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**UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA**



**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES**

**Title: Illegal Trade in Wildlife Products as a Threat to Botswana's National Security**

**A research essay submitted to the Department of Political and Administrative Studies  
in partial fulfilment for the award of the Master of Arts in Defence and Strategic  
Studies**

**By**

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**STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY**

I Matshwenyego Marx Rakenosi, a candidate of Masters in Defence and Strategic Studies at the University of Botswana declare that this research essay titled ‘Illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to Botswana’s national security’ carried out under the supervision of Dr K. Lotshwao is my original work. The research essay has not been submitted in any other university for any degree. Sources of data consulted in compiling this study were acknowledged and referenced in accordance with research ethics and rules of academic writing.

**Student’s Signature**-----

**Date** .....

**Supervisor’ Signature**.....

**Date**.....

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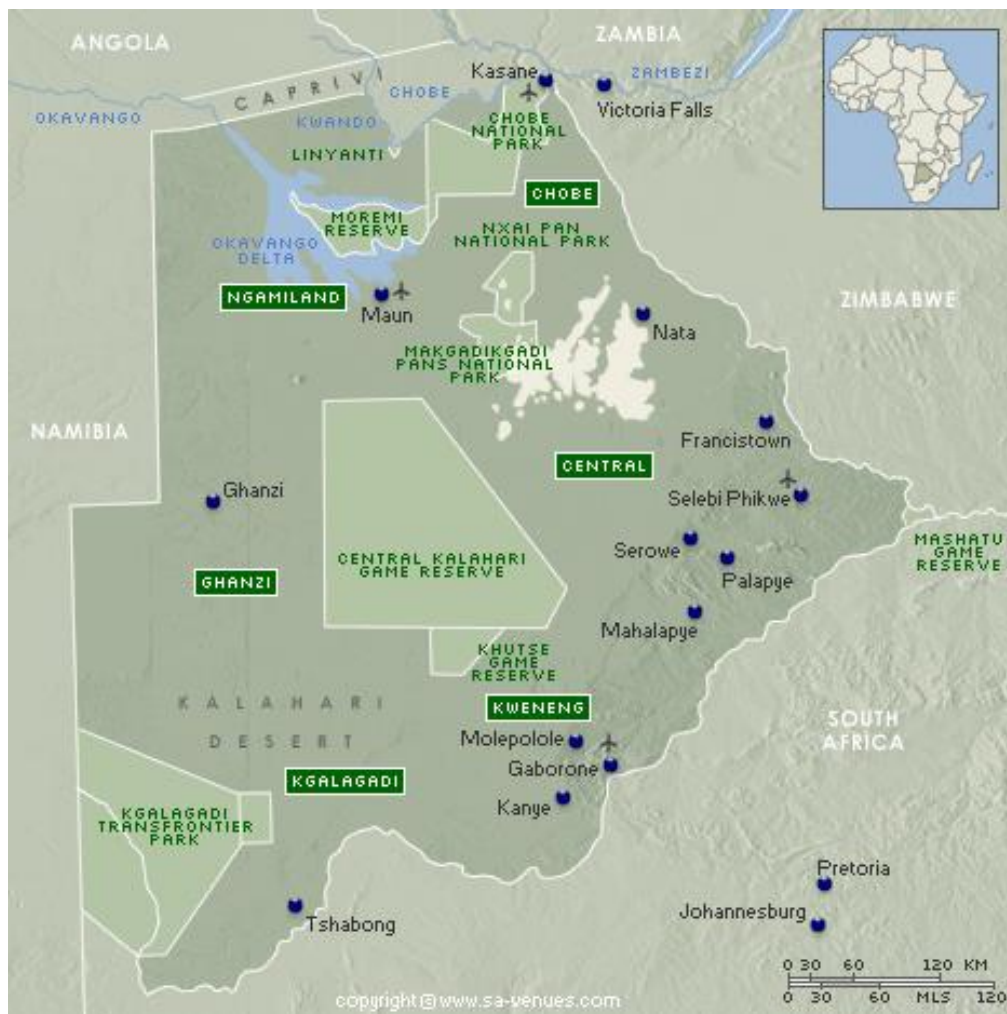
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Finally, to my caring, loving and supportive wife: Julia and my daughter, Sasha. Your encouragement is much appreciated and duly noted. My heartfelt thanks.





**Botswana’s National Parks and Game Reserves: Source Wildlife and National Parks 2018**

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## **ACRONYMS**

BDF- Botswana Defence Force

BWP- Botswana Pula

DIME- Diplomatic, Informational, Military and Economic Powers

CITES- Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

NGOs- Non-Governmental Organizations

NSP- National Security Policy

NSS- National Security Strategy

SADC- Southern African Development Community

UK- United Kingdom

UNODC- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

USA- United States of America

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## ABSTRACT

Poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products have become a global concern leading to the decline in wildlife in developing countries such as Botswana. The purpose of this study was to investigate the causes of illegal trade in wildlife; how illegal trade in wildlife products threatens the country's national security and how Botswana can combat illegal trade in wildlife products. Illegal trade in wildlife products is done on a national and international scale in Botswana. Data were analyzed to give a comprehensive descriptive narrative guided by themes that emerged from data collected through reviewing of literature. The study's central findings were that poor socio-economic conditions faced by some rural communities compel people to participate in illegal trade in wildlife products and poaching. Furthermore, the study established that illegal trade in wildlife products and poaching is used as a source of finance by terrorists and other criminals thereby threatening the security of the state. The study concluded that collaborating with the community stakeholders and improving the lives of rural people may help combat illegal trade in wildlife

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

Security threats in the contemporary world are no longer limited to foreign or adversarial militaries that seek to attack other states (Buzan, Waever & De Wilde, 1998). Instead, as Esterhuysen (2016) observes, the threats go beyond the state, and include concerns about human security, environmental degradation, climate change, transnational crimes, and pandemics among others. According to Buzan (1991), many contemporary security challenges make the realist inspired -state-centric understanding of security less viable. This implies that the validity of the traditional approach of securitizing the state as a referent object being threatened is diminishing, as states and their people face a myriad of non-traditional security challenges (Hough, 2006).

As with other countries in the Southern African region, and indeed the world at large, Botswana faces several non-traditional security challenges. One such security challenge is poaching and the plunder of flora and fauna for commercial purposes. Botswana, like many countries in the world, has vast areas inhabited by a variety of wildlife. Some of the areas with plenty of flora and fauna include the Chobe District and the Okavango Delta, both in the northern parts of the country. As a result of poaching and plunder over the years, the numbers of some species, such as buffalo, kudu, elephant, and white rhino among others have declined. Although other animal species are killed, elephants and rhinoceros are the worst affected, mainly because of the rising demand for their tusks and horns (Darer, et al, 2017). According to Statistics Botswana, in 2012, the population of elephants was estimated at 126 474 in the Ngamiland District. However, due to poaching, the number had reduced to 82 167 in 2013 (Statistics Botswana, 2015). In the same manner, the white rhino population in the district declined from 24 in 2004 to 16 in 2006 (Ibid).

As the above discussion demonstrates, illegal plundering and trading in wildlife products is a security problem in Botswana. Thus, this study focuses on illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to Botswana's national security, particularly the country's economy. Indeed, tourism is the second-largest economic sector in Botswana after diamond mining, contributing about 4.5% to the Gross Domestic Product (Mbaiwa & Hambira, 2019).

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Botswana's tourism, as Mbaiwa (2017) points out, depends largely on wildlife viewing. In 2007 for instance, the total number of international visitors who visited all tourist destinations, including the huge Okavango Delta, was 1 455 151. In 2008, the number increased to 1 499 794 (Botswana Tourism Statistics, 2011). The average growth rate of international visitors per annum from 1994 to 2008 was 8.4%. According to Madondo (2019), in 2018, Botswana recorded a 20% increase in tourists visiting different wildlife conservation places throughout the country. Thus, not only is wildlife tourism an important economic sector, but it is also growing.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

In Botswana, tourism comes second to diamond mining in terms of foreign income generation and contribution to GDP.

According to the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) (2018), in 2017, the sector's contribution to the GDP in Botswana was BWP21, 496.5 million which is approximately (USD2, 072.9 million) and this accounted for 11.5% of the GDP. In Botswana, the tourism industry is one of the country's cardinal economic sectors with significant contributions to national revenue. The tourism sector supported 26 000 jobs that are about 2.6% of Botswana's total employment. In 2018, the tourism sector created 84 000 jobs in Botswana which is 8.9% of the total employment (Ramaphane, 2018). The revenue generated also creates a value chain of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). Furthermore, revenue generated by the tourism sector supports other macro businesses.

Besides generating employment for Botswana, the tourism industry plays a major role in the social lives of Botswana. During holidays and leisure time, some Botswana enjoy visiting wildlife conservation places to view different species that the country is naturally endowed with. Additionally, the Travel and Tourism industry promotes the development of various infrastructures such as hotels, lodges, and roads among others (Ibid). However, these positive developments are hampered by poaching, particularly commercial poachers who kill megafauna and other endangered species. In general, illegal trade in wildlife products is a problem for the people's livelihoods, tourism sector, and the economy.

The purpose of the study is to analyze factors behind illegal trade in wildlife products in Botswana, and how such trade is a security threat to the country's economy, which besides diamond mining, is heavily dependent on the tourism industry. Since illegal trade in wildlife

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products is a major threat to biodiversity, national economy, and security of Botswana, the study sought to establish ways by which Botswana can combat illegal trade in wildlife. To address the problem of illegal trade in wildlife products that threaten the security and national economy of Botswana, the study explored the causes of illegal trade in wildlife products and identified how the illegal trade threatens Botswana's national security.

### **1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

In view of the above discussion, this study has three main objectives, which are:

1. To identify the causes of illegal trade in wildlife products
2. To investigate how illegal trade in wildlife products is a threat to the country's national security, particularly the economy
3. To establish alternative strategies by which Botswana can combat illegal trade in wildlife products

### **1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Other researchers in Botswana have attempted to study the phenomenon of poaching threatening national security. Among these is Sekgwama (2012) whose study is titled "Recommendation for making anti-poaching programs more effective in the Southern African region through the analysis of key variables impacting upon the poaching of elephants in Botswana." Baruti (2018) also has researched "Poaching as a security threat for Botswana and the region." Sekgwama (2012) and Baruti (2018) focused their studies on Botswana and the region. Moreover, Sekgwama's research aimed at improving anti-poaching programs while Baruti examined poaching as a security threat. The current study differs from the researchers in that, it discusses the illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to Botswana's national security.

Thus far, research has mostly focused on how Botswana's anti-poaching strategies could be made more effective. The current study enhances what other researchers have established on poaching and anti-poaching. It focuses on how poaching is a threat to Botswana's second important economic sector, tourism, as well as how poaching and illegal trade could be

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combated. Such information would come handy not only for researchers but policy-makers as well.

Poaching results in the extinction of some wild animals such as the rhinos and this has negative impacts on the tourism industry and employment of the citizens (Mbaiwa, 2017). Poverty struck and unemployed citizens have the potential to revolt against the government and effect violent regime change (Sejabosigo, 2015). Violent revolutions have consequences for the country's national security. Therefore, the study's findings can help alleviate such possible challenges facing Botswana.

Failure to address the problem of illegal trade in wildlife products and poaching continues to cause billions of dollars of economic loss to Botswana and other governments in the region. This has the potential to fuel civil conflict among economically deprived citizens.

### **1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The main limitation of this study is that it relies exclusively on documents as sources of evidence. Although documents are credible sources, the study could have benefited significantly from primary data, particularly the interviews. Nevertheless, considering that the study is a research essay, with a limited word count, it was not prudent to do the interviews. Since the study focuses on selected wildlife products, another limitation is the fact that the findings of this study may not be generalizable to other wildlife products. The time factor is also among the limitations. The researcher is an employee in the BDF, so time was a major challenge for him to balance the demands of work and research. Furthermore, the researcher had to do the work speedily to finish the research work on time. This implies that other research methods such as interviewing people and administering questionnaires could not be utilized since they demand a lot of time.

### **1.6 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The study is confined to investigating selected wildlife products such as rhino horns and elephant tusks in Botswana. The reason for choosing rhino and elephants was prompted by Humphrey and Smith (2014) findings that besides being huge fauna and distinct from other wildlife species, elephant tusks and rhino horns are highly valued and most sought after by poachers and crime syndicates. In the Far East, such as China, and Vietnam, elephant tusks and

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rhino horns are on increasing demand, leading to high incidents of poaching and illegal trade (Ibid).

## **1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS**

### **Illegal trade in wildlife**

Illegal wildlife trade is the unlawful harvesting and trading in live animals, plants, or products and parts removed from them (Wylar & Sheikh, 2013). It is a multi-billion-dollar business; as a result, criminals engage in the trade of wildlife products. For example, unlawful traders in wildlife can trade rhino horns, elephant tusks, animal skins, and other endangered species (Coone & Macmillan, 2015). According to Sollund and Maher (2015), the illegal wildlife trade involves poaching of several types of animals such as elephants to supply the demand for ivory.

### **Wildlife products**

Wildlife products are defined by Michelle (2007) as materials derived from the body of an animal. According to Leoci (2014), wildlife products are products harvested or manufactured from animals other than muscle meat.

### **National security**

National security is a contested concept just like security (Buzan, Waever & De Wilde, 1998). From a narrow realist point of view, according to Hough (2006), national security refers to safeguarding the state boundaries and sovereignty from traditional threats. In this way, the state is understood as a referent object that is vulnerable to attacks by adversarial militaries. Therefore, from a traditional viewpoint, national security or state security can only be provided by a strong military. Nevertheless, due to the turbulent geopolitical environment, a series of security issues arose from the non-traditional environment. According to Buzan (1991), these threats from non-military sources are human-centred. Considering this view, the political, economic, and social environments of the contemporary world are characterized by threats to human life and survival. Thus, the national security agenda is broadened to include human security. In light of this view, the illegal trade of wildlife products is a threat to the country's broadened national security. The concepts of national security and human security are reviewed in detail in chapter two of the study.

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## **1.8 SECURITIZATION THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This study is informed by the securitization theoretical framework. According to Mabanga (2014), state actors are responsible for bringing issues that are perceived as threats to security into political debates. Sometimes politicians make some issues security concerns through the speeches they make. By so doing, anything can be securitized as a threat to humans or the state security (Africa, 2015). For instance, the issue of poaching of wildlife in Botswana was securitized by the then President of Botswana Lieutenant General Seretse Khama Ian Khama through his “shoot to kill policy” (Mogomotsi & Madigele, 2017). After securitizing the wildlife which was plundered by poachers, the government of Botswana swiftly militarized the conservation of wildlife. The securitization theoretical framework is reviewed in detail in chapter two.

## **1.9 ORGANIZATION OF THE CHAPTERS**

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one presents the introduction and background of the study, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives, and significance of the study, limitations, and delimitations of the study, the definition of terms, and securitization theoretical framework. Chapter two reviews the literature. Chapter three presents the methodology of the study. The methodology chapter discusses qualitative research designs, desk-top research, document analysis, data analysis, and ethical considerations. Chapter four presents data analysis and discussion of the findings. Finally, chapter five gives conclusions and recommendations.

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## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter reviews the literature on illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to national security. The areas reviewed include the national security concept and Botswana's national security threats in the 1960s to 1990s. Furthermore, environmental issues as a national security threat are discussed in the review. Additionally, the contribution of wildlife and tourism to Southern Africa with reference to Botswana is examined. The Botswana National Security Act of 1986, new security challenges for Botswana, as well as poaching and sale of wildlife products are also reviewed. Additionally, literature is reviewed on the securitization of wildlife in Southern Africa and the implications, securitization theoretical framework, security organs in Botswana, global contributions of the tourism industry, and gaps in the literature on wildlife conservation.

### **2.2 NATIONAL SECURITY CONCEPTUALIZED**

Security is a contested area in politics and security studies (Mussarat, 2003). According to Williams (2008), the term security is contested and several people have defined it differently. In the name of security, as Makinda (1998) observed, governments have taken intended and unintended actions whose results are difficult to handle. Due to its lack of conceptual boundaries, the concept of security is used to whip and entice up patronage for several political agendas at both state and international levels of gimmicks and politicking (McSweeney, 1999). Williams (2008) posits that security is a powerful tool in claiming attention for a preference regarding the competition for government attention.

Makinda (1998) has defined security as the preservation of the norms, rules, institutions, and values of society. Therefore, all principles, institutions, and structures associated with society and its people are supposed to be protected from military and non-military threats (Williams, 2008). Preserving security calls for definite steps and actions by state actors. According to Makinda (1998), the view of the state leadership will determine the actions and also guide the leader's efforts, and views, which become evident in the width and depth of the state's security agenda.



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National security is understood as the state's ability to cater to the protection or safeguard of its people from diverse threats (McSweeney, 1999). The threat content of the geopolitical environment is what makes security a necessary tool for the survival of referent objects- namely states and humans (Williams, 2008). In the post-Cold War in the 1990s, the world moved away from a narrow-realist military understanding of national security agenda to a deep and wide understanding which expanded the definition of security to include human and economic security areas such as hunger, unemployment, and poverty (Buzan et al, 1998). Health is among security threats and it calls for measures against the disease. Another threat is the environment of which measures must be put in place against environmental degradation, pollution, resource depletion, and natural disasters. On a personal level, contemporary security is also concerned about crime, physical violence, domestic violence, and child labour among others. The community area of security seeks to provide measures against religious, inter-ethnic, and identity tensions (McSweeney, 2003). Finally, there is also a political area of security that calls for measures to combat repression (Musarrat, 2003).

In general, the widening of the security agenda brought about the notion of human security. Human security entails safeguarding individual persons from threats emanating from a wide range of security areas reviewed above (Williams, 2008). The human security notion widens the security agenda against a narrow realist militaristic view of security which perceives a foreign military as the major threat to another state's national security (Makinda, 1998). Human security entails a chain of threats that emerge from a non-military environment. The threats have the potential to threaten human life. Threats such as hunger, pandemics, corruption, poaching, the disempowerment of citizens, and illegal immigrants among others have the potential to threaten human life (McSweeney, 2003). Thus according to Musarrat (2003), elements of human security have acquired a wider dimension since they go beyond military protection to include threats to human dignity and life.

### **2.3 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AS NATIONAL SECURITY THREAT**

The distinguishing hallmark of the post-East-West tension popularly known as the Cold War in international politics is the disappearance of competition for military power among the major global states (Porter, 1995). This is the time when traditional-military threats began to subside leading to the emergence of non-traditional security threats (Ibid). Among the chain of post-Cold War security concerns include environmental threats (Homer-Dixon, 1994).

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Environmental concerns or environmental security became a major component of both national and international security (Porter, 1995). Owing to the importance of the environment, major powers such as the United States under the Bill Clinton administration realized the need for adopting the environmental security doctrine meant to address national security threats that emerge from the environment (Homer-Dixon, 1994). The threats included factors of the environment that can lead to violent conflict and also the effects of environmental degradation on societal well-being and economic growth (Porter, 1995).

According to Deudney (1991), environmental security represents a departure from the traditional-realist view of national security which considered the sovereign state as a referent object. The narrow military security agenda views the military threat of a foreign nation as an enemy to state security (Buzan et al, 1998). Conversely, environmental security is concerned with the health of the populations (Porter, 1995). Proponents of the environmental security views argue that renewable environmental resources and life-support systems of the earth have implications for people's health; as such, no stress should be increased upon them (Homer-Dixon, 1994). Therefore, since these environmental challenges threaten human lives, they are as serious in intensity as military concerns (Porter, 1995). Perceived this way, environmental threats qualify to be considered as concerns by the state's national security framework (Ibid).

However, in debates on the environment and its role to security, some conservative leaders, academics, and specialists in national security oppose the environmental security concept (Finger, 1991). Critics view environmental security as mixing threats that are conflict-related with those that do not relate to conflict (Porter, 1995). Those who criticize the validity of environmental security also raised the point that inclusion of all phenomena that threaten society's well-being within definitions of national security erode its meaning (Buzan, 1991; Porter, 1995; Buzan et al, 1998). Opponents of environmental security argue that the traditional-realist definition of national security is viable and coherent while proponents view the traditional definition of national security as distorting policy priorities and views of international realities (Homer-Dixon, 1994; Porter, 1995). However, despite these debates, the environment and biodiversity are securitized due to its role in the economy and survival of humans. In general, an environment is an object that requires security since it is threatened.

Thus the societal and environmental forms of security are at the core of international security studies because security has to do with the protection of people collectively and not only individual persons (Ibid). This understanding of non-military threats was challenged by

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the UNDP (1994) after the Cold War. The UNDP (1994) report states that the new security concept should equate security with people and not with states. The concept of human security of the modern period consists of four important characteristics. Firstly, human security is universal in terms of recognizing threats that are common to all people. Among these threats are crime, pollution, human rights violations, diseases, and unemployment. Secondly, human security components are inter-dependent; they are not limited to boundaries since their impact is felt across the world (Ostergard, 2002; UNDP, 1994). These include terrorism, poaching, floods, famine, and ethnic disputes among others (Ibid).

Thirdly, human security can be easily ensured if early prevention is taken. For instance, diseases need prevention to avoid the loss of human lives. Through the provision of effective primary healthcare, potential damage to human populations is reduced (Copley, 1999). Fourthly, UNDP (1994) states that the security of humans is people-centred. It is concerned with people's lives, freedom of choice, access to opportunities and to see whether people are living in peace or conflict (Ostergard, 2002). Similar to environmental security, there are also endless debates on the notion of human security, a concept that was re-designed in the post-Cold War in order to broaden the security agenda. These published works focus on poaching and they fail to link it with trade in illegal wildlife products in the Eastern countries.

#### **2.4 BOTSWANA'S NATIONAL SECURITY THREATS, the 1960s to 1990s**

At the time of independence in 1966, Botswana faced grave state security challenges. To be precise, the country faced military aggression from the two neighbouring white minority ruled countries, namely South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Kenosi, 2001). The two countries attacked Botswana on the pretext that the country harboured liberation fighters and refugees (Tlou & Campbell, 1998). Until 1977 when the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) was established, the country relied on the Police Mobile Unit (PMU) to counter the two aggressor states and also guard Botswana's territory. However, even after the formation of the BDF, whose core mandate was to defend the country and its people (Dale 1987), the two white minority regimes continued their occasional attacks on the country, often claiming the lives of innocent people and destroying property. In 1978, for instance, the Rhodesian army ambushed and killed fifteen (15) members of the BDF in Lesoma, located in the northern part of the country (Tlou & Campbell, 1998; Kenosi, 2001). In the same manner, in the 1980s, the South African apartheid regime conducted a number of raids in the country, killing innocent people

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(Kenosi, 2001). Makgala et al (2009) state that there was a raid in Gaborone carried out by the South Africa Defence Forces (SADF) Commandos. The SADF helicopter-borne Commandos used foot soldiers to attack Botswana in different areas of Gaborone, including Bontleng and Mogoditshane. This incident according to Kenosi (2001), resulted in 12 deaths of innocent people. Indeed, because of the nature of the threats discussed above, Botswana's National Security Act (1986) conceptualizes security largely in terms of threats to the state. In particular, the Act focuses on issues such as military integrity, espionage, military secrets as well as controlling of the classified information. Although Botswana has attempted to operationalize several Acts related to national security such as the Computer-Related Crime of 2007 and Cybercrime, the government has never amended the 1986 National Security Act so as to make it compliant with the current security concerns (Gwatiwa 2015).

## **2.5 NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES FOR BOTSWANA**

The end of the Cold War witnessed Botswana broadening its national security by including a chain of non-traditional security threats on its national security strategy (Malebang, 2009). This was done after a realization that Botswana's national security Act of 1986 was no longer compliant with the current threats most of which emerge from non-military sources (Henk, 2007). The broadening of the security agenda in the post-Cold War through the inclusion of non-military threats saw Botswana changing its security posture (Sejabosigo, 2015).

Due to peace that exists in the SADC region, Botswana's main security concerns emerge from the non-traditional environment unlike before the post-Cold War. However, there are perceived traditional threats such as political instability in Zimbabwe. The problem faced by Zimbabwe can affect Botswana. Furthermore, the security of Botswana is threatened by foreign states which have a tendency of spying on the country's borders (Gwatiwa, 2015). However, like other states globally, Botswana faces several non-military challenges ranging from poverty and unemployment, the environment, and climate change among others (Ibid). Environment security and wildlife threats are among the concerns that Botswana faces and failure to deal with the threats have the potential to jeopardize the country's economic growth. The major threat that Botswana was struggling with was poaching of its wildlife (Henk, 2007). According to Mogomotsi and Madigele (2017), Botswana decided to engage the Botswana Defence Force in anti-poaching campaigns in the late 1980s.

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The Botswana state actors securitized wildlife conservation against poaching. According to Mogomotsi and Madigele (2017), in 2013, the then President of Botswana, Lieutenant General Khama's government devised and implemented a "shoot-to-kill policy" that targeted poachers and those who were suspected to be poachers. Botswana is home to several flora and fauna species which attract vast numbers of tourists. In previous years the country faced severe poaching problems. The government made important investments in an attempt to protect wildlife against poachers. One of the methods was to relocate wildlife such as several endangered species, rhinos, elephants and so on to safer internal areas. All the effort was meant to protect and support the tourism industry. In 2013, the government of Botswana then declared war on poachers by calling on the Botswana Defence Force, and the Department of Wildlife to collaborate in fighting poachers (Ibid).

## **2.6 POACHING AND SALE OF WILDLIFE PRODUCTS**

Researchers on Botswana's economy have shown that tourism enhances the country's economy. For instance, Mbaiwa and Hambira (2019:1) observed that "Nature-based tourism is, therefore, important export industry and a key revenue earner in developing countries such as Botswana. Consequently, tourism significantly contributes to the economy and development of many countries." That being said, Botswana is compelled to safeguard its flora and fauna so as to securitize its economy (Mbaiwa, 2005). The activities of transnational organized crime syndicates which connect the trade, linking poachers in Okavango and other national parks in Botswana to traders and sellers in East Asia, Europe and the United States, pose a threat to the stability of Botswana and other states.

Poaching and trade in wildlife products in Botswana continues despite the fact that wildlife conservation is militarized. Citing the data provided by the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation and Tourism in Botswana, Kgamanyane (2020) posit that a total of thirty-one (31) rhinos were poached between October 2018 and December 2019. Of the 31 rhinos which were found dead, eight (8) of them were black rhinoceros while 23 were white rhinoceros. Moreover, Kgamanyane (2020) further states that in January alone in 2020, three (3) rhinos were found dead in the Okavango Delta and all the carcasses of the dead rhinos were hornless. Poaching of rhinos in Botswana conservation areas is on the rise. According to Masolotate (2020), on the 11<sup>th</sup> March 2020, rhino poachers exchanged fire with BDF patrol

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team members leading to the death of one soldier and a poacher. The incident took place at Chiefs Island, in the Ngamiland where most rhinos in Botswana are found.

Moreover, Masolotate (2020) indicated that nowadays, poachers have switched over to poaching rhinos. The reason why poachers target rhinos are that the rhino horn is sold at Sixty-five thousand dollars (US\$65 000) per kilogram at the black market (Biggs, Courchamp, Martin & Possingham, 2013). Records provided by Masolotate (2020) show that since 2019 to date, eleven (11) poachers have been shot dead by the BDF patrol teams. This shows that the magnitude of poaching is huge and this threatens the economy. The problem is made worse by the fact that the current government of Botswana led by President Mr Masisi, according to the *Sunday Standard* Reporter (2020) links the former President Ian Khama to the poaching of rhino. Former President Khama, however, dismisses the accusations and labels them insinuations by the state whose leader hates him. Former President Ian Khama opines that poaching rates are growing at alarming levels in Botswana because the current regime lacks accountability and effective strategies on anti-poaching, (Sunday Standard Reporter, 2020).

## **2.7 CONTRIBUTIONS OF WILDLIFE AND TOURISM TO SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH REFERENCE TO BOTSWANA**

Several researchers have conducted their studies on the contributions of wildlife and tourism to Botswana's economy. Among the researchers who studied the benefits of tourism to Botswana are Mbaiwa, Ngwenya and Kgathi (2008). They established that the growth of tourism in Southern Africa enables the sector to contribute a lot to the national economies of the countries (Mathambo, 2014). In Botswana in 2014, tourism contributed BWP15.842.4 million or 8.5% of GDP. Tourism and travel is Botswana's second largest economic sector after diamonds. Compared to Botswana, tourism in South Africa contributes about 8% of the total GDP of the country (Ibid). Development of tourism in Southern Africa region has led to the creation of employment opportunities and infrastructure development. Moreover, it has led to the generation of foreign currency and also influenced the conservation of biodiversity in the whole region of the SADC (Mbaiwa, 2017).

Botswana is one of the major international tourist destinations in Southern Africa. Much of the country's tourism development is in the north where scenic beauty and rich wildlife diversity attract a large number of tourists (Mbaiwa et al, 2008). The northern region of

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Botswana is known for consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife tourism. Beginning in the 1980s, there has been the growth of tourist facilities such as lodges, hotels, and camps (Mbaiwa, 2005a). In 2016, Botswana's tourism sector had 1.9 million visitors and the industry generated more than P14 billion worth of business (Ramaphane, 2018).

According to the UNWTO (2016), tourists who visited Botswana in 2016 alone spent about 100% more than their expenditure in 2009. This was a result of increased numbers of visitors, their prolonged stay in Botswana and high spending during travel. In 2016, the average length of stay by tourists in Botswana increased to 6.75 nights from 5.32 nights in 2009 (Ramaphane, 2018). There is evidence that in 2016, Botswana's tourism sector contributed 7.6% directly and 4.9% indirectly to the national economy compared to the direct contribution of 3.9% in 2009 (UNWTO, 2016). Besides contributing to GDP, tourism also generates income for local communities and creates employment for the citizens of Botswana. Tourism is a major foreign currency earner in Botswana. It spreads wealth and builds hospitality industry skills (Ibid). In discussing the growth of tourism in Botswana, it is critical to note that tourism development has also led to negative impacts which include security threats brought about by the need for wildlife products.

According to UNWTO (2003), sustainable tourism is the development that meets the present needs of tourists and host regions while enhancing and protecting opportunity for the future. Sustainable tourism leads to management of all resources so that economic, aesthetic and social needs can be attained while maintaining sustainable cultural integrity, biological diversity, life support systems and ecological processes (Mbaiwa, 2017). There are sustainable development challenges faced by tourism in Botswana (Department of Tourism, 2010). Critics such as Mbaiwa (2017) have raised concerns that the substantial increase of the financial returns from tourism to the people of Botswana is questionable and prone to critique. Though the goals of the Botswana Tourism Policy are to ensure that tourist activities are carried out in an ecologically sustainable way, there are loopholes regarding ecological sustainability (GoB, 1990).

Tourism activities in Botswana are not geared towards empowering the citizens due to the fact that most of them are of the lower economic power and are therefore discouraged from visiting tourism areas such as the Okavango Delta, Ngamiland, Chobe National Park and Makgadikgadi Pans National Park among others (Mbaiwa, 2017). Discouraging people from participating in



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tourism as a result of their poor economic status is unfair distribution of benefits between stakeholders in Botswana. Moreover, the management of Okavango Delta has increased prices for visitors and this impact negatively on citizens most of whom are poor to raise funds. Furthermore, this contradicts the ideals of sustainable tourism development (Ibid).

Government's liberal foreign investment policies and the 1990 Tourism Policy of Botswana have created conditions in which citizen investors and companies are disempowered economically as they compete with international tourism companies (Glasson, Godfrey & Goodey, 1995).

The other thing regarding tourism in Botswana is citizen companies fail to win tenders in tourism concession areas due to limited capital they have in tourism, lack of experience and skills compared with foreign-owned companies. Therefore, tourism in Botswana is dominated by foreigners and this reduces Botswana's control over natural resources in their country. Lack of independence over tourism resources poses negative effects to Botswana. According to Krippendorf (1987), residents of Botswana may suffer a loss of sense of place as a result of the transformation of their surroundings. The surroundings are transformed in order to accommodate foreign-dominated tourism requirements (Opperman & Chon, 1997).

Tourism industry that is largely controlled or owned by foreigners, for example, international companies such as the Okavango Delta can be understood as enclave tourism (Britton, 1982). This type of tourism is also understood as "internal colonialism". Internal colonialism describes a situation where the country's natural resources benefit outsiders at most while the citizens get very little or no benefits at all (Dixon & Heffernan, 1991). Therefore, enclave tourism does not qualify to be sustainable tourism because it bars host populations from acquiring economic benefits and access to decision making processes on how to utilize their local environments. Though enclave tourism managed to create employment for the locals in areas such as the Chobe region and Okavango Delta, managerial positions and better-paying jobs are reserved for foreign workers (Mbaiwa, 2017). The majority of citizens hold low positions in tourism industries which offer them very low salaries. Therefore, the Botswana Tourism Policy does not provide adequate sustainable tourism development principles (Ibid). Following Mbaiwa's (2017) findings on the status and ownership of tourism business in Botswana, tourism industries in the country must be decolonized so that they are free for use by the citizens. Tourism industries should be liberated from foreign captivity, otherwise, if this is not done, citizens remain impoverished.



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Accommodation in tourism industry determines who receives the most benefits (Mbaiwa, 2005b). This is based on the location and owner of the tourism business. Locating accommodation in prime tourism areas yields more income to owners unlike accommodation located in the periphery. In prime tourism areas such as the Chobe regions and Okavango Delta in Botswana, research has revealed that tourism is owned by foreign investors and companies with 53.8% of accommodation showing 100% ownership by foreign safari organizations and 28% jointly owned by Batswana and foreigners (Mbaiwa, 2012). This leaves out only 18.5% accommodation which is owned by Batswana only (Mbaiwa, 2005a). Since foreign companies own the majority of accommodation facilities in prime tourism areas it is assumed that they get better income and profits than citizen companies.

The situation is problematic as Rodney (1973) evaluates such situations by stating that Europeans, who are foreigners, in this case, have underdeveloped Africa through their multinational companies which over-utilized natural resources and relocated after the depletion of resources. Some Batswana have negative perceptions of the foreign-dominated tourism industry because they view the dominance of foreigners as selling out Botswana resources to foreigners. They believe that foreigners have usurped their natural resources in form of flora and fauna among other biodiversity species (Mbaiwa, 2005a). Therefore, the suggestion is tourism in Botswana needs de-colonization so as to make it free and to allow citizens to benefit from its proceeds.

The BTDP (1999) states that the tourism industry in Botswana fails to retain most of the revenue it generates. Accommodation industries and the airline industry are among the primary sectors generating vast amounts of the tourism industry for Botswana. However, as reviewed previously, Botswana accommodation sectors and hotels, in particular, are to a larger extent owned by foreign companies while payments are made elsewhere (Mbaiwa, 2017). Most of the funds generated through tourist accommodation are paid as a package deal in tourists' home countries. The implication is, tourists do not spend much money in Botswana since the moment they get into Botswana, they are either transported by air or road to wilderness areas (Ibid). Most tourists stay in accommodation facilities in Makgadikgadi, Chobe, Central Kgalagadi and Okavango Delta and they neither interact with locals nor visit local businesses. This action makes it difficult for much of tourism revenue to be retained by Botswana (Mbaiwa, 2005b).

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In contrast, the accommodation sector owned by the locals would increase net foreign exchange receipts for the nation.

## **2.8 SECURITIZATION OF WILDLIFE CONSERVATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND IMPLICATIONS**

Securitization is a speech act whereby the state actor or representative describes an issue in the environment as a threat to the nation (Buzan, 1991). By so doing, the state actor politicking and securitizing an issue seek to convince the public about an issue which calls for emergency attention and action. According to Waever (1995), state actors make something into a security problem. They do this by defining a particular thing as a threat to the state and human survival. Buzan, Waever and De Wilde (1998) observed that securitization of issues is made up of three components. Firstly, there is the state actor or securitizing actor (senior politicians, executive members). The referent object such as humans and a state which require protection against the threat is the second. People or the public who must be persuaded by the state actor are the third. Mabanga (2014) has observed that security threats are those concerns that state actors perceive as threats. The challenge is securitization may target opponents of the ruling government and they can be described by rulers as threats to the survival of the government (Ibid).

Anything, or several things or issues in the geo-political-strategic environment can be described as threats to national security so that any of the instrument of state power, hard or soft, namely diplomacy, informational, military instrument and economic power (DIME) may be invoked to deal with the threat (Williams, 2008). As reviewed above, Botswana has several real and perceived threats to its national security. Some of the threats are internal while others are external (Gwatiwa, 2016). One of the examples that the Botswana state actors securitized as a threat to the survival of humans and the state is wildlife and tourism that is protected against poaching.

In previous years the country faced severe poaching problems. The government made important investments in an attempt to protect wildlife against poachers. One of the methods was to relocate wildlife such as several endangered species, rhinos, elephants and so on to safer internal areas. All the effort was meant to protect and support the tourism industry. In 2013, the government of Botswana then declared war on poachers by calling BDF and Wildlife security personnel to collaborate in fighting poachers (Ibid).

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The shoot to kill policy has realized its prospects and challenges. Regarding its benefits, the policy resulted in the reduction of poaching activities and flourishing of the tourism industry. This view is held by Mogomotsi and Madigele (2017) who state that the BDF's involvement in anti-poaching campaigns ended the megafauna poaching in the North of Botswana by either intercepting or deterring poachers. Also, the population is secured from armed poachers and jittery international tourist clients. However, one of its challenges is the shooting of some citizens from Botswana's neighbouring countries, events that have a potential of triggering political unrest and enmity in the region. Regarding this matter, Tebele (2018) states that President Masisi of Botswana revoked the "shoot-to-kill policy" after the Botswana security forces shot and killed 30 Namibians and 22 Zimbabweans who were believed to be poachers. Ibid states that Masisi had to revoke the shoot to kill policy so as to avoid conflict with Botswana's neighbours. However, issues regarding wildlife protection are very complex. There are several incidents when human beings are reported to have been killed by wild animals but the matter may not be covered much in media than when animals are killed even by Botswana hunters (Tebele, 2018). Then a question may be raised on who is to be securitized wildlife or human beings? Killing of humans by wildlife in Botswana has seen Chobe residents support the lifting of the hunting ban in Botswana.

Having realized the impact of poaching in several countries in the SADC region, governments opted for the securitization of wildlife conservation. A study by Humphreys and Smith (2014) reveals that the government of South Africa appointed General Johan Jooste to take charge of counter-poaching campaigns in South Africa National Parks (SANParks) during the operation known as the "rhinofication" of security in South Africa. The anti-poaching operations in South Africa are also known as rhino wars (Ibid). The way these counter-poaching operations are carried out resembles South Africa's apartheid era when the highly militarized state confronted threats swiftly without giving chance to negotiations and other forms of soft diplomacy (Welz, 2013). The apartheid regime led by the National Party portrayed South Africa as a state facing total attack from the black populations locally and outside the country's borders, in neighbouring states where liberation movements worked in collaboration with their fellow nationalist movements in South Africa (Ibid).

The rhetoric used to frame rhino wars in post-independence South Africa is similar to those used by the apartheid government against black communities in South Africa

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(Humphreys & Smith, 2014). The reason for this war rhetoric emanates from the leader of the rhinoceros anti-poaching operations, Retired Major General Johan Jooste who was a member of the apartheid regime security forces (Ibid). Jooste's anti-poaching campaign was violent (Welz, 2013). To show the urgency of the matter, counter-poaching of rhinos in South Africa is combined with national security concerns such as transnational crimes and criminal activities worsened by the country's porous borders (Ibid). The rhino wars in South Africa are known as the "Jooste war" (Humphreys and Smith, 2014:2).

Wildlife management in South Africa is highly militarized (Gambrell, 2012). In implementing security measures against poaching in South Africa, security forces target certain individuals and groups who participate in poaching (Welz, 2013). Humphreys and Smith (2014:1) state that the overall campaign against poaching in South Africa resembles modern warfare in the sense that there reports on "targeted killings" and "man-hunting" operations in wildlife conservation areas. Despite these security measures taken by the South African government, there are high levels of the illegal slaughter of rhino and other animals (Ibid). Critics have doubts about the effectiveness of South Africa's counter-poaching measures (Gambrell, 2012).

They also question the extent to which poaching and anti-poaching of rhinos can be considered as "civic war" rather than "civil war" (Humphrey & Smith, 2014: 1). Civic war in this context is understood to refer to poaching activities carried out by poor black South Africans who continue to face economic hardships in the post-independence era. The implication is that the poor black people are frustrated by the post-apartheid government led by the African National Congress (ANC). The government has promised to uplift the lives of black people who have suffered for a long time in poverty due to apartheid's oppressive rule. Nevertheless, these promises take time to bear fruit (Ibid).

Imbalances such as the inequitable distribution of resources of land and other resources caused by the colonial rule have taken a long time before they are addressed (Bryson, 2011; Gambrell, 2012). Large pieces of land, wildlife and tourism industry are still under the control of white minority despite the country's attainment of independence and democratization of the state in 1994 (Buscher & Ramutsindela, 2015). According to Humphreys and Smith (2014), it is illegal for black people to hunt bushmeat in South Africa. This further raises questions on the ethicality of protecting wildlife in South Africa (Welz, 2013). Divisions have emerged on

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whether rhino horn trade should be legalized or not. Moreover, questions have been raised on wildlife hunting and the role it plays in South Africa's political economy (Ibid).

When he was securitizing South Africa as a state under attacks by poachers, General Jooste pointed out the intensity of illegal hunting in the country, the region and the world at large (Welz, 2013). According to Humphreys and Smith (2014) trafficking of both dead or living wildlife and products among them ivory, rhino horn and shark fin come after guns and drugs as the highest illegal trading activities. Securitization of wildlife in South Africa and the anti-poaching stance taken by Jooste resonates with America's leaders such as President Barack Obama who launched a Wildlife Trafficking Taskforce and also the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who stated that illegal trade in wildlife was an international concern experienced across oceans and continents (Ibid). Clinton further declared that poachers and illegal traders in wildlife products networks must be dismantled (Braun, 2012).

Compounding the problems of poaching in South Africa is the decline in farming produce and high rates of unemployment due to economic and environmental problems (Molele & Naidoo, 2013). These challenges led to devastating industrial actions such as the Marikana incident in 2012 where forty-four mineworkers were shot dead by the South African Police (Lang, 2013). The Marikana incident is reminiscent of the highly militarized police state of the apartheid government which never considered the importance of human security (Humphreys & Smith, 2014). Moreover, the problems faced by South Africa are connected with economic challenges in Zimbabwe and Mozambique that cause nationals from these states to enter into South Africa as illegal immigrants using porous border points within the Kruger National Park areas (Molele & Naidoo, 2013).

Rhinofication campaign in South Africa links very well with and influenced by the apartheid wars that took place in the 1970s-1980s (Humphreys and Smith, 2014). During these wars, the South African National Defence Force (SADF) used security laws drafted by the National Party apartheid government to smuggle rhino horn, ivory, diamonds (Ibid). SADF did this in collaboration with Jonas Savimbi of Angola's rebel group. Thousands of elephants were slaughtered in Angola by rebel groups and SADF units who claimed to be fighting communism (Kumleben, 1996). This shows how various armed groups can engage in poaching in order to make financial benefits through illegal trade in wildlife products.

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The Kruger National Park is known as the “ungoverned space” or “hotspot” on South Africa’s border with Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Humphreys & Smith, 2014; Baruti, 2018). In 2013-14, several bodies of killed rhinos attracted the world’s attention and this serves to reflect the violence in South Africa (Humphreys & Smith, 2014). Buscher and Ramutsindela (2015) posit that the illegal killing of rhinos in South Africa had seen the recovery of 1 004 rhino bodies in 2013. Poaching of rhino posed negative impacts on the regional peace parks particularly the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park located between Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique. Peace parks in the southern region of Africa are huge conservation areas cutting across state boundaries. Their intention is to save wildlife in its diversity, to promote the development of the communities around and to enable peace and international cooperation through joint operation partnerships (Lunstrum, 2014).

In an effort to save peace parks from threats posed by rhino poachers, South African government in collaboration with Zimbabwe and Mozambique among other neighbours embarked on what is known as “green violence” (Buscher & Ramutsindela, 2015). This involved the deployment of security instruments techniques and other methods related to wildlife conservation. Through green violence campaign, conservation areas were militarized (Ibid). Peace parks received funding from donor agencies since the 1990s (Lunstrum, 2014). To protect wildlife against African poachers, the security employed the “shoot-on-sight” strategy where security forces shot and killed poachers. This strategy is identical to “shoot-to-kill policy” introduced by President Khama in Botswana’s wildlife counter-poaching campaigns (Mogomotsi and Madigele, 2017).

Conservation of wildlife and counter-poaching campaigns is viewed as a response to internal and external threats to South Africa (Humphreys et al, 2014; Buscher & Ramutsindela, 2015). There are links between counter-poaching campaigns and war on terrorism in that the Somali Jihadist group, Al-Shabaab is suspected to fund its violent activities through rhino horn and ivory trading (Baruti, 2018). This problem has also compelled the British military forces training the Kenyan wildlife protection units to take thorough measures in monitoring the Somalia-Kenya border as a way of checking the movements of Al-Shabaab insurgents (Humphreys et al, 2014).

The security strategy adopted by Jooste in South Africa’s wildlife management might have been influenced by Nick Steele who pioneered a strategy of integrating private wildlife

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reserves within a national security narrative (Humphreys & Smith 2011, 2014). Steele was against communism and he spent his time fighting a war in order to defend nature against poachers. Steele crafted patrols to be conducted in farms in the 1970s so as to protect farms from poaching activities. He worked with white men ranchers to train recruits in military-style for the effective safeguarding of farms against poachers, political problems and theft of livestock (Humphreys et al, 2014). The counter-poaching strategy established by Steele was identical to militarization and securitization of wildlife conservation and livestock in some parts of Africa and the globe at large (Ibid).

Another overlap between anti-poaching and state security was experienced in Botswana in the 1980s (Henk, 2004). The Botswana Defence Force (BDF) security personnel were deployed to confront very well-armed gangs of poachers who capitalized on wars within the region of Southern Africa (Humphreys et al, 2014). The tourism industry, as well as the international security of Botswana, was threatened by poachers and civil wars in some of the country's neighbouring states (Ibid). Using special commando squadrons reinforced by helicopters to engage poachers, BDF swiftly fought against poaching gangs though the military has not yet defeated them (Henk, 2004). This shows that the securitization of wildlife is done in order to combat illegal trade in wildlife products.

The principal enforcer of the regulatory regime governing the conservation of wildlife in Botswana is the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) (Law Library of Congress, 2013). However, due to illegal plundering of wildlife by poachers and traders in illegal wildlife products, the Government of Botswana deployed the BDF, Botswana Police Service (BPS) and Directorate of Intelligence and Security Services (DISS) to work in collaboration with the DWNP in anti-poaching operations (Ibid).

Therefore, BDF, DISS, BPS and DWNP are important security organs which share enforcement roles in line with the Botswana regulatory instruments governing the management and conservation of wildlife (Mogomotsi & Madigele, 2017). In an attempt to combat wildlife crimes, Botswana bans poaching and trade in animals, meat and articles made out of trophies without valid permits or in violation of licenses. Violation of wildlife law attracts several forms of penalties including prison terms, fines and revocation of licenses (Law Library of Congress, 2013).



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## **2.9 GLOBAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF TOURISM INDUSTRY**

Research has revealed that the global tourism industry has grown since the 1950s (Mbaiwa, 2017). The number of tourists visiting different countries of the world is increasing. Therefore, the statistics are affected by the global recession. In 1950, tourism arrivals increased from 25 million internationally to 278 million in 1980 (Ibid). In 2000, they were 674 million and 1 186 million in 2015. Moreover, global tourism receipts earned by destinations increased from US\$2 billion in 1950 to US\$104 billion in 1980, US\$495 billion in 2000 and US\$1 260 billion in 2015 (Mbaiwa, 2017). According to the UNWTO (2015) tourism industry is viable and there are estimates that in 2020, 1.4 billion people will be visitor arrivals. And by 2030, 1.8 billion visitors are expected at different destinations internationally. Travel and tourism's total contribution to the global Gross Domestic Product in 2015 was US\$7.2 trillion or 9.8% GDP of the world (WTTC, 2016). The same year has witnessed travel and tourism directly accounting for 108 million jobs which are 3.6% of the total international employment. When indirect jobs are included, this brings to 284 million people accounting for 1 in every 11 jobs in the whole world (Ibid).

Tourism contributes to global economic development in several ways and it can be regarded as a global economic story (Durberry, 2004). Research has revealed that tourism provides foreign revenue, particularly for developing nations. It is a primary source of foreign exchange earnings in about 46 out of 50 of the globe's least developed nations as Delacy (2009) observed. Africa is considered as one of the fastest developing continents which have grown from a base of 14.7 million visitors in the year 1990 to almost 26 million international visitors in 2000. In 2014 there were 56 million international tourists which are approximately 5% of tourists who arrived worldwide (UNWTO, 2014).

Owing to the fact that the industry has diversified into a range of varied products suitable for particular markets, tourism has grown so much (Mbaiwa, 2017). Tourism flows have increased due to social and economic as well as prosperity shifts in the developed world. This has allowed vast numbers of people to travel overseas. Globalization also has allowed tourism to be one of the fastest-growing economic sectors in the world (Ibid). Developing countries particularly those in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Eastern, Central and Southern Africa have experienced the fastest wilderness tourism. After the 1990s, tourism has grown rapidly especially after the apartheid South Africa regime (UNWTO, 2014).



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Before the end of apartheid, tourism in Southern Africa was constrained by political instability, lack of publicity, poor infrastructural development, low level of economic development and lack of awareness of the potential economic contributions of tourism (Mbaiwa, 2002). After the end of liberation wars in the Southern parts of Africa in 1980s and 1990s notably in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, the region became an important international tourist destination. According to UNWTO (2014), Southern Africa became one of the fastest growing tourist destinations internationally. The Southern Africa tourist industry relies more on game reserves, national parks, natural attractions and other safeguarded areas inhabited by renowned wildlife as well as biological diversity. The previous 30 years have seen tourism growing to become one of the most economic activities and the centre of economic development in Southern Africa.

## **2.10 GAPS IN THE LITERATURE ON WILDLIFE CONSERVATION**

Though researchers among them Mbaiwa (2017) and others did not study how the government of Botswana has securitized wildlife and environmental biodiversity as threatened objects, they have done a lot in terms of investigating the nature and geography of tourism in Southern Africa and Botswana. For instance, Mbaiwa (2017) has posed provocative questions regarding how the booming ecotourism industry in Botswana is managed. Mbaiwa (2017: 95) posed a question saying, who controls tourism development in Botswana? Who gets the most benefits from tourism? What is the role of citizens in tourism benefits? In an attempt to address these questions, Mbaiwa (2017) reveals that failure to offer citizens economic benefits derived from national wildlife also contributes to poaching and illegal trade of wildlife products. Mbaiwa (2017) is of the view that involving citizens and empowering them through tourism ownership helps them stop poaching and illegal trade in wildlife activities. Therefore, research should be conducted on possible strategies by which citizens of Botswana can be involved in wildlife economies.

There is also a gap in the literature regarding the friendly approaches such as the community-led and policy development initiatives that can be adopted by Botswana and Southern Africa in general on how best poaching and illegal trading of wildlife products can be combated. The only methods available are violent in the sense that armed forces, for instance in Botswana and South Africa are deployed to deal with poachers. The military has been given

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authority to shoot poachers. Further research is needed in this area since some of the poachers are citizens of these countries who are compelled to hunt wildlife illegally because of poverty and lack of basic needs. Further research should explore non-violent methods to replace militarization and securitization of wildlife in Botswana. The use of green violence and policies such as shoot to kill and shoot on sight are destructive to human life. They are employed because of the economic importance of wildlife, but the researcher argues that the economy is very important to any country and human life too is even more important. The anti-poaching strategy needed should protect both human life and biodiversity.

Elephant poaching is a major problem in Africa which can be resolved by locally developed approaches. With regards to this view, Goldman (2019) posits that law enforcement should not remain the only priority to solve poaching, but that approaches, which promote poverty alleviation and reduction of corruption, are needed. Therefore, besides militarizing wildlife conservation areas, there is a need to address poverty and corruption because these ‘correlate with local levels of poaching than did the adequacy of law enforcement’ (Goldman, 2019:2). Similarly, Mogomotsi and Madigele (2017) have also raised the point that some researchers opine that most local people who are involved in poaching and trafficking do so because of direct and indirect poverty; as such, they need to be given prison sentences or fined depending on the magnitude of the crime.

Though sending poachers to prison or fining some of them is done to reduce poaching, the approach is failing to reduce the poaching and illegal trade in wildlife in Botswana and other parts of Southern Africa. Another approach which failed is that of the lifting of the ban on the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). This approach seeks to reduce the market prices of the rhino horn and ivory.

Though several researchers on poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products such as Henk (2007) and Mbaiwa (2017) concur that the problem is caused by poverty in some cases, and the desire to generate large amounts of money through selling horns and tusks, the links between poaching and poverty and poaching and corruption are poorly understood and under-researched (Duffy, 2013). This is a gap in the literature that needs to be filled. Additionally, though several authors (see Mogomotsi and Madigele, 2017), Goldman (2019) and Duff (2013) are of the view that there is a link between poaching and poverty, this is possible with subsistence poaching. According to Henk (2007), the reason for this view is that subsistence

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poachers poach game to get meat. They do not pose serious threats to the extinction of some huge animals such as elephants and rhinos. There are trophy poachers who are also not a serious threat to wildlife. Trophy poachers usually kill wildlife for sports trophies (Sekgwama, 2012). However, though subsistence and trophy poachers do not pose a serious threat to wildlife, their link with commercial poachers makes them a concern to the survival of wildlife. It is, however, commercial poachers who seriously threaten wildlife conservation by their indiscriminate killing of animals for illicit business such as ivory and rhino horn trade (Henk, 2007). Commercial poachers are well organized and closely connected with the subsistence poachers (Sekgwama, 2012). Commercial poachers are rich due to their involvement in the lucrative business of illegal trade in wildlife products. Therefore, this study focuses on commercial poaching.

## **2.11 POACHING CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON BOTSWANA'S ECONOMY**

Poaching threatens Botswana's economy in the sense that it destroys biodiversity in general and tourism industry in particular (Baruti, 2018). Botswana lacks diversification of its economy, therefore, since it relies much on diamond mining and wildlife for survival, poaching and illegal trade of wildlife products threaten Botswana's economy and national security. Poaching results in the extinction of some wild animals such as the rhinos and this has negative impacts on the tourism industry and employment of the citizens (Mbaiwa, 2017). Poverty-stricken and unemployed citizens have the potential to revolt against the government and effect violent regime change (Sejabosigo, 2015). Violent revolutions have consequences for the country's national security.

Researchers on Botswana's economy have shown that tourism enhances the country's economy. For instance, Mbaiwa and Hambira (2019:1) observed that "Nature-based tourism is therefore an important export industry and a key revenue earner in developing countries such as Botswana. Consequently, tourism significantly contributes to the economy and development of many countries." That being said, Botswana is compelled to safeguard its flora and fauna so as to securitize its economy from the threats posed by the illegal trade in wildlife products (Mbaiwa, 2005).

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## 2.12 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The illegal wildlife trade is worth at least \$10 billion per year. These funds finance further illegal activities including linked transnational crimes, insurgency and political destabilization. The economic loss caused by the illegal trade in wildlife products is a major problem in countries where endangered species cannot be easily protected, where the activities of armed non-state actors in poaching and transnational crime hinder development, investment and tourism. If the current levels of poaching continue, the populations of elephants and rhinos in Botswana and southern Africa will be pushed to the brink of extinction. The economic gains of perpetrators of the illegal trade in wildlife products could, if recovered, be used by Botswana to counter poachers and other crime syndicates.

The activities of transnational organized crime syndicates which connect the trade, linking poachers in Okavango and other national parks in Botswana to traders and sellers in East Asia, Europe and the United States, pose a threat to the stability of Botswana and other states. More evidence-based research is required into the true role played by armed non-state actors participating in the illegal wildlife trade. In order to formulate effective policy responses to counter the illegal wildlife trade, Botswana and the international community need to understand why poachers are entrenched in the wildlife trade and what may happen if they are denied access to wildlife products. Failure to do so will ensure that transnational organized crime operatives involved in the illegal wildlife trade and poaching will continue to cause billions of dollars of economic loss to Botswana and other governments in the region. This has the potential to fuel civil conflict.

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## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the methodology of the study on the analysis of illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to Botswana's national security. The chapter discusses the methods that were used to gather and analyse data for the study. The study was desk-top research meaning that there is no fieldwork data that was collected. Data was collected through reviewing literature and analysing documents. Items discussed in this chapter are the research design, data collection, data analysis, desk-top research, document analysis, advantages and disadvantages of document analysis, ethical considerations that were considered during the writing of this paper and summary of the chapter.

### **3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

This study adopted a cross-sectional research design. Research design is defined as the management of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with the economy in the procedure (Kothari, 2004). Cross-sectional designs are "snapshots" studies, which means they are conducted at one point in time. The study is a qualitative cross-sectional design. According to Mogalakwe (2006), qualitative data is the data that is presented in words and statements as opposed to quantitative data or numerical. Payne and Payne (2004) state that qualitative research is used in a study in order to gain an understanding of underlying views, opinions, reasons and motivation. It provides insights into the problem or phenomenon as well as helping in developing ideas or hypothesis. Qualitative data collection methods vary and they include document analysis, individual interviews, participant observation and focus group discussion (Scott, 1990).

### **3.3 DATA COLLECTION**

Secondary data was collected in order to understand the nature of international aspects of illegal trade in wildlife products. Flick (2009) defines data collection as the gathering of empirical evidence with the objective of gaining new insights about a situation and to answer the questions that initiated the research. The study collected data through analysing documents and

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reviewing the literature on illegal trade in wildlife products from World wildlife reports websites and the library. Secondary data was collected and organized into comprehensive notes. Cooper and Schindler (2010) recommend that it is inefficient to collect primary data where reliable secondary data exists. Since the data on illegal wildlife trading activities are frequently collected by different agencies and the governments, the study relied on the available secondary data.

### **3.4 THE DATA ANALYSIS**

A qualitative data analysis approach was adopted in this study. The study analysed the relevant data/themes and explored the effects of illegal trade in wildlife products in Botswana. The data from published sources were analysed according to themes that emerge. This is in line with O'Leary (2017) who state that qualitative data analysis makes use of thematic approaches in order to organize and interpret data. In analysing data, research questions were answered. Furthermore, the analysis of data also discussed the findings of the literature reviewed in order to see whether the literature review agrees or disagrees with the findings.

### **3.5 DESK-TOP RESEARCH**

The desktop study is not the same as fieldwork research which combines going to the field to gather primary data from a sample of participants and reviewing sources of literature (Bowen, 2009). It is the gathering of data through analysis of various documents and reviewing the literature. Compared to fieldwork research, desktop research has limited costs (Best & Khan, 2006). The researcher who utilizes desktop method reviews what other researchers have done on topics related to the one under study. Therefore, to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomena, the desktop researcher reviews previous studies (Flick, 2009). This research essay was written using desktop research approach which analysed secondary data sources at most. However, the study also reviewed primary data-informed literature that includes journals and policies on wildlife conservation. The essay is mostly qualitative because the data used in the paper is descriptive as opposed to numerical. This is in line with Mogalakwe (2006) who states that qualitative data is presented in descriptive statements as opposed to numbers.

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### 3.6 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Document analysis is a qualitative type of study that entails analysing documents related to the topic under study (Bowen, 2009). In document analysis, the researcher interprets the documents and provides meaning and voice around the topic being assessed. Analysis of documents involves incorporating of coded content of data into emerging and unfolding themes. Data coding into themes is very identical to the analysis of data that is collected through focus groups and one-on-one interviews (Flick, 2009).

There are three types of documents namely public records, personal documents and physical evidence (O’Leary, 2014). The documents provide primary information to the study. Regarding document types, there are public records which are official records dealing with an organization’s transactions (Bowen, 2009). Examples of public records include students’ handbooks, mission statements, school transcripts, annual reports, policy manuals, syllabi among others. This study analysed policy manuals.

Best and Khan (2006) also discussed personal documents that include first-person accounts of individual actions, experiences as well as beliefs. E-mails, calendars, blogs and newspapers are examples of personal documents (Ibid). In this essay, the researcher analysed journals and newspaper articles on the conservation of biodiversity and poaching in Botswana and other parts of the world.

Physical evidence such as objects obtainable in the site where the study is conducted is also classified as document analysis (Bowen, 2009). These objects are also known as artefacts (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Bowen, 2009). Examples of artefacts include flyers, posters, handbooks, agendas as well as training resources and materials (Ibid). In this study, document analysis was chosen because it is faster in collecting data compared to fieldwork research and it allows for triangulating methods in exploring a phenomenon. According to Best and Khan (2006), triangulation of approaches enhances the credibility of findings.

Bowen (2009) has researched the document analysis and he posited that documents are important data sources in several areas of research. Document analysis is the method similar to historical research; however, the difference is that historical researchers use document analysis in dealing with the past events while document analysis utilized as descriptive study deals with

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current documents and problems (Ibid). In light of this understanding, document analysis and descriptive study are relevant for this research essay since most of the documents analysed are current and also the issue of illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to national security.

Moreover, regarding document analysis, Flick (2009) state that the analysis concerns explaining the status of some problems at a given time or the development of the phenomenon over a while. Document analysis' purpose is to advance knowledge to research fields and to explain social events (Best & Khan, 2006). Additionally, document analysis as Bowen (2009) observes can utilize several sources of data to include printed forms, letters, compositions, diaries, records, reports, periodicals, bulletins, pictures, films and others as data sources. When using documents as sources, the researcher must consider the fact that printed data are not always trustworthy (O'Leary, 2014). That being said, documents that are used in a descriptive study should be exposed to the same type of criticism approach as that which is used by historians. The authenticity and validity of the content of documents are signed. Therefore, those conducting research are obliged to establish the trustworthiness of all the data gleaned from the documents (Ibid).

Through participant observation and in-depth interviews have been tested and tried, they are not the only data collection methods available and they are not always useful. One useful method which is often marginalized or used as a supplementary approach to conventional social surveys is the use of documentary sources in social research also known as the documentary research method (Mogalakwe. 2006). A documentary research method is just as good as participant observation and in-depth interviews. Furthermore, there are situations when the documentary research method is more cost-effective than social surveys. Using documentary method means analysing documents that contain information about the phenomena researchers wish to investigate (Ibid). Similarly, Payne and Payne (2004) posit that the documentary method is the technique used to investigate, interpret and identify gaps of written documents. Documents are written texts produced by individual authors or groups written with a purpose and based on particular assumptions. Grix (2001), states that it is necessary for the researcher using the documentary method to be aware of the origins, purpose as well as the primary audience of the written documents.

With regards to documents, Mogalakwe (2006) states that there are four quality control criteria for handling documentary sources. Scott (1990) gives the four quality control criteria



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as authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Authenticity is whether the evidence provided by the document is genuine, reliable and dependable. The researcher should see to it that the documents consulted are genuine and reliable. Credibility refers to the uniqueness of evidence and whether it is free from distortion and error. The researcher should see to it that the documents chosen are free from error (Ibid). According to Mogalakwe (2006), representativeness refers to whether the documents which the researcher consults are genuine and have integrity. Finally, meaning refers to whether the information in the document is comprehensible and clear (Scott, 1990). The researcher should examine the documents consulted so as to understand the meaning and significance of the content (Mogalakwe, 2006).

### **3.7 ADVANTAGES OF DOCUMENT ANALYSIS**

The responsibility of the researcher in documents analysis is to search for, documents as well as organizing the size and frequency of occurrences in each document like an interviewee who is being asked questions and further probed. By doing this also to a document, the researcher should ask questions and highlight answers within the document (Best & Khan, 2006). The data gathered from the document is arranged in accordance with the study's central questions. Analysis according to emerging themes or thematic analysis allows the researcher to interpret the emerging data into the topic studied (Scott, 1990). Additionally, documents can be found easily and in varied forms. They are accessible and reliable sources of data.

Analysing documents is cost-efficient and time saving compared to experiments and fieldwork research. Moreover, documents can be reviewed several times and cannot be influenced by the researcher. Unlike humans, documents are not reactive. There are no issues of consent observed when analysing documents unlike when the researcher is dealing with human subjects (Bowen, 2009). Additionally, a thorough document analysis can also provide primary data which complements other methods. Finally, documents have information that participants might have forgotten (Ibid). This means that human beings forget the information but it can only be remembered if it is written down so that people can read.

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### **3.8 DISADVANTAGES OF DOCUMENT ANALYSIS**

When analysing documents, it is important that the researcher must be competent in investigative skills because documents both in digital and paper formats are not created for research data agendas (Flick, 2009). In addition to this disadvantage, documents do not offer data needed to answer all the researcher's questions (Ibid). Some documents have incomplete, inaccurate and inconsistent information while others have a limited amount of relevant data or no relevant data at all (Bowen, 2009). Additionally, documents may have gaps and they require the researcher to search more thoroughly. Some documents are not easily accessible whereas others may not be available (Ibid).

### **3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The study followed ethical rules and guidelines as provided by the Office of Research and Development of the University of Botswana. The data collected from the written texts were treated with confidentiality. The researcher was faithful with regards to referencing and acknowledgement of sources of data consulted (Best & Khan, 2006). The researcher did not plagiarize since plagiarism is considered academic theft and crime. Therefore, all data sources consulted were acknowledged in the paper and also the reference list. Analysis of documents was done in accordance with the ethical needs of the hermeneutics of documents in electronic and paper formats (Ibid).

### **3.10 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER**

The chapter has presented discussions on the research design, data collection and data analysis and it showed that the research is qualitative. Moreover, the chapter explained desktop research and discussed document analysis, its advantages and disadvantages compared to fieldwork research and experiments. Finally, the chapter examined ethics that were followed in writing this research essay.

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## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter analyses data and discusses the findings of the study on the analysis of illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to Botswana's national security. The analysis of data and discussion of the findings of the study is guided by the research questions namely: What causes illegal trade in wildlife products? How is the illegal trade in wildlife products a threat to the country's national security? And, how can Botswana combat illegal trade in wildlife products?

### **4.2 CAUSES OF ILLEGAL TRADE IN WILDLIFE PRODUCTS**

The illegal trade in wildlife products in Botswana and other parts of the world has numerous and diverse causes. One of the main causes is the high demand for wildlife products such as elephant tusks and rhino horns. These products are of high value, and illegal traders make massive profits by selling elephant tusks and rhino horns (Mogomotsi & Madigele, 2017). Rhino horns are believed to have medicinal elements, and as such, their demand is high. (Sekgwama, 2012). Rhino horns powder is used for a wide range of ailments, from hangovers to cancer. Rhino horn is increasingly perceived as a status symbol and sign of wealth.

The availability of large numbers of elephants in Botswana's wildlife conservation areas attracts commercial poachers. As Groenewald (2016:7) explains, Botswana has the largest number of elephants than any other country. To be more precise, more than 130 451 elephants reside in Botswana, while about 60 000 transient elephants move between the country and its neighbours. The total number of elephants in Botswana represents about 35% of the population of elephants in the African Savannah. On one occasion, the spotters who count the number of elephants in Botswana came across thousands of those that were killed and left to rot by ivory poachers. The commercial poachers cut off elephant "tusks and smuggled them through global crime syndicates to foreign markets" (Oxpeckers, 2016: 1). Therefore, the availability of criminal syndicates and foreign markets make it possible for illegal trade in wildlife products business to thrive.

Cases of elephant poaching in Botswana are numerous. The poaching of elephants is made possible by the fact that there are well-armed commercial and highly sophisticated

poachers. In 2019 for instance, when one Zambian poacher was arrested in Botswana, he was found in possession of a bag full of elephant tusks obtained from Botswana, (Oxpeckers, 2016: 1.) The poacher and colleagues used AK-47 rifles and 303 hunter rifles (Nkala, 2019). In light of this view, Nkala (2019) posits that this incident shows that several elephants are poached by armed and well-trained poachers in Botswana. Thus the availability of well trained and heavily armed poachers ready to make profits is among the causes of illegal trade in wildlife products.

Poachers who visit Botswana wildlife conservation areas to poach animals such as elephants and rhinos come from different parts of the world. Though newspapers frame stories by selecting the facts to include in their news as Moahi (2015) established when studying the relationship between China and Botswana, the truth of the matter is, the relationship between China and Botswana is not always positive. Some of the poachers in Botswana, who slaughter and smuggle ivory from the country are the Chinese. The *Sunday Standard Reporter* (2019) reported a case of Chinese companies and nationals of China who were implicated in ivory smuggling. Indeed, Chinese poachers have been arraigned before the Botswana courts. Chinese markets, according to the Regional Center of Small Arms (2017) account for 70% of the global market for ivory and rhino horn products. Chinese poachers have not only been arrested in Botswana. Some, as Vira (2014 et al) states, have been arrested in countries such as Mozambique and Kenya, usually on their way to China.

In Botswana, the number of elephants killed by poachers increased from 10 in 2004 to 26 in 2008 (Mguni, 2011). Sekgwama (2012) provides the following table showing the number of elephants killed in Botswana for the 5 past years:

**Table 1: Number of elephants killed in 2005-2009 in Botswana: Source (Sekgwama, 2012 and Botswana’s Department of Ministry Management (2012)**

| Year | No. of elephants killed | Herd size |
|------|-------------------------|-----------|
| 2005 | 10                      | 150 000   |
| 2006 | 13                      | 152 184   |
| 2007 | 18                      | 151 289   |
| 2008 | 10                      | 152 346   |
| 2009 | 22                      | 153 258   |

Table one provides a summary of poached elephants in Botswana in 2005-2009. Although the numbers seem to be relatively low, it should be reckoned that Botswana targets to eliminate

poaching (Sekgwama, 2012). Regardless of how low poaching may seem to be, it affects wildlife and ecotourism. Moreover, commercial poaching enriches individuals who participate in this illegal business (Ibid). In dealing with poaching in Botswana, there are also statistics measuring variables such as corruption and poverty and the links these have with poaching.

Table 2: Corruption Index World Rankings showing Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe: Adapted from Sekgwama (2012) and Simon Rogers and Claire Provost, Corruption Index, 2011.

**Table 2: Corruption Index World Rankings (Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe) (2011).**

| Rank | Country  | Score 10 points |
|------|----------|-----------------|
| 32   | Botswana | 6.1             |
| 91   | Zambia   | 3.2             |
| 154  | Zimbabwe | 2.2             |

Corruption Index scores countries on a scale of zero to 10 with zero indicating high levels of corruption while 10 shows low levels. Table 2 shows that Botswana is doing well in terms of addressing corruption as revealed by its high score of 6.1 out of 10 points compared to Zambia’s 3.2 and Zimbabwe’s high corruption level of 2.2 scores.

Though Botswana is doing well with regards to corruption, it does not mean the country has eliminated corruption completely (Mosarwe, 2012). Regarding the issue, there is no verified evidence on corruption among law enforcers working in the wildlife conservation areas in Botswana. What is available are allegations that some of the law enforcement personnel were working in collaboration with poachers. This view is corroborated by the fact some DISS officers were caught by the DWNP Intelligence Unit with bags of ivory in their cars and they failed to account for the ivory (Mmeso, 2020). Two incidents of this type were recorded, one at Makalamabedi Veterinary Gate and the other one at Ngwashe Gate near Nata (ibid.) Both cases were never prosecuted. Be that as it may, laws of Botswana stipulate that an offence involving trade in ivory or illegal possession of ivory is liable to a fine of not less than BWP50 000 or 10 years’ imprisonment (Sekgwama, 2012). The sentence is not firm enough to deter poachers, considering the fact that the price of an elephant tusk is about P 5 250 per kilogram. Moreover, the average weight of an elephant tusk is approximately 50kg and this means it costs

about P262 500 (ibid). The Botswana law has shortcomings in the sense that it does not consider the number of tusks the offender possesses. The implication is that one elephant tusk is enough to protect offenders from the long hands of the law. For instance, through the sale of one tusk, an offender can defeat the police, wildlife rangers and whistle-blowers through bribery and still remains with a lot of money. These loopholes regarding the law of Botswana enhance poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products.

**Table 3: Economic Index World Rankings, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Source, Heritage Foundation, 2012)**

| Rank | Country  | Score 10 points |
|------|----------|-----------------|
| 33   | Botswana | 6.96            |
| 96   | Zambia   | 5.83            |
| 178  | Zimbabwe | 2.63            |

Table 3 shows that Botswana is on position 33 in the Global Economic Index Rankings with a score of 6.96 out of 10 points. This indicates good economic growth considering the fact that at independence in 1966, the country was amongst the poorest in Africa (Sebudubudu & Lotshwao, 2009). Good economic growth can help to explore whether a good economy can reduce poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products. Within the 40 years of independence, Botswana became a middle-income economy. Table 3 shows that economically Botswana is doing better than Zambia which scored 5.83, while Zimbabwe is the least considering its score of 2.63 out of 10 points. Nevertheless, though Botswana is doing well economically, this does not mean that some Botswana are not involved in commercial poaching. Some Botswana, Namibians, Zambians and Zimbabweans are among other nationalities were implicated in poaching activities in Botswana wildlife conservation areas (Thalefang, 2018). Therefore, some money-hungry citizens of Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe are commercial poachers causing illegal trade in wildlife products.

**Table 4: Consolidated Matrix of Poaching Variables-Adapted from Sekgwama (2012) and Transparency International (2011).**

| Country  | Corruption<br>(Values 0-10) | Socio-economic<br>(Values 0-10) | Governance<br>(Values 0-10) | Law and Order<br>(Values 0-10) |
|----------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Botswana | 6.1                         | 6.96                            | 7.63                        | 6.1                            |
| Zambia   | 3.2                         | 5.83                            | 6.19                        | 3.2                            |
| Zimbabwe | 2.2                         | 2.63                            | 2.68                        | 2.2                            |

Comparisons in table 4 show that Botswana is doing well in addressing corruption, in economic growth, governance and law and order maintenance compared to Zambia and Zimbabwe. Despite all the good scores that Botswana has shown, it does not mean there are no incidences of bad governance, socioeconomic challenges and shortcomings in its law and order. In other words, there are some poachers who are the citizens of Botswana and some who are citizens of other countries in the region and others from the international world (Sunday Standard Reporter, 2012). Sekgwama (2012) posits that though the Southern Africa region is relatively stable, there are some countries which experience socio-economic and political problems. For instance, the instability in Zimbabwe has to bear towards poaching activities in the north-east of Botswana (Ibid). The need to attain financial gain from poaching compels commercial poachers to jump the border into Botswana wildlife conservation areas to poach. The need to make financial gain is among the causes of illegal trade in wildlife products (Baruti, 2018).

With regards to rhinos killed by poachers, there are no sufficient statistics provided every year in Botswana as those of elephants. Despite the scanty figures on poached rhinos, Mosarwe (2012) states that poachers are targeting rhinos in Botswana since they have killed more than 400 rhinos in South Africa in 2011 alone. This view is corroborated by Mguni (2011) who states that in 1992, there were only 19 white rhinos left in Botswana while the black rhino was wiped out by poachers. The black rhino was re-introduced in Botswana in 2002. Due to high levels of poaching of rhinos, the Khama Rhino Sanctuary (KRS) was established near Serowe in an effort to conserve the extinct species (Tebele, 2019). Mguni (2011) reveals that the first 4 white rhinos were introduced into KRS from Chobe National Park in 1992 and 8 more rhinos came from the North West National Parks in South Africa. Similarly, Thalefang

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(2018) states that as a result of escalating poaching, black rhinos were declared extinct in Botswana. There were only a handful of white rhinos in Botswana. Of these few rhinos in Botswana, 8 of them were killed by poachers in 2018 (Thalefang, 2018). The availability of rhinos though in limited numbers in Botswana makes illegal trade in wildlife products possible.

Moreover, Thalefang (2018) reveals that there are some rich illegal traders in wildlife products some of whom are foreign nationals who hire people to take part in poaching around the Chobe National Park, the Okavango, Kgalagadi Game Reserve and Ngamiland among other places inhabited by valuable wildlife in Botswana. The rich illegal traders in wildlife products supply poachers with guns so that they hunt and kill animals such as elephants, rhinos, lions and so on in order to extract valuable products from them (Solly, 2019). The poachers who succeed in bringing products such as horns and hides among others to the rich illegal traders are paid satisfactory amounts of money. Therefore, some people in Botswana are engaged in poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products to enrich themselves from the lucrative business of illegal trade in elephant tusks and rhino horns (Ibid). Thalefang (2018) states that in 2018, security forces in Botswana arrested several poachers most of whom were Batswana working with either Zambians or Namibians. The availability of rich criminals who sponsor commercial poaching activities is the cause of illegal trade in wildlife products. The rich people sponsoring commercial poaching want to get richer.

Tebele (2019) states that poachers some of whom are heavily armed also have so far killed elephants, lions and rhinos as they engaged in fighting with security forces in Botswana. On another negative note, the securitization and militarization of wildlife in Botswana has generated conflict due to the fact that some neighbours to Botswana have raised complaints that some of their citizens were shot and killed by the Botswana security units even though they were not poaching (Tebele, 2018). The problem with these incidents is that it is not clear why those people who were shot decided to enter into Botswana's protected game parks inhabited by dangerous wild animals if their intention was not to poach.

It is most likely that the people who were shot entered the wildlife protected areas illegally and such people can be described as illegal immigrants. Generally, some Batswana and other citizens of the SADC region are eager to enrich themselves with funds generated through the sale of wildlife products; as such, they risk their lives through participating in illegal hunting in order to earn a living (Sunday Standard Reporter, 2012). Since wildlife is the



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source of economy for Botswana and its people, non-violent strategies must be designed so as to safeguard both wildlife and people who poach (Mogomotsi & Madigele, 2017). In other words, better human-friendly approaches, other than the “shoot-to-kill” policy must be designed and operationalized. For example, this can be achieved by involving community stakeholders in anti-poaching programmes and policy development.

Though there are no statistics to show the corrupt people implicated in poaching, Sekgwama (2012) has revealed that despite the fact that Botswana and other countries in the region such as Zambia, do their best to manage corruption, still, corruption remains one of the driving factors that cause poaching. As noted earlier, studies, especially in Tanzania and Botswana, have revealed that illegal wildlife syndicates provide and offer bribes to government officials at border entry points and local business people in order to gain access and passage of wildlife products illegally from a country (Ibid). It is among the factors that perpetuate illegal trade in wildlife products. Corruption is a threat to national security in the sense that state resources are embezzled so that they enrich a few corrupt individuals at the expense of the majority.

Literature shows that some rhino horns and ivory from elephants smuggled by traffickers and traders are captured and confiscated by the security forces at the site of poaching (Solly, 2019). Some recovery of these products also takes place away from the scene of the crime in different locations such as houses, cars and offices. Normally the horns and ivory among other wildlife products that are recovered are handed over to nature conservation authorities for safekeeping (Mguni, 2011). Due to high levels of corruption, the ivory and horns often find their way back to illegal markets where they are sold and the proceeds are taken by corrupt officers involved and other foreign illegal traders in wildlife products (Ibid). Corruption is among the causes of illegal trade in wildlife products.

The above view concurs with what the *Sunday Standard* Reporter (2014) established and stated that corruption plays an important contributory role in poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products. Poor salaries paid to conservation staff and game rangers according to the *Standard* Reporter (2014) contribute to poaching and illegal dealing in wildlife products. Due to poor salaries, some game rangers and conservation personnel are susceptible to offers made by poachers and traders from foreign nations. They are bribed by these criminals so that they do not interfere with poaching and sometimes these security forces actively participate in illegal

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hunting of wildlife. Some corrupt security forces promote and enhance the illegal trade in wildlife products.

The vast amounts of money generated through illegal trade in wildlife products attract people to this criminal activity. The study has established evidence that an ounce of rhino horn is capable of fetching more than an ounce of gold in the Eastern part of the world. It is estimated that the illegal trade in wildlife products is worth USD 10 billion per year (*The Sunday Standard Reporter*, 2014). Poachers and runners or middlemen earn more than the average wage of Southern Africa's national incomes and this drives several people employed and unemployed to risk their lives through poaching. The availability of markets and the benefits associated with illegal trade in wildlife products, as discussed previously, cause people to participate regardless of the risks that include being shot and killed by the security forces or being wounded or killed by dangerous animals such as rhinos, elephants and lions among others.

To sum up, on the matter under discussion, there are motivational factors that contribute to poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products. Letsholo (2019), one of these factors according to is the financial motivation which has been discussed above. Evidence shows that the illegal trade in wildlife products is also motivated by cultural issues and beliefs which demand rhino products particularly in communities in Asia. In these communities, rhino products among products of other wildlife species are believed to be an aphrodisiac, that is medicine or drug that arouses sexual desire. Some business people who are dealers in wildlife products in Asia are prepared to provide large amounts of money to purchase these products from Botswana and other countries in the region. The persistence of these cultural beliefs makes it difficult to combat the offence of illegal trade in wildlife products (Letsholo, 2019). Failure to dismantle the markets leaves the illegal business flourishing. Moreover, there is evidence that in African culture, endangered wildlife species' products are also used as medicine by African traditional healers known as *ngaka tsa Setswana* in Botswana or *sangomas* in South Africa (Ibid). Traditional healers believe that wildlife products are capable of warding off evil spirits as well as providing curative power. The demand in wildlife products in Africa causes poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products to thrive despite the efforts by security forces to curb the problem.

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### **4.3 HOW IS ILLEGAL TRADE IN WILDLIFE PRODUCTS A THREAT TO THE COUNTRY'S NATIONAL SECURITY?**

Wildlife provides the country with revenue obtained through the selling of flora and fauna products. Finances raised through selling of wildlife products can be used to develop the country's economy and to support the lives of Batswana (Mbaiwa & Hambira, 2019). Poaching and illegal trading in wildlife products have deprived the tourism industry in Botswana. This view concurs with Mbaiwa (2017) whose findings are that the tourism industry in Botswana is going down due to several factors that include poaching, illegal trade in wildlife products and drought. The reduction and extinction of some plants and animal species cause a decrease in the number of tourists visiting Botswana. This also has negative impacts on the amount of foreign currency brought to Botswana by the tourists (Ibid).

Reduction in the number of tourists visiting Botswana and limited amounts of money generated lead to loss of employment due to the retrenchment of some employees in the tourism industry in Botswana (Mogomotsi & Madigele, 2017). Unemployment leads to lack of necessities, poverty and underdevelopment and these threaten the country's national security. Sejabosigo (2015) established that Botswana is not immune to terrorism which is caused by poverty and unemployment of the youth among other factors.

There is a need to eradicate the illegal trade in wildlife products and poaching. This need is prompted by the fact that illegal trade in wildlife products is increasingly being used by terrorist groups and some transnational organizations to fund their militant activities which threaten national, regional and international peace and security. This view is also corroborated by Khama (2015:1) who states that "wildlife trafficking is no longer simply about trade in wildlife and their parts and derivatives. Proceeds of trafficking are used to fund other crimes such as terrorism, arms and drugs trafficking." These activities also fuel corruption and the result is the rule of law of states is undermined.

Poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products put the lives of the community at risk. Mbaiwa (2017) states that more than 70 per cent of the rural populace depends directly on natural resources and the environment for their livelihoods, income and food security. Therefore, illegal plundering of the biodiversity through poaching and illegal trade of wildlife

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has the potential to threaten the lives of the rural populations in Botswana and other parts of the SADC region.

Illegal trade in wildlife products and poaching puts the lives of different stakeholders at risk. Moreover, Mogomotsi and Madigele (2017) posit that in Botswana and elsewhere in the region, some wildlife rangers who are in the frontline in fighting poachers and illegal traders lose their lives in an attempt to protect their nations' wildlife resources. This justifies Botswana's militarization and securitization of wildlife. In Botswana, the government has deployed the military, the Intelligence Services and the Police to support the Department of Wildlife to combat illegal trade in wildlife products and poaching.

#### **4.4 HOW CAN BOTSWANA COMBAT ILLEGAL TRADE IN WILDLIFE PRODUCTS?**

Data has provided several ways by which Botswana can combat illegal trade in wildlife products and poaching. Some observers (Mbaiwa, 2017; Baruti, 2018) are of the view that a permanent solution to the problem of illegal trade in wildlife products must involve the communities. Poverty alleviation and the creation of employment for community members can help reduce illegal trade in wildlife and poaching. The security forces responsible for protecting wildlife against poachers must work in collaboration with community members as they fight poachers. Similarly, Letsholo (2019) suggests that the communities around national parks in Botswana must benefit from the wildlife so that they are not tempted to poach and getting involved in illegal trade in wildlife products. Failure by the government to engage the community can open an opportunity for community members to collaborate with poachers and illegal traders who offer them some benefits such as money, guns and meat among others.

Another way that can be used to combat illegal trade in wildlife products is legalizing the trade in wildlife products. However, this proposal for legal trading in rhino horn and ivory among other products is undermined by some individuals and Non-Governmental Organizations who do not support the idea of hunting and trading in animal products even if quality standards of sustainability are maintained (Mbaiwa, 2017). People who critique the legalization of wildlife trade argue that there are consequences of uncertainty regarding the conservation of wildlife and that no action may be taken if some people abuse hunting rights. Viewed this way, legalization can be dangerous and it may send a wrong signal which undermines the demand reduction campaigns against the plundering of endangered species. In

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Botswana, there is inconsistency in terms of policy regarding banning and or legalizing hunting. Former President Khama's regime imposed a ban on hunting in Botswana (Khama, 2015); while his successor, Masisi seems to favour legalizing of hunting (Tebele, 2018). People who are anti-legalization believe that their stance is a precautionary principle and campaign against rhino and elephant poaching.

To combat poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products, Botswana and other states in the region must put in place adequate law enforcement and effective legislation to curb wildlife crimes (Sekgwama, 2011). Sophisticated anti-poaching strategies are needed and the current ones must be upgraded, properly planned and implemented continuously keeping in pace with the dynamic mode of operation of the wildlife criminals. The Botswana courts must amend and consolidate their laws regarding poaching. Sentences passed on wildlife criminals need to be stricter and harsher in order to deter perpetrators from participating in such crimes. Moreover, there is a need for cooperation between security forces internationally in fighting cross border illegal trade in wildlife products. Police, immigration officers and customs must be given adequate capacity at ports of entry and exit to check for smugglers of wildlife products (Ibid). In general, all stakeholders involved in the fight against poaching and illegal trading in wildlife products must be compliant and equal to the problem. This is a need because poachers and illegal traders in wildlife products change their tactics continuously. Therefore, it is important to know notorious and habitual poachers so that wildlife crimes can be easily tackled and addressed according to Gaofise (2016) views.

#### **4.5 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER**

Poaching of endangered species and illegal selling of wildlife products is done at an alarming rate as a way of satisfying the growing demand in consumer markets. Heinous poaching crimes in source countries such as Botswana have been on an increase. Failure to take a decisive action to combat wildlife trafficking and illegal trade in wildlife products may lead to the extinction of the endangered wildlife and this has negative impacts on the economy of Botswana which depends much on minerals and ecotourism. Additionally, poaching hampers the growth of the tourism industry and this leads to high unemployment rates. Unemployment and poverty threaten the country's national security in the sense that people can violently revolt against the government thereby disturbing the peace. Poaching is a threat to Botswana as well as regional and international security. Militias and well-resourced criminal organized groups capitalize on the weaknesses in legislation, civil unrest and inadequate institutions so that they succeed in

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supplying an insatiable demand for wildlife products at illegal markets. Therefore, there is a need to rid markets for illegal wildlife products, to ensure deterrents and effective legal frameworks as well as strengthening law enforcement and improving community livelihoods.

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## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations on the analysis of illegal trade in wildlife products as a threat to Botswana's national security. Conclusions and recommendations are based on the objectives of the study which are: To explore the causes of illegal trade in wildlife products, to investigate how illegal trade in wildlife products is a threat to the country's national security and to establish strategies by which Botswana can combat illegal trade in wildlife products.

### **5.2 CONCLUSIONS**

#### **5.2.1 The Causes Of Illegal Trade In Wildlife Products**

The study has found that illegal trade in wildlife products is caused by commercial poachers who make money through selling horns and tusks in some markets in the world. They strive in poaching and participate in illegal trade in wildlife products although it is risky. Poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products have negative impacts on the economy of Botswana in the sense that ecotourism is negatively affected by poaching.

The availability of markets and buyers of illegal wildlife products motivate them to poach. Illegal sourced wildlife products are purchased at high prices in Asia and this motivates people to poach. Moreover, in Africa, for example, rhino horns are used for medicine and warding off of evil spirits by African traditional healers. The implication is illegal wildlife products have markets in the region and internationally. Corruption is one of the main causes of illegal trade in wildlife products. As a result, corruption among public officers perpetuates illegal trade in wildlife products in Botswana. Loopholes in legislation and other institutions open the door for illegal trade in wildlife products.

#### **5.2.2 How illegal trade in wildlife products is a threat to the country's national security**

Wildlife conservation and ecotourism have several benefits for the citizens both economic and social. Poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products deprive the country of its revenue which

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should support the development and the majority of the citizens. Poaching and other unsustainable methods of wildlife harvesting lead to overharvesting of wildlife resources and this has negative impacts on the tourism industry including that of Botswana. Loss of wildlife results in a reduction in the number of tourists visiting the country and the revenue generated. Conversely, this results in the retrenchment of employees in the hospitality industry and other places in game parks. Unemployment, poverty and hunger are threats to the country's national security as witnessed in other countries in Africa. Moreover, the illegal trade in wildlife products helps support terrorists and other organized criminal groups. This justifies Botswana's securitization of its wildlife because of the threats posed by poachers and illegal dealers in wildlife products. Some rangers who engage with poachers lose their lives. Moreover, the study established that about 70 per cent of rural populations survive on wildlife and environmental resources; therefore, illegal plundering of such may harm their economic lives.

### **5.3 STRATEGIES BY WHICH BOTSWANA CAN USE TO COMBAT ILLEGAL TRADE IN WILDLIFE PRODUCTS**

This study has concluded that the government should engage members of the community in its efforts to combat illegal trade in wildlife. Security forces that protect wildlife have been encouraged to collaborate with members of the community. The study established that harsher sentences must be given to poachers and illegal traders in wildlife products. Furthermore, the study has concluded that the country's legislation must be strengthened to help in combating illegal trade in wildlife products. Security forces and immigration and customs officials must be given adequate resources which enable them to apprehend wildlife criminals at border entry and exit points. Moreover, several approaches must be developed so that they work alongside the security forces' efforts in anti-poaching operations.

### **5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS**

In light of the above conclusions, this study recommends that:

- ❖ Local community involvement is critical to wildlife conservation and the reduction of poaching and illegal trade. When local communities benefit from wildlife and have a decision-making role in wildlife management, they are more likely to provide intelligence information to security personnel on poachers in their local areas as well as reporting suspected international poachers in the country. This collaboration between



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government and local communities is likely to have a contribution to wildlife conservation, the security of Botswana and the promotion of the tourism industry in the country.

- ❖ The government of Botswana should put in place proper strategies to strengthen its economy by consolidating the tourism industry so as to alleviate unemployment and poverty,
- ❖ The government should come up with programs to educate traditional healers on the impact of poaching and the need to revise their cultural beliefs about rhino horns,
- ❖ The government should provide the security forces with adequate resources to enable them to defeat poachers and illegal traders whose activities reinforce terrorism, and
- ❖ Botswana should revise its Judiciary process of poaching crimes in order to give harsher sentences to poachers and illegal traders in wildlife products

## **5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The study concludes that poaching in Botswana and other parts of the SADC continues to persist despite some attempts to curb the problem. Botswana's biodiversity is challenged by commercial poaching activities targeting elephants' tusks and rhino horns. There are also trans-border crimes that are detrimental to Botswana's tourism industry which is among the backbone of the economy of the country. The security of any nation is hinged on the strength of its economy. Therefore, poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products can jeopardize the growth of the tourism industry. In the event that the tourism industry closes, people risk losing their jobs. Loss of employment leads to poverty. Due to poverty and lack of basic resources, people can use violence to effect regime change. Poverty can also cause civil war which is a threat to the national security of the state.

Trans-border poaching threatens Botswana's national security in the sense that funds that are generated by poachers and other armed non-state actors can be used to advance acts of terrorism. Porous boundaries between Botswana and her neighbours enhance poaching activities and illegal trade of wildlife products. Poaching is on the rise due to increased demand for megafauna products. Corruption has also seen some officers receiving bribes from poachers and illegal traders and this hampers efforts to combat the threat. As a result of corruption,

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elephants' tusks and rhino horns are easily trafficked. Socio-economic problems in Botswana's neighbouring states cause trans-border poaching.

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