of living have led to a general trend of people not marrying before having children which in turn contributes to the invisibility of fathers in child care and a system which is reliant on females in family networks.
5.4.1. Absent fathers and female networks with child care

Out of the 10 family trees drawn by Batswana women working at Meno A Kwena, six of them indicated that their children are from different men (Amogelang, Dineo, Itumeleng, Kealaboga, Lesedi, and Neo), one has only one child (Sethunya), one has all four of her children with one husband (Kim), and two omitted their children’s fathers from their family trees making it difficult to determine if they are from the same man (Lorato and Kim did not do interviews either). Conversely, of the 10 family trees done by Batswana men working at Meno A Kwena eight of them have children with one woman, only one with more than one woman (Lebogang), and one has no children yet (Mogotsi). However, only one of the eight men with children is married (Tau), although his wife had since passed away, and another is engaged to be married (Motsumi). The others all professed that they are either not yet ready to get married and/or because it is too expensive to do so. It is not clear from their family trees if any of the women they have children with have children with other men. That said, if a woman is married she will move to the village and compound of her husband and have her children there but if she is not married (like eight of the ten women who drew trees) then this will not happen and the child will keep the mother’s name.

Therefore, when a child is born out of wedlock it does not necessarily mean that the father’s biological link to the child automatically translates into a social one. Only after marriage do a woman’s children become a man’s social children because he assumes the responsibility as the head of the household, the one who must provide (See Townsend, 1997 for a detailed discussion). Therefore, the father does not have an immediate responsibility to the child, or to assisting the mother with caring for the child (socially or financially). This rang true for many of the women who had children out of wedlock, their ex-boyfriends were rarely in the same village to help with day to day tasks of caring and hardly ever sent maintenance money or other provisions such as clothing. Some women (Itumeleng, Amogelang, Lesedi and Reneilwe) receive money from the fathers of their children but most said that they were looking after their kids without their help.

Absent fathers are not a new phenomenon29 with some participants, such as Pano, Ofentse and Lesedi, mentioning their fathers were not present when they were growing. Only two

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29 Moswete and Lacy (2015) also find that men are often absent from childcare.
(Tau and Motsumi) of the nine men working at Meno A Kwena who drew family trees and have children actually stay with their children when they are not at Meno A Kwena. For four of them their children live with their girlfriend’s mothers (Baruti, Ofentse, Topiwa, and Akanyang), one with his parents (Kopano) and two others with their ex-girlfriends, that is the children’s mothers (Lebogang and Pano).

Rather than marrying and then having children, many couples are having children first and choosing to pay tshenyo instead, an amount paid for by a man to a woman’s family if her first child is born out of wedlock. Tshenyo is only 3,500BWP (344USD) in comparison to the 10,000BWP (985USD) or more required for lobola. Thabo believes more people are paying tshenyo to buy themselves time before engaging in lobola discussions, “Because most of the people they realize they can marry after they’re elderly people, after they have acquired some wealth so that they can pay those lobola and other things.” Further, lobola negotiations for women who already have children are generally lower; making paying tshenyo, prior to lobola, a financially better decision for men who want children. This can be, however, a precarious move for women because men are not automatically social fathers to their biological children. Therefore, children born to men who are not married are largely cared for, by, and within women’s networks.

Even if women do marry, however, it does not always guarantee men will be present or that they will assume the responsibility of children previously born to other men. Kealaboga’s first child is now 13 but she receives no help from the father:

KA: Eish, it is a problem. Here in Botswana we have a problem with those things. He is not helping me. I’m suffering. I’m feeding the child. School fees.

She was asked whether her now ex-husband had not assumed the responsibility of her daughter’s care because he would have become her social father following their marriage, she responded:

KA: He didn’t even want to help me with the daughter. I came with the daughter and he agreed he will help me and he will take care of the daughter but when I come he say “No, I won’t even help you with the daughter because she is not my daughter”
Kealaboga therefore receives no help with her daughter from the men who should have assumed social father responsibilities. Further, one notes that only two of her eight brothers live with their children, the kids of the other six staying with their girlfriends. However, assuming such social responsibilities are complex for men. Men are most likely to do them if they are married prior to their child being born, as the child will then be raised on his compound and be given his name too. In anything other than this ideal (a child born out of wedlock, a child born to another man prior to his marriage) fathers may choose to remain absent, but this is not always the case.

For example, Amogelang was married when she had her first child but her husband passed away (Figure 5.8). She then re-married with the father of her second child but they were divorced in 2010. She did not marry the third man because he never asked and he then moved closer to Orapa Mine. That said, he does send some money to help with the four year old daughter’s care:

AM: No, no he is supporting his baby– Ah, he don’t say anything --, “I’m [the boyfriend] still far to marrying you” but I am looking after my kids alone. When I came --. Started to [work at Meno] my
salary I use it to buy some food, clothes, looking after them because they didn’t having any job, they are still young.

Amogelang does receive some maintenance money from the fathers but this money is not regular, nor is the amount consistent. The idea that she cares for them ‘alone’ however is interesting because that does not appear to be the case. Although the fathers are absent from the day to day care of the children, Amogelang does rely on the help of others in her family (see Figure 5.8). Amogelang’s two youngest children stay with her aunt in Maun and sometimes the youngest is cared for by her father’s new wife. It is evident then that there are networks of women available to help her, particularly with her youngest child, if she so needs.

Therefore, women who are not married with children are not guaranteed the assistance of men’s families in raising the children but instead have to rely on their own family networks. In the narratives of participants, care networks comprised almost exclusively of women including aunts, sisters, and, most importantly, grandmothers. Uncles and brothers did feature in some of the stories but fathers and grandfathers appeared the least. From detailed scrutiny of the family trees provided by participants it becomes clear that: 1) siblings may often have different fathers, 2) many of their mothers are not married and that these first two points 3) contribute to and exacerbate the invisibility of men, fathers in particular, in child care.

This does not mean that children have no male figures but that when it comes to the child care of unmarried women rarely is that man ever the father but may be a brother or uncle. Townsend (1997) discusses how men will have both financial and labour requirements to meet the obligations he has to his sister’s children which are even more important if they have no social father. These responsibilities may reduce his ability to care for his own social children, should he have any. The demands on men for these roles, and what is expected from them, change over time. Women’s child care roles are, however, more pronounced and less moveable. Where the roles of biological and social fathers were distinguished these are conflated for women.

Thabo, for example, has children with two different women and both sets of children stay with their mothers. When he moved from his home (Gaborone) to work in Moreomaoto he
himself became an absent father in their care, although he does send money when he can. When explaining why the children stay with their mother, he says:

TH: Most of the time we have realized that they stay with the mother [CH: Why?] even if let’s say like right now I’m working here they are staying with their mother. If one of their mother’s get married I can just adopted them and change their names but they can still stay with their mother wherever she goes because I think us --. In our culture when we grow up we learn that the mothers they are the best person who know how to look after the children

CH: But if the mother is working also?

TH: ya even if she is working she do the two at the same time. She has to work. She has to make sure the children are well and they are fed, and these things

CH: Is it fair?

TH: No it’s not fair. I would say it’s not fair right now but that’s how we grew up.

In Thabo’s response, like in many others, women and mothers are framed as ‘knowing’ how to care for children and it is a duty they must assume even if they are working elsewhere (‘do two at the same time’, ‘she has to work’). This is in contrast to men who will use paid employment as the reason for why they do not do it (‘I’m working here’). Although Thabo concedes that the practice is not fair it is still normalised (‘that’s how we grew up’). These views are common; take for example Ofentse’s (male, Motswana) explanation below of why women spend more time in the home:

OE: Cause a woman in our culture has to --. She’s the most person who raises the child and takes care of the house, cook for the kids and the man will go out and look for a job.

For Ofentse, men not taking responsibility for care work is as a result of them looking for work. Similarly Dikiledi (female, Motswana) says:

DI: So when the husband has gone to work, the ladies or the wives will be stay behind to look after the grandchildren and they will go to the fields.

In both Ofentse and Dikiledi’s statements, we once again see the spatial dimension of women being associated with the home and men going beyond it (to work). There are, however, also mothers that are absent from child care due to paid employment but they seem to struggle more with the effects of this than men, for example Dikiledi’s daughter, Itumeleng.
Itumeleng previously worked as a carpenter and although she earned more there working near the mines in Orapa than she does at Meno A Kwena, she prefers to work at camp because it provides a regular wage (as opposed to short term contracts) and proximity to her family. “Ya, this one I like. I like it because here in the village don’t have to go too far,” she explains. Although her mother (Dikiledi) assumes much of the child care, Itumeleng felt compelled to move closer to Moreomaoto to assist her mother. As was mentioned previously, Itumeleng’s siblings are not available to help her mother meaning that Dikiledi already works disproportionately in the fields and assumes large quantities of care work (for four grandchildren).

Nonetheless, like men were naturalised in the role of cattle caretakers, women have been naturalised in the role of child caretakers. However, as much as child care is considered an inherent activity and duty for women, women’s experiences of it are not uniform, with grandmothers, such as Dikiledi, being the cornerstone of such networks.

5.4.2. Grandmothers are central in child care networks

It is argued that if a man is unavailable to care for his cattle he will solicit the help of another male family member. If that is not possible he will ideally hire a herd boy to care for his family and his cattle, and only if neither of these options are available will the cattle be looked after by women. Conversely, if a mother is not available to carry out care duties she may ask an aunt or sister to fill the void but more often than not this is the role of grandmothers: “Grannies they are very very important. They are taking care of our children,” exclaims Kealaboga (female, Motswana). All women are important for childcare but grandmothers are the most distinguished figures in this care work. Bontle, a grandmother herself, explains:

BT: They [grandchildren] spend most of their time with grandmothers so regardless whether the father is working or the mother is working. So the thing is when they just grows they go to the grandmother, their grandmothers, their grandchildren. So after they grow up that’s when they can just go elsewhere where they want to go.

The only time women were not discursively framed by a local as being the ones who are best suited for looking after the home and children was by Tau, a San, who said that that it is a man’s role because a woman will be off “doing something important” like bead work for sale. This shows that as much as women are generally framed as the key caretakers, it does not necessarily apply for all cultures within the country.
Staying with grandmothers is part of life even if the parents are not working. Several respondents spoke of how they were looked after by their grandparents (Motsumi, Pano, Ofentse, Amogelang, Neo, Baruti, and Sethunya for instance). This meant they moved between homesteads and spaces, often living in different areas to that of their older siblings. Grandmothers are the central figures when it comes to child care, particularly that of toddlers. The reasons for grandmothers assuming these dominant roles in a feminised care chain are complex, one of them being that caring for more children also gives grandmothers access to more labour for their compound, crop and cattle care duties, as was discussed above.

Another reason for grandmothers, particularly maternal grandmothers, assuming such a prominent role in child care is because it eases the burden on mothers who are trying to work in the fields or find full time employment and do not have the necessary time available for engaged child care. Lesedi (see family tree Figure 5.5) expresses how she owes her life to the help of her mother:

LS: Ya, the mother is very responsibility to me she is taking care of my daughters and child and I thinks she is --. I mean my life is on her.

Of all the interviewees, Lesedi is in one of the most desperate family situations as both of her siblings have passed away and none of the fathers of her children provide support for their care. In order to gain some financial provisions for her family, Lesedi works night shifts at Meno A Kwena meaning that she is away from the village for 24 days at a time, despite it being 17kms away. Her mother thus looks after their crops and cattle, as well as her four children. Both women are reliant on each other’s labour but without the help of her mother Lesedi would not have been able to secure a job at Meno A Kwena, because of her small network and lack of female family members to help. Although another extreme example, Lesedi’s situation, does illustrate how women rely on other women in a care chain so as to enable them to work elsewhere.

Therefore, grandmothers become enablers for women to enter paid employment. Without the support of extended family (sisters, aunts, but more especially grandmothers) women would find it difficult to enter regular wage labour. If a family member is not available to help with cattle care, men have the option of paying for (herd boy) help; this never appears as an option
for women with childcare responsibilities. The women who then enter paid employment are also critical because they insert much needed financial resources too. Dikileedi explains why she feels grandmothers are so important:

DI: So the thing is, old people are now retired and they need to stay at home. So it is very important for ladies or small ladies to go and work to look after the family, to provide the family with food and clothes and so forth and so on. So it is very important because if the grandmothers are still looking for the grandchild. So they will take them to the fields. At the fields they will have something to eat. When they come home they will have something to eat as well. So it’s like they work hand in hand.

Therefore, there are complex relationships in which women help one another through their extended family networks to distribute both the labour of children but also to maximise their own labour efforts. This often means that children are very mobile. Young children are sent to stay with their maternal grandmothers who, if the woman is married, would likely reside in another village due to women moving to their husband’s homesteads after marriage. Kagiso (male, Motswana) says children find the absence of their parents’ normal, therefore making it easier to cope with:

KI: It’s not a that difficult [for children] because they stay with their relatives with whom they used to stay with so it will be just as daily procedure they are used to…. Ya because extended families we grow together, we know each other from childhood. So that’s why it is very--. That is why you get families like extended families so we --. The grandparents, the parents, the children, grandchildren they stay together. They know each other. They have been together for a long time. So if the parents goes to work somewhere so the children won’t report any problem by staying behind

Kagiso builds on the narrative of how extended families enable a variety of labour and that child care is just one type within a complex system. However, Segomotso (the school principal at Moreomaoto Primary) would disagree with Kagiso when it comes to the effects of parents’ absence on children:

SM: Ah no it’s a bad thing. The child --. If you know psychology if you’re a child it’s very nice indeed to --. at one point to say “mama” or “papa” a when you are with your dad or mom but if you are maybe lost your mom or dad that is fine and in that case most for those kids they will call their grandmother or that guardian “mama” or “papa”. But for a kid who knows very well that my father is somewhere or that my mother is somewhere that is not nice …
Again we see that as much as child care is the ‘natural domain’ of women it is grandparents, grandmothers in particular, who are assuming the duties of child care while women and men continue to enter paid employment, the final of the network of activities to be discussed as part of the broader total social organisation of labour.

5.6. Paid labour

Life in Moreomaoto is primarily organised around a variety of activities which provide natural provisions for survival (milk, food, money and other labour) and sometimes even money (with the sale of cattle and crops). However, how these different labours are organised is influenced by the introduction of paid employment with both women and men having to find additional assistance for child, cattle and crop care. The need for paid employment is apparent as people cannot completely rely on their natural provisions; most interviewees express how life today is far more costly due to rising prices and decreasing natural supplies:

DN: The life was Ok when I was still young. My parents were taking care of us while I was still young. They were looking after cattle and ploughing. There was no hunger
CH: Why do you think there is more hunger now?
DN: Nowadays it has changed because there is no more rain like before. Even the river was just floating over the year that --. It’s stopped for about five years I think. And nowadays we use a lot of money. Before we weren’t [didn’t] use a lot of money.
CH: Why?
DN: Because we were using it for food to eat, the food ploughed by parents. Even the clothes we weren’t using so money to buy clothes.

Dineo (female, Motswana) grew up in Moreomaoto and touches on a variety of reasons for why life is more expensive today than in the past with less rain and unpredictable river flows forming a big portion of the explanation. The unpredictability of rain is also linked to the death of cattle and crops all of which make the need for money more pronounced. Also apparent, however, is how money was not used in the past but because it has become a part of life it is more needed. Another female participant, Lesedi, is even more direct with her connection between materialism and the increasing cost of living:

31 Omari (2010) found that men had better access to CBNRM jobs whereas women had better access to government jobs in Seronga which was different to Chobokwane where few women were employed through the government despite it being the biggest employer in the area.
LS: Even the money was so less and in long times [long time ago] the things were not expensive we might even spend 100 pula [10USD] to buy full groceries. So nowadays we just have more money but we spend so much money to get those things.

Participants are experiencing changes taking place in their lives and how they need money now to buy things such as toiletries, food, and clothing – things they did not need to purchase in the past. A monetary salary is needed to buy these whereas money from cattle sales is reserved, if possible, for bigger items.

Accordingly, there are a number of factors influencing people’s belief that life is more expensive today than in the past but it is primarily a combination of a reduction in natural provisions for survival (through cattle death, less space, legislation against hunting, reduced rainfall, and sporadic river flows) and new modern ‘created’ demands for commercial goods (such as toiletries and clothes) which were either not needed, nor were they as expensive, in the past. With all of these restrictions it is unsurprising that ‘not enough money’ is a central discourse in people’s narratives of their lives and that they identify a need for more jobs to curtail these anxieties. When asked how family life is structured in the village, the Chief of Moreomaoto is explicit that there is not enough money:

TC: No money. No house, they [families] are sharing the house. There’s no money from the government. There’s no money. The government has shortage of money to provide or to help the community so that they can build maybe for government employees --. And people as well in the village, they can’t build their own houses because the ipelegeng program doesn’t provide much money for them to build their own houses or good houses. It is only 450, the money for the whole month.

Being able to build your own house, and for different families members to have their own space in a compound, is a point of pride and showcases people’s wealth and status; however, the Chief is dismayed at people’s ability to do this, blaming the government for not providing enough. He speaks of how ‘ipelegeng’ (translates to ‘drought relief’), which is a government funded initiative, only provides piecemeal employment. The jobs include cleaning the village, cutting grass, and painting government buildings. Due to these opportunities being sparse and contractual villagers rotate them each month, roughly earning between 300-450BWP (10-50USD) on months they are working. Therefore, working at ‘ipelegeng’ is often a last, desperate resort, as Tau (male Basarwa) expresses:
TA: When I’m at home sometimes when I feel that there is nothing to eat, no food then I have to go into the bush to collect some fruit or wild food or just work in government schemes [ipelegeng].

Due to the scarcity and intermittence of work available at ‘ipelegeng’ the Chief is categorical that more opportunities need to be created in the village stating that “After ipelegeng there is nothing”. His use of ‘nothing’ may be misleading as there are several people in the village who have access to full time employment which are, ironically, jobs provided for and by the government (such as: police, nurses, teachers, librarians). There are about 20-30 of these positions available in Moreomaoto which is a nominal figure in a village of roughly 1000 inhabitants. This small number could be why the Chief says ‘nothing’ but it could also be because few, if any, of these positions are held by natives of Moreomaoto.

These government positions are filled by people coming from outside the village – a point raised by Segomotso, Moreomaoto’s primary school teacher, who says: “There are only few people who work here who stay in Moreomaoto who are born in Moreomaoto”. The reason for this is because Botswana has a sophisticated system where once a person has received training they may be required by the state to work in an area in which those skills are lacking. Thabo, like Segomotso, is a government official who was raised and trained elsewhere and now works in Moreomaoto. He explains why there are so few people from Moreomaoto working in government positions:

TH: In the government building they are not so many because most of them they are from --. We [government officials] are from far away, from all around Botswana because they are formal jobs because you have to have some formal qualification to be, to work there. Only some cleaners, gardeners that’s where you will find that there are some villagers that work there.

CH: And doesn’t this upset people in Moreomaoto? That people with permanent jobs --

TH: No because most of them they are educated. They know how the government work. You have to have a qualification for you to be employed in the government, to work as a government employee. Because some of their children are working in other villagers far away so they understand the situation

CH: And why not work in the village that you are brought up in?

TH: No some of them they are realizing that that they do different, that they have different professions that are needed from this village.

Thabo is a librarian from Gaborone who helps to care for Moreomaoto’s library, a product of investments made by the Rothschild Foundation and a massive point of pride for the villagers themselves. All the teachers under Segomotso and the librarians working with Thabo,
therefore, come from outside of Moreomaoto meaning that although the state is one of the biggest employers in the country their impact in rural villagers is only felt in terms of the quality of services they receive not in terms of the numbers of jobs created. Furthermore, even if a person does emerge from Moreomaoto with all of the necessary qualifications to work in a government position they may be sent to another area to work where the government feels that skill is most needed. It is for this reason that Segomotso hails tourism as providing a critical resource for employment in the area:

SM: Tourism gives more jobs to people because some are employed as drivers, some are employed as guides, those people who show people, who just go around with some visitors for example…. That somebody earns a living because of that even those people you can think of --. If there was no Meno A Kwena there those people where were--. Where were did maybe it was difficult for them to get some jobs. Then they are very fortunate because of that Meno A Kwena.

For Segomotso tourism is a critical employer in the country and, more specifically, she believes those working at Meno A Kwena are ‘lucky’ in as far as they have access to a regular salary in a context defined by limited jobs.

5.6.1. Tourism provides money and jobs

As one may expect, those who work at Meno A Kwena believe that one of the most significant components of the tourism industry is its ability to generate employment and money. Many mention how tourists are generating money at a national level but most employees’ value tourists because of their own, direct employment which has given them access to a regular salary. Meno A Kwena’s employees are not alone in their praise of the industry, villagers also say that the industry, and the camp more specifically, is important because it ‘employs their children’, ‘brings in money’, ‘helps families’, ‘cultivates skills’ and ‘assists with village development’. The weight given to tourism’s generation of jobs is unexpected, considering that of the 38 people working at Meno A Kwena only 15 come from Moreomaoto.

That being said, and considering that ecotourism ventures are, almost by definition, small enterprises, Meno A Kwena does provide a fair number of job opportunities in Moreomaoto; even in comparison to what the state is providing in the area. Nonetheless, this corroborates
the idea that there are few paying jobs in Moreomaoto specifically and the country generally. In fact, this is a trend across much of Botswana where the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2015) suggests that 50-75% of the country’s population is without permanent employment.

Therefore, those working at the camp are financially privileged, as they have access to enough money to provide them with a daily allowance without dwindling their cattle provisions, which is their primary source of generating wealth. This is not wealth in ‘the Western’ sense of the word (with stock investments and the like) but rather wealth in that each cow is worth a considerable sum and when not being kept for daily allowances it can be saved, bred, and used to sell and build/buy bigger items, such as for housing, school fees or training. This gives those with access to both monetary wage and cattle a better means of accessing opportunities (financially). The loss of cattle is felt acutely by villagers for whom wildlife-cattle conflict has become a norm but those working at the camp have an ambiguous relationship with it because they also recognise that the park (and the wildlife within it) provides them with a salary.

Most villagers who raise the issue of the fence cutting off water and grass supply to cattle do not blame tourism for the problem but rather the government. However, as a means of trying to gauge the extent to which villagers themselves privilege tourism work or how it features in their repertoire of job opportunities, each of the students (between Grade 1 to Grade 7) at Moreomaoto Primary School drew a picture of what they want to be when they grow up. In total 143 pictures (84 boys and 59 girls)32 were received with the results analysed in Table 5.1.

The most common jobs the children drew were teachers (47), soldiers (35), police officers (20), and nurses (18). Boys mainly drew soldiers and police officers (47 out of a combined 55) whereas girls mainly drew teachers and nurses (47 out of a combined 65). One could allude to the reasons why these jobs are so popular (seeing the occupations, TV, and kids working together). However, that is not the intention here, rather the intention is to see how many of the professions relate to tourism. Artists, builders, drivers, pilots, and wildlife

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32 Not all of the students completed the task so I cannot read too much into the fact that the numbers of female students are lower but what I can deduce is the extent to which children even contemplated a tourism job as a job they could do in future.
officers could be connected to the tourism industry in one way or another but not one of the students drew a job that is found directly within tourism, such as housekeeping, maintenance, guiding, management or cooking. Interestingly, when participants express what jobs they hope their children will have in future the picture is very similar to that provided by the students, with most of them hoping they become teachers, nurses, police officers, soldiers and engineers.

Table 5.1: Children’s drawings of ‘what I want to be when I grow up’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Grade 1 (8-10)</th>
<th>Grade 2 (9-11)</th>
<th>Grade 3 (10-12)</th>
<th>Grade 4 (11-13)</th>
<th>Grade 5 (12-14)</th>
<th>Grade 6 (13-15)</th>
<th>Grade 7 (13-15)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys, Girls</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builders</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowboy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Officer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildlife Officer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author)

Teachers, nurses, officers, and soldiers are all government jobs which have regular salaries and decent benefits which may explain their relevance. Other jobs mentioned include: singer (AM), artist (AM), wife (AM), mechanic (DN), any specialised job (KA), guiding (KA), doctor (TS), wildlife officer (BR), anything in government (DI), builder (DR), and farmer (DR). Again tourism jobs barely feature, the only obvious exception is guiding which was mentioned by Kealaboga. When asked why she does not want her daughter to be a housekeeper like her, her response is because there is not enough money in it. Lesedi, Neo, and Baruti all also say that they do not want their kids to do what they are doing in tourism.

Therefore, as much as tourism is considered important by participants for its creation of jobs and injection of money it is not believed to be the best option for children in future, with
government jobs preferred. The reasons for this preference are not clear but may relate to the number of jobs it provides in the area. If someone were to ask similar questions in the Delta they may be faced with a different outcome because tourism is far more pronounced in North-West District than it is Central District (see Figure 4.1). The best way to illustrate this is to analyse the family trees of Sethunya and Motsumi (Figures 5.9 and 5.10), both of whom grew up in that part of the country, in close proximity to tourism activities.

As can be seen from both family trees, several of Motsumi and Sethunya’s family members work in tourism (Figure 5.9 and 5.10). The same is true for others, such as Kopano and Kealaboga, who also grew up in areas where there is a lot of tourism. Furthermore, those employed in tourism from Moreomaoto often inspire and enable others in their family to engage with tourism and its work opportunities. This is not surprising when one considers that access to jobs in Meno A Kwena is usually through informal networks. Itumeleng, Lesedi, Sethunya, Kopano, Ofentse, Reneilwe, Motsumi, and Pano all got their positions through people in their networks who already worked in tourism.
Although increased exposure to tourism may encourage individuals to seek out paid employment within the industry such a move is not equal for women and men. Both feel the move profoundly but for different reasons. Sethunya describes how old people, as well as some men, believe that she is wasting her time working in tourism when she should be at home working in the fields and with her family. Baruti would agree that women should not be absent from the home or, if they must work, they should not be too far from home. Baruti believes this is imperative to avoiding divorce. Motsumi agrees that women need proximity to the home but for him it is the length of time one is gone for which is significant. Whether it is a man or a woman who is gone, if they are at a camp straight for three months he believes one of the people in the relationship will cheat on the other. Kealaboga says it is this kind of paranoia which resulted in tension between her and her now ex-husband. Therefore, not only is Meno A Kwena’s location revered because it provides employment in an area desperate for it but because if women have to work they will, at the very least, be close to their families and husbands.

Therefore, the fact that Meno A Kwena is one of the only tourism opportunities available in Moreomaoto makes it a better place from which to understand whether/if/how a tourism lodge can/does change how life is organised, particularly how it is gendered. Against this
backdrop attention needs to be paid to the ways in which the activities which constitute the broader total social organisation of labour are gendered. This issue is the focus of the next section.

5.7. Discussing the key features of the broader gender order

People react to, manage, and change their increasingly fragile lives (due to changes in environment and increasing costs of living) through a series of activities which enable them to secure a variety of provisions, including food (meat, milk, crops, etc.), money (from paid employment, lobola, tshenyo, sale of cattle and crops), and labour (of cattle, children, and other family members). The main activities (cattle care, crop care, child care, and paid labour) people undertake to acquire these provisions form the contours of Moreomaoto’s, and possibly broader rural Botswana’s, gender order.

Glucksmann (1995) urges that one consider the relationships between activities so as to understand the tenets upon which life in a particular context is organised through gender. This, in turn, moves away from viewing the economy as only consisting of paid employment but rather as a web of socially messy relations. Analytically, Glucksmann (1995) encourages one to disrupt false dichotomies by paying attention to the discursive boundaries of the activities in a particular context so as to better understand how they are social. The below analysis takes this as a guiding principle by dividing the discussion into the most fragmented and dichotomous features of the discourses participants use when describing the activities they most constitute as being work.

5.7.1. Space and mobility: Men move/Women stay

Discursively, men move between, to, from, and within spaces. Whether with cattle or paid employment (in South Africa, another village, or even the fields) men are always described as in motion (even with leaving children). In turn, the activities women undertake (including cooking, cleaning, and child care) are collapsed with one space (‘the home’) and their mobility (following marriage, to the fields, and in paid employment) is largely invisible in people’s discourses about the activities in which women engage. The invisibility of women’s mobility helps to legitimise the mobility of men making the benefits of such constructions appear normal, even natural.
Men’s movement is one of the central reasons for them being framed not only as better suited for cattle care (have to go into the bush) but also for them assuming ‘nonresponsibility’ with child care, cooking and cleaning. Men do not do these duties because they have to go work or, at the very least, go find paid work. That said, due to a reduction (from death, movement into paid labour) in the availability of male labour in families, it is observed that cattle care chains have emerged in which men are able to disavow their labour to that of other men. These men can be other male family members but it is generally preferred to hire a herd boy who can be paid, forming a capitalist care chain. By disavowing their labour men are still able to shoulder the responsibility of providing for their families by caring for their cattle, while gaining access to paid employment opportunities. Subsequently, men find entering paid employment easier than women because they are able to preserve their sense of self by maintaining an activity which most contributes to their identities as men, namely, cattle care.

Women’s identities are, on the other hand, greatly associated with one space (the home) and if they engage in activities beyond those constructed as normal in it (such as cooking, cleaning, and child care) they may throw into questions their identities, as women. Women are, on a constant basis, collapsed into this space. Women cook, clean, and look after children because they are at home and, in turn, because they are home they do these activities. One of the only times women’s mobility becomes somewhat visible is when they marry and have to move from one home to another home so as to carry out the activities associated with that space. However, even this mobility is waning with the decline in marriage and women now staying in their family’s compound for longer periods of time with children they have had out of wedlock.

Therefore, where men are able to disavow the activities which are central to the construction of their identity as men, women are not. Unlike men, women do not create capitalist care chains for child care and/or home responsibilities (such as cooking and cleaning) but rather exploit existing gendered networks which are made possible through extended families. Women elicit the help of other women in their families to achieve child care duties. These women can be sisters or aunts but more often than not it is a maternal grandmother. Prior to the introduction of paid employment, women used this strategy as a means of freeing up labour time to care for crops (weeding and harvesting) while simultaneously providing

33 This word is borrowed from Joan Acker (2006) in how she discusses how corporations subcontract so as to lay claim to no responsibility if/when rights are abused.
grandmothers with more labour provisions (that of children). These networks are now critical to women’s ability to enter paid employment as they do not pay others to take on such responsibilities (like men with herd boys). This also, however, makes women’s movement away from the home more traumatic because it is the space in which they most exert themselves as women and the activities which define them as such.

The most revered of these activities is being a mother. However, interestingly, even in this activity women are constructed as immovable and static whereas men’s roles as fathers are varied and moving. Women are, irrespective of marriage or social standing, a child’s mother and must assume the necessary responsibilities that come with it. Men, however, do not automatically undertake father responsibilities but it is, rather, something that is fluid and into which they can move. Men take on social father responsibilities only if they are married. If the child is born out of wedlock they are under little obligation to fulfill such responsibilities and once again these duties will fall to someone else within a woman’s network, such as her brother or uncle. Further, where social fathers may use movement to paid employment (in another village or country) as a reason to renege of their responsibility (those in addition to sending money) because women and children stay at home, women cannot. Even a woman who is working outside of her village must travel back home as regularly as possible, send remittances, and assist in the numerous activities that are required to maintain children. This movement is, however, also invisible because it is a movement back to the home, not away from it.

Therefore, men being constructed as the ones who move and go and women as the ones who stay at home is the first of the dichotomous discourses which forms the boundaries of Moreomaoto’s gender order, giving men authority with some tasks and women with others. Another central discourse which helps form this order is the construction of men and strong and capable and women as inherently lacking.

5.7.2. Capable strong men/lacking women

Strength is one of the most entrenched discourses justifying the overrepresentation of men in tasks male-defined, these include: cattle care, building fences, and ploughing (particularly with cattle). These activities are framed as requiring ‘muscle’ and ‘strength’ because the tasks themselves are constructed as ‘heavy’ or ‘hard’. Subsequently, men’s bodies justify the tasks
they can assume. However, because bodies are viewed as fixed and unchanging (at least in terms of gender, not necessarily in terms of age), equating men’s capabilities for a particular task with their bodies helps to fix their bodies with it. Therefore, as much as women and the tasks they fulfill are collapsed with a particular space (the home), men and the tasks they fulfill are collapsed with their bodies (through discourses of strength) which help to justify their dominance in the given activity. However, where men’s bodies are present and justifiable, women’s bodies are invisible. Men and their bodies are constructed as being the norm against which women are compared.

Therefore, if men’s bodies are the ‘normal’ starting point for physical activities women’s bodies are only visible in as far as they are not men’s bodies nor are they believed to be able to acquire characteristics associated with it. Women are not strong enough, brave enough, tough enough, or hard enough to do activities men do. Women are outlined not only as stagnate but incomplete too. Child care, weeding, and ploughing with a hoe are viewed as ‘easy work’ and therefore those who are incomplete (not enough) are believed to appropriate for the task. Men are ‘too good’ for a task that does not require their strength. In this way, strength is also constructed as translating into capability. Therefore, where men are capable, women are lacking. This ‘lack’ prohibits the variety of roles and responsibilities women can assume. Although there are instances of women erecting fences, caring for cattle, and financially providing for their families they are viewed as anomalies, only made possible by an absence of men.

Furthermore, due to the conflation of strength and capability, you cannot get a cowardly strong man because strength is constructed as both physical and mental. This is also the reason for men’s work being viewed as difficult work and women’s work as easy. For example one will automatically note how cattle care, crop care, and child care exist within a hierarchical order. While all essential activities for acquiring provisions, cattle care acquires the most status and is constructed as needing the most skill. People strive to own and care for cattle and the cash returns therein are substantial. Crop care, in which both women and men are involved, does not have as much status which may be due to the lower cash returns but it is still viewed as important. However, women’s tasks (such as weeding) are constructed as beneath the tasks of men (such as erecting fences). Last in the hierarchy is child care.
That said, as invisible as child care is outside of the movement of children and their sustenance, it is children’s labour within these activities that is given the least status. Nonetheless, child care is constructed as the natural preserve of women and with activities only concentrated within the home the work is frequently viewed as being easy work, work men could assume (such as cooking) but which they would prefer not to because they have more important things to do (like finding work or herding cattle). Therefore, men are constructed as inherently capable as a result of their bodies whereas women are described as inherently lacking because their bodies are not men’s.

5.8. Concluding remarks

It has been argued that while constructions of men as both mobile and complete enable their accessing paid employment constructions of women as stagnant and lacking may inhibit their ability to access other spaces and tasks which also have underlying discourses that such an activity requires strength, toughness, or mobility. That said, as much as women are not represented or viewed as anomalies when they assume male-defined tasks, women are naturalised as homemakers where all of their activities, including child care and cleaning, are collapsed into one space, the home. In turn, this conflation may assist them in accessing activities which make a similar conflation.

Therefore, tourism, with other paid employment, is an activity within the broader total social organisation of labour which is dependent on familial and other informal networks to gain access to them. This chapter has dealt with the four main areas around which labour within Moreomaoto is organised (cattle, crops, and children as well as paid employment) giving an understanding as to the details on which their gender order is structured. The main identified discourses which are used to divide the activities of women and men in the village are contingent on notions of mobility, variability, space and strength (or lack thereof). With this in mind, it is now time to focus on the camp itself and to understand its gender order so as to later be able to determine the extent to which it has the potential to subvert the village’s broader gender order. Chapter 6 now moves to examine the case study camp as an inequality regime.
CHAPTER SIX: 

UNPACKING MENO A KWENA AS AN INEQUALITY REGIME 

6.1. Introduction

The preceding Chapter focused on how activities within Moreomaoto (and oftentimes beyond) are organised and how this is done through gendered conceptions as to who should do what work and why. The four main areas around which life is arranged involve cattle, crop and child care as well as paid labour; all of which contributed to acquiring a series of provisions (food, money, labour) necessary for survival. Looking at these activities through a gendered lens, how life is centred on particular gendered divisions of labour emerges (men do cattle care, men plough, women do child care, women cook). The justifications for these divisions are generally informed by underlying discourses centred on mobility, variability, strength, and space.

In order to determine whether Meno A Kwena offers the potential to subvert the ways in which the broader gender order is structured it is necessary to understand how labour within the camp itself is based on a gendered division of labour and to then examine the underlying premises which inform such a structure. By asking whether they are the same as those that shape Moreomaoto and by identifying where they are similar and different it is possible to discern the extent to which Meno A Kwena, an ecotourism camp in rural part of the country which offers an alternative means of monetary income, could subvert (even just potentially), positively or negatively, broader gender processes.

The next two sections of this chapter consider the history and structure of Meno a Kwena. These are then used to format the remaining chapters based on the camp’s primary activities (owning, managing, guiding, administrating, performing, maintaining, and housekeeping). The focus on activities is in line with Glucksmann’s (1995) TSOL while also allowing for a focus on how particular activities within the organisation are based on difference as well the extent of their visibility and legitimacy which forms the contours of the organisation’s gender order and/or inequality regime (Acker, 2006).
6.2. Meno A Kwena: History and interaction with Moreomaoto

At the outset of examining Meno A Kwena and its history, one has to discuss David Dugmore, the owner and founder of the camp. David is a shareholder in a company called Kalahari Kavango and they started a mobile safari in Botswana. The mobile safari would start in the Okavango and work its way to the Kalahari in what David calls “the old East African way”. This means they would transport five tons of equipment for ten guests with all of their luxury camping needs (including tents, food, and staff). Due to the vast distances and large amount of equipment, the mobile safari required a place to stop overnight. This resting place was on the banks of the Boteti River in Central District, also a site of massive human-wildlife conflict which, according to David, prevented them establishing a permanent camp:

DD: Cattle going into the park, lions killing cattle, the farmers killing the lions and all predators, killing all the wild life to eat, setting some traps and snares and that’s when the government decided to put the fence up.

However, when it emerged that a fence would be erected cutting off the wildlife’s supply to the river, David decided something had to be done. Consequently, David set up his mobile safari equipment next to the then dry river, which was a bone of contention as the river bed was still highly sought after because there was still good water below the surface which farmers drew water from for their crops and cattle. However, as much as the water was a resource for the communities, David also believed that wildlife could not afford to lose the little access they had to the river because he believed it would flow again.

There needed to be community consensus in order for the fence to be built but David faced opposition from two elderly men who resented how their access to land and water was diminishing. The Chief reiterated that David needed to get community support through creating benefits which would then help to change the minds of the men. By the time the construction of the fence reached the portion of the river in question, David had employed roughly 35 people. David believes this helped to have the fence erected outside the National Park:

DD: Ya, so during 2001, 2002 I was negotiating with the community, pumping for the wildlife, and marketing to get people in here and in 2003 we opened it up and people started coming to stay and the deal was that the fence would be completed by 2004 before elections and so yeah I was by the time the
fence arrived I was employing 35, 36 people. Locally, pretty much all of them from here [Moreomaoto]. A lot of them I didn’t need but my goal was to get 40 people employed you know in a small village like Moreomaoto that’s a lot of people because they have a lot of dependents. A lot of people were being supported by here. By the time the fence arrived the final decision was made to the - -. And put the fence over here. Like I said right up until construction of the fence, through this area these two were still adamant that they wanted the fence on that side but it was the community who put pressure on them to put the fence over there. It wasn’t so much me. Because their jobs were all at stake and that’s exactly what the Chief said. He said “You do this way and you’ll get friends over there” And we did.

With its beginnings involving strong lobbying in favour of wildlife protection and working together with the community to make the camp a reality, it is not surprising that Meno A Kwena’s identity is centred on conservation. Access to this water was, and remains, critical to the survival of much wildlife, primarily zebras and wildebeest. The walls of Meno A Kwena are dotted with photographs from that watershed time. Colour and sepia images of elephants a few hundred metres away from men digging up water, and of herds of zebra (thousands strong) within view from the camp and desperate for water.

The bottlenecking of animals, created an ideal space for wildlife viewing because the portion of the river at which Meno A Kwena is located is one of the deepest and generally one of the last places water can be found when the dry season comes. To assist with conservation efforts, Water for Life Trust was established which endeavoured to generate money toward preventing wildlife death. Talking about the wellbeing of wildlife and the detriments of the fence are some of the most impassioned conversations David and the managers have with guests. They use their proximity to the fence to educate tourists about what such fences are and some of the complex challenges they lead to.

Due to its conservation identity, Meno A Kwena underwent ecotourism certification. It is one of two ecotourism camps in the Central District and one of 15 such certified camps in the country (See table 2.7). It was awarded its ecotourism certification by the Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) in 2012 and in early 2015 underwent a successful application to have this status renewed. This certification is evidence that Meno A Kwena has a commitment to environmental conservation while respecting the community within which it resides.
The interview participants were asked to reflect on the impacts of the camp on the community. The majority considered it produced positive benefits. Only one interviewee, Boipelo, believes that Meno A Kwena is not helping the community. He says it is only benefits the owners. His view is, however, exceptional as most participants indicated that Meno A Kwena helps significantly in Moreomaoto by creating jobs, giving the community money through bed night levies for community development, helping the school with supplies and money, teaching children to play Marimba, being a catalyst for the building of the community library, imparting skills, facilitating interaction with people from outside, as well as conserving the environment and animals. Some interviewees, such as Itumeleng, actively speak of how the camp has changed their view on animals:

IT: Tourism is good because … each and every animals was moving around and people just kill and eat. Now they are protected. They are kept here and we can see them. We didn’t even know them. Now we can see them, even our small children can come and see them.

Therefore, the benefits of Meno A Kwena are locally diverse across conservation and economics. Others, such as Segomotso, believe places like Meno A Kwena are changing not only the village but Botswana through their active involvement in the school:

SM: Tourism is important. … through Meno a Kwena the people of Moreomaoto or the children in Moreomaoto will benefit at the end Botswana at large because one child here will be working somewhere for Botswana, not only Moreomaoto.

Segomotso is clearly sensitive to the mobility of Batswana. She is also extremely proud that the camp has adopted the school and that she has developed a good connection with David. She says other school principals often envy her relationship with Meno A Kwena because it provides the school and the children with support and provisions they would not otherwise have.

Despite these positive developments there are some issues. For example, Meno A Kwena has not paid its bed night levies to the Village Development Community (VDC) in two years because of “a feud within the community,” says David. The Chief acknowledges these issues saying that the VDC is using the money for “the wrong activities” instead of helping the community, which was reiterated by David and Baruti. David goes on to say that there has not been much movement and he is not too sure what is happening but that the money has
been kept aside for the village, to be paid out once the issue is resolved. The only other main issue to emerge from the community is about the fence but rarely did villagers blame the situation on Meno A Kwena, rather saying that it is a matter for the government and that the tensions were as a result of poor maintenance.

Because the fence has been poorly maintained and conflict continues, there is a new lobby looming with many villagers keen for the fence to now be moved inside the National Park and boreholes created for the wildlife. However, conservationists working at the camp (such as Jack, Emma, Joshua, Isabella, and David) say the fence needs to be moved to the road to create a barrier between wildlife and cattle and then for boreholes to be constructed for the benefit of pastoralists instead. It was thought that a decision on this would be made following the 2014 national elections but the fence remains where it has been for the past ten years and when something will be done by government remains to be seen. For now the situation remains fragile.

Looking forward, some think Meno A Kwena could bring more services (KT), assist with village maintenance (ST), provide money for building (RN), aid orphans (PO), and employ more people (KG). That said, Meno A Kwena has proven itself worthy of ecotourism status to the BTO on two occasions and in general has the support of villagers and the staff. With this outline of Meno A Kwena’s beginnings as well as the ways in which the camp itself is valued by villagers and the challenges therein attention turns to the actual structure of the camp itself in order to examine the ways in which it operates as an inequality regime within a total social organisation of labour (TSOL).

6.3. Meno A Kwena: Staff and structure

David is quick to point out that there are never staffing issues because there is “a pool of labour on their doorstep” which enables Meno A Kwena to bring down costs by transporting employees to and from the village in the mornings and evenings. It is, therefore, not Meno A Kwena’s responsibility to accommodate and feed them, which is often the case for camps located in the Delta. David also believes this is good for morale as his staff enjoy returning to their families in the evening. While this is certainly true, the makeup of those working at Meno A Kwena is more diverse than a pool of labour only coming from Moreomaoto.
Meno A Kwena employs 38 people (including David), 25 are permanent staff, three are on three month probation periods but working full time, and 10 are on temporary contracts paid per day or per month depending on the given agreement (see Table 6.1). Of these 38 people working in Meno A Kwena, 15 come from Moreomaoto, 17 from elsewhere in Botswana, and six are from outside of the country (including Australia, Brazil, United Kingdom, and South Africa).

In addition to the ‘regular workers’, Meno A Kwena employs people on an *ad hoc* basis for particular tasks such assisting with maintenance and housekeeping during peak times or the building of their curio shop. Meno A Kwena also makes use of some ‘local suppliers’. For example it gets its beef from a butcher in Motopi (the nearest butcher to Moreomaoto), buys wooden poles from a man in Moreomaoto, and gets bits of art from locals to sell in the curio shop. Therefore, Meno A Kwena has a financial and social impact beyond its borders. However, the focus for this section is narrow and only on those who work within the organisation on a regular basis so as to discern Meno A Kwena’s gender order. As such, it is important to note that not all staff members are at the camp at the same time.

Most permanent staff work for 24 days before taking 6 consecutive days off. Night shift employees work from 17:00 to 10:00/11:00 and stay at the camp full time for 24 days (11 people do this). They do not go home when they knock off but stay at ‘staff camp’ during the day where they rest. Therefore, not all employees have the proximity benefits David mentioned. That said, those who work day shifts work from 08:00 to 17:00 and if they live in Moreomaoto they are picked up from the village in the mornings and dropped off again (13 people do this). If, however, an employee works day shift but does not live in Moreomaoto they stay at camp for the full 24 day cycle (4 people do this). The working hours of managers and guides, however, cuts across both shifts with them starting work at breakfast time and only finishing once guests have gone to bed. Contracts are renewed on an annual basis depending on performance. Although they do not include any paternal benefits they do include maternity leave (paid 75% for 1st month, 50% for 2nd month, and 35% for 3rd month).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current position in Meno A Kwena</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Tr ee</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Mor eo?</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Starting position</th>
<th>Starting Salary</th>
<th>Current Salary</th>
<th>Tips per month</th>
<th>Day/Nig ht</th>
<th>Perm/ Temp</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>DN</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Shareholder &amp; main overseer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers/ Assistant Manager</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>DN</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Oversee functioning of others, ensure smooth camp operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>3025</td>
<td>Unk</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Not defined but have managerial authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5000p/m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Manage bookings and supply orders for camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guides</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>With guests, take them on tours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiters/chefs/cooks</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>+/-250</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Tasked with cooking food for three meals as well as snacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Bushmen’/Cultural products</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Culture &amp; M</td>
<td>1500p/m</td>
<td>1500p/m</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>DN</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>They give San walking tours and evening dance performances for guests. Men help with maintenance, women do bead work when not with guests Most of the san had assigned no age to their contracts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>50p/d</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>+/-250</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Those working in maintenance are a diverse group and do everything from building (B), to mechanics (M), to driving (D) and general camp maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>50p/d</td>
<td>50p/d</td>
<td>+/-250</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Those working in housekeeping are tasked with cleaning the tents, doing laundry, as well as the dishes after all meals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Inequality regime – Hierarchy and history of positions at Meno A Kwena (Source: Author)
Table 6.2: Significant changes in salary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current position</th>
<th>Previous position</th>
<th>Length of time working</th>
<th>Growth in salary since starting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Trainee cook</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>2,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant manager</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>1,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>1,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author)

Table 6.2 shows individuals who have experienced a significant change in salary since they joined the camp. Others salaries are either the same as when they started because little time has elapsed and/or growth was marginal (between 0-300 BWP). Interestingly, the Motswana with the highest salary growth is a woman (the Chef) but this occurred over the course of seven years. The only other woman in the table is a housekeeper whose salary only increased by 315 BWP in seven years which is a much slower rate growth to that of the men. It is evident then that men’s mobility in terms of wages is more varied than that of women. However, the picture is more complex than this with men generally starting on higher salaries than women. For example one maintenance man in Table 6.1, who is not a driver or mechanic, started on a salary of 1,200 BWP in 2012 and was earning 1,400 BWP two years later surpassing the salaries of all of the women in housekeeping. These points all factor into the visual construction of Meno A Kwena’s inequality regime presented in Figure 6.1.

![Figure 6.1: Inequality regime - Hierarchy of jobs in Meno A Kwena (Source: Author)](image-url)
Figure 6.1 schematically represents the hierarchy of employment at the camp. It further shows that there is a marked concentration of expats in the higher tiers (green areas) of the hierarchy, Basarwa in ‘entertainment’, women in administration and housekeeping, as well as men in guiding and maintenance. Upon closer inspection, it is apparent that the other tiers of the structure, while numerically representing both women and men, continue to have a segregation of jobs which contribute toward the overall gender order of the organisation. The bases for these inequalities become apparent when discussing who does what and why within the organisation, which will be the focus for the remainder of this chapter.

6.4. Making decisions: Owning and managing a camp

Meno A Kwena has a steep organisational structure with David exerting overall control over others, and managers in turn having a high level of control over those beneath them. All of the decisions about the organisation are made in the top two tiers of the hierarchy with substantial decrease in any such decision making power and autonomy once one moves into the blue, lower sections.

David’s family’s past in Africa dates back more than a hundred years. His father, John Dugmore, was a well-known trophy hunter in Kenya, where David was born and “raised British”. When hunting bans in Kenya seemed imminent John Dugmore moved his company and family to Botswana. Ever since then the family has been involved with tourism and wildlife. Through his experiences of being raised in the bush, David developed a keen knowledge of wildlife as well as an appreciation for its conservation. His own personal journey, coupled with his family’s knowledge of how to establish business in Kenya and Botswana as a result of the benefits they incurred from colonial rule means that he was well positioned to work at, manage, and own a safari camp.

Joshua (expat male) and Emma (expat female), the general managers at the camp, also own their own mobile safari company and are qualified guides. They both came to Botswana from South Africa, independently of one another, doing jobs in work unrelated to tourism. Joshua and Emma met and fell in love with the country and each other. Deciding to reside in Botswana and after a series of rocky attempts to start a business in Gaborone, they now own a

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34 Mbaiwa (2008) Spenceley (2008), Massyn (2008), and Rogerson (2002) have made mention of similar trends in Botswana
successful mobile safari company. They each earn 10,000 BWP a month and are required to stay at the camp for three months at a time before getting one month vacation. For a few days, Joshua may leave his managerial duties at Meno A Kwena to host a mobile safari. This flexibility was part of ‘the deal’ when they signed on as general managers at the camp.\footnote{This ended up causing too much tension, coupled with personality conflicts and resulted in them eventually leaving the camp}

In examining the green tiers of the hierarchy of Figure 6.1, it is notable that there are two people whose roles are not defined but who certainly wield some decision making power, Isabella (expat female) and Jack (expat male).\footnote{After Emma and Joshua left the camp and Jack ended taking over the managerial role.} Both have been placed lower down the hierarchy than managers but both have more decision making power and autonomy than the assistant manager. Isabella is an expat who started working at the camp in September 2008 as a volunteer. She has since developed a series of projects to help the camp and the Water for Life Trust including ‘Art for Conservation’, a project in which international artists teach local children different art techniques. Isabella earns 5,000BWP (492USD) a month and is also responsible for establishing the curio shop and manages the funds therein. Isabella is not permanent staff but when at the camp she has the authority to tell other staff what to do.

Jack, also an expat, has a close family relationship with David. Jack is a qualified guide and has a passion for wildlife. He has worked as a guide in South Africa and Zimbabwe and is currently studying for his guiding license in Botswana. Jack spends a lot of time interacting with guests and, if the camp’s guides are unavailable, takes them out in the boat on the river. Like Isabella, he earns 5,000 BWP (492USD) per month and has the authority to ask others to do things if he needs.

Lower down the hierarchy, on the border to the blue tiers of Figure 6.1 is the assistant manager.\footnote{His name has been intentionally left out to avoid being able to determine which of my respondents he is. While they have pseudonyms, Joshua, Emma, Jack, Isabella, Zoe, and Motsumi were made aware that their identities may be inferred by those intimate enough with the camp’s workings. They all still agreed to participate.} The assistant manager has a vastly different story to that of the managers. He does not profess a deep love for the bush or have a transnational history; rather, he is from Moreomaoto and found a job at Meno A Kwena eight years ago. Since then he has moved up the ranks from waiter, to chef, and now assistant manager. Meno A Kwena has sent him on one training course. His main duties involve greeting the guests, showing them the camp,
overseeing food preparations, and going over the list of things staff need to do. As much as he has different tasks to other staff members, he does not have the same decision making power or autonomy as any of the expats at the camp. He also earns significantly less than the other managers (10,000BWP vs. 3,250BWP). The reasons for these divisions as well as the concentration of white expats in management, relates to discourses of skill which are highly racialised within Meno A Kwena as well as the tourism industry generally (Mbaiwa, 2005).

6.4.1. Skill: The racial basis for a concentration of expats in management

Although Meno A Kwena does have a Motswana assistant manager, it is noticed that this camp, much like others in the country (as identified by Mbaiwa, 2005), is mainly expat/white owned and operated. Furthermore, the trajectory to the positions of managers and assistant manager differ greatly. David, Emma, and Joshua all have long histories with the tourist industry and have managed, as well owned, their own safari companies whereas the assistant manager has worked his way up through the hierarchy at Meno A Kwena to a position where he lacks any sort of authority or decision making power. The likelihood of him assuming a position higher than assistant manager is weak.

That said, although the racial division of labour at the camp is immediately apparent employees say it does not bother them. Nonetheless, staff have ideas as to why there is a tendency to have white managers in (eco)tourism lodges. Some, believe that expats have more skills either because they have acquired more experience or because there is a lack of education in the country; “if we were educated we might do those things [management],” Lesedi exclaims. Whereas others, such as Ofentse, say there are many expats in tourism because “in Botswana not all of us [Batswana] take our jobs seriously”. This is a discourse shared by those even in the highest sections of the hierarchy. Take the below conversation with David for example:

DD: The toughest thing in Botswana is employing Motswana for any employer. Even the president employs Zimbabweans [JK: Does he?] Ya [JK: On his farms?]. Ya, all the presidents, all of them have done that
CH: Why is it the toughest thing?
DD: Because Motswana --. They don’t have a work ethic, you know they have a very low standard of work ethic of formal employment at work. They work fucking hard for themselves. Most people are self-employed. Most people look after their cattle or their farms.
Batswana are constructed as hard workers only in as far as they work themselves. Zimbabweans are preferred as employees, according to David, with Batswana constructed as generally not having enough ‘work ethic’ to be considered for a management position. The discourse of Batswana not being competent enough to be managers is prevalent in explanations as to why there is a concentration of whiteness in the top echelons of the organisation.

For Isabella it makes good business sense to not have Batswana managers because they are “high maintenance” as they require training. She continues: “they fail in stupid things and you cannot fail when people pay the amount of money that they pay here”. David further says his managers are expats because he is “worn out” from trying to employ local managers. Because, for him, they do not exert the flexible leadership or management styles needed for the camp, saying one needs to “fly by the seat of their pants”. Therefore, Batswana are believed to be lacking in the range of skills as well as not being able to do a “myriad of little things” such as ordering food, telling people what to do, managing staff, and being good with guests. Similar undermining sentiments underlie the chances why the assistant manager is unlikely to move any further up the hierarchy. That is, because he is thought to lack the necessary skill to do so, Joshua says:

JA: …he does a lot of the work himself instead of delegating. Where he could delegate it and have more management time so he could uplift himself on --. I think the thing is there is just no real training programme of that type and when you tend to leave it up to them and say “this is what you’re going do”, it’s too much for them. It’s easier to not try to understand it because there is not enough hands on training helping them, so yeah the responsibility lies with us to do it, they are not going to learn it without help.

One should note how Joshua starts out his explanation about Meno A Kwena’s assistant manager and some of the tasks he struggles with before seamlessly slipping into explaining differences between expat (‘us’) and Batswana (‘them’) management styles. He takes on a paternalistic tone about the abilities and willingness of the Batswana to learn positioning expats as the ones with skills and the responsibility to transfer them. Joshua continues to discuss the people skills he thinks Batswana still need to develop:

JA: Just people’s skills. I think its handling guests, dealing with guests and dealing with the authority of policing staff production, productivity. It’s really difficult for, often for Motswana, to get that work out of their colleagues, because they sort of see each other as equals and it’s difficult for them to say, “Hey”. You
know we can say “hey, you do it or I go give you a warning” and this. Or “We’re going to have a meeting with you because it’s not--.” They don’t have that sort of attitude towards it possibly, and that with exception obviously, it’s not everybody, but I think that’s the problem.

Therefore, Batswana are viewed as lacking in the skill, training, maturity, and attitude needed to be effective managers that can assume authority (‘policing staff’) or mingle with tourists (‘handing guests’). Furthermore, Batswana are described as learning due to the immaturity of the industry in the country whereas, by comparison, expats are discursively framed as having ‘more experience’, ‘more skill’, ‘more knowledge’ of tourism which are reiterated in Motsumi below thoughts:

MT: I am thinking just because of tourism industry here is still young in Botswana. So in Botswana we didn’t know anything about tourism and then these people [expats] came in here with their experience. That’s why you find nowadays Botswana are coming here because you find they just started realising how important tourism is and they started taking like seriously about it but otherwise. I think it’s because we didn’t know anything about tourism.

Like Motsumi, Emma believes that while you do get some good local managers they are in the minority because tourism management “is still very new in the country”. Emma goes on to say that one of the biggest hindrances to the proliferation of local managers is that they find managing their peers difficult, which Joshua also mentioned. Kagiso (male, Motswana), a former employee at Meno A Kwena, would agree. He started as a maintenance worker, before being promoted to waiter, then chef, until eventually he became an assistant manager. He loved cooking because he felt as though he was learning something new but he did not enjoy being an assistant manager because he found directing other employees difficult:

KG: People are very difficult, the staff people… Because if you are assigned to tell them to do something they do not do it. When the manager comes he will look at you and he will get angry to you. So it was very difficult. If somebody hasn’t done his or her work so it will be the assistant manager’s fault. So it was very difficult for me…. if somebody is older it is very difficult to tell them “no don’t do that do this” very difficult always. So they get angry as well cause sometimes they don’t listen at you. So it was very difficult for me to control these people.

Kagiso’s discomfort at instructing others has formed itself as a basis for exclusion within the organisation itself. This is particularly problematic because Kagiso is from Moreomaoto and found it difficult to direct people he knew, especially those who were older than him. Kagiso
did try to escalate his problems to the manager at the time but because a solution was not found he opted to leave. Kagiso later explains why he thinks Batswana are more likely to listen to an expat than a local, even if that person is not from Moreomaoto; he says it is “Because they think they [white expats] are superior than them, in terms of a, the skill.” It is this feeling that appears to be lining much of the above discussion and we come back to skill and how it is a racialised basis upon which Meno A Kwena is organised.

Therefore, as much as there are these obvious organising processes at play within Meno A Kwena which privilege the hiring of expat managers there are also more insidious, less tangible controls which maintain a racial divide and assert management as an expat arena, another being them eating separately. For example, there may also be an assumption that by virtue of their whiteness managers are able to relate more easily with tourists, as opposed to Batswana which is aided by their additional access to tourists.

Managers eat together with tourists at the centre table in the camp, chatting with them about their trips and what they are up to next (Not only managers, but other expats too such as Jack and Isabella whose roles are not clearly defined, Zoe who is an administrator, and myself). Even when tourists are not at the camp, the waiters set up place mats for the expat employees, the chefs cook them food, and they eat in the dining area in the centre of camp. All managers eat with tourists. One exception is the assistant manager who did not show a desire to eat together with the foreign managers; this is seemingly an invisible, social line he would not challenge. No-one questions why the assistant manager eats at staff camp with the other staff, lower down the hierarchy, and not the managers; even fewer question why the expats are not eating the same food, ‘papa and soup’, as others in staff camp. This is a form of control which helps to reproduce the racialised inequality within Meno A Kwena and it is an invisible, normalised one which workers themselves participate in constructing. During my time at the camp, Batswana guides (in house and those coming with mobile safari groups), were the only black people to eat at the front of house with expat workers and tourists.

Therefore, staff and managers alike agree that there is a high concentration of white people at the top of the organisation but they have not problematised it viewing it as legitimate in order to access expats skill and competence which have class implications with white managers

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38 ‘Papa’, also known as ‘pap’ in South Africa, is maize meal which is served as a staple starch.
earning more than most others in the organisation, but simultaneously having very different financial needs to those from Moreomaoto. Nonetheless, as much as management of Meno A Kwena is racialised it is also structured through gendered expectations.

6.4.2. Couples management: Effectively using heteronormative ideas

Although Emma and Joshua are both general managers they have different management areas at the camp which, during separate interviews, both Joshua and Emma explain:

JA: We share a lot of the common stuff, obviously, posting, the meet and greet, the setting up of who’s doing what in terms of the boards and, you know but essentially the split would be in terms of admin, housekeeping --. She’s doing all the admin. …And then I’m almost exclusively now on maintenance so that --. I think that’s usually how couples fall apart, you know --. Not fall apart, separate their duties. The guys in terms of things like pumps, and boats, and cars, fixing this and so on.

EM: Well go to any lodge and if there’s a couple managing go and check what they do. The man is normally involved with the maintenance crew and the grounds. Anything that need fixing he and his crew will do. The woman is normally involved with the office, housekeeping, food, inspections, guests. OK, guests they normally do together.

Emma manages the housekeeping and administration of the camp, doing what she calls “the internal stuff”. Consequently Emma spends most of her day inside the office which is located next to the laundry and washing section of the camp. This allows Emma to do her administrative duties while simultaneously ‘keeping an eye’ on the ladies working in the laundry areas. She is also a short walking distance from the kitchen and will take breaks from her office to see what is being done there. Joshua on the other hand assumes responsibility for all of the camp’s maintenance and is only on occasion in the office working on a computer. He can be found directing a group of men about what needs to be done and is never in one space for too long moving around and fixing everything from plugs, to solar panels, and broken zips.

Therefore, as management is thought to be “too much for one person”, couples are preferred. Couples are assumed to be sexually heteronormative as well as willing to segregate their labour according to standard gendered divisions within the industry. When explaining the gendered differences in their management duties Emma and Joshua say that “it’s just a normal thing” which showcases the normalisation of a system which privileges the hiring of
heteronormative couples so that there is a division of labour within management between different departments, primarily housekeeping and maintenance. In addition to this David also believes that couples make for a better management option at camp because:

DD: Everyone is in a relationship. Because you are spending so much time in the bush you don’t want to be sitting in camp thinking of wife or girlfriend at home, you know. So rather, have them in camp before --. Just to make it easier for them too --. For them personally to be in the bush for three months, because most people operate on a three month working, one month off. Three months is a long time. Actually, to be in the bush as a manager, whether it’s management or not.

Here it emerges that couples are not only preferred because of the work women and men are assumed to be better suited for but because it helps to ensure their happiness, and in turn their retention. Unlike the others working at the camp Emma and Joshua work on a three month rotation which means they live on the camp’s premises day in and day out for three months, then have one month off. If someone were to hire an individual and not their partner as well they would have to contend with that person either continually visiting the camp disrupting the work of the manager, staying at the camp and consequently eating from its resources, or having a manager grow increasingly unhappy being away from their significant other and deciding to leave. This is a valid concern especially considering that managers working at Meno A Kwena do not have space for their lives outside of work. They work from morning until evening and are constantly ‘on’. Most interviewees’ issues are with low pay but few mention strains on their leisure activities like managers.

Therefore, numerically, it may appear as though men and women are equal when it comes to management but upon closer inspection it is apparent that not only is their work divided according to gender but that their gender also determines who they will manage (housekeeping women vs. maintenance men). While this may be desirable for the couple's involved it is also desired by the company/camp because within this couple unit there are several gender assumptions at play and this is clearly evident in how Emma and Joshua's work is divided but also in how people assume other employees will react to them. It was frequently mentioned that female managers are not as respected or listened to:

DD: Women. You get women in and the guys are like “I’m not doing what you are telling me” and then you get the guys in here and they are like “OK, I’m the boss here” [laughs].
ZE: But um the relationship I’ve seen with Emma and the girls is really good, really good. But I have seen --. And also some guys really don’t like a woman being in charge of things so I have seen a little behind the scenes where they don’t like to answer to Emma. Whereas if David were to say something there would be no back chat, there would be no bullshit, it would just be --.

Both David and Zoe believe that Emma faces challenges from male staff members because of her gender, and while Emma corroborates that she might encounter more resistance than male managers she says that she knows how to assert her authority. Nonetheless, while discourses about skill continue to organise the camp according to race, ideas about gender, men being more in control and respected than women and therefore better able to get the job done, contribute to how work is arranged too (and monitored).

6.4.3. Panoptic presence and (dis)trust

Joshua and Emma’s access to differing gender norms and spaces also means that they have varying effectiveness in carrying out their work. Because the women’s ‘cleaning area’ where they wash the dishes of guests, clean their clothing, as well as do ironing is located directly across from where Emma’s office is based it provides for a somewhat ‘panoptic’ environment wherein because of Emma’s proximity she is able to both monitor their work and carry out her own. Unlike Emma and the housekeepers, Joshua is not as panoptically effective because the men are not in the same spaces every day. Nor is he, so his ability to continuously monitor them, or for them to feel as though he is, is diminished. As much as managers are themselves monitoring and evaluating the work of others, they found it difficult to be under continual observation when David was around, saying “when David is here things are like totally hectic….At the moment there is no leisure time,” Emma remarks. They often feel as though they are being pushed to their limits and do not like being under constant surveillance:

JA: [Free time] Doesn’t happen. No it [free time] doesn’t happen, and with David unfortunately, definitely it cannot happen, cannot happen. He is almost too much. Its better when he is not here, just the list of things or show us --. But when he’s here he wants to be busy I understand. He’s got a lot to do but he does not tend to see that we’ve been ticking at it for sixteen hours a day. Ya, it’ a bit of a thing or maybe just the way it’s done, you know, there is not much empathy.

David is often described, by the managers and staff, as stubborn, angry, unpredictable, strong willed, chaotic, hands-on, and active with a ‘firm’ management style. David is involved in
everything from the minute to the largest of decisions and takes on omnipresence at the camp. Even when he is not there, there is constant communication via email, phone calls and messaging. Unlike Emma and Joshua who have defined spaces of operation, David does not. He knows no boundaries and will even do the work of others, which contributes to feelings of being undermined, as Joshua comments: “I don’t know because I start getting the feeling that he’s not happy about something”. Joshua has strong feelings of anxiety that David thinks he is ineffective and feels it affects him more than Emma because David, like him “does the physical things” often taking over his work, without communicating to him what his intentions are.

These feelings may have been heightened when I was there because it was one of the first time both managers and David were all on the camp together, for almost a year they have been tagging one another in and out of operations. When they are on camp, David is away and when they go on leave David takes over together with the help of a relief manager: “So we’ve had this time together with him first time in a year, actually working together, being in each other’s space,” Joshua explains. When David is asked about his need to control all aspects of Meno A Kwena’s operations he says he had planned on stepping back, when asked why he had not done so already he says:

DD: It’s fucking difficult to find managers
CH: But you’ve got two and they’ve been here for a year?
DD: Emma and Joshua are probably the most ideal managers for that camp. Not for any camp but for this camp they are perfect.
CH: Why do you say that?
DD: Noone’s perfect, they’re not perfect [laughs] but again you know, I’m in a shitty situation, you know, where I believe what I’m doing is perfect but I can never expect anyone else to do it the way I want to do it. I have to bite my cheek --.
CH: Do you think you have issues with giving away control?
DD: Ya, well that’s what I’m getting at. I mean the reason I do things is because of the environment. It’s not because of me. It’s because of how the environment has determined society which is why I work.

Therefore, David is himself aware of his unwillingness to relinquish control but then blames the intense environmental situation in which the camp is located as justification for it. His dedication to conservation (‘which is why I work’) informs his identity and who he considers himself to be and when he sees someone doing something he thinks is wrong, or not how he
would do it, he feels he must intercept. Nonetheless, the underlying distrust at the higher tiers of the management do not go unnoticed by staff like Neo who think Emma is angry because of the “quarrels with the director” and that David is angry because of frustrations with management.

6.5. Creating tourists’ experiences: Guides

Managers are not only tasked with managing the day-to-day operations at the camp but they also spend their meal times (as did David when at the camp) interacting with the tourists. Managers use meal times to talk to tourists about the camp and its history as well as to query about tourists’ travels. Due to the small size of the camp (no more than 16 people), dinners are an intimate affair whereby managers and guests share their ideas. Frequently, managers discuss Botswana with guests as well as Batswana culture, this despite a general sense that they are believed to have very little knowledge regarding how life is organised in Moreomaoto (as expressed by the managers themselves, as well as the Chief in the village). Nonetheless, through these discussions managers impart information about the area and country to guests as well as join them in a central part of their trips, eating, and thereby contribute toward creating guests experiences. That said, the person who most manages the experiences and expectations of guests, is their guide.

Meno A Kwena has one full time permanent guide, Motsumi, as well as another they employ when they are busy. Joshua and David are both also licensed guides, although that is not their title at the camp, and Jack is a guide too but had not yet completed his Botswana guide license in March 2014. Guides are important features of camps such as Meno A Kwena. They interact closely with tourists and are in charge of their experience while at the camp. Guides explain to tourists what options are available to them as part of their all-inclusive package at Meno A Kwena such as: a boat ride with sun-downers on the Boteti, a safari through the Makgadikgadi National Park, a trip to Nxai Pan, a meerkat experience, and/or a ‘Bushman’ walk. Most of these activities are already decided with administrators prior to the guests’ arrival but it is the guides’ responsibility to stay with the group and ensure that all their needs are met. Guides are the ones who impart information and knowledge to tourists. When Emma is asked what is being done to teach guests about culture and customs from Central District and whether managers and David are doing enough, she reiterates the importance of guides in that role:
EM: I think whatever they [tourists] learn is through their guide because the guide will tell them because they normally ask the guide “what is this area” and they will. They normally come out with lots of things about the area, the families, the traditions.

The fact that Motsumi is Motswana is significant because he is able to also explain and discuss with tourists how his life, beyond wildlife and work, is structured. Conversations in game vehicles and questions about him may mould tourists’ view of the country. Furthermore, he develops an open relationship with guests due to the long hours he spends with them; the guide is often able to ask questions about tourists’ lives too and to learn how their practices differ from his own. Being a guide, for this very reason is often revered. Sethunya openly states that she would much rather be a guide than a manager because of the level of interaction guides have with tourists.

Guides are central to the experiences of tourists and if invested in can also be good for business. David mentions a guide who previously worked at Meno A Kwena and spoke a variety of languages making him popular with tourists. Guests would book to stay at Meno A Kwena so as to interact with this guide. Because of the centrality of guides to the successful experiences of tourists they are often some of the better paid employees in tourism. Motsumi currently earns 6,050BWP (595USD) per month; on top of that he also earns an additional 1,000-4,000 BWP (98-393USD) extra from tips per month. Therefore, guiding is a desired job not only because of the interactions with guests but for its large financial rewards too. It does, however, require not only access to the right resources but a fair amount of time, dedication, and tenacity to become a guide.

Motsumi was inspired to become a guide because his brother was already guiding (now three of his four brothers are guides (see Figure 5.10) and he had seen the benefits of the work. He spent much of his free time reading material from his brother about animal and plant behaviour while he worked as a maintenance worker at a camp in the Delta. When an opportunity, through his brother’s networks, arose for him to become a wildlife tracker, he jumped at it. Being a tracker (the person who sits on the front of the vehicle trying to find animal tracks) he found himself in close proximity to more guides who taught him further. Inspired, he wrote his examination at the Wildlife Department; he failed his first attempt but passed the second. However, due to the financial crisis the lodge he was then working at
scaled back and subsequently put him in maintenance work again. Frustrated by having to “light lanterns” when he wanted to guide, Motsumi found tracking jobs at two other camps. Without his driver’s license he could not yet operate as a guide but once he had undergone the necessary tests to obtain it he moved yet again, to what was the fifth job in his story, but he soon left that one too because of “issues of tribalism”.

He stayed at his next job (number six) for four years where he was paid 3,500BWP (344USD) a month but was also allowed to freelance for other mobile safaris, provided they did not conflict. He made a lot of money but it was not constant throughout the year due to the seasonal demands of the industry. He started working at Meno A Kwena in 2011 as a guide on three months’ probation, earning 4,500BWP (443USD) per month. His salary has increased on average 1,000BWP (98USD) per year. Therefore, although he could earn more than he does at Meno A Kwena, he appreciates the regularity and stability of the job he now has. What is notable about Motsumi’s story is that he had to display a willingness to be mobile. He would often find himself changing jobs or being called to be on a safari at a moment’s notice. He also needed to invest a lot of time and money into achieving his goal of becoming a guide. Although not yet apparent, he also believes guiding is a man’s job.

6.5.1. It’s a man’s job

Guiding is constructed as being a man’s job, work that is simply thought to be better suited for men. Motsumi reiterates the same narrative he used to explain why women do not look after cattle saying it is because “they are scared of animals” and there are only a few brave women who are OK with working in the bush. His experience has also been that mainly men become guides, with four of his brothers now doing the work. However, he is not alone in such gendered suppositions. For example Emma says women “are not as good as the men as guides” but she has some difficulty explaining why:

EM: I don’t know. I can’t put my finger on it. They [female guides] are --. I don’t know like there’s an attitude of “I’m your guide” and you know “I’m the boss. I’m above you”. I don’t know. I can’t put my finger on it. It’s just that when I have seen them [female guides] in action I’m not impressed with them at all. For people who don’t know the difference “My guide was a woman. It’s fine. She told me what I needed to know” and that’s but I’ve been in the business for such a long time that you get used to a certain level of comfort between a guide and a guest. You don’t find that comfort that feeling of “I’m part of you and your part of me” I don’t get that feeling when the women are guiding.
Despite being a guide herself, Emma believes men make for better guides because, simply, she prefers their attitudes. She uses her experience in tourism as a justification for this bias saying she just does not get the right “feelings” when she is with female guides. However this preference is articulated through a racialised idea of skill too because she is able to say she prefers male guides while simultaneously expressing how she herself is a capable guide. With this in mind, the fact that Emma is a manager is important. Managers are often critically involved in hiring processes and should they have views such as hers it may readily sway them in favour of hiring male guides; even if they are unable to ‘put their finger’ on the reasons why they believe men are better than women. Emma’s response is also interesting in that it illustrates that when a women is in a position of power, even if she feels constraints put against her actions because of her gender, she may not automatically become an advocate for other women breaking stereotypical work barriers. Like both Emma and Motsumi, Kealaboga believes that both men and women can be guides but that guiding is better suited for men:

KA: guiding is good for men because I think they are very strong. Even if they go with the car on the sand and the car gets stuck you see they can even make a plan. We ladies are very lazy.

Her remark of laziness is interesting because earlier she had called men lazy for not wanting to do housekeeping work. She was asked her if this meant everyone was lazy to which she replied:

KA: [laughs] No they are just lazy on the jobs which are not --. On the other jobs which have to be done by women. They are the jobs that have to be done by women… No it’s just not they are lazy. I think it’s our tradition, that the Tswana ladies can do sweeping and the men can even do hard jobs.

What Kealaboga is referring to as laziness is in fact a reluctance to challenge the gender order. That is, reluctance by women and men to do work that is not viewed as gender appropriate (like guiding and sweeping respectively). As poignant as this observation is, Kealaboga goes on to identify further structural dimensions which harness men’s ability to become guides, namely their access to time, money, and schooling which is clear in the below excerpt:

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39 Weinert (2008) found that it was critical to consider the gendered views of managers in order to understand the gendered nature of ecotourism camps in Ecuador. The implicit, and explicit, assumptions of managers greatly shaped the make-up of ecotourism camps and who did what work.
KA: Men they have to target for their studies because we women we don’t have --. I think we don’t have enough money because we are the ones who [have to look after] the family, the daughters, and everything. So the men they just target for their life you see. So when there is a course of guiding he is free to do it. He can take six months if he needs six months. He can get the money and spend that money for six months doing this course because he doesn’t even have anything that can worry him if he is there. He is not thinking about the child and what and what. We women here in Botswana we have got that problem. That’s why we are not having that experience of guiding. It’s not just because --. It’s not just because --. It’s just not [to] say that men can [only] be guides. Even us women can be guides. The problem is that it is money and feeding the parents

CH: But many men also have children. Don’t they use their money for their children?

KA: Ya, they do that. They use for their children but they don’t, you know? He can sometimes spend for her [his] child and sometimes he can say “No, I don’t have some money”. You see we women we are very --. I mean we are very lovely for our parents and our child, you see? Even if when I work I can’t even say “Ag no, this month I won’t even give my child anything. I won’t even buy some food for him”. You see? Every month I have to decide that. Every month I have to do this and I have to do this for my child. So the man they just do this for --. In any times [sometimes], you see? Not all the time.

Therefore, women like Kealaboga do not have the same resources (time, education, and money) to go on extensive training like Motsumi. Although Kealaboga believes men’s strength helps them be better guides, she is adamant that women can be guides too; however she is sensitive to the fact that their child responsibilities, limited time and poor access to schooling hinders them. She cannot abandon her errands for six months to do a course as she would then not have the money to support herself, or her family. Where men have freedom to decide how their money is spent and the extent of their social relationship with children, women must assume these duties (See Chapter 5) and if their children or parents are not adequately cared for it is a reflection of them, as women.

There is however one camp that is challenging this conception of guides as men, Chobe Game Lodge. Noticing a gap Chobe Game Lodge capitalised on the novelty of female guides and now purports to be the only all-female safari guide team in Africa. Being the first and only camp in Africa to have an all-female guide team they have become a media sensation (eNCA, 2015; Huffington Post, 2015; Nkojera, 2015; van Reil, 2015; Wilson, 2014; Wright, 2015) for their proactive mainstreaming of women in an otherwise male dominated job with it being reported that prior to 2005, there were less than 10 female guides in the country (Wilson, 2014). The excitement surrounding the Chobe Angels also shows what a novelty
they are and how women have been normalised in other duties in tourism work, such as administration.

6.6. Getting things done: Female network of administrators

Whereas guiding is overrepresented by men (both as official guides and those qualified at the camp to be guides) being an administrator or carrying out administrative duties is overrepresented by women. There are three women at the camp whose main functions are administrative: Tshiamo (Motswana female), Zoe, and Emma (expat females).

Zoe is an expat who usually works for the camp from her home country. Zoe, unlike the other expats, does not have a long history with being in the bush or African wildlife. She started working at Meno A Kwena as a result of her personal relationship with David. Zoe has previously owned her own tourism enterprise (wine cellar) in Australia and worked as a receptionist. Zoe is one of the best paid employees at the camp which is partly justified as her being an employee living in a more expensive country. She believes these experiences well equip her for her role at Meno A Kwena. Her main duties involve making the necessary reservations for the camp, ensuring that it is not overbooked, and responding to all queries that are sent via email, she explains:

ZE: So basically I sit on the computer all day, or all night there and just respond to the emails that come in from different clients and operators and answer their questions and make their reservations…There’s a lot of emails that come in each day. Some of them are just questions people wanting to know different things. So yeah, we do get quite a lot per day. Keeps me busy.

Zoe is often a tourist’s first point of call prior to their arrival making her knowledge of the camp and its functioning critical to the success of her job. If she is uncertain of anything she consults David, Emma, and Tshiamo. Tshiamo is the only Motswana woman working in one of the higher tiers of the organisation’s hierarchy and also one of the better paid employees (5,000 BWP per month). She previously worked as a waitress in a restaurant in Maun where she met David who was impressed by her and offered her a job:

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40 She was, however, visiting the camp for a few months when I was there on fieldwork.
41 I did not see a contract for Zoe. The figure of 12,000 BWP was supplied by David in email correspondence.
42 The last contract I saw for her was for 2012 and this was the latest reflected figure. It may have increased since then.
TS: I met David here [at the restaurant]. He was our client. Before then he’s clients used to have food here before going to camp and then he liked my service actually he wanted to work with me. And then for some time he wanted to work with me but because I was working somewhere I was “it wasn’t time” until I agreed.

She is not based at the camp itself but rather operates from an office in Maun opposite the airport. Tshiamo is critical to the successful functioning of the camp and does, as she says “everything”. She orders necessary supplies for Meno A Kwena ranging from fuel to food, she meets guests at the airport should a guide not yet be there, ensures that all order books balance, that necessary licenses are up to date, and puts out feelers for staff needed at the camp should a request be made. Tshiamo works closely with Emma on the day to day operationalization of the camp and successful communication between the two ensures that the camp is well supplied which is important because fuel or fresh vegetables are not available in Moreomaoto. The local supply chain stops with the purchasing of beef from a butcher in Motopi, the neighbouring village to Moreomaoto. All other supplies are provided by a variety of shops in Maun which are also generally expat owned. The only other supplier which is Motswana owned and operated is the one that provides them with the environmentally friendly laundry soaps and detergents.

Although hugely important to the successful operation of the camp Zoe and Tshiamo’s work is usually done in the background. If at camp, Zoe will eat together with the other expats and tourists but when she operates from home her interaction with anyone else at the camp (other than electronic communication with David and Emma) ceases. It is a similar situation for Tshiamo, her actual interaction with tourists is limited to the times she needs to help them at the airport and she primarily communicates with David and Emma. She does, however, also regularly see and chat to guides and drivers who come to the office to collect supplies. For other staff at the camp, such as the housekeepers or maintenance workers, she is invisible. The most visible administrator at the camp is, undoubtedly, Emma.

While Emma is a manager and is tasked with ensuring the general smooth functioning of the camp she spends a large portion of her time in the office making that a reality. Emma is the one who manages staff leave and shifts, communicates with Tshiamo about what is needed for camp, communicates with Zoe about who is coming when, and keeps all HR related matters up to date and recorded. Zoe believes “Emma’s time is so taken up in the office by
doing admin work” and Joshua would agree saying that someone else needs to be trained
below her to aid with all of the administration she is tasked with because he thinks it
important for her to “get out and about” so that she can “check out the tents, housekeeping,
back of house staff, kitchen, that sort of thing”. Nonetheless, other than David, Emma is the
person at the camp who has the broadest perspective about how everything operates. This
does mean, however, that she spends a significant amount of time in one space, the office,
working on her computer.

The office raises another interesting racialised-spatial dimension at the camp. The office is
inside an old shipping container and receives its power through solar panels erected on one
side. The container is situated next to the laundry room where housekeepers are found
working. What is significant, however, is that the only ones who are ever found working
inside the office are white expats. The container creates a distinct spatial divide, even though
it is the same space from where these expats connect to the ‘outside’ world because it is the
only place at the camp with internet access. As much as men are often found within the
container, Emma and Zoe (who was visiting from Australia) spend most of their day in this
space. Indeed, one of the notable tasks for all of these women is to ensure that David is kept
up to date. Although David loathes doing administration himself (“You know, all that stuff.
It’s bullshit”, “it frustrates me”), he knows and understands its importance (“it’s all necessary
stuff”) for managing the camp as well as maintaining its ecotourism status. As such, he
requires that all three women regularly update him on what is happening.

Administrators operate in the background and take cognisance of important information
about expected guests. They, in turn, ensure that all the right supplies are available ahead of
time so that the tourist has the best experience imaginable; one area in which this is central is
food. Zoe needs to take note of upcoming guests’ diets (are any vegetarian or don’t eat red
meat for example?), communicate the relevant information to Emma who will then see what
supplies they have available at camp. Emma will then communicate to Tshiamo so that the
necessary supplies can be purchased and Emma can work together with the kitchen staff to
ensure that the guests’ needs are catered for. All of this will, in turn, need to be relayed back
to David. Nonetheless, as the focus shifts to who prepares and serves such food we move into
another tier of the organisation’s hierarchy.
6.7. Working with food: Chefs and waiters

Food and drinks are a central part of what it means to enjoy Meno A Kwena. Meals are served in the centre of the camp either below a flowing parachute tent or under the stars next to a fire. Snacks are prepared for trips out on the boat and meals for when out on safari. Guests can expect everything from flapjacks in the morning served with muesli, yogurt, fruit, bread, and eggs (to your liking of course!) cooked over a fire to beef steaks, stir-fries, stews, crepe suzette, and even chocolate mousse. At one point, in the past, they tried cooking Batswana food but they have since converted to only giving guests Western meals because it is believed they do not like ‘local food’. Nonetheless, meals are always well-prepared with guests being served their breakfasts in the morning and given a wonderful introduction to their buffet meal by waitrons in the evening.

A lot of preparation goes into ensuring guests’ eating needs and desires are met. During the periods when day and night shifts overlap there will be two chefs in the kitchen preparing for future meals: chopping and cleaning vegetables, getting desserts for dinner ready, baking a cake for tea time, or preparing batter and dough to make bread for breakfast. Waitrons will also spend a significant portion of their day cleaning the leisure areas in which these foods are served and setting the tables, sometimes even folding the serviettes in creative designs. All of this work is generally underway while guests are out with guides on a game drive or walk. Upon waking, or returning from their excursion, tourists are greeted by people offering drinks and the smell of food that has long been in preparation. Needless to say it takes a team of people working with food and service to make this a reality.

The waiting staff comprises of only three staff members, two Batswana women and one Motswana man. The first Motswana woman is not from Moreomaoto and started working at the camp in 2011 (1,000 BWP per month, 98USD) as a waitress and now earns 1,200BWP (118USD) per month. The second Motswana woman is from Moreomaoto and works as a housekeeper and waitress earning 1,100BWP (108USD) per month. Finally, the Motswana man (not from Moreomaoto) only started working at Meno A Kwena in 2014 and is on a three month probation period (earning 1,000 BWP per month, 98USD). According to David

43 Most guests’ at Meno A Kwena are part of an all-inclusive package which means that all of their food and drinks are built-in the cost of stay. Some who are self-drives may opt to pay for these separately due to erratic arrival times and not taking part in the camps included activities and tours. Nonetheless, these prices will be agreed upon and their food needs decided long before they arrive so that everything can be prepared in advance.
and the managers, waiting is one of the more difficult positions at the camp due to higher levels of interaction with tourists:

DD: [Being a waitron is difficult] Because they have a lot more direct contact with the tourist, foreigners. In the kitchen, in the back there, housekeepers, everybody don’t mingle much with the clientele but the waiters do so this is, you know, the people who are doing the waiters jobs are spending more time with guests have a lot more confidence.

Where other staff members (such as housekeepers, chefs, and maintenance) do not mix with tourists, waitrons need to speak to and interact with them which requires a higher level of English and more confidence. Waitrons main duties are to guarantee the leisure areas (next to the swimming pool, the bar, the dining area) are kept clean, to serve a guests a refreshment should they sit in one of them, keep the bar stocked, and to help with laying out and serving food once it has been finished by the chefs. The assistant manager will generally help with achieving these duties too but often is found working in the kitchen.

There are five people who cook, four for tourists and managers and one for staff. Of the four people who cook for tourists, one includes the assistant manager who was a chef prior to being promoted in 2013. He is often found in the kitchen with another male chef who earns comparatively less than him (3,025 BWP vs. 1,760 BWP). Both men are from Moreomaoto and both started working at the camp as waiters (one in 2006 and the other in 2008) before being promoted to chefs two years thereafter (in 2008 and 2010 respectively). However, Meno A Kwen’a’s head chef and longest serving employee is a woman (not from Moreomaoto) who started working at the camp in 2003 as a trainee housekeeper and cook and is now the highest paid person in the kitchen (3,663 BWP). Unfortunately, during the time of field work she was on sick leave for an extended period. Due to her absence another woman, who has worked as a chef in two other tourism camps in the Delta, was hired on three month probation (50BWP per day she is needed).

Finally, there is one staff cook at Meno A Kwen’a because, as mentioned previously, staff members eat separately from guests and expats at the ‘staff camp’. As such one of the

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44 When this woman is on leave there is another designated woman (normally a housekeeper) who takes her place.
45 She has since returned from sick leave and all four of them continue to work in the kitchen.
46 She had previously worked as a chef in two other lodges in the Delta but needed to leave them to care for her children in Moreomaoto. She is no longer on probation and has now been taken on a year contract.
housekeepers (a woman) also doubles up as a ‘staff cook’ preparing meals for the staff, generally ‘papa and soup.’ She is from Moreomaoto and has had this position since she started working at Meno A Kwena in 2011. Other than the waiter on probation, she is the lowest paid of those working with food (1,100BWP).

Chefs earn more that the staff cook and waiters and this is also one of the reasons why they are sought after positions. Kagiso, who was a waiter, then chef, prior to becoming an assistant manager, left Meno A Kwena because he did not like the pressures of being an assistant manager. He regretted moving from the kitchen saying that not only can a chef “earn a lot more than other people” but they “also learn many things” from doing the work. Several interviewees, working in other departments, expressed their desire to become chefs, saying it could help “improve something in their life” and “I like to cook”. However, there seems to be little communication between management and staff regarding staff’s own personal development. Staff do not tell management their desire to learn more about kitchen skills and management say that it is staff’s responsibility to display a willingness to learn. Joshua agrees that other than a few notable cases not enough has been done to assist staff with their upward mobility within the organisation.

That said, the catering department is one of the only tiers of the organisation which has something to show for upward mobility within Meno A Kwena. Both male chefs (and the previous one) started out as waiters until becoming chefs and four women have oscillated between housekeeping and waitressing (but most finding themselves permanently back in housekeeping) with the exception of the female head chef. However, the new chefs and waiting staff have all been hired directly into their positions effectively limiting the potential upward mobility of others. Management does not consult existing staff about who may like to be trained as a chef, this despite the massive interest in the position. This is clearly an indication of their miscommunication which is what happened when it came to hiring the newest waiter. As Emma describes why below:

EM: Because there was no one in Moreomaoto that knew anything about waiting. You can’t train someone from scratch very quickly. It’s a difficult --. Waiting is a difficult job, I think you know that and he [the new waiter] had already been working at a lodge… So we thought no it would be better if he could then come here because he already had the basics. He’s just not very happy with all the cleaning he has to do. You see again “It’s not my job. I’m not a woman”.
The ‘difficulty’ and ‘time’ involved in training existing staff or recruiting people from Moreomaoto who have no waiting experience acts as an excuse for hiring practices that go beyond the organisation and the village once again limiting not only the economic impacts of the camp for its direct location but the upward mobility and skills transfer of existing staff. Other than, or possibly related to, is how this section of the organisation is increasingly represented by men.

6.7.1. Men moving in

When speaking with interviewees about the gender division of labour in Meno A Kwena, catering staff are the most cited example of gender balance. Participants often refer to the relative numerical parity of women and men in catering (as opposed to housekeeping and maintenance) when discussing who does what work at the camp, saying that cooking is no longer just a woman’s job and that even men cook now. Therefore, men are moving into roles and activities which have traditionally been women’s. “Cooking used to be women’s work but now it’s also men’s work and in future they might be cleaning too,” says Ditiro. Therefore, men are going into activities previously only reserved for women. Thabo also explains how things are changing:

TH: We realize that there are men that are doing waitress jobs and waitress jobs is where you take food there and you give it to the tourists or the people who will be at the lodges…. So but initially from the past we realise that those jobs were for women but nowadays because of “we want money, we want to work” men are doing those jobs….

Thabo makes a poignant observation that the desire as well as pull of money and work are what motivate men “doing those jobs”, jobs they would not do at home. As discussed in Chapter 5, people say that at home “men cook too” but this is rarely constructed as being innately their work. All three men working with food at Meno A Kwena say that they sometimes try to cook what they learn at camp at home but that they, much like other men in Moreomaoto, only cook when the women in their lives are unavailable. Itumeleng sums up this tendency:
IT: Something like maybe the chef here, the boys. I don’t think they cook at home, they are lazy to do it. It’s only their sisters. They only do it here just because the work forces them to. At home you can’t find him cooking, unless he’s alone that’s when he can do the cooking.

Therefore, men are doing tasks at Meno A Kwena that they do not do at home because doing work which brings in financial resources supersedes the importance of what work is being done. The Chief makes the seriousness of this apparent when he says if someone is offered a job as a chef and turns it down because they are a man they must not come back to the village. Therefore, work and getting money is more important than the type of work one does. That said, however, it has not yet seen men doing housekeeping although, as Ditiro alluded to, this may change in future. As much as money and work are a core driver for why more men might be found cooking there are other gendered practices and bias which may be aiding their movement into this female dominated activity.

David believes that the gendered division of labour at the camp is not a product of his own design but rather as a result of Moreomaoto’s ‘traditional’ beliefs. He goes on to say that when an announcement is made for a new employee (such as a housekeeper) someone will automatically bring a person they assume best suited for that job (namely a woman). Yet he could not clearly articulate why there appears to be an increasing immersion of men in catering jobs despite going against Moreomaoto’s gender norms. He did, however, admit that women falling pregnant are a deterrent for him. The below, lengthy conversation brings to the fore how a gendered bases of inequality can alter hiring practices and in turn the organisation of labour at the camp itself:

DD: And something else which is a pain in the butt but it’s, you know that’s life, is every five minutes I’ve got staff on maternity leave. So more recently in the past, particularly since 2008, when the recession hit. Suddenly we were like “There’s no money” and I’ve got two staff on maternity leave and I’ve got staff here who should be getting an increase but I can’t afford it because of the recession and I’m paying two people to sit at home pregnant. I just didn’t see that as being very fair and I think that’s what any employer thinks…. So the suggestion, more recently, was to avoid hiring more women because of the maternity leave thing and literally there is always somebody on maternity leave, always. How many women have we got here? A dozen, if that. So of a dozen I’ve always got one on maternity leave. And you know what that’s how all employers are thinking. I’ve --. Sure the women will work harder but what’s the point of having them? And we do stick to the contract and in that situation they stick to the contract to the day, serious, to the day. I had a… white Motswana. She was doing reservations in Maun and when she was pregnant she worked right up until the day before and then you
know like a week after she had her baby and she was back on her computer doing work whereas staff in the village here, to the day three months. Not a day more, not a day less

CH: That’s international practice

DD: I know but the point is that they [pregnant Batswana] don’t have to. Or for example we have all heard the stories of how the women are in the field hoeing, baby on back, sit in the shade, milk it, put on your back, and go home

CH: Would you allow women to bring babies to work?

DD: No I’m not saying, I’m not blaming them --. No I wouldn’t. I used to and they used to bring them, especially if they said look I brought my kid because there’s no one to look after it and she’s not well it’s better if she stays on my back.

The above conversation illustrates not only how hiring practices can be altered due to gendered beliefs but that these beliefs are also racialised (and have class implications) with Batswana being framed as negatively willing to make use of maternity leave which is their right to do. While David admires women for working in the fields with “babies on their backs” bringing them to camp is not an option. His only concession for why hiring women is favourable is because “they work harder” even though the rest of his statement belies this. That said, the entrenched view, while not unique to Meno A Kwen or Botswana, that hiring women is a negative because they will fall pregnant and have children further positions women as lacking.

Men’s movement into working with food is seen as an example of gender parity and equality. However, the movement of men into an activity which is female defined (and women’s subsequent displacement) are largely invisible as the increasing numbers of men are justified through structural practices where pregnancy may be used as a basis of exclusion. Furthermore, as much as men’s association with food at the camp is both visible and legitimised it has not yet translated into different practices at home with cooking at the camp viewed as fundamentally different to cooking at home (a place which remains the normalised place for women). Food, who prepares it and how, intimately relates to cultural practices but because the food served at camp is not the same as that served at home men undertaking catering jobs do not disrupt traditional ideas of masculinity.
6.8. The cultural component: Basarwa

Another element of camp life is cultural entertainment for tourists. The Basarwa sing and dance in the evening when new groups of guests arrive. Tourists sit in a semi-circle around a large camp fire which lights the female Basarwa as they sit on the floor singing and clapping and the men dance around them with seeds strapped to their legs, singing and stomping for beat. All of the Basarwa are dressed in their traditional clothing including loin cloths and a variety of beaded work. Basarwa also tell guests about some of their hunting and gathering practices on a walking tour in which they dig up roots and bulbs, play with scorpions, do an act about hunting, and shoot arrows. It is a very interesting and educational tour. Guests enjoy having access to these cultural performances and often leave considerable tips for them (with their tips separate from other staff). However, Basarwa women and men’s work does not stop there. When they are not performing, the men work in maintenance and the women make beaded items for the curio shop.

As in catering, there is numerical parity in terms of women and men who work ‘as Basarwa’. There are usually six Basarwa at Meno A Kwena during the busy season, three men and three women. One of these is a Basarwa man who is on a year contract because of his translation abilities but the other five come from Xai-Xai on three month contracts. A group of people at Xai-Xai rotate these five positions between them so that many are able to financially gain from the camp. Tau is the only one of the six Basarwa at the camp interviewed. He works at the camp for a few months at a time before exchanging with other Basarwa and he uses his earnings from tourism much like other Batswana interviewed:

TA: So nowadays life is not easy because you have to use money to buy food and also the clothes to wear as well…And also because there are children at home I have to send [money to]…. working here also changed something because after three months I went back home and buy some of the things like cups, pots, even blankets and the I can take them back to the family. There’s also a change. Even my children I also buy clothes for them, cell phones for them. This is also a change.

Making money at the camp has given him some respite in terms of adapting to the demands of modern life with him now being able to buy cell phones, blankets, and clothing. Tau

47 Only one of these six were interviewed
believes that through dancing he helps keep alive cultural practices which are dying due to changing environments, modernisation and an increasing need for money:

TA: Nowadays even our culture is disappearing so [tourists] coming here is a way of trying to improve our culture. Even at home we are now just living in one area which is like a permanent village whereby we are not allowed to do any hunting. Now government is providing us with water and we don’t have to move from place to place like we did many years ago. And we used to wear this attire with the skins so now it’s just the western clothes… It is not good but there is nothing we can do because it is government. When people come from many different countries to come and see this --. It’s good because after sharing the ideas with them sometimes they [give] money, that it is good…. Because in our culture we have to dance maybe three times in a month. That’s how our culture is. Nowadays because of the changes we don’t have a chance to do that, especially when we are at home. Now it is all about technology, work to get money and then no chance --. Some of the people after working they get tired and then there is no chance for you [to dance]. Many many years ago our dancing was something that was very very important. Doing this for maybe a healing purpose when there’s a person who is sick at one of the families.

The money Tau earns at the camp has made a considerable difference to his life and he cherishes the opportunity to dance. However, dances at the camp are not the same as those that were done “many many years ago”. At Meno A Kwena the dances are not done “for healing purposes” but rather to acquire money. Their dances and a static version of their culture, prior to the changes they have had to endure from modern life, are on display at Meno A Kwena.

David believes the Basarwa’s presence and performances achieve, “their culture is another reason for having them here because it’s disappearing. We are preserving it, like we do wildlife,” says David. Even here the Basarwa are constructed as not having agency in protecting their cultures, which are not static but changing through cash economies and the introduction of pastoralist living. Rather it is ‘we’, the tourism industry that preserves it.

The walking tour provides a somewhat deeper interaction with tourists than the evening dances because Basarwa’s give a glimpse into the depths of their knowledge about the plant and animal kingdom. However, due to language constraints the extent of this interaction is somewhat stunted. Furthermore, despite Basarwa’s vast knowledge of the natural surroundings the management at the camp, according to Tau, has not spoken to them about how the camp interacts with its surroundings. The extent of their involvement at Meno A
Kwena ends with maintenance and putting their culture on display through dances and walking tours.

Therefore, as much as the ‘Bushmen’ are present at the camp the level of interaction with tourists and the education about their current plight is limited to what Weaver (2005) calls ‘superficial ecotourism’. That said, however, their culture (even if only a panoptic version of it) is visible at the camp which is in contrast to the little space and time, even superficially, awarded to interacting with (or displaying even) the Batswana pastoralist and farmers lifestyle in Central District. In contrast to the static, stylised but visible culture of the Basarwa, Batswana culture is largely invisible.

6.8.1. Little space for Batswana culture

Tourists at Meno A Kwena, and likely Botswana more generally, do not have many opportunities to understand Batswana pastoralist culture or interact with ‘locals’. Isabella, Joshua and David believe that lack of time is one of the biggest hindrances to adequate cultural exchange:

IS: But I think the tourism they actually, the tourists, are very far from what actually the people think cause when they go to the lodges they don’t have time to actually understand much.

JA: Specifically? Not very much [about culture in the area is learnt by] the guests. I think that we need to --. And some people go to the village or we take them to the village as a tour but it’s almost only people who have extra time and “OK, we’ll fill it with that” and it should be the other way around. It should be one of our activities.

DD: … The pastoralists’ culture --. You know we have encouraged it a lot but the reality is that most people come here to see wildlife, more than anything else. Not everyone is in to the pastoralist culture, they --. Like I say we do encourage it but they are here for two nights and they don’t have time, they want to dedicate that to wildlife viewing and wildlife activity but we do get people who stay longer who have time, who will go and do it and who actually appreciate it.

While all three state that tourists do not have enough time to go to Moreomaoto or will only do so if they have extra time they also raise distance from the village (IS), the fact that it is not part of Meno A Kwena’s package (JA), and tourist’s preferences for wildlife experiences (DD) as contributing to the lack of exchange. Jack, on the other hand, thinks that Meno A
Kwena’s proximity to the village and the visibility of the fence mean that they are able to impart more socio-cultural knowledge to guests than camps which are isolated in the Delta:

JK: I don’t think there’s much interaction between tourists and locals, at all…. Batswana are quite shy, initially, I think, so there’s not, you know, huge conversation. But tourists are very interested in the people here, so I think it’s cool with us, we’re quite--. If you compare us to places in the Delta, which are very isolated, we’ve got the village right next door and we’ve also got this issue with the fence which is right in front of us, so we’ve got a much more community-based issue. I’m going to say issue, but it’s not really--. The fence is an issue, and that’s right in front of your face, so I think that leads on to a lot of having to explain the background of the place, of the country and the culture. So, we’re in a unique situation where people are exposed to how everything works in the community and the culture, more than places in the Delta, if that makes sense.

While this was clearly observed to be the case with the fence being one of the most talked about items at the dinner table this narrative was generally directed by expats at the top end of the hierarchy. There are, however, other points of exchange. If the village is having a dancing competition they will notify Meno A Kwena who might bring guests to watch, Meno A Kwena bought a marimba set and there is a man teaching village children how to play and from time to time they come to the camp to perform for tourists, and on a rare occasion when the camp is not busy they may take these kids on game drives too. While all of these are definite examples of opportune moments when different cultures can meet, there is no concerted drive to expose tourists to the village, its customs, history, or even perspectives on the fence, cattle, crops and the environment. When Joshua was asked about the Batswana culture, indigenous to the area that guests are learning about he admitted “not very much” before saying that they should “look into it” being better incorporated into the camp’s activities, he continues:

JA: … I think we need to go into the village and discuss with the staff how they feel what we could do in the village --. Can we go to this house or that house or do you have friends or somebody who does this or fishing in the river --. And then approach those people and arrange it and even if it means that they get ten pula per person as a visitor comes along then that’s what we’ll do, you know. And if they don’t want money and it’s just an exchange factor of some sorts, fine but I mean they would probably say “Hey, this is like a little business. The guys are going to come to my house and have some tea with me around my lekgotla chairs or whatever I got and I’m going to get 30 pula, wow or I’m going to get all my tea supplied” or whatever and suddenly they think it’s like a little business. “How many guests have you got? Are you bringing me some more?” so it’s --. We should make that village thing in the social, cultural interaction and find out a bit more history about what happened there. I want to know
here how did this get called Meno A Kwena, this little section of the tribal land? What used to happen here? How many crocodiles were there that used to eat the cows? What experiences did the chief and the other people have? “Oh ya, I was close to down there when the crocodiles attacked and I had to go race to get the --.” You know? Little stories you can tell people, specific to, you know this tribal area where we’re sitting. That would be nice. So yes, I will work on that.

In a short while he had brainstormed several ways in which he envisioned guides, the people of Moreomaoto, and guests could further ecotourism education and experiences. However, David did not share his vision or enthusiasm, saying tourists were only there for wildlife and they got their dose of culture from ‘Bushmen’ experiences, though he did admit that cultural exchange is also what makes guides like Motsumi so valuable:

DD: We never really into the contrived type thing so whenever we do do it, it’s a random “let’s just go to the village and see what’s happening”. If there’s a wedding we’ll get involved. If there is something going on then great….people are coming here to see wild animals. What we do as managers, as guides is encourage talking to clients about culture and --. So we do it in a conversational manner and then --. Those people who are staying long enough we will enco--. Suggest they go into the village and there’s nothing --. There’s no --. I mean it’s not contrived. It’s just spontaneous and whatever is going on there is going on. But we do --. I know Motsumi --. Which is why Motsumi is brilliant he does talk a lot about the cultural background, maybe not enough and it is sometimes funny to listen to his perspective because when he is talking about conservation he’s talking about it with cattle. “Conservation is good and cattle must be part of it” whereas I’m saying “fucking cows are getting in the way of conservation”. So it’s good for people to get that and a different perspective.

Despite the culture of Basarwa being relatively artificial due to putting on static representations of what it is, David does not view pastoralist culture in the same light or as housing similar potential for his all-inclusive ecotourism package. Although David mentions that trips to the village could be arranged should someone request there is no drive to include it in the programs available to tourists. This seems to be an oversight by the camp in terms of diversifying their ecotourism product and moving closer toward the goals of maximizing community involvement, economic benefits, and education (NES, 2002: 5-6).

Nonetheless, David does also highlight the importance of guides in cultural exchange. Local guides bring to the fore some of the complexities of their livelihoods, like balancing the desire to own cattle and conserve wildlife making them an asset to tourists’ experiences. However, they are also carriers of information taking what they now know about wildlife into
their personal spaces. Motsumi explains how he now teaches neighbours about elephants and why they should not be feared, or shot! “When I get home sometimes when the people wants to shoot the animals and I say ‘No’” he conveys. Although not from Moreomaoto himself, Motsumi knows many people from the village and engages in several of the same cattle and crop care practices. He would make for a good contact person and connector between guests and people of the village. He could introduce them to local drinks, foods, and even show them a cattle post, yet the opportunity for such a cultural experiences and exchanges have been underexplored. The guide’s interaction with guests is in stark contrast to that of maintenance men and housekeeping women who operate in the background spaces of the camp only superficially, if at all, interacting with guests.

6.9. Working behind the scenes: Maintenance Men and Housekeeping Women

Looking at Figure 6.1., the most numerically gender divided portion of the organisation is that of maintenance men and housekeeping women. In terms of the hierarchy one may be inclined to place the housekeeping women lower down the hierarchy than their male counterparts due to not only the diversity of work they do but differences in pay too. While most housekeeping women and maintenance men have comparable pay scales the variance within their groups differs greatly (see Table 6.1.).

The lowest paid housekeeper is a woman who works part time and earns 50BWP (5USD) a day. Those who have contracts have monthly salaries that range from 1,000BWP to 1,320BWP (98-129USD) making the variance between the highest and lowest paid housekeeper 320BWP (27USD). Most of the housekeepers have experienced a roughly 200BWP (19USD) increase since they first started working at the camp. There are two temporary maintenance workers who also earn 50BWP (5USD) a day. Therefore, at a glance it appears as though the women and men earn comparable amounts but upon closer inspection it becomes clear that there is a much larger variance (2,500BWP, 246USD) between the lowest (1,000BWP, 98USD) and highest paid maintenance worker (3,500BWP, 344USD). The differences in pay are usually accounted for by them having to do different activities. Not only do they make up the largest portion of the workforce at the camp but they are entirely segregated in terms of the activities they do. The justification for this separation is deeply gendered and in turn has economic impacts as well.
The most taken-for-granted separation within Meno A Kwena is the division of work between housekeeping women and maintenance men. In many ways these provide for an ‘ideal types’ of the camp’s given gender order and illustrate the basic tenets around which gender orders are structured (Hirtenfelder, forthcoming).

6.9.1. Housekeeping women are at home

The seven housekeeping women\(^{48}\) work behind the scenes ensuring that guests stay is clean, bug free, and comfortable. During the cross-over time between shifts women work together to fill up large buckets of heated water (from the donkey or solar panel heater) for guests’ outdoor showers. This is one of the only times housekeeping women will interact with guests, gently greeting them to say “good morning”, “your shower is ready”. Oftentimes this will be a wakeup call which lulls guests to life. During breakfast, while the chefs and waiters are preoccupied with the guests, day and night shift housekeepers move in the shadows getting their cleaning equipment (linen, detergents, buckets, and brooms). In teams of two they move from tent to tent cleaning up as they go, filling soap containers, and shining brass ornaments. All of this cleaning is generally concluded by 10:00 when they stop for tea which also signals the end of night shift.

Thereafter, housekeepers spend their time cleaning and washing any laundry that was left by guests including clothing, napkins, table cloths and the like. These are washed by hand in large bath tubs before ironing them with coal heated irons. Housekeepers provide water for evening showers, if guests request them after a game drive or walk. Lastly, they are also tasked with cleaning up the dishes after all the meals (breakfast, lunch, tea and supper) and for ‘turning the tents’ while guests are at dinner. This entails spraying insect repellent in, checking for any existing ‘creepy crawlies’, and folding out the duvet to the guests’ liking. Therefore, much of the housekeepers’ day is standardised and spent cleaning, with minimal interaction with tourists.

Women are naturalised in the role of housekeepers because, according to almost everyone in the organisation, ‘it is what they do at home’. For example, Baruti says that women are the ones who normally prepare beds and work with food at home so it is normal that they are

\(^{48}\) Eight, if you include the one waitress who oscillates between the two jobs
housekeepers at the camp because “these are the things that we normally know that are for the ladies,” he justified. Respondents discuss how women, at home, have to make beds, do laundry, and clean making them ‘the natural’ choice to assume such responsibilities in the work environment. Motsumi (the guide) does, however, note that this practice may not be the same around the world:

MT: I find that it’s quite different in other countries but here in Botswana usually we know that the lady is the one who is supposed to do laundry not the man, even at home….So it’s difficult here in Botswana and it’s not even easy here in Botswana to find a man doing a laundry. It’s either you find a man doing a laundry but as the supervisor.

Women ‘make beds at home’, and ‘do laundry’ at home too so what these men assume is that they are able to transfer these duties into activities done at camp. It is interesting, however, to note that Motsumi believes if you find a man doing laundry or housekeeping it is not because he is doing the activity itself but rather supervising its completion, and thereby maintaining his masculinity as a decision maker and authority. However, it is not only men at the camp who believe women are ‘meant to be’ housekeepers, women also say that they are concentrated in housekeeping because it is what they are expected to do at home. However, Emma’s comment is notable because she is a manager who has authority in organising processes, and who believes that to clean is part of being a woman:

EM: Housekeeping here is a woman’s job for sure….I think it’s part of being a woman. Looking after tents, rooms, making beds, cleaning up. Men won’t be seen dead doing that.

Again women are believed better suited to do cleaning because it is what they know how to do at home, from experience. Interestingly, men are not framed as lacking the necessary skills to do housekeeping, rather it is framed as them not wanting to (both by Emma and Motsumi). Therefore, men choose not to clean whereas women are expected to do so.

Some, such as Lebogang, openly state that they do not know why men do not do housekeeping because it is ‘easy work’ whereas others say men simply would not do housekeeping work (EM, IS, DD) and if they did it would probably mean they are homosexual (EM). The conflation of work, sexuality and gender is striking in this discussion. As much as many say men can clean and are in no way lacking, they are also believed not to clean as it goes against hegemonic ideas of masculinity. In this way both gender and sexuality
are used as bases of inequality and organising processes continue to normalise the spaces and jobs as being female defined. It is not only women and men from the camp that believe women do the same work in these different spaces, but people from the village too: “we realize that the women will almost be in the same job that they have been doing in the past,” says Thabo. This observation is corroborated by Oaitse, who has no affiliation with the camp when she says, “I think for housekeeping it is just like at home, cooking and cleaning.”

Therefore, it is widely assumed and even justified that women should be the ones who are cleaning at the camp. It is interesting how the justification for them filling this role is contingent on a conceptualisation of space. The jobs women are found doing at the camp (such as cleaning and cooking) are collapsed with the activities women do at home (also cleaning and cooking). It is assumed that the activities are standardised, therefore, by default making women better suited to do them. This is a common narrative justifying why women are overrepresented in housekeeping – because “at home ladies used to clean same as here,” exclaims Lesedi. Therefore, the justification for concentrating women in housekeeping is based on perceptions of what they are believed to do in these particular spaces, primarily clean. In turn, the particular spaces where some of women’s work is carried out became female defined spaces. This became obvious when Emma chased some men away from the laundry area, saying that she did not like them there because “it’s not the space for them”.

Only one respondent, Isabella, raised the point that just because they are cleaning in the home and at Meno A Kwena it does not necessarily mean that the activity is the same:

IS: Well, you know housekeeping they don’t have this fancy bed and towel which you put nicely. You know what I mean? They don’t have to clean the bucket shower with lemon to be bright. So ya I mean in general --. Again, I’m not going to judge them, but they don’t live in a clean and organised environment…. It’s a completely different world. People pay 600 US dollars to be in a camp like this and you know in their home its, I think it’s very different. You know, not saying --. Ok, the scullery, washing it’s not that difficult, it’s not that different to maybe how they do --. The products are different but housekeeping yes [the work they do at camp is different to the work they do at home].

This is an insightful comment where Isabella does not standardise all cleaning. She identifies not only how what is cleaned is different but that so too are the products used to clean them. She goes on to say that cooking, similarly, is not the same at camp as it is in the village. Interestingly where men are moving into activities involving food because the activities,
generally, are seen as being different from those at home most respondents do not view cleaning at home and at the camp as being different, the only exception being Isabella.

In addition to the idea that women are the only housekeepers because it’s what they do at home, structural organising processes help keep it a feminised job. For example, David says that there were primarily women working in housekeeping because when they made use of employees’ informal connections to get a new housekeeper, they always bring a woman: “When I say ‘I need a housekeeper’ they just automatically bring a woman,” explains David. Some housekeepers themselves, however, say that maybe it is only women do housekeeping “because when there is a post for housekeepers they [managers] say we need a lady but only ladies can apply for this”. It is likely that these are both organising processes which have indirect means of control whereby because it is always women who do the work, it is always assumed that management is looking for women, which they likely are because it is always women that do the work. This becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy which normalises women as housekeepers in this working environment.

The only reason Isabella could think of for why women are concentrated in housekeeping was because the work and activities themselves are viewed as being ‘delicate’ instead of ‘hard’ and requiring ‘strength’ like maintenance. Here Isabella joins the others with their justification for the gendered division of labour between housekeeping women and maintenance men. All respondents gave equally predictable answers for why is it only men who do maintenance, namely: ‘because they are strong’.

6.9.2. Maintenance men are strong

The gendered division of labour between maintenance men and housekeeping women is apparent to all interviewees. However, this visibility does not make the divide illegitimate. Rather, discourses about women doing the same work and men being strong help to legitimate the division of labour. Like women are justified as better suited for housekeeping because it is ‘what they do at home’, it is justified that only men do, and should do, maintenance because of their strength. Once again, this is a common discourse, reproduced by most respondents, saying “men do the maintenance because they are strong”, “guys are maintenance because of their physical strength and it does involve a lot of heavy work, really
heavy work” (DD), and “Well maintenance is a hard kind of --. You know for strong guys [who can] Go and collect sand down there and firewood”.

Zoe is the only respondent who says women could be as good as men in maintenance. However, the overarching perspective is that men are ‘strong’ and their work is ‘hard’ and ‘heavy’, as can be seen from above, is that men are believed to be better suited for maintenance because it is ‘heavy’, ‘tough’, ‘hard’, skilled and knowledgeable (‘know how’) work which requires strength. That is, not only are men stronger but their work is thought of as skilled and therefore exclusive. Furthermore, the idea of men being better suited for maintenance jobs is contingent on women being framed as lacking in toughness and strength. Whereas it is a matter of choice for men to become cleaners or chefs women assuming masculine defined jobs such as maintenance seems unfathomable. This certainty in women lacking, or not being able to do the same activities as men is cemented in discourses of strength which collapse the differences between women and men as located on the body, biological, and therefore believed impossible to refute (normal and natural).

Itumeleng did maintenance in the past but management was unaware of her experience due to their superficial interaction with one another. Once informed about her carpentry skills they were stunned. Men are assumed to have the skill necessary to carry out maintenance work, not because of past experiences or an association with a particular space but rather because they are believed to be born with more capability and strength.

That said, the maintenance men, like the housekeeping women, have limited interaction with the guests other than one of the maintenance men who also doubles up as a driver collecting supplies from the office in Maun and transporting guests sometimes without but often with the guide. Although all of the men are engaged in general camp development and maintenance some men are tasked with ensuring day to day items operate. These men need to check up on the generator, the swimming pool, fix any problems with zips on tents, collect and chop wood, ensure grass is kept trim, and the like. Some of the maintenance men are primarily at the camp to build and are found either plastering bathrooms or new frames for tents. Lastly, are some more specialised men working as mechanics and keeping all of the camps vehicles from falling into disrepair. Due to the variety in their work there is some variance in their pay. However, in common with the housekeeping women much of their behind the scenes labour is what makes tourists experience an enjoyable reality. Their labour
must not be seen. Unlike housekeeping women, however, they are often in different spaces working on different projects. They are outside and mobile as opposed to concentrated in particular spaces (such as the scullery, laundry area, and tents). After commenting that maintenance men do a lot of different tasks, Joshua makes the flexibility of their work apparent when speaking about their daily duties which are less standardised than housekeeping:

JA: [Two] maintenance are busy with tent five rebuilding and that leaves [another maintenance worker] who has the knowledge to do the checklist as we call it, which is, you know pumping water and the pool cleaning and then on top of that, we give him tasks to do. Anything that would crop up, like moving some stones, digging a hole --. A new hole for ash to go in because the one is full, and I need some help here [at the tent] where he is going to cut some planks and put some poles in while I melt things, so all those are bits and pieces go on. And then the bushmen are sitting there, three of them. The three men, one’s away. So we try use them to help lifting some poles. And also then we need to put some stones in for the builder for tomorrow. And so it goes on. So they all get different little tasks as things crop up.

Unlike with women whose cleaning is viewed as the same at the camp and at home there are mixed responses regarding the similarities of men’s activities in the different spaces. Take the two contradictory responses to a question as to whether maintenance work is the same at home as in the village:

KO: When we are at home we are just doing the same job that we are doing when we are here. Same just to maintain some houses, ya --. Stuff like that, ya.

OE: Ya, you mean work? At home here we don’t do that most of us having jobs, carrying heavy things. When you are at home you just relax, you do light duties. For your own benefit there when you relax.

Although men may have more free time available to them at home, as well as decision making power regarding how their time is spent, it is likely that as with housekeeping the maintenance jobs men do at home versus those done at camp will be different. Thorn bushes are created both at the camp and in the village and cattle posts to keep wildlife at bay. Men may also be building their houses at home as well as tents at camp but the requirements differ as well as the materials used (bricks and mud vs. gum poles and tarp). Men, unlike women, however are not collapsed with the spaces in which they learnt their skills. Rather, men are
associated with variety and mobility which enables them to take on a variety of activities – a defining feature of Meno A Kwena’s gender order.

6.10. Discussing the key features of Meno a Kwena’s inequality regime as a gender order

Paid work is an activity within the broader total social organisation of labour (See Chapter 5). In Moreomaoto most paid jobs are provided by the government or people move to other areas of the country to send remittances back to the village. Meno A Kwena then is one of the few paid employment options available to Batswana living in the village. However, Meno A Kwena operates with its own gender order to achieve the camp’s objectives, which are to attract tourists and ensure that they have a good time so as to generate a profit and assist in achieving conservation. Using Acker’s (2006) theory of ‘inequality regime’ to complement Glucksmann’s (1995) TSOL, the discussion below maps out the contours of Meno A Kwena’s gender order.

Acker’s (2006) theory of ‘inequality regime’ posits that all work places are organised through notions of difference which have varying levels of legitimacy and visibility but which are maintained through a series of controls built into organising processes. That is, jobs within organisations are garnered based on ideas of ‘the right person for the job’ which are articulated through categories of difference that are both mutually constituting and conflicting. That is, if one wants to explore the gender order of a particular organisation they need to be sensitive to how such gendered practices shape and are shaped by racialised and classed practices.

6.10.1. The racialisation of mobility and skill

The racialisation of mobility and skill is apparent in how expat/white managers have moved into and become normalised figures in the upper tiers of the hierarchy. David, Emma, Joshua, Isabella, Jack, and Zoe all have transnational histories where they have lived in and travelled through countries other than Botswana. This movement is enabled by financial and familial resources which enhance their exposure to tourism both within and beyond the country. Their wide travel knowledge enables them to engage in meaningful conversations with guests because their joint experiences make such interaction easier. This is most apparent over
meals, particularly dinner where together with tourists they have long conversations about their travels and the politics of the fence zigzagging the Boteti. Therefore, in this context ‘the expat’, ‘the foreigner’, or ‘the tourist’ body is defined as in motion one that traverses between vast spaces, a construction which has subtle colonial undertones.

Meno A Kwena’s structure is informed by and a product of the racialised history of tourism in the country. In Botswana, tourism enterprises have long been in white, foreign hands (expat owned and run) which contribute to, but which have also become, an entrenched part of their identities. This subsequently underwrites a general sentiment that expats are skilled in ‘the task of tourism’ and, in turn, the white body is seen as a skilled body, one against which others’ are measured. Expats are decision makers in tourism, they are ‘smart’, ‘quick thinking’ and ‘capable’ whereas Batswana are constructed as being ‘not enough’ (‘not flexible enough’, and ‘not authoritative enough’) to be effective tourism managers. This dichotomy between expats and locals is made acceptable through constructing Botswana’s tourism industry as ‘young’ and ‘naïve’ and Batswana as needing ‘to learn’. It also maintains expats as the preferred group for management reproducing the availability of jobs for them while simultaneously, although insidiously, side-lining Batswana from such management positions.

Also racialised in their activity and position in the hierarchy are the Basarwa, or San. Due to their traumatic history as well as widespread curiosity about them and their associated differences in body shape and social practice, they have been developed as a ‘product of interest’ at the camp which is ‘put on display’. Their static representation is legitimated through discourses of ‘preserving their culture’ as well as economic, capitalist narratives of ‘what tourists want’ which simultaneously justify the invisibility of Batswana culture in the camp’s offering. David explicitly states that tourists do not want to go to the village which illustrates how tourists’ mobility and the versions of culture they are exposed to are both stratified and do not necessarily facilitate deeper cultural interaction.

Therefore mobility and skill are defining discourses of Meno A Kwena’s inequality regime. The entire business is contingent on the mobility of people, whether tourists, employees, owners, or managers. How these different people move, both coming to the camp and while at the camp, differs and is a product of racialised contexts and histories which are articulated through class. Not only are these bodies marked by history but the history continues to live
on through them and their unequal distribution in jobs which are loaded with racialised expectations. However, while the white/expat body is constructed as skilled with a history of mobility (colonialism, transnational living, etc.), skill is also articulated through gender, although differently.

6.10.2. Men’s skilled bodies/Women’s invisible bodies

While Joshua and Emma are both in the upper echelons of the organisation because of a racialised history which has better equipped them to fulfil such roles, and which continues to do so, their roles as managers are also determined through heteronormative ideas about how (and who) men and women should manage. Emma is concentrated in working with women, whether it through her female administration network (with Tshiamo and Zoe) or by directly supervising housekeeping. Joshua, on the other hand, manages men because like them he is constructed as having particular skills for the task, primarily strength.

The coding of bodies to achieve divisions of labour is most obvious with how men are concentrated within maintenance work because their bodies have been assigned strength as a skill. As such by doing the work, because it is indeed physical, their bodies become stronger in a ‘body reflexive move’ which further disciplines and normalises their body to that particular task (Connell, 1995; Foucault, 1977). Therefore, not only is skill racialised in the vertical division of labour within the camp but it is gendered within the horizontal and vertical division of labour as well as making it an effective ‘technology of power’ able to uphold hegemonic ideals (Foucault, 1978).

However, where the processes of fixing men to their tasks are centred on ideas of their bodies being inherently skilled, it is argued that the concentration of women in housekeeping is achieved by defining their work as integrally unskilled. Women are not deemed better at the housekeeping tasks because ‘no one else can do it’ but rather because it is collapsed with the space they are most associated, the home.

In fact, women’s work is viewed as so intrinsically deficient in skill that it is even alluded to that the absence of any men in housekeeping is as a result of them choosing not to work there, not because they cannot. While this is clearly a product of gendered expectations, it is a
powerful discursive distinction to make because women are constructed as not being able to do maintenance work because the work is deemed to be ‘hard’ and ‘heavy’. Women’s bodies and their strength are invisible, despite women carrying out work which requires physical stamina and will (such as hauling large buckets of water and prolonged times washing and ironing). Notwithstanding these duties also being physically demanding and requiring skill, women (and men) do not view them as such. Rather, women are framed as preferred for housekeeping because ‘it’s what they are used to’ and ‘it’s what they do at home’, effectively making women and the labours of their bodies, invisible. Normalisation of gender is often achieved through processes of configuring space and practice into what is perceived as normal for women and men (Connell, 1995).

6.10.3. Men’s variability/Women’s standardisation

Housekeepers work and operate indoors, their activities out of sight and the spaces in which they function standardised and predicable. They move in the shadows between the same indoor spaces including the inside of tents, the scullery, and the laundry area. Administrators (the other tier of the organisation which is entirely women) are also inside, at computers, behind desks and in offices. The policing of space and areas in which women and men operate is a form of control which further contributes to the legitimacy of such divisions. For example, Emma shooing away a man that was in the laundry area because it ‘is not a space for men’ helps to maintain the gendered division of space according to ‘appropriateness’.

Not only are the spaces in which housekeepers move standardised but so too are their daily activities with them carrying out the same sequence of jobs every day. Whether this is the case for administrators is unclear, largely because their labour is conducted via computers. Their bodies, however, are mostly stationary (behind desks, at computers). Men on the other hand operate in and between a variety of spaces. Where women are concentrated in a limited number of indoor spaces (tents, scullery, kitchen, laundry area, office), men work in some of them too (tents, kitchen, office) as well as several more spaces which are mainly outdoors and even beyond the camp (bush, village, workshop, boat, game vehicle, and village). While not all men have the opportunity to move in all these spaces equally it is clear than men are more mobile than women and that expats tend to be more mobile than Batswana; in turn, expat males are constructed as the most skilled and mobile people at the camp.
While David, Jack, and Joshua all illustrate high levels of mobility so does the Motswana guide, although differently. Where expat men have more freedom to choose when they move, the guide’s movements are determined by tourists’ movements. Guides move with guests while they visit, go on game drives, go on the boat, and go into the bush. Consequently, guides work erratic hours and need to be flexible. Motsumi moved between several jobs while training and taking his examination before becoming a professional guide. He has worked in a multitude of tourism jobs ranging from maintenance, to mokoro worker, to tracker, and guide. His exposure to tourism opportunities is greater than most in Meno A Kwena and his access to resources (money and time) aids his career mobility. His movement is also, however, reflected in how quickly his salary has risen at the camp, rising by 1,550 BWP in only three years. Most salaries do not reflect such rapid growth (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2)

Therefore guiding is professional, skilled work. However this notion of skilled work may also be the reason why guiding is framed as men’s work. David, Joshua, Jack, and Motsumi are all qualified operating guides. While Emma is a qualified guide she is not currently practicing and openly expresses that she prefers male guides because they are better at the work. However, this is also articulated through racial biases which may explain Emma’s preference for men while still constructing herself as being a capable, skilled guide. Emma is not alone in stating that men are better at the work with several respondents saying that guides, like maintenance men, need to be strong. Once again strength and its construction as a skill help to exclude women (particularly black Batswana women) from particular activities.

Men being constructed as skilled is of critical importance to them within Meno A Kwena not only because it justifies their overrepresentation in better paid jobs within the hierarchy but also because it allows them to move into positions within the organisation that are traditionally viewed as feminine. That is, with the limited number of job opportunities available in Moreomaoto, and the country generally, being constructed as choosing not to do an activity rather than unable to do it is imperative to men’s ability to move into a variety of tourism jobs, including those that are overtly feminised.

49 In fact, even during my short time there, I witnessed each of them leaving the camp for a couple of days at a time to go safaris. Joshua went to host a mobile safari for his business whereas David, Jack, and Zoe left to go on a safari of their own.
This is evident in men working in catering at Meno A Kwena and as waiters without it disrupting their sense of masculinity and it being readily accepted by other staff and villagers. It is even suggested by respondents that if men chose to do so they could also do housekeeping. Once again it is clear, where women are viewed as lacking, men are viewed as skilled and adaptable and therefore have the option of moving into these female spaces. That is, it is constructed that men are underrepresented with activities such as cleaning and working with food (with which women are conflated) not because they are lacking in any way but rather they choose not to do these activities because they are men. Women, on the other hand, are constructed as unable and lacking rather than choosing not to undertake particular activities.

Having such preconceived ideas of the capabilities of women and men’s skills (influenced by ideas regarding their bodies) influences hiring practices. Women and men who both hire and recruit other women and men to work in the camp would use ideas of compatibility and competence to determine who they would promote or hire. Therefore, if it is not considered possible for women to do male defined jobs (such as guiding but maintenance in particular) then they will not be sought for or seek such positions. Itumeleng and the fact that she has previously worked as a carpenter and that the managers had no knowledge of her past work experiences attest to this.

However, in general men’s employment conditions illustrate more variability than that of women with the existence of clear gendered dichotomies (men/inside women as well as flexible men/standardised women). All women’s work at the camp is located inside, whether inside tents, in the office, in the scullery, in the kitchen, or in the laundry area. Furthermore, such work is standardised across time with women doing the same activities on an everyday basis. This situation is in contrast to the varied spaces and schedules men at the camp operate with.

6.10.4. Classed implications

It has been shown that the main organising processes which divide people into departments of work are arranged through discourses of skill and capability fixing particular bodies and spaces with particular activities. These discourses may be articulated through race and gender
in different ways with varying visibility and legitimacy. It is also evident that the construction of different work as skilled versus unskilled has material consequences in terms of the how much is deemed an appropriate salary.

**Table 6.3.: Top 13 earners at Meno A Kwena**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and position</th>
<th>BWP (excl tips)</th>
<th>Male or female</th>
<th>Expat or Motswana</th>
<th>From Moreomaoto?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David (owner)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Expat</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoe (admin)</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Expat</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua (manager)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Expat</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma (manager)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Expat</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motsumi (guide)</td>
<td>6,050</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack (undefined)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Expat</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabella (undefined)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Expat</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head chef</td>
<td>3,663</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshiamo (admin)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance (mechanics)</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant manager</td>
<td>3,025</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance (driver)</td>
<td>3,410</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance (builder)</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author)

Table 6.3 is an excerpt from the larger Table 6.1 which was discussed earlier in the chapter. It reveals that the salaries of the top 13 earners at Meno A Kwena range greatly with a variance of 17,000 BWP. The next 20 permanent employees at the camp earn between 1,000-1,760 BWP illustrating a much lower variance. Table 6.3 reiterates the ways in which Meno A Kwena’s hierarchy is articulated through race and gender which has class implications. It is observed for example how only two of the top earners come from Moreomaoto, how much lower down the hierarchy the assistant manager is to the general managers, how wide the wage gap is between expats and Batswana with the exception of Motsumi, how Batswana women constitute two of the three highest earning Batswana but only two of the top seven highest earning Batswana.

Overall, therefore, the ‘skilled’ work of expats and guides is financially rewarded with them earning more than most in the hierarchy. Even those found in the least ‘skilled’ portions of the hierarchy (maintenance men and housekeeping women) illustrate how the construction of skill, no matter how slight, affects the amount that particular individuals earn as well as how
quickly salaries might grow, with men experiencing faster pace of growth than that of women.

Table 6.4: Lowest 12 earners at Meno A Kwena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>BWP (excl tips)</th>
<th>Male or Female</th>
<th>Expat or Motswana</th>
<th>From Moreomaoto?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>1320</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>1320</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff cook</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper &amp; waiter</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>From Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Motswana</td>
<td>Not from Moreomaoto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4 is another extract from Table 6.1 and shows the lowest 12 monthly salaries at the camp. It is evident that more of the lowest earners come from Moreomaoto, there are only Batswana and these jobs are primarily housekeeping, maintenance and catering staff. Furthermore, men constitute two of the lowest three earners at the camp but only four of the bottom 12. Therefore, as much as women are two of the highest earning Batswana and men two of the lowest earning Batswana at the camp it does not deter from the tendency of men, relatively, earning more than women and expats earning more than Batswana. Once again, these are implications of how work is valued and the extent to which it is viewed as skilled labour. Therefore, the idea of skill is both racialised and gendered through discourses that conflate men’s bodies with strength and make women’s bodies invisible by collapsing their activities with the home. This is further aided by constructing men as more mobile and adaptable and women as standardised and fixed in how such activities are enacted. As much as these discourses form critical parts of the organising processes of Meno A Kwena as an inequality regime they also constitute the contours of the camp’s gender order.

Compliance with the gendered and racial divisions of labour is achieved through obvious, unobtrusive, direct, or indirect controls (Acker, 2006). Most people comply with the divisions of labour because 1) they view the division as legitimate and 2) they do not think that they have much say in the matter because their primary motivation for being there is to access
money due to their dwindling provisions, not for job satisfaction, which is a large difference between how managers and employees view their work.

6.11. Concluding remarks

The task in this chapter was to outline the core discourses which inform and shape the contours of Meno A Kwena’s gender order. In order to do this it discussed the history of the camp and focused on the bases of inequality which divide the labour within the camp as well as the extent to which these divisions are visible and/or viewed as legitimate.

Meno A Kwena, like other organisations is an inequality regime and the gendered division of labour within the camp is achieved through discourses of skill and variability for men, which are projected onto and through their bodies. These differ from the discourses which describe women’s activities as standardised and easy with their skill and bodies being made invisible. That said, however, the ways in which women and men are impacted by these discourses differs due to them also being articulated through race and nationality. The discourses of skill and capability are used to divide the hierarchy both vertically and horizontally with women and men of different races and nationalities being segmented in particular tiers of the organisation. This segmentation has classed implications impacting on both the salary one starts with, the extent to which that salary grows overtime, the pay variance within a particular grouping, as well as individual’s abilities to move into other tiers of the hierarchy.

Now having identified and discussed the most dominant contours of both Meno A Kwena’s gender order and the broader gender order, which Moreomaoto is part (Chapter 5), the next Chapter considers the extent to which they deviate from one another so as to determine the subversive potential between the two gender orders.
CHAPTER SEVEN:

COMPARING THE CONTOURS OF THE TWO GENDER ORDERS

7.1. Introduction

Having discussed the gendered total social organisation of labour in Moreomaoto (Chapter 5) and Meno A Kwena as an inequality regime (Chapter 6) so as to extrapolate the contours of their respective gender orders, the aim in this chapter is to consider the extent to which they are similar or different from one another. In both gender orders, space and mobility as well as strength and skill (or lack thereof) emerged as central discourses as to who is considered best suited for particular tasks. However, there was also some observed degree of variance in terms of how these shaped the respective orders and the ways in which they were articulated. These issues are elaborated in this chapter.

7.2. Mobility and space

The movement of people, animals, money and activities are central to how people discuss their lives and the activities with which they are most preoccupied. Women move to new homes after marriage, men move with cattle when caring for them, young children move to grandparents in an exchange of labour and care, almost everyone goes to the fields to work, some move beyond their village to gain access to paid employment, tourists’ mobility provides a source of such employment, guides move closely with these tourists caring for their experience, owners and managers have histories of mobility which well place them for positions of authority within tourism, and employees secure provisions for themselves by moving between and behind numerous spaces heeding the demands of managers and ensuring guests’ stay is enjoyable while also securing financial provisions. Mobility has also been discussed regarding employees movement within Meno A Kwena, their freedom to take on tasks outside of their tiers as well as, over time, to display some level of upward trajectory (through raises and promotions). Therefore, a considerable amount of attention has been given to mobility and the spaces with which it is most associated. However, what is most apparent is that while there is a lot of movement, not all movement is recognised or considered equal.
7.2.1. Women and space

Within Moreomaoto’s gendered division of labour, women’s main activities involve working with food and caring for children. That is, women are primarily found hoeing and weeding fields, keeping them clean and harvesting the food to cook at home or sell to the BAMB for once off financial injections. Their cooking responsibilities are linked with their duties to care for the children. While women, unlike men, immediately acquire social mother status and assume large responsibility when it comes to child care they also acquire status from their role as mothers (which is enhanced if they are also wives). Mothers are not, however, the only women involved in child care. Children are cared for in complex familial networks in which uncles may assume social father responsibilities and grandmothers may care for young children both to free up the time of mothers as well as to acquire additional labour reserves in their own compounds. Therefore the experiences of these female defined activities are also articulated through age with older women being critical to the care of children and enabling younger women’s movement into paid employment.

As such, the space with which women’s activities are most visible is the home. One of the only times people are conscious of women’s mobility is when they are moving between homes following marriage negotiations. Outside of this, women in the broader gender order are framed as static; this despite them also moving to and working in fields, aiding in the care of cattle (sometimes even being cattle caretakers themselves!), and moving into paid employment. By looping women’s activities with the home a powerful discourse is created and sustained which continues to limit women’s mobility and visibility while simultaneously undervaluing their labour as ‘just’ something they do. Nonetheless, women’s ingrained association with the home and the activities therein (such as cooking and cleaning) also open up avenues of employment within tourism camp’s like Meno A Kwena. That said, however, the highest concentration of women in Meno A Kwena is found within the lowest tier of the organisation, namely housekeeping.

Women’s duties within the broader total social organisation of labour are frequently described as inside work and women stagnate within the space. Such constructions also underlie beliefs regarding women’s work at the camp with their daily tasks being highly standardised and mostly carried out indoors. That said, as much as women clean in both spaces the act of cleaning in the camp and at home are not one and the same. Women clean
different items making use of different products which require a different know how. Therefore, women are not overrepresented in housekeeping because they are thought to be skilled at the work; rather, the concentration is premised on a condescending notion that the work is easy for women because ‘it is the same as what they do at home’. The conflation of spaces in the camp with that of the home trivialises women’s labour while simultaneously making any sort of complexity and variance involved invisible. As with housekeeping women’s presence in the kitchen was also naturalised and based on ideas of it being a ‘normal’ space for them because ‘it’s what they do at home’.

However, as much as the never ending deterministic loop of the abovementioned discourse (‘Women are better at cleaning and cooking in the home because women cook and clean in the home’) may enable women access to paid jobs such as those in housekeeping and catering, such conflations also have implications for women’s ability to assume tasks outside of those considered normal within the confines of the home. The only tier of the organisation in which the activities of women are concentrated which may not be directly associated with the home is administration. While the work is carried out by three women and is seen as critical to the success of Meno A Kwena it is also work, like that of housekeeping, in which standardised activities are carried out indoors and out of sight, namely in the office.

Therefore, much of women’s work within the camp’s gender order is defined by indoor space (the office, the laundry, the tent, the kitchen) where much of the labour they exert is invisible, although the products of which (booked tent, clean clothes, made bed, delicious food) are essential to the experience of tourists. The bases for women being concentrated in these spaces (standardised, static, easy) are similar to the discourses which are used to concentrate and collapse women’s activities within the broader gender order in the home. The conception of women as lacking in skill and mobility is, however, in stark contrast to the mobility with which men are constructed.

7.2.2. Men and mobility

In both gender orders men are constructed as more mobile than that of women. In Moreomaato men’s mobility is central to them assuming nonresponsibility with activities such as cooking, cleaning, and child care. The movement and activity with which men are most associated is that of cattle care which requires them to move with and care for cattle.
That said, due to increasing demands on the environment coupled with higher costs of living, men are finding the need to move into paid employment more pressing. However, men have been better able to create and maintain such mobility through capitalist care chains which disavow their labour and maintain their sense of masculinity by continuing to care for their cattle. Nonetheless, the construction of men as capable of high levels of movement also results in increased access to a variety of spaces (such as the cattle post, the bush, the fields, and paid employment). Men built on similar discourses of mobility to access a variety of spaces within Meno A Kwena which were not standardised and displayed high levels of variability. This in turn also translates into men showing higher levels of movement within the hierarchy (both vertically and horizontally) than women as well as more variance in pay. That said, as much as both gender orders build on discourses of men being mobile, there are some important distinctions to make.

The first important distinction is that the articulation of men’s mobility is not as uniform in Meno A Kwena’s gender order as in Moreomaoto. Some men have more mobility than others, the reasons for which are racialised. Expat men and women have transnational histories of mobility which are in contrast to the localised movement of Batswana men (and invisibility of Batswana women’s movements). Racialised controls impress on the movement of different bodies in different spaces and both inhibit and prohibit their respective movements. That said, the experience of expats themselves is not uniform with David illustrating high levels of mobility with leaving and coming to the camp according to his schedule. The expat managers in some ways show less mobility than Batswana staff with them staying at the camp for three months at a time (as opposed to going home every day or once a month).

Furthermore, where Batswana men’s movement in the broader gender order appears unrestricted and/or articulated through age their movement within the camp, although more numerous than women’s movement, is controlled by management and work schedules meaning that they can only move within the confines of Meno A Kwena’s objectives. Therefore, although both gender orders are moulded with conceptions of men in motion they are not the same in both orders with masculine mobility being simultaneously articulated through race in Meno A Kwena resulting in different constructions of movement for expat men versus Batswana men. Furthermore, Batswana men’s experiences are not standardised within Meno A Kwena.
While men from several tiers (including management, cultural component, and guide) participate in the task of maintenance, and maintenance workers have a variety of spaces in which they participate as well as dynamism in their daily schedules, the activity with which most mobility is in fact associated is guiding, which is also male-defined.

That is, because guiding is described as ‘in-flux’, men are portrayed as better positioned to take on the task. However, social structures, practices, and expectations also make guiding less of an option for women than men. This dilemma is encapsulated in the opposing narratives of Motsumi and Kealaboga. Where Motsumi believes that men are just naturally better suited for the work, Kealaboga notes how men have more time and often more money to do the various training programmes required to become a guide. Kealaboga goes on to say how she is prohibited to do so by her low access to resources and her social responsibilities at home. That said, women like Emma, who are privileged as a result of their class standing are able to break the masculine borders of guiding as an activity illustrating once again how race, gender and class interact with and shape one another even if in conflicting and contradictory ways. While Batswana men are increasingly guides in a field that may have previously been dominated by expats, women remain invisible. Nevertheless, as much as men are moving into highly mobile jobs, they are also found moving into tasks that are female-defined and traditionally associated with the home.

Conceptions of work being ‘too feminine’ for men because ‘it is what women do at home’ may be changing due to Batswana feeling increasing pressure on their natural and financial provisions. This shift in thinking is clear in how increasing numbers of men are seen moving into catering positions at Meno A Kwena. While such movement may also be fuelled by institutional desire to not have to pay maternity leave it also has to do with men needing work. However, in order for men to move into catering and not disrupt their masculinity, the work itself needs to be constructed as skilled and different to activities which are done at home. Therefore, women’s roles in kitchen are assumed natural because ‘it’s what they do at home’ but men’s increasing presence is constructed on the very idea that the cooking is not the same as what is done at home. Men help to maintain this distinction by not assuming any cooking responsibilities once home. Nonetheless, the fact that housekeeping is still considered unskilled is probably one of the defining reasons for why it remains exclusively a female job.
7.3. The complexity of skill and bodies

Underlying the above discussion on mobility and space is a less tangible discourse of skill. Being mobile becomes a skill, something that is attractive and illustrates flexibility as well as an ability to work in a variety of environments and contexts. Nevertheless, the tasks that are associated only with a specific space and that are highly standardised are constructed as being easy. Therefore, the more exclusive an activity is constructed the more likely it is to be viewed as skilled and, in turn, when an activity is highly standardised it leads to discourses which frame it as inherently unskilled resulting in its labour being made invisible and undervalued. However, in both gender orders, skill is messy and complicated and not as easily articulated as the association of men with mobility and women with space. Rather, skill is enhanced for men and diminished for women in how their bodies are made visible (or invisible) through notions of strength.

7.3.1. Men’s bodies enhance their skill dividend

It has been argued that one of the most stable and powerful discourses justifying the isolation of men in activities such as cattle care, maintenance work, and guiding is the idea that men are inherently strong. Men’s activities themselves are constructed as ‘hard’ and ‘heavy’ making them exclusive and therefore only suitable to be carried out by a body that is strong enough to do them. Because strength is believed to be a ‘natural’ skill, and not a product of labour, it precludes women from carrying out tasks that are male-defined. Therefore, strength is articulated as a skill, something both special and needed, and certainly not something everyone (read: women) has.

Strength, then, is used as the underlying feature of what it means to be skilled. In turn a skilled body is a body that is mobile and flexible. Therefore, a strong body is a body that is able to assume any task. It is not excluded from partaking in an activity because of ‘lack of skill’ or ‘ability’. Women’s bodies, on the other hand, are. Women are framed as inherently lacking. In both gender orders, they are not brave enough, strong enough, or tough enough to take on tasks that have been male defined. Where women have in fact assumed such positions (such as Neo and Lesedi looking after cattle, and Itumeleng working as a carpenter) these efforts are either invisible or explained as anomalies. Therefore, men being seen as inherently
skilled but skilled women viewed as anomalies has implications for the paid jobs they can access now as well as in future.

Therefore, in both gender orders the naturalisation of men as strong, coupled with conceptions of them being better suited for mobility opens up more activities for their repertoire. Strength is carved as an ultimate and exclusive skill which women can never acquire. However, Batswana men’s power, strength and mobility may be diminished within Meno A Kwena’s gender order because constructions of skill are highly racialised within the inequality regime.

7.3.2. The racialisation of skill

Although gendered, conceptions of skill are also highly racialised within the camp. While men’s bodies are constructed as being strong and therefore inherently skilled in comparison to women, white expat bodies are constructed as differently skilled and capable resulting in a concentration of expats in the higher tiers of the organisation. Where Batswana men’s strength translates into other capabilities within the broader gender order (such as bravery) their mobility within Meno A Kwena has not. Expat women and men are constructed as having the necessary know-how to manage and own camps whereas Batswana, both male and female, are constructed as lacking in their potential to do so. That said, while men’s skill is fixed to their bodies, the skill of expats is more readily associated with historical and social factors which frame Botswana’s tourism industry as young but also its people as ‘deficient’ and needing to ‘learn’. As much as there is a steep vertical division between expats and Batswana it does not preclude expats from participating in practices which result in gendered divisions of labour like the rest of the camp.

Managers may, in fact, represent the crystallization of this relationship. Whereas both managers have secured jobs in the higher tiers of the organisation due to being expats they are still subject to and implement gender divisions of labour. It was shown that just as Emma monitors female spaces and activities (indoors, kitchen, housekeeping, admin) because it what is considered appropriate work for women, Joshua does the same for male spaces and activities (outside, maintenance, guiding) because he is, like the men he manages, assumed to be strong. Therefore, while strength places men higher than women in an imaginary scale of skill, race places expats higher than Batswana. This places both expat women and Batswana
men in ambivalent positions in which their identities may oftentimes be conflicting. For example, to be a man is to be highly mobile in the broader gender order but to be Batswana is to be somewhat restricted in Meno A Kwena’s inequality regime, although more mobile than Batswana women. Alternatively, to be an expat is to be inherently skilled but to be a woman means that skill may be undermined and/or invisible. Conversely, expat men gain from the undercurrents of both discourses. They are both strong and mobile. However, Batswana women became invisible not only due to their labour as women being relegated to invisible spaces but due to their race being defined as inherently unskilled too.

Therefore, the racialisation of skill is a core feature of Meno A Kwena’s gender order, where both women and men may be subject to the same ideas as to what is expected of them as women (easy, static, standardized, indoor activities) and men (skilled, dynamic, strong, outdoor activities) but their ability to access varying parts of the hierarchy through these discourses is articulated through race. This type of racialisation is not apparent in Moreomaoto’s gender order or people’s expression of their most defined activities within the broader total social organisation of labour.

7.4. Concluding remarks

To summarise, it has been argued that the gender orders of Moreomaoto and Meno A Kwena share several prominent features in how they are structured. Women’s activities are overwhelmingly collapsed with the home, with the implication that they are unskilled and easy to do; men’s activities are associated with mobility which is articulated as being a skill; men acquire additional skill dividend with strength being defined as a purely male attribute; and subsequently, women are measured against a male norm and defined as inherently lacking (not mobile enough, not strong enough) which implicates their movement into other activities. Meno A Kwena’s gender order is, however, racialised in a way that Moreomaoto’s is not which diminishes Batswana men’s mobility relative to expat men’s and subjugates them with some of the ‘unskilled’ discourse with which Batswana women are saturated with. That said, however, this racialisation does little to disrupt the gendered bases upon which both orders are structured, as women and men in all tiers of Meno A Kwena are subject to the same aforementioned gendered narratives which substantiate their gender divisions of labour. Rather the racialisation compounds or diminishes the extent to which the same narrative is applied but does disrupt it per se.
CHAPTER EIGHT:

CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

Motivated by the NES’ overt, but unexplored, articulation of tourism’s subversive potential on the gendered lives of people, as well as recognising the explicit tendency to exceptionalise women in discourses of tourism’s successes and failures, and the limited literature which considers the ways in which tourism is part of complex social orders; this research sought to explore, through a gendered lens (Gerson, 2004), not only how tourism work forms part of a more complex picture of activities but whether, and how, a tourism camp could subvert broader gendered practices.

In order to achieve these objectives, one ecotourism camp (Meno A Kwena) and its neighbouring village (Moreomaoto) were chosen as the case study sites. The fact that the camp is isolated in an area with few other employment opportunities, including those in other tourism destinations, made Meno A Kwena and Moreomaoto particularly attractive sites from which to consider the subversive potential of (eco)tourism, because there are fewer organisations that may directly interact with the gender order of the village. Once in the field, information was gathered through participant observations, interviews, and family tree drawings (Chapter 4). An ecotourism camp was further preferred because, according to the literature (Chapter 2), ecotourism presents itself as a more normative form of tourism, one which is both socially and environmentally responsible. While important linkages between social practice and environmental use have been identified since the sustainable turn it has been argued that the lack of cognisance regarding how social practice is gendered is a notable gap in such scholarship, particularly because of gender’s increasing presence in development strategies.

However, despite gender’s ubiquity, it is still articulated as part of the WID programme and in documents, such as the NES, presented as binary and heteronormative. Importantly, in the NES the relationship of gender with tourism is presented as a zero sum game with women framed as beneficiaries of tourism and men painted as not only less likely to benefit from tourism but as actively having negative impacts and feelings about it:
Tourism development can lead to changes in family structure and gender roles, resulting in new opportunities for women and young people [as well as] leading to tension and loss of self-esteem for men and older generations (NES, 2002: 12).

The NES makes such deductions about tourism’s impact on the gendered lives of people regardless of the limited research to have grappled with the ways in which tourism is gendered in Botswana. Existing literature on the gendered nature of tourism in Botswana are women and economic centric with very little consideration of how men experience tourism and the extent to which tourism is involved within and part of much more complex social, and gendered, orders (see Chapter 2).

As discussed in Chapter 3, how gender is practiced is informed through ideas of ‘the norm’; whether one strives toward the ideal or actively resists it these actions help to constitute the boundaries of a gender order. What it means to be an appropriate ‘man’ or ‘woman’ shifts from context to context with a gender order being the practice of gender which establishes gendered structures and norms. That is, it is how gender is ordered. Although one could never hope to see a gender order in its entirety, one may be able to gain a partial view of how the contours of such gender orders are structured by exploring the most taken-for-granted discourses about what is believed to be ‘normal’ behaviour for men and women (Chapter 4).

For Foucault (1978) and Butler (1999), the only way of accessing ‘norms’ and to understand how they are shaped through power relations is through discursive analysis which is simultaneously historically informed (Chapter 3). In turn, subversion is the disruption of such normalcy and rattles the status quo. In order to identify whether Meno A Kwena has the potential to subvert a broader gender order, however, it was essential to move away from the Cartesian split of reproduction and production. Glucksmann’s (1995) ‘TSOL’ and Acker’s (2006) ‘inequality regime’ provided a useful theoretical framework for such a pursuit (Chapter 3). This will be discussed in the next section of this concluding chapter before reflecting on the critical question of whether the organisation of labour at the tourist camp subverts the broader gender order of Moreomaoto.
8.2. Identifying the contours of Moreomaoto and Meno A Kwenà’s gender orders

Separating life into the reproductive and productive realms is too simple a deduction. It not only fails to recognise that work exists beyond labour that is paid for but also that the activities which people constitute as being labour and/or work are deeply informed by their contexts and lived experiences. Therefore, as Glucksmann (1995) suggests it is more useful to consider a web of interrelated activities (or economy if you will), whether they be paid for or not, which people deem to be most critical to the organisation of their lives. Such an open ended exploration of people’s daily activities avoids limiting one only to the cash economy, which academics like Cameron, Gibson and Graham (2003) vehemently resist. It also allows for a complex picture to emerge as to how life is arranged according to gendered practices which are reproducing and reconstituting themselves over time.

With the use of Glucksmann’s (1995) concept of ‘web of activities’, a detailed account of Moreomaoto’s (and potentially rural Botswana broadly) social organisation was given (Chapter 5). Despite being a partial view, four main activities which people with associate most of their time and which emerges as most dominate in their discourses of how life is organised include cattle, crop, and child care as well as paid employment. Although not equal in resources and status these activities provide the underlying discourses for why there is deep gendered division of labour. It is in turn revealed that the most pronounced components of the broader gender order are men being constructed as capable, strong and mobile and women as static, lacking and conflated with the home.

However, while Glucksmann’s (1995) TSOL is useful for grasping a broader conceptualisation of a gender order, an organisational theory sensitive to how labour is divided by difference was needed to identify the contours of the camp’s gender order. Here Acker (2006) is useful because she provides both a theoretical and conceptual means of understanding how work, within a particular employment site, is organised based on notions of difference which have varying levels of legitimacy and visibility and are subject to several controls which help to maintain such divisions.

Using inequality regime, then, as a complement to Glucksmann’s (1995) TSOL what emerged in the analysis presented in Chapter 6 is that Meno A Kwenà is organised based on both racialised and gendered ideas of skill which are clearly apparent in staff structure and
the organisation of bodies marked by difference into different tiers of the hierarchy. Articulated through race were ideas of gender which aided in both vertically and horizontally dividing labour into ‘appropriate’ tasks. This in turn, helped with identifying what the core, most taken-for-granted assumptions are regarding why the labour of women and men is divided. What emerged is an organisational gender order which characterises men as mobile and skilled with visible, strong bodies and women as lacking and stationary with invisible bodies. However, the experience of this separation is different for women and men from differing racial and national groupings. Nonetheless, in order to determine whether Meno A Kwena has the potential to subvert Moreomaoto’s gender order it was necessary to compare the tenets upon which these gender orders are built (Chapter 7).

8.3. Does the organisation of labour at Meno A Kwena subvert Moreomaoto’s broader gender order?

Having moved away from a split between productive and reproductive labour towards one which considers an economy of activities in a messy web of relations this study has been able to illustrate the complicated ways in which paid employment is part of a much broader social organisation of practice. It has also, however, found that in the case of Meno A Kwena the potential of the camp to positively or negatively affect gender relations, as was alluded to in NES, is unlikely. This final section will explain the reasons how such limited subversion, or undermining or the broader gender order, has been achieved by having similar contours in gender orders, few competing interests, and limited cultural interaction.

8.3.1. Gender orders have similar contours

Not only does the camp hire a limited number of people from the neighbouring village but, more importantly, its organisational gender order is practiced through similar discourses to that of the wider gender order (Chapter 7). Discourses dividing the work of women and men are anchored with ideas of skill and capability which are collapsed with space and bodies. Further, the contours of both gender orders are such that women are conflated with the home and men with strong bodies. The legitimacy of these similar discourses means that Meno A Kwena’s gender order, while inside a broader gender order, does not provide for any shift in gender relations whether they be positive for women, or negative for men (or even vice versa).
Therefore, this research finds that the binary construction presented in the NES of women as the winners and men as the losers in (eco)tourism is not necessarily the case. In fact, it is men who tend to have higher access to more varied jobs as well as higher variance in their pay scales than women who are relegated to the lowest paid and what are constructed as the least skilled positions in the organisation. This is, perhaps, not surprising given the existing literature which finds similar tendencies around the world in tourism enterprises (Chapter 2). But a core contribution of this thesis is that it has illustrated how the dichotomous construction of skill is articulated through gendered conceptions of space and movement. Indeed, the main contribution of this study is not to argue that men benefit more than woman (or visa verse) but rather to make explicit that such a dichotomous discourse belies a situation in which women and men are able to build on existing gendered practices which enable their access to some employment over others.

Women use the discourses in which they find themselves located to secure tiers of the hierarchy, such as housekeeping and administration, for themselves. Women simultaneously make use of the same roots of discourses in the broader gender order to access the labour of other women who can aid their movement into the paid employment. That said, however, the fact that their work is described as inherently easy or lacking may in fact be a downfall in the long run as men, also feeling the pressure of increasing costs of living which make high demands on their labour as well as financial resources, are capitalising on the idea that they are inherently skilled as a means of accessing spaces and jobs that were previously female defined (such as those in catering). Furthermore, men are able to successfully prevent women (who are feeling similar pressures on their natural and financial provisions) from entering their tiers of the hierarchy due to the naturalisation of their skill onto their bodies.

Therefore, while Botswana’s NES may be right that access to paid employment influences family life it may not be in any significant way which changes gender roles or results in more opportunities for women. In fact, men’s ability to construct themselves as both skilled and flexible makes the chances of them assuming the roles and responsibilities of women more likely than women assuming any of their jobs. And while housekeeping and administrative jobs create a number of employment opportunities for women they do not have much in the way of upward mobility, particularly because they are articulated through rigid standardised
conceptions as to how the work should be done which in turn are constructed as easy and unskilled.

The bases upon which both of these gender orders are structured are similar in design so it is little wonder that one does not organically result in any sort of subversion of the other. That said, the limited extent of Meno A Kwena’s ability to subvert the broader gender order is also attached to a wider lack of any competing interests which would undermine how Meno A Kwena is structured as an inequality regime informed in and through gendered divisions of labour.

**8.3.2. Limited competing interests**

According to Acker (2006: 124), “multiple interests compete to both maintain and challenge regimes of inequality”. She goes on to note that management has the most power to alter how organisations are structured based on inequality. However, as was discussed above, management are not only subject to similar divisions of labour but they themselves justify the separation of work between women and men as normal and natural. The fact that a gendered division of labour is highly legitimised further diminishes the potential of any competing interests emerging from within the organisation; particularly when those who work inside the organisation abide by such institutional divisions because they themselves believe they are legitimate and their main motivation for being in the organisation is for access to money, not necessarily job satisfaction.

Acker (2006: 125) goes on to note that state controls, such as affirmative action, may serve as competing interests which help to shift the numbers within the organisation but even such reorganisation of who does what work is not necessarily effective in disrupting how the organisation functions based on inequality, because the underlying tenets of such divisions of labour have not been challenged. Nonetheless, policy changes can help to make the bases of inequality more visible and it is this visibility which may disrupt the given legitimacy and potentially result in a subversion of how the division of labour is taken-for-granted. For example, the fact that the NES is mostly gender blind, despite its overtly gendered conclusions about (eco)tourism, does little to disrupt how tourism enterprises function through conceptions of gender (Hirtenfelder, 2014). Furthermore, the limited attention paid to gender in the ecotourism certification, other than in terms of numbers parity, does not afford
enough consideration to how an organisation like Meno A Kwena may have comparable numbers of women and men working within its organisation but that their labour, financial returns, and mobility within it vary according to gender practice which is informed by the contours of its gender order.

Lastly, while one may expect that the mere movement of women and men into paid employment would be subversive to how gender is arranged this is not the case here because women and men are making use of gender defined networks and chains to maintain the gender division of labour within the village. The most bifurcated of the gender divisions of labour within the village is the dichotomy between female child care and male cattle care (Chapter 5). Men’s capitalist cattle care chains and women’s child care networks enable them to move into paid employment in the first place; however, they also sustain the gender division of labour between women and men with men and women remaining the ‘natural’ guardians of cattle and children respectively. Therefore, the displacement of men from the home is seen as normal and does not do anything to disrupt ideas of them as men (due to them already being deeply associated with mobility and absence), whereas women’s displacement from the home as labourers relegates further responsibility to other women and does not challenge any ideas of women as primary caretakers and homemakers.

The fact that both women and men’s activities result in provisions for survival also means that subversion is not automatically achieved with them earning in the cash economy. Although women are often exceptionalised in the benefits of making money in tourism, women earning in the cash economy are not immediately subversive in that they are also providers within the broader gender order, providing both food and financial provisions from crops and even cattle. While women may have less status and visibility in these activities they, like men, are part of a complex system which is contingent on the labour of both women and men in families to help people survive in increasingly precarious environments. Therefore, women’s movement into paid employment (while needed and welcomed) does not automatically translate into them subverting the ideas upon which the broader gender order is based, particularly if they are moving into activities that are believed to be similar to those they do at home.

It is argued that both gender orders are similar in design and there are few competing interests which would see them shift their entrenched division of labour in future. One of the most
glaring reasons for the low subversive potential of Meno A Kwena to subvert the broader gender order is, however, the fact that there is limited interaction between people coming from alternative gender orders.

8.3.3. Limited cross-cultural interaction

Tourism is often hailed as having considerable potential around cultural exchange with sentiments such as ecotourism enhances local tradition as well as understanding, empowerment and promotion of indigenous resource conservation. Arguably, (eco)tourism and the spaces in which it operates, such as camps like Meno A Kwena, provide spaces in which varying gender orders can meet such as those of employees, managers, and owners. Nevertheless as was discussed in Chapter 3 and identified in the NES unless there is any sort of meaningful exchange or interaction these benefits of tourism may be lost. With gender being a key feature of how culture is articulated, limited interaction between those from differing gender orders means that there is limited exchange or space that allows differing orders to meet and potentially subvert one another.

Overall it has been disclosed in this explorative research that the extent to which subversion is taking place at the camp is limited. Not only is Batswana culture almost entirely absent from the camp’s offering other than the superficial interactions guests have with some staff there is no meaningful exchange. Catering and housekeeping staff have some superficial interaction with tourists and management where they greet them and bring their showers and food but beyond these small gestures there is no time or necessity given to furthering the exchange between Batswana and tourists. In fact the most meaningful exchanges tourists have are with the owner and management over dinner and the guide, with whom they spend most of their time.

Nonetheless, for management who spend little to no time in the village, encountering different gender orders would do little to subvert Moreomaoto’s gender order. Furthermore, the fact that it is management and the owner who are some of the main providers regarding Batswana culture at dinner is somewhat problematic especially if one considers the tensions and differing opinions they have regarding how issues relating to the fence should be
managed. That said, the lengthy and deep interaction that guides have with tourists does offer some subversive potential.

While Motsumi, the guide, opined that guiding is men’s work he was also more aware of how people practice gender differently in different places. He often compared Botswana’s practices to examples he has heard guests give. Motsumi spends long hours with guests on game drives and other nature related activities. He is their main link to understanding Batswana culture and environments. Even management note how critical guides are in this role, the role of giving tourists an idea regarding what Batswana life is like. Nevertheless Motsumi is also able to simultaneously ask tourists about how their lives are organised and to see whether they are similar or different to his. It is in these frequent and seemingly insignificant interactions that there is potential for subversion where over time his exposure to alternative thoughts may disrupt, even marginally, his ideas about the work women and men should do. Whether these shifts are positive or negative is not what is under concern here, but rather that in this role therein lies potential for subversion – potential which one is hard pressed to find elsewhere.

8.4. Concluding remarks

This thesis sought to understand the ways in which an ecotourism camp subverts broader gender orders and if so, how this is achieved. Arguably, what emerges is that rather than subverting existing gender practices the camp reinforces current conceptions about what are normal activities for women and men. The fact that both gender orders (Meno A Kwen’a’s and Moreomaoto’s) are structured through similar discourses about women and men’s capabilities stunts subversive potential. Furthermore, there are few competing interests or cultural exchanges which might facilitate or encourage a disruption of gender norms in future. That said, the roles of guides are promising as they have deeper more meaningful interaction with tourists which may result in some subversion of the way in which gender is currently practiced and repeated through discourses of women being conflated with the home and lack of strength/skill and men with their bodies and skill.

It has been argued by Foucault (1978), Butler (1999) and others that language is reality in action. This thesis has illustrated both how discourses frame and shape the activities to which people have access but also how women and men use these discourses to their advantage.
While the money from tourism jobs, such as those provided by Meno A Kwena, is sorely needed in environments and contexts that are increasingly fragile due to higher costs of living and increasing restrictions on environmental provisions (whether from wildlife conflict or lack of water), it would be superficial to automatically assume that women benefit disproportionately to men (as was done in the NES) but rather that women and men make use of the discourses available to them, and into which they were born, to access different activities. Nevertheless, the status and flexibility these activities allow for is more varied for men and may in fact harness their ability to access jobs in tourism more than women – which disrupts the heteronormative binary raised in the NES.

Therefore, if Botswana does not acknowledge the fluidity and complexity of the tourism experience as well as the power dynamics involved in who does what work, when, where and how, then they will be left with their current bifurcated constructions of who benefits. As has been illustrated throughout this thesis, such static discourses hide and legitimate structural inequalities. Gender is far too important a driver of social organisation to be slapped onto any policy or guiding document as an afterthought. Gender must not be included as an appendage. Rather, it must be identified as an integral part of the tourism experience for hosts, residents and guests, because without a gender lens, policy and guiding documents such as the NES, will be flawed in both design and subsequent implementation, most likely reinforcing existing hegemonic, often patriarchal, orders.50

Therefore, while Meno A Kwena’s financial contribution is greatly appreciated in the village and has contributed toward community development of buildings as well as resources within the school, any move to try and frame the camp as a leading cause in changes to family or gender relations is too far a leap. In final analysis, the difficult question becomes not whether Meno A Kwena should seek to subvert broader gender orders but whether ecotourism itself, as a concept loaded with developmental ideas of which gender equality is part, has not been overstretched.

50 Please note that large portions of this paragraph were used in Hirtenfelder, 2014.
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## ANNEX 1: Interview Dates and Times

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ANNEX 2: Examples of children’s pictures
ANNEX 3: Spaces in Meno A Kwena

Tourist tent

Men make outside, women work inside

Colonial, brass furnishings

Outdoor showers which housekeepers fill

The main dining area

Adjacent to the dining area

Outdoor area where Baswara dance and guests relax

Baswara performing a dance
Scullery area with office in background container

Laundry area

Kitchen area

Swimming pool with view of river

Fence running along the Boteti

A broken portion of the fence

Inside the curio shop

Meno A Kwena’s ecotourism plaque
INTERNAL MEMO: REF: 3/12/2/3

TO: CLAUDIA FOSTER-TOWNE
FROM: PROF PHINDILE LUKHELE-OLORUNJU
SUBJECT: APPROVAL ON FIELDWORK PROPOSAL
DATE: 04 NOVEMBER 2013
CC: DR S MAKGETLANENG, DR S MAPHOSA, DR T SIMELANE, MR S NGOBENI, AND MS E MARITZ

This memo serves to inform you of the AISA Research and Publication Committee's deliberations and decision on your fieldwork proposal titled: "Ecotourism and its impacts on gender relations in rural Botswana”.

Recommendations of the Research and Publications Committee (RPC)
The RPC provisionally approved your proposal subject to following changes:

- Your research proposal needs to be revised as discussed with you at the last RPC meeting held on 22nd of November 2013 and re-submitted.
- The literature needs to be reviewed.
- The paragraphs must be summarised as your sentences are too long.
- Comprehensively explain the aspects of equity that you are researching about.
- Questionnaires must be included in the proposal.
- A letter for your permitted and non-payable accommodation must be written by the Lodge Manager responsible and be included in your proposal.
- To consult with Dr Gumbo- AISA Research specialist in Sustainable Development programme and Prof Christian Myles Rogerson from the University of Johannesburg in the Faculty of Management School of Tourism and Hospitality Teaching, to assist you on your research subject.

The Supervisor will recommend to the Chair of RPC for approval after compliance to the issues raised above and you have seven days to make these changes. This will then require you to undertake your fieldwork within a month of the approval of your proposal.
Prof Phindile Lukhele-Olorunju

Chairperson: AISA Research and Publication Committee
INTERNAL MEMO

TO: MS CLAUDIA FORSTER-TOWNE
FROM: PROF PHINDILE LUKHELE-OLORUNJU
SUBJECT: FINAL APPROVAL FOR FIELD WORK PROPOSAL
DATE: 03 FEBRUARY 2014
CC: DR. SEHLARE MAKGETLANENG, DR SYLVESTER MAPHOSA, DR THOKOZANI SIMELANE, MR. SOLANI NGOBENI, AND MS. ELSIE MARITZ

This memo serves to inform you that your re-submitted proposal titled “Ecotourism and its impacts on gender relations in rural Botswana” has been approved after making the recommended changes by AISA Research and Publication Committee (RPC).

You are therefore advised to proceed and prepare for your fieldwork. You are thus required to attach all necessary documentation (quotations as per policy) before submission to the Director of Research, CFO and to my office.

The AISA Research and Publication Committee wishes you well on your work.

Recommendation of the Research and Publications Committee (RPC).

NB: Research Policy

Prof Phindile Lukhele-Olorunju

Chairperson: AISA Research and Publication Committee
ANNEX 6: Research Permit Issued by Ministry of Environment Wildlife and Tourism

26th February 2014

CLAUDIA FORSTER TOWNE
EMBASSY HOUSE
1 BAILEY LANE
PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 304 9717
EMAIL: CForster-Towne@ai.org.za

APPLICATION FOR A RESEARCH PERMIT: ECOTOURISM
AND ITS IMPACT ON GENDER RELATIONS IN RURAL
BOTSWANA: EWT 8/36/4 XXVI (2)

We are pleased to inform you that you are granted permission to conduct a research entitled: “Ecotourism and its impact on gender relations in rural Botswana”

The research will be conducted at Meno A Kwena, (Central Nkgwato Tribal District) in the Central District.

This permit is valid for a period effective from 3rd March 2014 to the 24th March 2014.

This permit is granted subject to the following conditions:


2. Progress should be reported periodically to the Department of Tourism.

3. The permit does not give authority to enter premises, private establishments or protected areas. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.

4. You conduct the study according to particulars furnished in the approved application taking into account the above conditions.

5. Failure to comply with any of the above conditions will result in the immediate cancellation of this permit.

6. The research team comprises of Ms Claudia Forster Towne.
7. The applicant should ensure that the Government of Botswana is duly acknowledged.

8. Copies of videos/publications produced as a result of this project are directly deposited with the Office of the President, National Assembly, Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, Department of Tourism, National Archives, National Library Service, and the University of Botswana Library.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully

C. Bogale-Jaiyeoba
FOR/PERMANENT SECRETARY

cc: Director, Department of Tourism
    District Commissioner, Central
ANNEX 7: Support of UJ in Research Permit Application

7 February 2014

Ministry of Environment, Wild Life and Tourism,
Government of Botswana,
Private Bag BO199
Gaborone
BOTSWANA

Dear Sirs,

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to confirm that Claudia Forster-Torne is a registered Masters student at the University of Johannesburg. I am the supervisor of Ms Forster-Torne’s proposed Masters research topic which is Ecotourism and its impact on gender relations in rural Botswana. The findings from the proposed research will be of potential policy relevance for tourism development in Botswana. Funding for this research project is provided for by the Africa Institute, Pretoria. I fully support the application by Ms Forster-Torne for the required research permit and I can assure you that the work will be conducted in an exemplary manner.

I trust this request for approval will be granted. If any further information is required, please feel free to contact me.

Yours Faithfully,

Professor C.M. Rogerson
Research Professor,
School of Tourism and Hospitality,
University of Johannesburg.
ANNEX 8: Agreement with Meno A Kwena

To whom it may concern:

RE CLAUDIA FORSTER-TOWNE MENO A KWENA BOTSWANA STUDY

We are happy to waive the accommodation fee for Claudia Forster-Towne (researcher at the Africa Institute of South Africa to stay at Meno A Kwena during the duration of her fieldwork in March 2014. This is provided she returns to Meno A Kwena later in the year (possibly June 2014) to disseminate the information. This will better enable both the camp and the community to learn from the research and identify other potential avenues from which we can create more sustainable ecotourism. We believe that this partnership is mutually beneficial.

Yours Sincerely

DAVID DUGMORE
Director

Kalahari Kavango Safari Co (Operates Meno A Kwena Tented Camp)
Private Bag 053, Maun, Botswana
Tel: +267 686 0981; +267 686 1634 Office mobile: +267 713250 85 Camp mobile +267 7132 6089
E-MAIL: reservations@menokwena.com Website: www.menoakwena.com