A Comparison of the Complexities in Development Between Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo

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Abstract

This study is a country comparison between the African states of Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Using a data set of selected African countries, this paper offers valuable insights into the nature of development in both countries. The aim of this essay is also to show the factors that contribute to development in both countries. A look at topics such as natural resources and governance will help to form the discussion of development. The principal findings of the analysis are that development is an issue that can be looked at through many lenses due to its complexity and that both Botswana and the DRC have complex development situations. Botswana has hidden development challenges that pose problems to further growth. The DRC, on the other hand, has more overt development challenges, but also great potential for development and growth.

Introduction

> *"We penetrated deeper and deeper into the heart of darkness"*
> ― *Joseph Conrad (1902)*
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Contemporarily, this quote references the western perception of Africa during the colonial period in which the unknown parts of the continent were seen as the 'heart of darkness.' Development efforts on the continent were fueled by the want of riches and the desire to discover what was hidden in the unknown interior of Africa. Development is a topic with many layers, and it can be viewed in different lights, depending on your perception. It is viewed positively by those who are the so-called 'winners' of development. However, the 'losers' of development view it as an excuse for continued intervention and unwanted influence by western countries.

Proponents of development will say that it "is interested not so much in the growth of an economy but rather the conditions under which production occurs and the results that flow from

it" (Peet and Hartwick, 1999, 2). Development studies focus on finding solutions rather than attaining results, which is essentially an argument that intervention today is meant for benevolent purposes. For those who support development, they tend to view the topics in an "optimistic and utopian" light, and they want to change "the world for the better, starting at the bottom rather than the top" (Peet and Hartwick, 1999, 3).

One critique of the topic lies in the thought that development strives for perfection, which can never be fully achieved (Esteva 1992, 6). This is still more of an optimistic view of development. The primary critique of development lies in the fact that it is thinly veiled colonialism. Many see development as the force which transformed "global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of history, robbing peoples of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life" (Esteva 1992, 9).

Development is an important issue in sub-Saharan Africa because it is considered an under-developed region. Through this writing, I hope to show development issues in the focus countries of Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo. These two countries occupy different places on the Human Development Index and, yet, their differences can constitute a meaningful study into differences in development. The Human Development Index, or HDI, can be defined as "a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and hav[ing] a decent standard of living" (United Nations Development Programme, n.d.). In the data table presented below, the factors the Human Development Index measures will constitute a part of the data discussion. Other development indices will be a part of the discussion, including literacy, maternal mortality, the Gini coefficient, and freedom transparency.

In the following analysis presented, it will be evident that development is nuanced, and it is a topic that must be looked at further to understand. From this study, the reader should gain a grasp of the complexities of development in both Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo through the discussion of natural resources, corruption and governance, ethnicity, and colonial legacies.

It is important to note that this study is limited in nature because comparisons can never address all of the nuances of each country. My perspective is also a limitation because I have not lived out the realities of development in either of my focus countries. Writing from a developed country limits my ability to understand much about what living in a developing country is like. However, my purpose in writing is to show some of the most prominent complexities in the various development issues addressed in both the data and analysis sections. While I cannot scratch the surface of the realities of everyday life, I hope to inform the reader of some of the pressing development issues in both the Democratic Republic of Congo and Botswana.

Background

Africa is comprised of 54 countries (Figure 1), which span from the Mediterranean Sea in the North to the Cape of Good Hope in the South (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2016). The sheer size of the continent implies diversity in itself. It also has a rapidly growing population and a mostly untapped potential for growth and development (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2016). Sub-Saharan Africa is typically studied as a different region from North Africa because it has a more similar character. However, it is still incredibly difficult to study sub-Saharan Africa as a whole because the region itself varies. This is why it was necessary to narrow my focus down to two countries: Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo. These countries are still very different, but I hope to make sense

of their different states of development through side-by-side comparisons. The analysis section will focus on the sub-topics of natural resources, colonial legacies, governance and corruption, and ethnicity.

Figure 1. Political Map of Africa

(Central Intelligence Agency, 2012).

Botswana is a landlocked state in southern Africa with a semiarid climate (Figure 2). It is comprised in part by the Kalahari desert in the southwest of the country, and almost half of the

land in the country is used for agriculture, particularly pastoralism (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(a).). The estimated population of the country is a little over 2.3 million, with most of the population living in the eastern part of the country (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(a).). The population is said to be about 70% urban, with a good number of Botswanans living in Gaborone (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(a).). Some of the country's primary exports and industries are diamonds, copper, nickel, soda ash, potash, coal, iron ore, livestock, and textiles (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(a).). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita is estimated to be about $17,000 (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(a).).

Figure 2. Political Map of Botswana
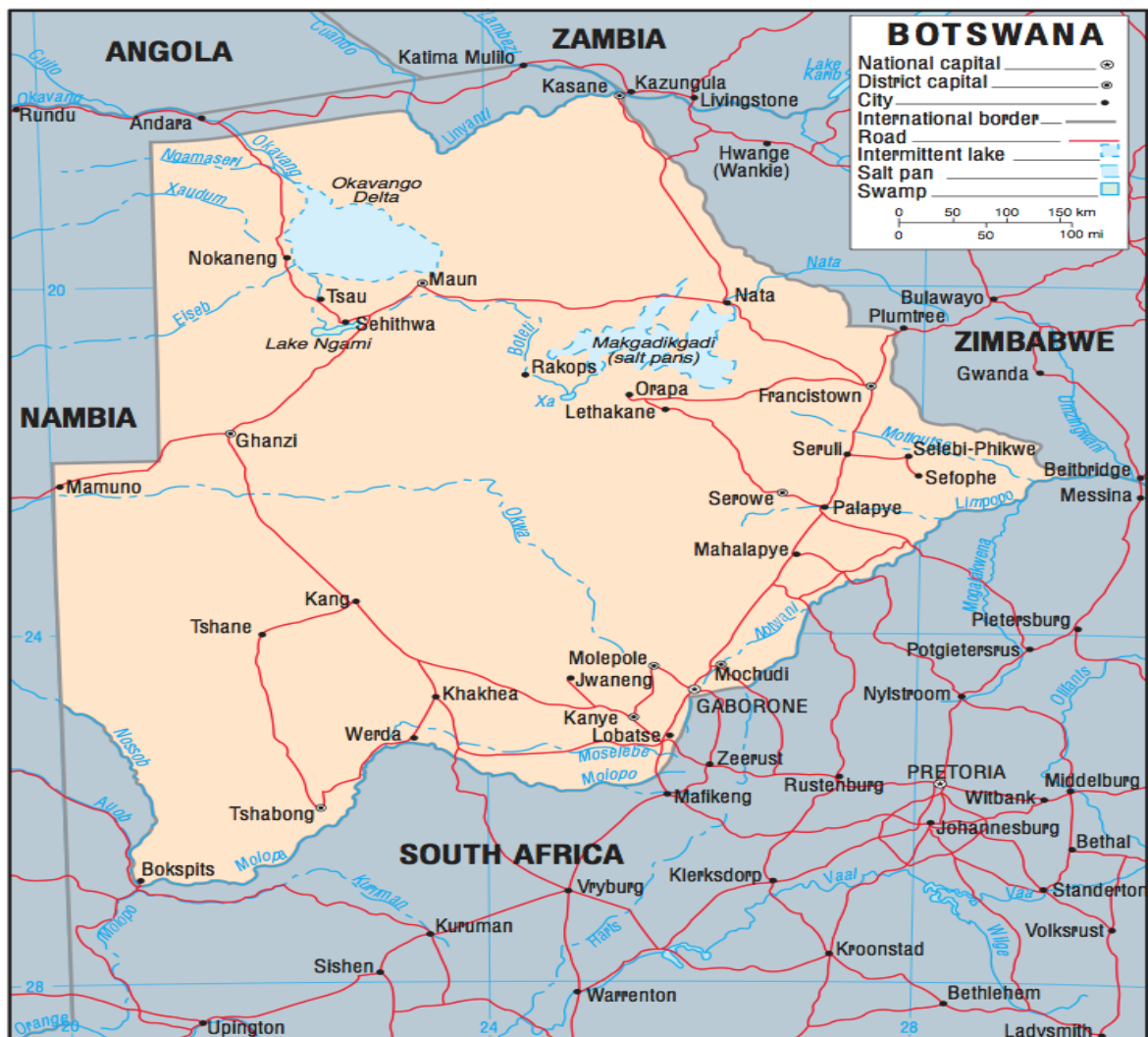
(Central Intelligence Agency, 2005).

      The Democratic Republic of Congo is a large central African country (Figure 3). It is the second-largest country in Africa, and it has a tropical climate due to the fact that it lies on the equator (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(b).). It is extremely rich in natural resources, with its primary commodities being "cobalt, copper, niobium, tantalum, petroleum, industrial and gem diamonds, gold, silver, zinc, manganese, tin, uranium, coal, hydropower," as well as vast forest resources (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(b).). The population of the country is estimated to be nearly 102 million, which makes it the 15th most populous state in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(b).). The GDP per capita is estimated to be $800, which ranks as one of the lowest in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(b).). The population is slightly more rural than urban, with about 55% of the population living rurally (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(b).). Most of the economy is made up of industries such as mining (diamond, coltan, etc.) and timber (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d(b).)

Figure 3. Political Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo

(Central Intelligence Agency, 1998).

Development indicators are an essential part of understanding any developmental issue, even though they are just a launching point for further analysis. For this study, I chose to include the factors that comprise the overall HDI score for each country – life expectancy, expected years of schooling, mean years of schooling, and Gross National Income (GNI for short). I also included the Gini coefficient for each country because it is an economic measure that exposes

some of the inner workings of an economy. The Transparency International freedom rating for

each country is also in the set because I felt that it provided a more qualitative dimension to the

data. Maternal mortality is another important component of development because it is often

connected with the strength of the healthcare system. Literacy is a component of the data set that

shows not only the education level of the population but also helps to understand access to the

education system. To provide a more complete picture of development, it was necessary to bring

other countries into my data set. The countries added to the data set are Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia,

Morocco, Nigeria, and South Africa. Africa is so incredibly diverse and complicated that using

data from just two countries could be said to produce a superficial comparison.

Table 1 is important for understanding some of the deeper issues that both Botswana and

the Democratic Republic of Congo have that will be presented in the analysis section. Often,

indicators tell a story in regards to development, but it is necessary for us to look further to

understand what that story is.

Table 1. Development Indicators for Selected African Countries

Country	Life Expectancy	Expected Years of Schooling	Mean Years of Schooling	GNI	Gini	Free (Y or N)	Maternal Mortality (per 100,000 live births)	Male Literacy	Female Literacy
Algeria	76.7	14.7	8.0	13,639	29.0	N	140	87.2%	73.1%
Botswana	69.3	12.7	9.3	15,951	60.5	Y	144	88%	88.9%
Congo (Democratic Republic of)	60.4	9.7	6.8	800	42.1	N	473	88.5%	66.5%
Egypt	71.8	13.1	7.3	10,774	31.8	N	37	82.1%	65.4%
Ethiopia	66.2	8.7	2.8	1,782	35.0	N	401	57.2%	41.1%

Morocco	76.5	13.1	5.5	7,480	39.5	Partly	121	78.6%	58.8%
Nigeria	54.3	9.7	6.5	5,086	43.0	Partly	917	69.2%	49.7%
South Africa	63.9	13.7	10.2	11.756	63.0	Y	138	95.4%	93.4%

*The category Free (Y or N) is based on the Freedom House Report for 2019 ranking each country as Free, Partly Free, or Not Free.
(United Nations Development Programme, 2019, The World Bank, 2018c, Transparency International, 2019, UNICEF, 2019, Central Intelligence Agency, 2016)

It is important to analyze how the data for the DRC and Botswana compares. One piece of data that does not fit into the table is the Corruption Perception Index because it is less of a quantitative measure and more of a qualitative one. For Botswana, its perceived corruption ranking is 34th out of 180 countries ranked, meaning they are the 34th least corrupt country in the world (Transparency International, n.d.). They have maintained this position from 2018 to 2019. However, DRC is ranked 168th in corruption, out of 180 countries (Transparency International, n.d.). They fell eight spots from their 2018 position, suggesting that the country has become more corrupt over the past year.

There are also some interesting trends that we can see in the table. For the Democratic Republic of Congo, the gap between male and female literacy is significant. In fact, every country except for Botswana has a higher rate of male literacy than female literacy. The DRC is just the most extreme example out of the ones presented. In regard to Gross National Income, the DRC falls short of all the other countries in the table.

Maternal mortality is typically defined as "the annual number of female deaths per 100,000 live births from any cause related to or aggravated by pregnancy or its management" (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). Even though the Democratic Republic of Congo's maternal mortality of 473 (per 100,000) seems like a small number, the average rate for the more developed countries of the world is so low that this number is extremely high (UNICEF, n.d.).

For example, the United States has a maternal mortality rate of 19 (per 100,000), which is significantly lower than the rate for the DRC (UNICEF, n.d.).

The Gini coefficient is the measure of the "extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution" (OECD, n.d.). It ranks states on a scale from 0 to 100, with 100 being the highest level of inequality and 0 being equality. Botswana has one of the highest GNIs in sub-Saharan Africa, but it also has an extremely high Gini score of 60.5 (World Bank, 2018c). This suggests that the wealth in the country is held in the hands of a few. The DRC has a Gini of 42.1, which is not insignificant. However, it is substantially better than Botswana, which is remarkable considering their different HDI statuses.

One other important measurement is the GDP of each country in the data set. Table 2 shows a GDP comparison of all eight countries in the data set. It is easy to see that Botswana has the smallest GDP out of all the countries in the set, which could be a factor of its size in comparison to the larger African countries in the set. The DRC is the next smallest country in terms of GDP, even though it is one of the largest African countries and has arguably the most resource wealth out of any country in Africa.

Table 2. GDP for Selected African Countries
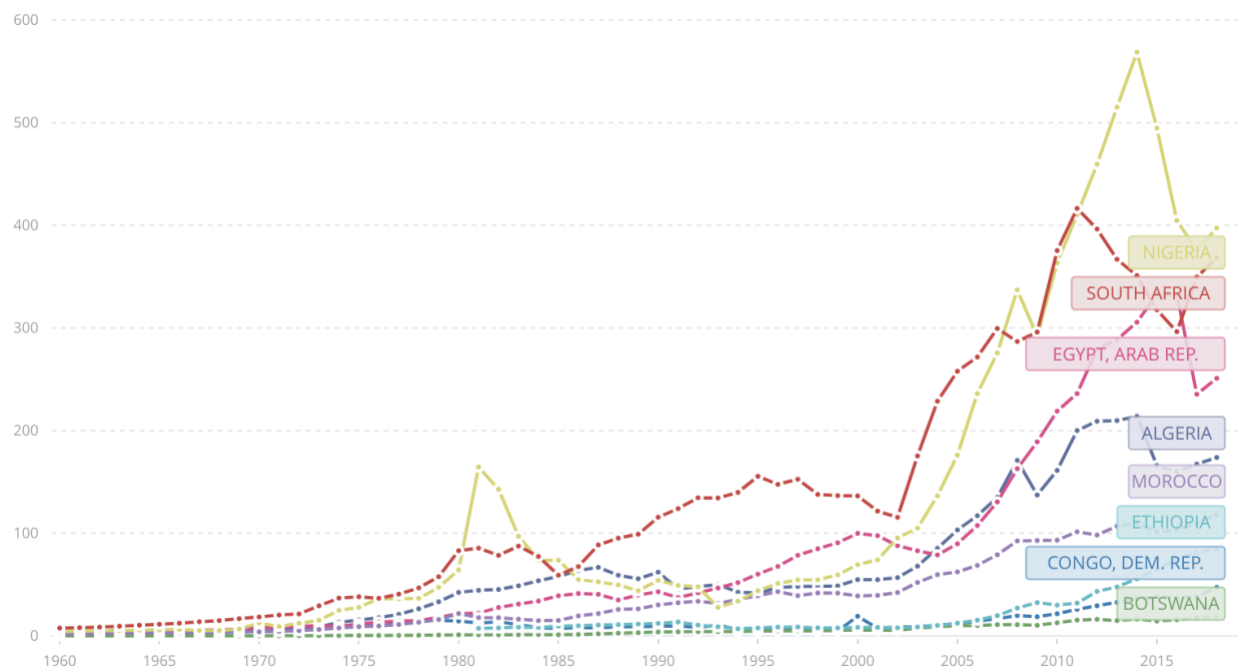
*Y-axis is measured in billions of dollars   (World Bank, 2018b)

It is important to consider how this data can point to trends that will be explained later. Botswana has a high GNI, yet also a high rate of income inequality. The DRC has poor indicators in every area, but that was more likely given the nature of its colonial legacies, struggles with authoritarianism, and history of internal conflict. What accounts for Botswana's large income inequality and low expected years of schooling that do not correlate to the other indicators?

Analysis

The DRC and Botswana seem like polar opposites if looked at from a surface-level, but both countries have development challenges, whether they are apparent or not. At first glance, Botswana seems to be an exception, while most sub-Saharan states are underdeveloped. It is "the second wealthiest country in sub-Saharan Africa second only to South Africa (although the global figure masks high levels of poverty as indeed is the case with South Africa)" (Theobald

and Williams 1999, 127). Botswana could possibly be considered the richest sub-Saharan African country with all factors taken into account. Another reason for Botswana's perceived success is that the country "emerged from colonialism as a primarily cattle-keeping society in which tribal principles… continued to operate" (Theobald and Williams 1999, 127). Botswana is also a paradox of sorts because as much as 47% of the population is impoverished and yet it is one of the top lower-middle-income developed countries according to development indexes (Theobald and Williams 1999, 128). Its success could also be explained by its prolonged period of growth "from 1965 to 1995," in which "Botswana was the fastest growing country in the world" (Beaulier, n.d.).

The Democratic Republic of Congo is known as being one of the least developed countries in the world. However, it has great potential because it has a large amount of arable land, and it is rich in minerals (World Bank, n.d.). It is estimated that over 70% of the population lives in extreme poverty, which is living on less than $1.90 per day (World Bank, n.d.). As seen in the data section, the DRC ranks very low on most development indicators making it one of the least developed countries in sub-Saharan Africa. It is important to consider what causes this disparity between resource-richness and material poverty.

There are several important themes that account for the complexities in development surrounding both the Democratic Republic of Congo and Botswana. Some of these are poverty traps, ethnic diversity, colonial history, and physical geography. Typically, poverty traps fall into the categories of poor governance (authoritarian or totalitarian), corruption, health, and resource curse, some of which pertain to the situations of Botswana and the DRC.

Natural Resources

Both the Democratic Republic of Congo and Botswana have abundant natural resources, and it is important to consider what consequences this might have for the countries. This section will consist of a description of the resources in each country, a discussion of whether or not they have fallen into the resource curse, and a discussion of the GDP of each country.

The resources of the DRC are vast, and it is considered one of the most resource-rich countries in the world. The country is a source for many minerals that have importance around the world. For instance, the DRC produces 50% of the world's cobalt, 32% of the world's diamonds, and 13% of its copper (Yager, 2019b). It also consumes little of what it produces, so in theory, most of these minerals should be valuable exports that bring benefit to the whole of its citizens (Yager, 2019b). While cobalt, diamonds, and copper are some of the most prominent mineral resources, the DRC also has significant reserves in gold, zinc, tin, tungsten, coltan, silver, and germanium, just to name a few (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. and Yager, 2019b). In the past five years, the DRC has increased its production and output of tungsten and gold significantly, perhaps in an effort to decrease the government's association with conflict diamonds (Yager, 2019b). Many of the mines in the country are actually owned by "artisanal and small-scale miners" instead of being owned by the government (Yager, 2019b). However, this does not mean that the government does not hold a share of these small-scale mining companies. Another important resource for the DR Congo is its forests, which make up nearly 70% of the land area of the country (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.).

The DRC has more than "half of Africa's forests and water resources" (UN Environment Programme, 2017). The preservation of the DRC's forests is critical not only to the health of the country, but to the health of Africa as well. Environmental degradation is also a concern with illegal logging and poaching taking place (UN Environment Programme, 2017). The DR Congo

is also considered the country with the most biodiversity in all of Africa, yet they have nearly 200 species that are endangered (UN Environment Programme, 2017). The DRC also has great potential to expand its energy sources by tapping into hydroelectric power. The country has "13% of the world's hydropower potential – which could meet domestic needs and generate export revenue from the sale of electricity" (UN Environment Programme, 2017). While the DRC already has some hydroelectric projects in place along the Congo river, they are "currently producing at well below capacity due to insufficient maintenance and lack of funding for refurbishment" (International Hydropower Association, 2015). With such resource richness, it seems that the DRC should not be one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world. This is where the theory of resource curse comes into question.

The resource curse can be defined as "the failure of many resource-rich countries to benefit fully from their natural resource wealth, and for governments in these countries to respond effectively to public welfare needs" (Natural Resource Governance Institute, 2015). Countries with resource abundance are often seen as mishandling their resources, which only leads to the deepening of their poverty situation. Some agree with the theory of resource curse, and others do not. The general principle of the resource curse is that "resource-rich countries are less wealthy and less competently governed than those lacking in natural resources" (Lalhi 2007, 34). The theory of resource curse originally comes from the book, *Sustaining Development in Mineral Economies: The Resource Curse Thesis*, by the scholar Richard Auty. However, the concept was popularized by Sachs and Warner after their paper detailing why "resource-poor economies outperforming resource-rich economies has been a constant motif of economic history" (Sachs and Warner, 1995).

While the DRC has ample amounts of many resources, the exploitation of coltan is one that makes a positive case for the resource curse. Coltan, or columbite-tantalum, is used in "capacitators in high-tech and medical devices, including mobile phones and laptop computers" (Lalhi 2007, 35). It is a resource with immense value to our world, and it is unfortunately easily exploitable. All it takes to harvest coltan is cutting down a patch of trees and removing unwanted materials (Lalhi 2007, 35). It takes no high-tech machinery or skilled individuals to exploit this valuable resource. Many companies have certified that their coltan does not come from Central Africa, but instead from Australia, which is the largest producer of coltan (Lalhi 2007, 35). However, the DRC is said to have the largest coltan reserves, and it continues to be exploited today (Lalhi 2007, 35). Even if the technology we use today has certified non-African coltan, we undoubtedly already possess illegal coltan in some form of our technology. Illegal coltan from the DRC has already made it into our society, and it is hard to completely rid technology of Central African coltan. Because many multinational companies put bans on minerals from the DRC, this puts "many miners out of work and even [drives] some to join armed groups to gain a source of livelihood"(Council on Foreign Relations, n.d.). The refusal to buy resources from a country that is fueled by them can only harm that country's economy. While it may be better for the world to stay away from buying mineral from the DRC, it greatly compromises the economic ability of the country.

The exploitation of coltan also points to another theme regarding natural resources in the DRC - conflict. Control of the vast natural resources in the country has created interstate and intrastate conflict that is not likely to go away until resources become adequately managed (Global Policy Forum, n.d.). The conflict between militias for control of resources will continue until the world takes action "against illegal exploitation and trafficking of natural resources"

(Global Policy Forum, n.d.). Conflict also happens between "political, military, and business elites, as well as rebel groups and armies of neighboring countries" (Global Witness 2009, 5). A contributing factor to the conflict over natural resources is the "weakness of state institutions and a pervasive culture of impunity" that "meant that the perpetrators of crimes connected to the illicit exploitation of natural resources have rarely, if ever, been punished" (Global Witness 2009, 4).

In the DRC, even though mining seems like it would make up a significant portion of the GDP because the country has significant mineral reserves, it makes up only an estimated 22.1% (Yager, 2019b). While mining exports have increased significantly in the 2010s, the mining share of the GDP seems that it should be larger. In Table 3, we can see that the DRC has had a large increase in production since 2000, and yet, mining is not a significant source of GDP.

Table 3. GDP for the Democratic Republic of Congo
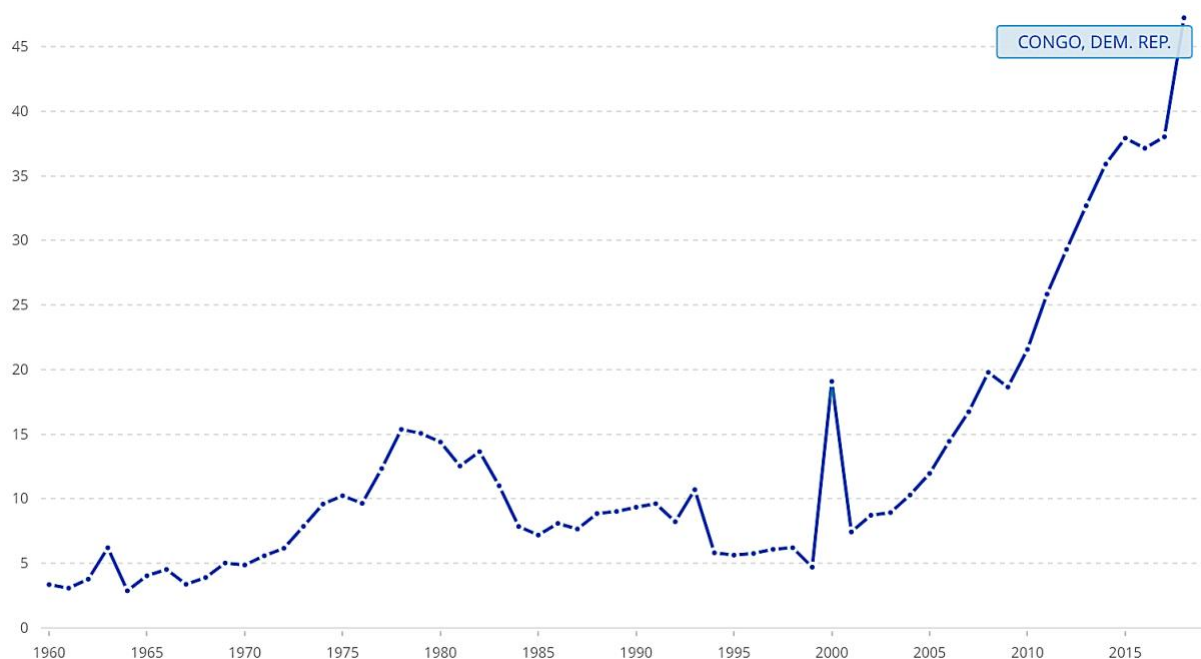
*Y-axis is measured in billions of dollars   (World Bank, 2018b)

Botswana is also a country that is considered resource-rich. The country is the second-largest producer of diamonds in the world, behind Russia (Yager, 2019a and Janse 2007, 109). Botswana is also one of the youngest diamond-producing countries, having only begun its diamond production in 1970 (Janse 2007, 98). The DRC, by comparison, is the 4th largest producer of diamonds in the world (Janse 2007, 114). Some of the other minerals Botswana produces are "cement, clay, coal, cobalt, copper, gold, nickel, platinum-group metals (PGMs), salt, sand and gravel, semiprecious gemstones, and silver" (Yager, 2019a). The government does not have outright control over its diamond and soda ash mines, which is another abundant resource in the country, but it maintains shares in the majority of mines for both of these industries (Yager, 2019a).

While it may seem that the resource curse is unavoidable for any resource-rich country, research has shown that "a country that discovers a resource after it has formed robust democratic institutions is usually better able to avoid the resource curse" (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019). Botswana is said to be one resource-rich country that managed to avoid the resource curse, in theory. Though the country may have avoided the pitfalls of the resource curse, there are still the makings of the curse present. The country "experienced the highest per-capita growth rate in the world between 1965 and 1998" (The Center for Global Development, 2009). Unlike DRC, Botswana has seemingly put its resource wealth to positive use. However, one evidence that Botswana has not put its resources to good use is the government's control of the diamond industry. One entity that has a large influence in the diamond industry is the DeBeers Group of Companies of Luxembourg because it operates a worldwide shipping center out of Gaborone (Yager, 2019a). Through the company DeBeers, the Botswana Democratic Party controls the diamond wealth of Botswana (Malunga, 2019). While Botswana may not have

fallen prey to the symptoms of the resource curse, the country still has its problems, even if they are not as apparent as the DRC's.

Botswana is similar to the DRC in that mining makes up only 18.3% of its GDP (Yager, 2019a). However, this could be due to some of the problems in the diamond industry that cause profits to leak out of the country. Table 4 includes a representation of GDP from the years 1960-2018. It is apparent from the data that Botswana has rapid growth post-independence in the 60s, especially with the discovery of diamonds.

Table 4. GDP for Botswana
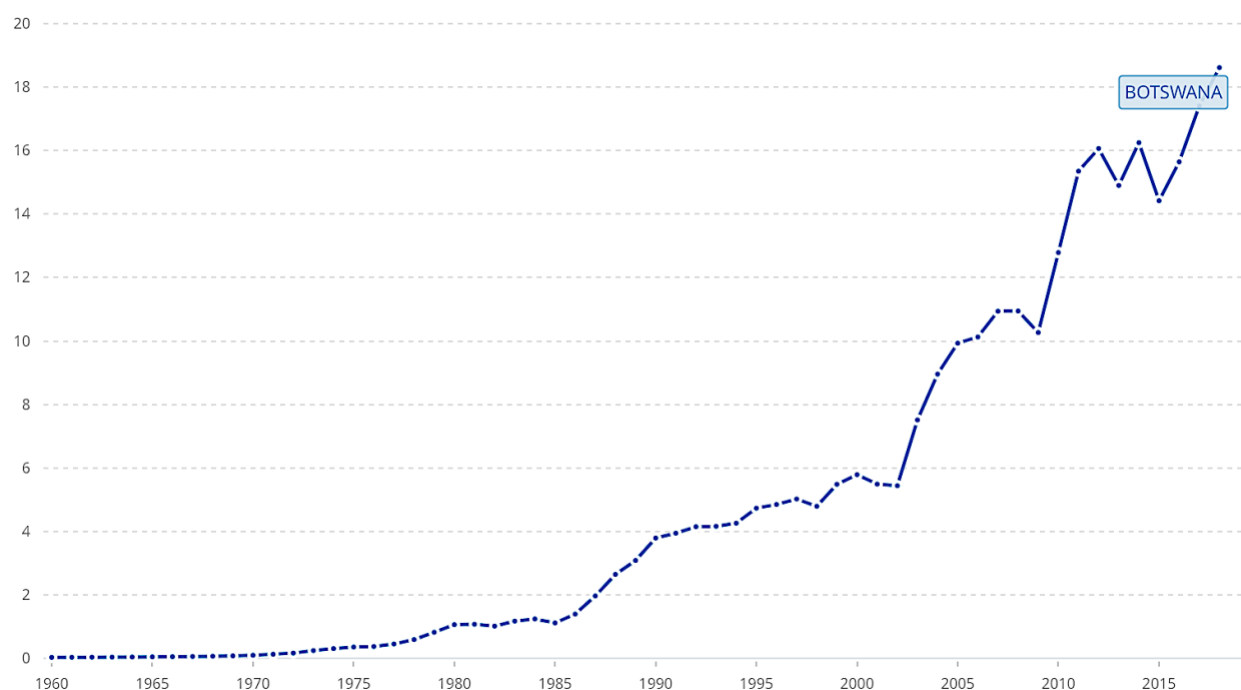
*Y-axis is measured in billions of dollars   (World Bank, 2018a)

Colonial Legacies

The DRC has been subject to continual violence, which has stemmed from a long history of instability following colonial rule. The colonial rule led to authoritarian rule and instability following independence. With the DR Congo being such a large and resource-rich country, "stability in Africa's Great Lakes region depends on peace in the

DRC" (Ntung, 2019). The history of violence in the Congo started with its period as a Congo Free State under the rule of the Belgian, King Leopold II (Meeuwis, 1999). This was a time when the state was under de facto rule by the Belgians, and until the conference of Berlin, his rule was not 'legitimate' in the Congo (Meeuwis, 1999). King Leopold II handed over the Congo Free State to the government in 1908, which marked the beginning of the Belgian Congo (Meeuwis, 1999). This lasted until its independence on June 30, 1960, "after which it was called the 'Republic of the Congo' and later the 'Democratic Republic of the Congo" (Meeuwis, 1999). The Congo's colonial history is regarded as perhaps the cruelest and most unjust example of colonialism.

After the state's independence, it went through a period which has been called the 'Congo Crisis' in which conflict was rampant (Ntung, 2019). This period led to "the assassination of the first DRC Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumbua, and the following 'Mulele' or 'Simba rebellion' (Ntung, 2019). The rebellion was suppressed, and the authoritarian ruler Mobutu was established as president, with the support of the West (Ntung, 2019). We can see in the case of the DRC that post-colonialism only further perpetuated the violence that was inherent in the Belgian Congo.

Post-colonialism, legacies of corruption, and exploitation have lasted in the DRC. From the establishment of companies that exploited the mineral resources of the DR Congo when it was under Belgian rule, the country has been subject to rampant exploitation (Global Witness 2004, 6). Those that did not want to work under the yoke of Belgian rule chose to work instead in the informal economy, which can be said to contribute to low GDP and also the misuse of resources (Global Witness 2004, 7). Under Mobutu, the rule of the Congo stayed the same as it had with Leopold because both ran

the country "as a personal business enterprise" (Global Witness 2004, 8). Apart from Mobutu's reputation for corruption, he ran the country as Belgium had, which only further perpetuated the colonial legacies of corruption and violence already present in the country. Mobutu also "set up predatory systems to control and exploit the country's mineral wealth for his own benefit, and for those around him" (Global Witness 2009, 5). In short, the exploitation of resources and corruption during the Belgian Congo period only set the stage for further corruption and exploitation after independence.

Outside of the large cities, Botswana is a rural, agricultural society made up of "people of predominantly Tswana origin" (Botswana Embassy, n.d.). Prior to becoming a British protectorate, the country was "made up of at least eight ethnic chiefdoms whose peoples shared a common language and history" and "co-existed in relative peace" (Botswana Embassy, n.d.). Botswana has a different colonial history than the DRC, in part, because it was only a protectorate instead of a full-fledged colony. This means that British influence was present in Botswana but not to the extent the Belgian influence exists in the Congo. The Bechuanaland protectorate lasted for 80 years until Botswana gained independence in 1966 (Botswana Embassy, n.d.). Without a doubt, Botswana's colonial history is less severe than the DRC's. This could be due to the fact that Botswana was preemptively handed over to the British as protectorate so that it would not be invaded (Malunga, 2019). While the British could have easily exploited Bechuanaland and made it into a colony, they recognized the strategic importance of the territory due to its proximity to the German colony that is now Namibia (Beaulier, n.d). Not only did the British provide protection to Bechuanaland, but they also thought that the land was practically devoid of resources, so they left it alone (Beaulier, n.d.). Botswana openly

welcomed the British, which decreased the chance of prolonged violence, and the lack of

British interest meant that they let the protectorate be. This gave it a chance to grow

organically post-colonialism, unlike the tyrannical Belgian regime in the Congo.

However, Britain's policy towards Botswana dubbed 'benign neglect' was not wholly

benign, and growth in the protectorate was severely stunted until its independence

(Beaulier, n.d.).

In Botswana, colonial legacies contributed to the high rate of income inequality

that is seen in the country. It has been theorized that part of the reason for the high rate of

inequality was "the development of the cattle export sector under the auspices of colonial

authorities" (Bolt and Hillbom 2016, 3). The inequality rose when "the sector became

dominated by a large-scale cattle-holding elite" (Bolt and Hillbom 2016, 3). Those who

had the most cattle were often the elites, which translates to the elitist one-party system in

Botswana today (Bolt and Hillbom 2016, 7). Cattle was the way of showing your wealth

before the discovery of diamonds, but it truly shows the nature of Botswana's

hierarchical society that was only further perpetuated by colonial rule.

Corruption and Governance

Another component of poverty is corruption; most prominently corruption in the

government. In the case of the DRC, corruption has "undermine[d] the state's ability to

deliver inclusive economic growth in a number of different areas" (International

Monetary Fund, 2016). Corruption in the DR Congo has a spill-over effect that impacts

many different areas, such as health infrastructure, and even the individual's

accountability to the government. Corruption can be found in many sectors of the

country, but most prominently in the government. Politicians regularly abuse their power

by misusing "state resources, deny[ing] the opposition adequate media coverage, harass[ing] opposition candidates and their supporters, and in some cases manipulat[ing] electoral results" (Matti 2010, 45). Not only do politicians in the DRC abuse their power while in office, but they also inhibit another party from coming into power with their corrupt practices. However, the DRC does have "the presence of competition," which "is evident in the intensive campaigning by political parties and the contested nature of the results" (Matti 2010, 47). It appears that the country has different political parties that are vying for power, but it is difficult for true and peaceful regime change to take place. So, it could be said that the government of the DRC is characterized as an authoritarian system. The DRC's government is unique because it is actually a competitive authoritarian regime which a typically a "civilian regime in which democratic institutions exist and permit meaningful competition for power, but where the political playing field is so heavily tilted in favour of incumbents that the regime cannot be labelled democratic" (Matti 2010, 45). Unfortunately, much of the character of the government can be seen through its corrupt actions. This makes the government generally unpredictable and unreliable for its citizens.

In 1965, Mobutu Sese Seko came to power in the DR Congo, and his presidency lasted for over 30 years (French, 1997). This was due in part to the influence of the Rwandan genocide and the refugee situation it created in the DRC. However, the rebellion that caused the downfall of Mobutu was perpetuated by internal forces with Rwandan refugees acting as a sort of stimulus for a revolution. There are said to be several factors that caused Mobutu's downfall such as, changing international politics, "a disintegrating Zairian state incapable of defending its borders… [and] Mobutu's practice

of pitting ethnic group against groups to keep a united opposition movement from emerging" being just some of a few things that led to the present state of conflict in the DR Congo (Quinn 2004, 111). After Mobutu, leadership in the DRC continued to exert too much power. More recently, Joseph Kabila was president from 2001-2019 and continuously postponed elections to ensure his being in power (The Conversation, 2017). The election of the current President, Tshisedeki, toppled the hopes of Kabila to remain in power (Ntung, 2019).

Botswana may not be as notorious for corruption as the Democratic Republic of Congo is, but the country undoubtedly has the presence of corruption. Even though it is looked to as a beacon for African democracy today, "Botswana's reputation for good government was severely dented during the early 1990s by a succession of scandals involving powerful political figures" (Theobald and Williams 1999, 118). Today, Botswana has established several entities for the purpose of combatting corruption within the country. One of these, the Corruption Prevention Group, or CPG for short, serves "to identify weaknesses and potential points open to abuse and exploitation in the public sector" and solve these problems before they become major points of corruption (Theobald and Williams 1999, 121). Botswana also tries to prevent corruption through education and public awareness of how corruption can affect a country and the problems that it causes (Theobald and Williams 1999, 122). Botswana has also formed the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC), which has served as another body against corruption and has even inspired surrounding states to take measures against corruption (Theobald and Williams 1999, 126). However, this body has been used to

repress political corruption instead of exposing it, due to its history of imprisoning journalists who try to bring out the truth (Malunga, 2019)

It is apparent that Botswana is not a democracy in the traditional sense. Its democracy has been called into question as it was called "a de-facto one-party state in which a powerful presidency gives free rein to a highly autonomous developmental bureaucracy" (Theobald and Williams 1999, 127). While multiple parties exist in Botswana, the predominant political party, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), "has been returned to power at every election since the 1965 pre-independence elections" (EISA. n.d.). Even though political parties are a part of Botswana's government, it seems that they are more for appearances than they are for function. Another interesting component of the state's system of government is that the Khama family has held power over the government since before Botswana became a country in the 60s (The Conversation, 2019). Former President Masisi "create[d] an impression of a vibrant and self-reproducing democracy," which in reality was "nothing close to democratic and the system nothing close to fair" (Malunga, 2019). Less than 50% of the population supports the BDP, as evidenced in the 2014 election, but the opposition is unable to unite against the party and take power (Malunga, 2019). Botswana has all the appearance of a democracy, but its actions tell a different, more authoritarian story. The election of the new president, Mokgweetsi Masisi, will hopefully mark a significant change in Botswanan politics for the better because he says that he wants to rid the system of corruption (The Conversation, 2019). Unfortunately, Botswana still seems to be mostly a one-party state, but there is hope that Masisi could change this during his presidency. While Botswana may be considered a democracy by some standards, it seems to only

espouse certain democratic ideals in its actions, as evidenced by the one-party control of the state.

Botswana is a paradox of sorts because it is a revered African democracy, but it has hidden inconsistencies that expose its corruption. As shown in Table 1, Botswana's Gini score is very high, which points to its extreme income inequality. This is only further shown by the country's diamond wealth, which makes the country "a middle-income country" (Malunga, 2019). This wealth never touches the hands of the poor because it is more than likely shuffled around the hands of government officials. A part of Botswana's diamond wealth is unaccounted for, which only adds to the concern that it is being hoarded by the government (Malunga, 2019). What is worse, many constituents are influenced to vote for the BDP because it holds the major resources (Malunga, 2019). For a democracy, Botswana has a lot to work on. It is necessary that the country confronts its corruption in order to become less authoritarian and better help its citizens.

In many ways, the so-called democracy of Botswana could be compared to the competitive authoritarianism of the DRC. Both systems have components of democracies, but they are missing crucial elements, which ultimately makes them more similar to authoritarian states. One thing that is interesting about this is the difference in perception between Botswana and the DRC. From looking at development indexes, Botswana seems to have significantly better indicators. However, Botswana's problems are just more suppressed than the DRC's. While the country has not had the same problems with authoritarianism and corruption as the DRC has had, it has its own share of democracy challenges. This shows, not only that every government is different, but

also that sometimes the governments that we perceive as well-run have underlying problems.

Ethnicity

A part of the violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo today stems from ethnic tensions. However, ethnic diversity in the DRC is not the reason that ethnic tensions exist. It is important to note that these tensions are caused by more than simply ethnic diversity, but diversity can add to existing problems. One of the greatest things that added to ethnic conflict is the "effects that the Berlin Conference of 1885 and the ensuing 75 years of colonialism" (Kotzé and Solomon 2008, 82). Ethnicity became entangled in violence when "ethnicity became reinforced as a prominent political identification" (Ntung, 2019). The nature of ethnicity is incredibly complex because "in the Great lakes region of Africa, state boundaries are not consistent with ethnic boundaries" (Kotzé and Solomon 2008, 83). In the DRC alone, the ethnic diversity is incredible. The country "ranks second worldwide for ethnic diversity, with 157 core groups and 500 distinct entities" (Kotzé and Solomon 2008, 83). Often, the DR Congo's "conflicts also reflect an ongoing refusal to acknowledge ethnic diversity founded on the manipulation of history, ethnic identity, land and traditional local governance" (Ntung, 2019). Because some Congolese ethnic groups are conflated with those of Rwanda due to linguistic similarities, when Rwandans are dismissed as 'outsiders,' Congolese are dismissed as outsiders as well (Ntung, 2019). Even though it is not outright, this is government-sponsored discrimination against certain ethnic groups. Ethnicity often plays a part in violence in the DRC because "many of the armed groups in eastern DRC are allied with specific ethnic groups" (Minority Rights Group International, 2020). Unfortunately, in the DR Congo,

while ethnicity was not the factor that started the violence, it continues to perpetuate it today.

Botswana is a different story in terms of ethnic diversity because the state is often viewed as ethnically homogenous. Much of this, however, is due to the influence of the state. At first glance, it is easy to think that Botswana has little ethnic diversity because "90% of the population either speaks Setswana or belongs to Setswana speaking tribes" (Boikhutso and Jotia 2013, 797). However, language diversity is hidden in the country's quest to look like a homogenous state. Botswana's ethnicity problems are more hidden than the DRC's. Unfortunately, while Botswana "is generally viewed as a shining example of a successful African democracy… its policies towards language, especially within the education system, leave much to be desired" (Boikhutso and Jotia 2013, 798). Botswana's education system focuses on assimilation instead of embracing cultural diversity, which in turn suppresses individual ethnic identities. At first glance, Botswana seems to be more peaceful in terms of ethnic conflict than the DR Congo, but there is more underlying potential for conflict. Ethnic minorities in Botswana feel that they are not represented at all in the education system, and this could lead to issues in the future if tensions continue to be exacerbated (Minority Rights Group International, 2015). Not only does this affect the education system in the country, but it shows that the government is clearly biased. In fact, "Botswana laws permit discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, language, and culture" (Nyati-Romahobo, 2008). This primary discriminatory law was made in 1915 in order to 'assimilate' smaller tribes, which was during Botswana's time as the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Nyati-Romahobo, 2008). Even though this law was made during colonial rule, the principle still seems to apply in

Botswana presently. The eight majority Tswana tribes continue to hold the power and prestige in the country while the other 38 minority tribes face discrimination (Nyati-Romahobo, 2008). The dominant Tswana are not even the majority in the country; the "Tswana minority have successfully imposed its culture on the majority population of the extreme diverse origins" (Nyati-Romahobo, 2008). The percentage of 'minorities' in Botswana is disputed because of forced assimilation, but it is certain that they are the majority over the Tswana (Nyati-Romahobo, 2008).

Another interesting component of ethnicity in Botswana is that the country is welcoming to white commerce, which has helped the country grow (Beaulier, n.d.). President Khama could be said to have gone out of his way to develop "an extremely cosmopolitan attitude towards the whites," which "were viewed as an asset in development rather than a reminder of the past" (Beaulier, n.d.). A society that discriminates against its own minorities is open to white participation because they see opportunities with powerful Western states, but not with their own people.

Conclusion

From this study, we can see that each country has its respective development challenges, but one is not superior to the other. There are several takeaways from this. The first is that there is no country that is devoid of development challenges. Development is not something you can simply attain and be done with. It is a working goal that changes as a society becomes more advanced and progresses towards 'development.' The next takeaway is that development indices or indicators, like the Human Development Index, do not tell the complete story. There are many more factors that must be considered, and often it is important to incorporate analysis and

reasoning into the understanding of why a country has particular development challenges. Both Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo are complex countries that should be studied to understand their specific challenges.

It is also important to note that this study cannot address every aspect of development in both Botswana and the DRC. This study can be a launching point for further research and analysis into any of the development challenges presented in the writing. Some topics that could be looked at for further study are neocolonialism and China's influence in Africa, healthcare, infrastructure, and gender empowerment in sub-Saharan Africa.

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