

Botswana's Muslims: An Evaluation of a Dynamic Religious Community

*Muhammed Haron**

Abstract

The essay offers a contemporary profile of Botswana's Muslim community. It basically tells the contemporary tale of how Botswana's Muslims emerged and developed with the focus on the present-day period. In order to do so, it narrates, albeit briefly, a few historical developments that provide a context within which the Muslims' contemporary profile emerged, and that links their past with the present. The essay sets itself the task of dealing with a number of issues. It first undertakes a literature review, and then it provides some basic background data about Botswana in order to insert the Muslims' presence. These issues open the way for a discussion regarding the Muslims' socio-religious and other related developments; and this is traced from before 1966 when Botswana gained its independence until the end of 2016 that celebrates the country's 50 years of existence as an African nation-state. In the last part, the essay describes the Muslims' position since independence by selecting and piecing together significant developments, and it briefly analyses their current condition that offers insights into their contemporary profile.

Introduction:

Botswana like other Southern Africa states has been the home of African Religious Traditions (ATRs) and Christianity for more than two centuries; both traditions have been part of Botswana identity, and they remain integral to its citizens' character. However, towards the end of the nineteenth-century Muslim traders trickled into the colonial Botswana (Bechuanaland Protectorate), and this resulted in them having left their footprints on its soil; the first footprints can be traced back to 1882 (Amanze 2000 and Chand 2018).

In this essay the intention is to basically tell the contemporary tale of Botswana's Muslims. In order to do so, it becomes necessary to briefly relate the historical developments that provide a context within which the Muslims' contemporary profile emerged; and the purpose is to link the past with the present. The essay, therefore, sets itself the task dealing with a number of issues. It begins by undertaking a literature review. It then provides some basic background data about Botswana that paves the way to insert the Muslims' presence on Botswana's soil. These issues open the pathway for a discussion regarding the Muslims' socio-religious and other related changes. The essay traces these developments from before 1966 when Botswana gained its independence until the end of 2016; the year when it celebrated its 50 years of existence as an African nation-state. In the last part, the essay describes the Muslims' position since independence by selecting and piecing together significant developments, and it briefly analyses their current condition that offers insights into their contemporary profile.

When discussing Botswana's Muslim community's character and composition, one has to factor in the notion of 'community' as a theoretical frame. It is a concept that remains inextricably tied to the question of identity that was raised by, *inter alia*, Hall (1996); the latter posed two simple but critically important questions: 'Who are we?' and 'what have we become?' and related to these, Burgess (2002:10) raised the same questions but he rephrased them and asked: 'Who are you?' and 'Who are you now?' For this essay, one may wish to rearticulate the questions as follow: Who are Botswana's Muslims? 'What have they become since they settled in Botswana?' and 'Who are they now?' Since the essay has no intention of exploring 'identity' as a concept, it turns its focus immediately to 'community.' While sociologists such as

* Muhammed Haron, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Botswana & University of Pretoria. Email: haronm@ub.ac.bw.

Rabinowitz (2001:2387-2388) have generally argued that the term 'community' has been an imprecise and ubiquitous term, others such as Jacobs (2001:2383) state that it was 'open to wide interpretation'. Despite the problems that they encountered in offering a suitable definition, they appropriated Ferdinand Tönnies' sociological model that helped to explain it. The latter distinguished between two types of communities; the first is what he described as *Gemeinschaft* and the second as *Gesellschaft*. The former referred to a community that expressed feelings and the latter made reference to associations or organizations that make up a community. Tönnies himself preferred to view 'community' as the more important entity than 'society', he argued that 'society' is in essence made up of communities (Harris 2001).

Community is thus the very foundation upon which society is based or created. The community is 'usually associated with an array of positive connotations such as solidarity, familiarity, unity of purpose, interest and identity' (Rabinowitz 2001:2387). Azarya (1996) has, however, generally accepted the idea that it may be defined as a 'type of collectivity or social unit' or a 'type of social relations or sentiments'. By collectivity is meant that the group shares a defined physical space or geographical, and shares common traits or has a sense of belonging; and that it maintains social and religious ties and that the group's members socially interact with each other and this in turn shapes their relations into a distinct social entity that give rise to either an ethnic or religious community or both. Since the focus is on Botswana's Muslims, it can cogently be stated that they fit into the definition and the explanation that were provided by Rabinowitz and others. The Botswana Muslim community shares a physical geographical area and it a community that is made up of a variety of socio-linguistic and ethnic groups. And these different groups, *inter alia*, socialise with one another in the business arena, participate in religious functions such as the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birth (571-632), and involve themselves with one another in select sporting codes such as cricket and tennis. And while many community members have been and are associated with their respective linguistic groups such as the Swahili speakers who migrated from East Africa or Urdu speakers who came from South Asia, they see themselves as part and parcel of the Botswana Muslim community; a community that enjoy living in a fairly stable democratic state in which religious freedom and expression have been guaranteed and protected by the state's constitution (Botswana Constitution Ch.2 ss 3 (a)-(c)). It is within this stable socio-political setting that minority religious communities such as Botswana's Muslims flourished. At this juncture, the essay turns its focus to this community.

Botswana's Mobile Muslim Community: Towards a Portrait

Although most of Botswana's Muslims are located in the country's capital city, Gaborone, there are sizeable numbers that reside in other places such as Lobatse and Francistown as well as outlying semi-urban villages such as Serowe and Mahalapye. The Muslims form part of Botswana's growing multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious communities. According to the 2011 census, they reached 10,941 as compared to 5,036 in 2001 (Haron 2017); whilst one notes that they increased by 100%, one still wishes to question the accuracy of the census and this is particularly so when one factors in the numbers of mosques and Muslim centres that cater for Muslim worshippers on Fridays when they usually perform their congregational prayers.

Leaving that aside and coming back to their make-up, one would like to underline that many family networks that grew and spread over the years contributed to the formation of the Botswana Muslim community, and their activities have been managed by the Botswana Muslim Association (BMA). Some of the more well-known families are the Abdullah, Arbi, Bhamjee, Chand, Dada, Khan and Moorad families. One of the first families to have based itself in the town of Ramotswa was the Arbi family, and the first Muslim family that settled in Gaborone was the Moorad family (Chand 2018). During the early 1960s the Moorad family went to live in Tlokweng, and this family was followed by the Osman Saidoo family in 1967, Ayoub Khan family in 1968, the Angamias, and the Arbises in the subsequent years (*ibid*).

The *Botswana Muslim Directory*, which has been published at various intervals since 2001, gives a fair statistical overview of the individuals and families in the two cities and various towns around the country (Sheikh 2009).

During the colonial period Botswana was administered from Mahikeng in South Africa. Since its internal affairs were run from this Mahikeng, all the traders naturally converged on this city, and from there they crossed the border into places such as Ramotswa and Lobatse. Amanze (1998:70-71) quoted one of his interviewees who said Ramotswa was Muslims' 'Mecca'; by this was meant that all the religious activities of the growing Muslim community was organized and operated in this small border town. Many Muslim families, however, settled in Lobatse that became the second significant town from which Muslims managed their affairs. Some of them trekked to Botswana's hinterland to pursue their trade, and others remained in the mentioned towns. Their spread to other parts of the country and the changes that had occurred over the years had pushed them into considering ways and means of being represented (Chand 2018). Although the Muslims in Ramotswa had been unsuccessful in securing a piece of land for a mosque, their co-religionists were successful in Lobatse. And they also secured the rights to build and manage a Muslim school; a venture in which the Muslims of Ramotswa seemed to have failed (Maano and Haron 2011). In any event, the communities in both towns mooted the idea of forming an association that would represent all of the Muslims in Bechuanaland Protectorate. This became a reality in 1955 when Bechuanaland Muslim Association (BMA), which was later baptised as the Botswana Muslim Association because of the renaming of the country, came into being. According to Mukram Sheikh (2009), the current BMA was preceded by Gaborone Muslim Association (GMA) that was spearheaded by Shamshad Khan between 1996 and 1997.

BMA's revised and adopted its Constitution (c.1998) that was circulated at the BMA's Gaborone annual general meeting on 16 September 2001. About a month prior to this meeting the Gaborone Management Committee (GMC), which has its headquarters at the main mosque (known as Al-Jami mosque), held its elections on 16 August 2001. A glance at the BMA's report provides some information about its activities between 1998 and 2001. At the meeting of 16 September 2001 the Assembly approved the Minutes of the special general meeting that took place on 20 September 1998; at this meeting the elections of both the National Executive Council (NEC) and the Board of Trustees (BoT) were held, and Abdus-Satar Dada (hereafter referred to as Mr. Satar Dadad) was elected NEC's chairperson. Subsequent to this AGM, others were held during 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, and 2018.

At the 2001 BMA meeting Iqbal Ebrahim highlighted, for example, the problems that Muslims faced in Francistown and elsewhere; among the issues that were tabled were how to cope with the growing number of Muslims, the extension of the mosques, in which way to assist the Somali refugees who are mainly Muslim at the Dukwi refugee camp, and the issuing of *halaal* certificates (that is, certificates that specify that the food items on display in shops or purchased are wholesome and nutritious to consume according to Muslim dietary laws). Hamza X, who represented the small Sashe Muslim community at that time and who was trained for a short while in Muslim theology in Libya, spoke about the challenges that he faced in Sashe, a village southwest of Francistown. He outlined the problems and indicated that he has been in constant contact with individuals such as Iqbal Ebrahim and Imtiyaz Chand (BMA Report 2001).

Fazlur Moorad, as the Muslim managed Al-Nur School's Education Committee member, described the school's general status, and Shaykh Hassan Hategekimana, the Rwandese theologian, discussed the conditions of Botswana's *da'wah* (that is, Muslim missionary activities); they also touched on the issue of religious education in state school. Towards the end of the BMA meeting, an action plan was drafted with the hope of achieving its goals in the years ahead. At this meeting, it planned to appoint a Muslim *da'wah* officer, set up a small Muslim centre, to make use of the media to propagate Islam, to hold *tarbiyyah* (educational) programmes, to attend to HIV/AIDS cases and orphanages, and to work towards the printing

and publication of translated literature.

Apart from having questioned the *da'wah* committee's report and the participation of women in the mosque's affairs at the AGM, the previous meeting's Minutes were adopted and the GMC's executive was dissolved to allow for fresh elections. The house decided to elect a few new candidates and retained some of the old guard. By March 2004, the GMC held its general meeting and this was followed by the 2007 and 2010 meetings respectively. While some members continued to serve on the executive of BMA and GMC, some of the more experienced members retained their positions and new ones joined. The reports that appeared between 2001 and 2016 showed that, as an organization, it covered a wide range of activities. It, however, listed a variety of aims and objectives; some which are to:

- care for the general concerns of the Botswana Muslims;
- build mosques and other religious institutions;
- establish *madrassahs* (that is, Muslim schools) and Muslim secular schools;
- encourage the formation of Muslim centres in different parts of the country;
- collect funds for its socio-religious activities;
- administer the affairs of the Botswana Muslims; and
- provide scholarships to needy students.

The BMA, whose first chairperson was A Arbi, took charge of all the activities on behalf of the growing Muslim community from the time of its formation in 1955. During 1961 the Lobatse Muslim community built a school that they first called the Lobatse Indian Muslim Primary School; thereafter they renamed it the Crescent School. From the name one could gather that it was managed and run by the Muslims. Unfortunately, since the management committee in particular and the Muslim community at large did not administer the school's affairs successfully, it was then handed over to the Lobatse Town Council. Though this may have been seen as a loss to the community, it was indeed a significant educational venture that demonstrated that Muslims have contributed towards the development of the Botswana society in and beyond Lobatse.

As a parent body, the BMA threw its weight behind the building of the first mosque in the country in Lobatse 1967. This was an important venture since at an earlier date the community tried in vain to establish a mosque in Ramotswa. The Lobatse mosque thus became an important Muslim symbol in a largely non-Muslim environment. Since most of the Muslims were of South Asian/Indian extraction, it was only natural that they would look for someone that shared their religio-ethnic identity in the absence of a local who possessed the necessary qualifications. The question of a suitable candidate for the imamate (that is, someone to lead the ritual prayer and other religious activities) was a concern. In the end, the community decided to appoint Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, a Muslim theologian who was trained at the prestigious Aligarh University in India. He had joined the community in 1961 when the Crescent school was opened. And Maulana Ismael Kanti, another Indian trained theologian, teamed up with him soon thereafter.

As a result of the Muslims' Indianness in make-up and outlook in Botswana Islam, as a religion, was misconstrued as an Indian religion. This issue, however, caused a fair amount of consternation for the predominantly Muslim community since the indigenous Botswana, who embraced Islam, expressed the view that even though Islam is anti-racist, racist attitudes by 'Indians' towards non-Indians have been entrenched through the management of its Muslim affairs and activities. These views regrettably persisted and were clearly articulated and commented upon by Ishaq Peloeuwetse in his 1996 article on 'Islam in Botswana' that appeared in a local magazine, namely *Future Gen: Unveiling the Truth*. The latter quoted a lengthy letter (to the editor) in which the author spelt out his worries about Islam and Muslims. Peloeuwetse reflected upon the letter's contents and unpacked the issues that tainted Islam, as a way of life, by clarifying

aspects of its beliefs and practices.

Even though Peloeuwe painstakingly took his time to set out the main ideas and identifying the problem areas, the issues did not disappear; they are, indeed, bound to remain for some time to come for there is a need to change the mind-sets of the dominant religious group that espoused and advocated certain socio-cultural views and that perform acts that are not sanctioned by Islam and its religious leadership. Nevertheless, the Batswana, who are mainly ATR and Christianity adherents, still seem to be under the impression that all Muslims are Indians without realising that the South Asians came from different geographical locations, speak a variety of languages, and adhere to several religious traditions other than Islam.

That aside, as Gaborone gained prominence as the capital and the commercial centre of Botswana, Muslims slowly began to work towards creating religio-educational structures and institutions that gave them a sense of identity. Thus, it was observed, that the foundations for its *jumu'a* (congregational prayer) mosque laid way back in the 1970s; prior to this, the Muslims performed their prayers in the house that belonged to Mohammed Angamia, who owned the Gaborone Garage next to the railway station (Grant 2006). BMA took charge of all activities in Gaborone and tasked themselves with the building of the mosque. One of the most prominent persons to serve the community was Qari Ahmed Ebrahim Sayyid (d.2017) who was one of Gaborone's first Imams (religious leaders); he came from India's Dhabel to serve at one of the mosques in Greater Johannesburg's Lenasia area in South Africa, but later shifted to Gaborone where he lived until his demise. For the record and according to Fazlur Moorad's presentation to the Southern African Theological conference in Gaborone in 2012, he stated that the first Imam was Sayed Saidoo Rasool; the latter served the Bechuanaland Muslims between 1910 and 1920, and thereafter Shaykh Mohammed Umar Khan who studied *hifz* (memorisation of the Qur'an) in South Africa's Zeerust and who came from Ntlhantle (Ramotswa's satellite village) was the resident *Imam*.

Nonetheless, much later and during the time when Qari Sayyid has settled in as the *Imam*, he was joined by Shaykh Ali Mustapha, a Surinam born and Karachi/Medina trained theologian. This Shaykh came a year after Botswana's Muslims hosted the first Southern African Islamic Youth Conference (SAIYC) in 1977; a conference that was jointly organised by the Riyadh-based World Assembly of Muslim Youth and the Durban-based Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa (MYMSA est. 1970). The Shaykh played a crucial role in drawing many Batswana to Islam; mainly young adults, most of whom, according to James Amanze - a professor in Christian theology at the University of Botswana and did field work interviewing a number of leading Muslims, came from the underprivileged class; individuals who were by and large not well educated and not influential politically. The Shaykh only remained here until 1989 and by then the total Muslim population had reached 1,500. As a matter of interest, the Shaykh returned to Southern Africa on a lecture tour in 2003 and en route visited Botswana.

Subsequent to Shaykh Mustapha's departure, there seem to have been a lull in missionary activities; meanwhile, the Libyan Embassy in Gaborone offered a few Batswana to pursue Islamic studies in Tripoli with the hope of continuing missionary work in Botswana. In any case, the missionary activities that Shaykh Mustapha had left behind was later taken up by Shaykh Hassan, who is intimately familiar with Islam and currently one of Al-Nur School teaching staff. Although he and a group of others have been serving on the BMA's *da'wah* committee, there is no substantial evidence to prove that their input has substantially changed the statistics of the Botswana's indigenous Muslim population.

Shaykh Hassan's input in terms of doing missionary work amongst the indigenous Batswana has, however, surpassed that of Shaykh Mustapha by far. Shaykh Hassan learnt to speak Setswana, the country's national language, and as a result he has been able to converse with the indigenous Batswana fairly easily and successfully. Although this has stood him in good stead, he has been criticised for not doing enough

da'wah. The shaykh was subsequently joined by Al-Hasan Moemedi Lentswe; a Motswana who had gone for a short period to study in the Sudan. Upon his return during 2006, he was supported by the GMC and funded by Mr. Satar Dada to pursue missionary work.

One of his contributions has been a *Al-Dawah: The Call of Islam* newsletter; a glossy text that was freely issued and that included material written by Muslims and non-Muslims. The four page newsletter also contained articles written in Setswana; the first issue appeared in November 2004. Unfortunately, it was not sustained and later there was a fall-out between Al-Hasan Lentswe and BMA executive members; this resulted in Lentswe setting up a separate organisation called Botswana Muslim Supreme Council (BMSC) and that worked out a Vision 2020 strategy for itself. Lentswe and his support group opened-up in Gaborone's low-income suburb of White City a Muslim centre that has since then served the interest of the indigenous Batswana (Haron 2014). BMSC's visionary document charted out a path in which it sees its members playing a critical part in all spheres and in whatever spaces exist. Though, like BMA, it considers the mosque as a significant platform, it also sees it as much more than a mere conservative locale; one that should form part of environment for good and healthy development.

Mosques and Religious Leadership

On the whole, Muslim centres and mosques have always acted as central meeting points for both the secular oriented and devoted Muslims. By the time Gaborone became the Botswana's capital city in 1966, Botswana had no mosque; the Muslim community was thus forced to consider building one in the city. In the interim period, they performed their daily prayers and their Friday congregational prayers in the house of one of their co-religionists. A *jama'at khana* (that is, a congregational prayer centre where individuals perform their ritual prayers) was established in the African Mall in 1973, and it was used for approximately 8 years before the main mosque was built. By the late 1970s the Muslim population had steadily increased and BMA channelled all its efforts in building a mosque. BMA eventually set up Gaborone's first mosque near the national stadium and which became known as the central Jami' mosque.

As the years went by the central mosque became too small in accommodating the growing number of worshippers who were indigenous Batswana and expatriates, and by the beginning of the 2000s BMA planned and constructed another in Gaborone West in 2002; it was completed by August 2003 during which it was also officially opened. The Gaborone West mosque accommodates about 800 worshippers compared to the 600 at the central mosque. These mosques has since then been further complimented by two more mosques. When looking at the overall capacity of these mosques, one may estimate that the numbers add to about 3000 when they perform the Friday congregational prayers.

Apart from these mosques that were and continue to be under BMA and GMC's joint management, the Shah Khalid mosque (est. June 1995) operates separately under the management of Botswana's Ahle Sunnat wal-Jam'at; the latter organisation sees itself as separate from the BMA because of its members' theological differences. While the BMA generally conforms to the Deobandi theological school, the former subscribes to the Brelvi school; a strand of theological thinking and practice that the Deobandis do not approve of. Abu Desai (d.2016), who was a staunch Brelvi follower, is said to have initiated the dispute in Francistown in the late 1980s and as a consequence the 'Ahle Sunnat wal-Jam'at of Botswana' was established during September 1994 to attend to their group's affairs. Since then and because of these theological differences, the house-mosque was viewed as a Brelvi base; a similar structure was set up in Francistown. But despite these differences, a few members of the community who have family members in both groups have tried to maintain the doors of communication open when it comes to certain activities such as performing congregationally *'Id salah* (that is, prayers of the end of fasting and pilgrimage).

During 1995, for example, the first *'Id salah* was performed at Botswana's national stadium that

is located opposite the University of Botswana and that was a walking distance away from the central mosque. On that occasion, the prayer was led by Maulana Moosa Mall who was the managing editor of *Minarat* that served the community until he and his family left for Saudi Arabia about two years ago. There were other times, depending upon the weather conditions and circumstances when the *'Id salah* was performed either at Al-Nur School's premises or at the stadium. In November 2000 *'Id-ul-Fitr salah* was performed at the school, and on 1 February 2004 and 3 November 2005 the *'Id-ul-Adha* and the *'Id-ul-Fitr* ritual prayers were respectively performed by the Muslim community at the stadium. More than 1,600 congregants (mainly males) participated in the special ritual prayers, which were led by Qari Sayyid; a few women accompanied their husbands and family members attended.

Interestingly, when Botswana experienced a water shortage in the South-eastern region of the country (which includes Gaborone) the Muslim community performed the ritual prayer for rain; and these prayers were performed in 2015 and 2016 respectively. In October 2015, Botswana's (then) Vice President Mokgweetsi Masisi witnessed the prayer's performance, listened to the sermon, and partook in the supplication for rain. Back in 2006 and during the years that followed, whenever the *'Id salah* and similar public prayers were performed there was a visible increase in female attendees. At the main mosques, separate sections have been created for them; but whenever they perform these in open spaces they usually stand in the rows behind men. It was a pity that *The Botswana Gazette* (17 November 2004) newspaper, which covered the event, did not include the women worshippers on its front page photograph; this would have demonstrated that women were and are not excluded from these significant annual ritual prayers. Coincidentally, it took place at the national stadium where Qari Sayyid led the *salah* (that is, the ritual prayer).

Qari Sayyid and others mentioned earlier formed part the growing religious leadership that thus far served Botswana's Muslims. In fact, he played a very crucial role in the formation of the subsequent imamate leadership at Gaborone's main mosque. Besides being paid for their religious services such as performing marriages, burying the dead, and teaching at religious schools by the respective mosque committees, many of them were theologically trained in Muslim theological seminaries in Saudi Arabia, India, Pakistan, and South Africa. Whilst it is an accepted fact that there is no 'priesthood' in Islam, the emergence and significance of the theologians' role over the many decades cannot be underestimated nor overlooked. They came to play a crucial role in cementing and guiding the Muslim communities across the country that is by and large predominantly non-Muslim.

Besides Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, Maulana Ismael Kanti, Maulana Moosa Mall, and Shaykh Mustapha, and Shaykh Bashir Benjamin who have since left or had passed away, some such as Maulana Abdul Kader Patel and Maulana Saleem continue to give their services as religious advisors. Maulana Saleem set up in 2007 a *Darul-Ulum* (that is, a Muslim theological seminary) in Gaborone. In fact, the indigenous Botswana theologians graduated not only from this seminary but also from those in South Africa where training has taken place since the 1970s. Alongside these seminaries, Saudi Arabia's International Islamic University of Medina has also been training some of Botswana's students in Arabic and the Islamic sciences; so far more than five of them have returned with degrees from that university. Since quite a few graduates from these institutions serve Botswana's Muslims, they gathered to create the United Ulama Council of Botswana (UUCB) in 2010.

Previously, the BMA used to be heavily dependent upon the legal opinions that were handed out by the Jami'at ul-Ulama (JU) of Gauteng, and this has been partly because of BMA's contact with key JU members such as Maulana Ebrahim Bham; the latter, who regularly delivers lectures in the Southern Africa region, paid several visits to Gaborone, Francistown, and nearby towns.¹ Now that BMA has set

¹ www.jamiat.org.za, accessed 14 February 2018

up its own, it is less dependent on JU but it does consult JU whenever the theological and jurisprudential needs arise. Unpredictably, at the end of the fasting month in 2005, the BMA decided not to go along with the JU's decision since the moon was sighted by Muslims in Zimbabwe; as a matter of interest, annually when the month of fasting ends, the conservative theologians argue that the moon has to be sighted with the naked eye before they are permitted to celebrate the end of fasting. Nonetheless, the JU was hesitant to accept the opinion of the Zimbabweans and opted to continue to fast; the BMA, which acted pro-actively and correctly, distanced itself from the JU standpoint in this instance. This, as a matter of fact, was the first time that the BMA took a firm stand that was naturally supported by the local theologians.

But despite this disagreement, the relationship between the theological bodies have increased and during 2012 UUCB successfully hosted the Southern African Ulama Conference (Haron 2012). As a spin-off, it participated in the 2014 and the 2016 conferences that were held in Durban and Johannesburg respectively. In fact, during February 2016 it held its first national conference under the theme 'Strategise to Nationalise.' The main purpose was to tackle together issues of national concern and coordinate efforts in a more systematic way; here they were concerned with, among others, education, *da'wah*, and *halal* certification. At the 2016 BMA AGM, Mufti Abdur Rahman Shareef for the first time handed in a *Darul Iftaa* Botswana Report; being a Mufti means that he has been granted the license to issue legal opinions and the report that was handed in contained all the legal opinions that were issued during that particular year. Apart from the regular theological and legal queries that were raised since the *Darul Iftaa* desk was established in 2013, the Mufti also conducted a *Shari'a* Compliant Business Campaign programme as well as giving advice to businesses and law firms regarding *Shari'a* related matters; the word *Shari'a*, which refers to the Muslim legal system, in these instances imply that whatever activities one undertakes in socio-economic life should harmonize with the ethical-moral teachings underlined by Islam.

Educational Institutions: Schools, *Madrasahs*, and *Darul-Ulum*

Earlier in this essay mentioned was made of the fact that the Muslim community were concerned about their children's education and they were very much focused in setting up a school and a *madrasah* where their children could obtain both secular and religious education. The outcome of these efforts, as mentioned earlier, led to the building and setting up of the Crescent school in Lobatse. Though this school was handed to the government years before BMA was set up, the Muslims made a renewed effort to build and manage another new private school.

Scrupulous planning and several meetings since 1989 led the BMA's education committee to eventually create space for Al-Nur School² in 1991; this was at the main mosque complex. But before briefly narrating aspects of Al-Nur School that got off the ground in 1992 under the principal-ship of the KwaZulu-Natal or South African born Nasr Ebrahim, one needs to mention that the establishment of Al-Haq Nursery and Primary School in Molepolole. This school started out in 1989 when the seeds for Al-Nur School's formation were planted. Since then Al-Haq has grown with strong moral principles and currently boast to have a coterie of dedicated and competent staff. Over the years its graduates have excelled with outstanding results in the Primary School Leaving Examination with a 100% for more than ten years!

By and large, Al-Haq has performed well and demonstrated that private schools have the chance to flourish and make their mark. This is, in fact, what Al-Nur School did since it started in 1992 under Ebrahim's administrative leadership until the end of 2001 when he returned to South Africa to head another institution. Fazlur Moorad, a BMA member and University of Botswana (UB) Education lecturer, was the driving force behind the school's formation. Ebrahim with the full support of Dr. Fazlur Moorad placed the school on a competitive footing with other schools; this was particularly the case with those schools located

2 www.alnurschool.com, accessed 14 February 2018

in Gaborone. Annually, Ebrahim and his staff organised fetes, produced the *Al-Nur Magazine* (established in 1995), and performed other educational activities. He was ably assisted by Munira Mall who was also involved with *Al-Nur Muslim School Update* (established in 1998) that was later renamed *Al-Nur Times*. When Ebrahim left, Mall acted for a short period until the school's Council appointed Abdul-Majid Khan at the beginning of 2002. Majid has been at the helm of Al-Nur School for the past fifteen years, and throughout this period showed sterling leadership in transforming the school.

Four years after having settled in as the headmaster, Al-Nur School's Council appointed Gulaam Abdoola to chair its activities. Abdoola scouted for capable, experienced educators and brought about substantial changes in terms of the school's infrastructure. For example, he saw to it that the school boosted its number of Science laboratory rooms, created three Computer rooms, and set up a Design and Technology room. Under Abdoola's chairpersonship and supervision and with the support of his Council members such as Dr Moorad as well as the assistance of the school's management team under Majid, the school was transformed into one of the best in Botswana.

Moorad in his 2012 congratulatory message to the school for having a historical milestone of twenty years, he stated that 'To a large extent the school has been seen as a Muslim school with its Islamic ethos and dual curriculum. But the school has tried and continues to strive to be seen as an international school serving a wider community'. He pointed out that the school was the first Botswana educational institution that initiated the Cambridge for Its International Primary Progression Programme. One fully agrees with Moorad that the school is one of those that strive for excellence with its motto: 'Lighting the Way for Our Children' as reflected on its websites masthead.

Amidst BMA's deep interest in the Muslim children's secular education as shown in the manner the Al-Nur School has been managed, it also concerned itself with the children's theological upbringing; in other words, the BMA also showed an interest in their *madrasah* education. During early years *madrasah* education took place at the homes of Muslim teachers (known as 'apa' and by other endearing terms); for example, in the late 1960s and early 1970s Munira Hoosain was the home-based *madrasah* teacher known as 'apa poppy' (that is, teacher 'poppy'; the latter being an endearing nickname). Nonetheless, as the community became economically mobile and businesses boomed, its members viewed independent *madrasahs* or those attached to mosques as the alternative. One of the *madrasah* that was established in Gaborone was *Madrasah Himayatul Islam* and its sister *madrasah* is Naledi *madrasah* that is located in one of Gaborone's low-income areas.

After Shaykh Bashir Benjamin shifted to the Shah Khalid mosque in 2001 – the same year when the *madrasah* issued its *Our Message Newsletter* – to continue with the same activities there, GMC appointed Maulana Dawood Dhansay to act until the appointment of Maulana Mohamed Suliman in 2004. Since Maulana Suliman was familiar with the *Tasheel* theological series; this is an 'Islam made easy' series that was designed and implemented by South Africa's JU, he adopted it as part of this *madrasahs* curriculum and it is in fact an affiliate of the Talimi Board (TBJU) of the JU. In Maulana Suliman's respective 2010 and 2016 reports to BMA's AGM, he remarked that the TBJU conducted workshops between 2007 and 2016. He mentions that through the external assessment programme all the classes performed reasonably well and that an annual prize giving *jalsa* (that is, a gathering to celebrate) was introduced as an added incentive for the learners at the *madrasah*. And he stated that since 2013 a full-time *hifz* class was instituted that has an average of 14 learners and by 2016 three completed. This *madrasah* as well as other similar ones around the country played and it continues to play a critical role in re-affirming these learners' Muslim identity within the predominantly non-Muslim society. In fact, minority Muslim communities such as the one in Botswana have relied heavily on their home-based and independent *madrasahs* during the early years; with the passage of time, these were complimented by secular oriented schools such as Al-Haq and Al-Nur that also provided Islamic studies for the learners at all levels.

Whilst Islamic studies remained a primary and secondary school subject for decades, the idea of offering an advanced programme in Islamic studies was a somewhat belated one and one that was influenced by the Muslim educational outcomes in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique where such institutions have been operational for more than two decades. As mentioned earlier, Maulana Saleem spearheaded this project and had set up with a very restricted budget a *Darul-Ulum*. This institution, which is a Muslim theological seminary, is based on India's Deoband model; that is, its theological educational programme is based entirely on its system. The theological programme is very similar to what is on the menu at the other related theological seminaries. One may make the point that Botswana's Muslims like their co-religionists in the neighbouring states are also able to offer Islamic studies from the primary school level to the post-secondary school level. This seminary like similar others depends heavily on the financial injection of the Muslim community. Though this *Darul-Ulum* has not succeeded in being financially sound like the *Darul-Ulum* in Gauteng's Zakaria Park or KwaZulu-Natal's Newcastle in South Africa, it has managed to remain afloat as a result of charitable offerings from a few good Samaritans who believe in the importance of theological education in the post-school era.

Social Welfare Institutions

When Parratt (1989) penned her text on Botswana's Muslims, one of the points that she underscored was that they were like their co-religionists elsewhere because they were very active in charitable work. It has been mentioned above that good Samaritans in the community opened their purses for religious-educational institutions quite readily, and this researcher (2006) further underlined this attitude and acts when describing and discussing the activities of some of BMA's affiliates such as Al-Muslimah; for the purpose of this essay, a synopsis of the latter will be given in the next paragraph.

For example, the author sketched a portrait of Al-Muslimah, an organisation that was established and run by a group of Muslim women for more than two decades. In addition to the regular weekly classes that were held on Saturdays at the main mosque complex, its members organised children's day and family gatherings. They were involved in among others feeding schemes, erecting bus shelters for taxi and bus passengers, purchasing a school bus, and visiting prisoners and patients in hospitals. They and their organisation demonstrated in a tangible manner that they were concerned with the welfare of Botswana and were doing so because of their religious beliefs. Unfortunately, for the past few years it lost members and only a handful try to carry on with its activities.

Nevertheless, Al-Muslimah's work was complimented by members of the Gaborone-based Muslim Youth Movement (MYM) – and not to be confused with the South African organization from which it derived its name - that was established in the early 1970s under the leadership of Iqbal Khan and Fazlur Moorad. Like its sister organisation the MYM has been relatively active over the years; its members have been, for example, responsible for the annual distribution of *fitra* (charity to the needy before the end of the month of fasting), distributing hampers to the poor, and handing out meat that had been sacrificed on *'Id ul-Adha* (that is, the festival of pilgrimage) Apart from holding its weekly gatherings for its members where various themes and topics are discussed, it also organised football and other sporting activities that kept the youth occupied. Since it held a workshop that debated 'Islam in the year 2000 and beyond' at the end of 1999, it developed projects that would keep the youth groups' interest in both religion and society.

While these two organisations have made their contributions and continue to do so, the issue of social responsibility has been highlighted by the current crop of theologians; these were reflected in their regular BMA AGM reports as well as in interviews with the Gaborone-based media. Maulana Dawood Dhansay, who has served the Gaborone community for more than a decade and a half, clarified the nature of social responsibility in Muslim society. He pointed out the different ways of contributing financially and in his interview, he underlined, basing himself on a prophetic statement that he paraphrased: 'even if

one smiles with others then that is a form of charity' (*Witness* 2011). As indicated, the BMA regular reports illustrated the extent to which the Muslim community gave towards the Batswana society at large and particularly Botswana's poorer Muslims.

Ahmed Bhamjee, who has been and still is a leading MYM member, provided a short appraisal of Botswana Muslims' social responsibility. He made the point that Muslims were known for extending their hand through Muslim activism to clinics, schools, and even political movement. He stated that since the philosophy of what the 'right hand gives without the left hand knowing' was pervasive among Muslims, some of their contributions have not been publicly recorded. One agrees fully with Bhamjee because there have been many times when Muslims gave but these were part of the charitable work of Batswana towards others and not Botswana's Muslims towards those in need. During President Ian Khama's tenure (2008-2018) the Office of the President spurred on community members to contribute towards the presidential housing project and when one scans the government-owned *Daily News*, that listed all those who gave, one invariably comes across Muslim individuals and families who have freely given publically to this project.

Returning to Bhamjee's short article, he mentioned two important inputs that were made during 2010. He made reference to The AS Dada Foundation (ASDF) and the Hajee Goolam Mustapha Children's Home (HGMCH) as two examples that positively contributed to the society. The former, during August 2010, built and donated a clinic to the Molepolole community, and the clinic was officially opened by President Khama. As far as is known ASDF had built, completed, and handed over four such clinics to the government. One of these in Kanye was the Ebrahim and Mariam Dada Clinic that was officially opened by the then Minister of Minerals, Energy, and Water Resources and the then Acting Vice President Ponatshego Kedikilwe on the 14th of February 2011 (Legodimo 2011). He stressed that the clinic was a contribution by the Dada family towards achieving the national Vision 2016's goals in being a 'compassionate, caring, and loving nation.'

HGMCH, which began as a family initiative according to Bhamjee, was concerned with Botswana's growing number of orphaned children. During that year HGMCH refurbished a house in Gaborone and had it transformed into a home for some of the country's orphans. For the past few years the orphanage has been a successful project and one that brought praise from government officials such as the former speaker of Parliament, Margaret Nasha. Bhamjee rounded off his article by stating that 'It is only through projects such as these that the Muslims in Botswana will continue to integrate in a productive manner with the broader (Batswana) community'.

Businesspersons, Politicians, Healthcare Workers, and Sport Administrators

Spiropolos (2014), who completed an MA Thesis on Indian (Muslim) Business in Botswana, studied closely Botswana's Choppies supermarket chain; this company expanded and is today a Multinational Corporation that crossed borders into South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively. Initially owned by a Muslim (Farouk Chopdat) with non-Muslim partners, and later transferred into Hindu hands and with former President, Festus Mogae (1998-2008) as one of its directors. Be that as it may, what this study illustrated was that Muslim businessmen such as Farouk Chopdat and others have succeeded to make a name for themselves in the industry. Apart from doing business, these businesspersons have also generously donated to humanitarian causes in and outside the country and as a consequence of their magnanimity some of them were conferred the 'Presidential Order of Honour' in September 2017. Among the few who were honoured with this award was Farouk Chopdat. At the same event, Abdul Aboo Dada, who is a paternal uncle of BMA president, Abdul Sattar Dada, was also honoured with the 'Presidential Certificate of Honour'.

Apart from Choppies that has become a Botswana supermarket brand competing with South African companies such as Spar and Pick 'n Pay, other Muslim companies have also invested in national and regional projects that proved their commitment to the country's affairs. However, one of these companies

Lobtrans, which was part of the Asmal Group, was liquidated during 2008; it was one of those companies that diverted its investments into the national sporting codes (Toka 2008). It, for example, for a long time funded one of Botswana's popular football clubs, namely the LCS Gunners that was renamed Extension Gunners FC (est.1962). Unfortunately, Lobtrans went into insolvency as a result of irregularities that somewhat marred the image of the Muslim community.

Another company that has been quite influential nationally has been Jamal Trading Company, a business enterprise that was set up by Syed Mohammad Ahmad Naqvi who used to work as a civil servant for the government of Botswana. In the early 1980s the mentioned business was established and it has since then become a well-known brand name and a company that has proudly and heavily invested in the country. Besides having channelled funding via its own charitable organisation known as Panjetani Muslim Association of Botswana, it has been actively involved in the housing sector. In the Marua-Pula area of Gaborone, it built a huge housing complex that consists of a series of flats popularly known as the Jamali housing estate; these have become the home of many civil servants and expatriates among others. Interestingly, though the owners of Jamali Trading Company are adherents of the Shia Twelve School of theology, they have generally been viewed as part of the larger Muslim community.

The mentioned companies, however, were not the only ones that made their mark in the business sector. Here mention should be made of Mr. Satar Dada and Mr. Gulaam Abdoola. Besides being the BMA's president and Al Nur School Council's chairperson respectively, Mr. Satar Dada has for many years been the managing director of Motor Centre that is Botswana's franchise for Toyota cars and trucks. Abdoola is Turnstar's managing director and the enterprise built the huge Game City and Square Mart shopping malls in Gaborone (Anon 2016; Chiutsi 2016). Both established themselves as critical members of the business fraternity. But whilst the latter is non-partisan in terms of his relations with politicians and the political parties, the former has been a member and long standing treasurer of Botswana's Democratic Party (BDP) for many years.

Dada demonstrated that there was room for connecting business with politics and space for reinforcing religion with politics and business. After all, he is a key figure in the Muslim community and, as far as is known, he has never been apologetic about his religious identity; this was to some extent underscored in the article that appeared during the June 2016 issue of *The Memon* (Anon 2016). One may argue that Abdoola also displayed his identity in a similar way as Dada. And it may also be added that both of them have entrenched themselves in this business sector, and consequently, they have been and continue to be significant players. They have also been fervent philanthropists as already noted earlier when ASDF was briefly discussed.

Before turning away from the economic arena, one needs to mention one Muslim woman who has been extremely well-respected for her skills in finance, Bilkiss Moorad, the wife of Dr Moorad. She has been operating in the financial arena for more than twenty-five years, and during that time was associated with various financial institutions. In recent years she has moved from being deputy chief executive officer (CEO) to become CEO of Botswana Life Insurance company. She, however, had by then made a huge impression in the sector for being able to lead significant national financial institutions prior to having joined BLI. In fact, during the early part of 2017, she – being innovative – rolled out BLI's *Shari'a* Compliant products to compete with other related companies in the industry.

Though she has not shown her ties with the BDP or other political parties as in the case of Dada, from what one was able to gauge she managed to be neutral politically. But she is not the only prominent Muslim woman in the public arena. The other woman whose name has been in the media and has been known for her passion in the health sector is Shenaaz El-Halabi, a Moptswana married to an Egyptian. She was born and schooled in Lobatse and in 1993 she joined the Ministry of Health where she eventually rose to the position of Permanent Secretary in the same ministry (Basele 2010).

In addition to the brief selective profiles of some of Botswana's well-known public figures, one cannot ignore other significant personalities who had made important inputs socially, culturally, and religiously. One of them is Shamshad Khan (d. 2007) who had not only been active in socio-cultural, religious activities but who had also been a participant in the country's politics (Sheikh 2009). For example, he, having been a Botswana Democratic Party member, became Gaborone's Deputy Mayor at one stage and did a tremendous amount of philanthropic work like Dada. Another individual who worked like Al-Halabi in the civil service was Mustak Moorad, the elder brother of Dr Moorad; he worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for more than 20 years and during this period he was appointed Botswana's ambassador to Ethiopia.

In their specific capacities, they have been able to demonstrate their preparedness as Muslims to get involved with the government. And another person who was and continues to be active in politics is Mohammed Khan. Unlike some of the other individuals mentioned earlier Mohammed Khan is an ardent member of one of the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF). He served, among others, as an MP for Melopolole North and mid-2016 his name was put forward to become BNF's Vice President. Apart from politics, he like Dada also dedicates his time to assisting the Muslim community in Francistown and other areas.

Shifting to the sporting arena, it is noted that South African born Ismail Bhamjee settled in Botswana after having expressed his objections to South Africa's apartheid policies. He participated in Botswana's cultural affairs and has been one of the key figures in placing the country's sporting fraternity on the global map. He, for example, represented Botswana and the Southern African region at Confederation of African Football (CAF). Bhamjee's commitments and inputs were well received by CAF members in general and Confederation of Southern African Football Associations (COSAFA) in particular. However, he lost CAF's presidency during the January 2004 elections in Tunisia. And in the end, he was forced to resign from the FIFA executive for having been accused of having taken a bribe at the 2006 FIFA World Cup event in Germany. Despite this, he is still in one way or the other associated with the local football committee to promote the game at all levels; he was given by President Festus Mogae a presidential Orders of Honour for his sterling contribution towards this sporting code according to *Mmegi* (4 October 2006).

The Muslims and Vision 2016/2036

From what has thus far been described and discussed, there is ample evidence that may be used to demonstrate and prove that Botswana's Muslim community viewed themselves as part of the later Batswana nation; and hence loyal citizens. This is in spite of the fact that they possessed ethnic and religious identities that had and do set them apart from their fellow citizens; the majority of whom belong to many African tribes, and many of whom are zealous members of ATR and Christianity (Amanze 2006). Bearing this in mind and returning to the earlier period, it should be stated that during the time Botswana was Britain's territory and after it gained its independence in 1966, the Muslim community remained dependable upon and subservient servants to the state. Despite the harsh, trying, and difficult conditions in which the Muslims emerged, developed, and lived, they strove hard to serve their town and village communities as best as they could; hence, their capacity to comprehend the *Kgotla* system (traditional tribal government forum), their aptitude to speak the local languages, their ability to differentiate the one tribe from the other, and their knack to hunt wild animals (Chand 2018).

Amidst these, they faced challenges during the colonial period as highlighted by Fazlur Moorad at the Southern African Ulama conference in 2012 and by Chand (2018). Among these were the following: a) not being permitted to enter large reserves and towns, b) not allowed to be in the Southwestern/Western part of the territory, c) not given the chance to undertake commercial ventures freely but to do

so under strict trade restrictions, and d) not officially granted the right to bring families. Alongside these, there were also the racial prejudices and economic biases that added to the physical challenges that they encountered. These continued until the time of Botswana's independence when a democratic government was put in place and one that was supported and abetted by most if not all of the Muslims that were born and raised in the country.

Since Botswana's Constitution had enshrined the freedom of religion as well as other related Acts and clauses, its religious minorities such as the Muslims felt safe and protected. The outcome of the cohort of clauses caused them to commit themselves to contribute towards the development of the emerging nation-state into a strong developing state. The social, economic, and political inputs of many of the Muslim community's members have since been recognised and endorsed by the state. Whilst throwing their weight behind the government of Botswana, they never forgot their religious identity; they, as a religious minority, realised that even though they live and reside in predominantly non-Muslim surroundings they also formed part of and were connected to a global Muslim *ummah* (that is, religious community).

So whatever efforts they –as a religious minority community –generally undertook in the social arena, cultural sector, economic sphere, and political segment were performed with the idea that they were not only an ethnic minority (that is, Indians) and a religious grouping (that is, Muslims), but that they were also part of the Botswana nation. A nation that since 1966 was transformed from being a poor downtrodden developing state into a strong developing state as a result of a) effectively managing the country's wealth, b) commendably putting in place worthy policies, and c) admirably providing relatively good services. The nation that had a good governance system in place and that was further guided a set of National Development Plans (NDPs) on the one hand, and, on the other, by a visionary document known as Vision 2016 that provided a broad framework for the country's development and advancement (UNDP 2004).

The Muslim community's leaders, namely the BMA, fully identified with both the NDPs and Vision 2016 that also harmonised well with the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). One of the MDGs that underscored equality and empowerment tied in seamlessly with Vision 2016's sixth pillar (and currently 'Human Development' pillar 2 of Vision 2036); one that encouraged Botswana to become a morally conscious and tolerant nation; these qualities, as a matter of information, are naturally not only endorsed by the Muslim community's sacred text, namely the Qur'an, but they are the characteristic traits that Muslims should also reflect in their character and behaviour towards their family members, neighbours, friends, and strangers (Muslims and non-Muslims).

As one rounds up this essay, they should consider posing a few questions that come to mind and that literally hang over the BMA leadership's head; they are: Does BMA have a vision for the organisations that are affiliated to it? Why does it not have a strategic plan in place to tackle the future? How does BMA intend to empower its members to be pro-active and to participate in non-governmental organisations (NGO) and other civil society bodies so that Botswana can observe that the Muslim community is not living in isolation but a participant in their affairs? And to what extent has BMA embarked on translating booklets that, among others, offer an understanding of Muslim thought and practices into Setswana? Even though one came across a few pamphlets that were prepared by the local *da'wah* committee members, there has been an absence of detailed texts. One should, however, state that during the 1980s a South African born Mr. Osman had completed a few translations for the Setswana speaking audience but these works appear to be out of circulation. Moreover, one hastily adds that a Setswana translation of the Qur'an has been completed under the supervision of members of the Chand family in Gaborone. This text is critically being evaluated by a team of individuals at present and will probably be published towards the end of 2018 or the beginning of 2019. Be that as it may, the questions that were posed will be left

unanswered, and it is for BMA and its members to reflect and engage internally and externally on these matters so that they can come up with a viable vision and a practical strategic plan; documents that will be used as guides as they move into the future.

Conclusion

In this essay, an attempt is made to offer a contemporary profile of Botswana's small but fairly dynamic Muslim community. Having been led by the BMA, since 1955 when the country was still called Bechuanaland Protectorate, by sterling individuals the Muslims made their inputs in various sectors of society. Members of this community flourished in the business sector, financial industry, sporting fraternity, and a host of others. Through their participation in both the private and public spheres, they have directly and indirectly contributed towards the formation of Botswana's religious mosaic; a country that was, at one stage, mainly ATR and Christian.

Botswana's Muslims should, of course, realise that they are an essential part of the Botswana society and that they should continue to play their role as *bonafide* citizens and residents; they should do so bearing in mind that they function like everyone else in a secular state and with a secular Constitution that secures one's freedom of religion. As Muslims they should too, like everyone else who reside therein, weigh in on the nation-building process; in other words, they should, for example, engage in interfaith dialogue – as suggested by Amanze (2006) who called Christians to dialogue with Muslims – one method of socialisation, and do whatever it takes to make this a successful process that is an on-going one. And they should face the future, like their forbears, without having to sacrifice or lose their identities as Muslims. They should see themselves as part of the society rather than apart from the society within which they live.

That said, it is perhaps fitting to finally end-off this profile with the following questions that drew upon UNDP's Report on Botswana's MDGs: since Botswana has a vision for the nation, does BMA have a vision for the Muslim community? Will the Muslim community assist the government –despite their minority status –ensure that government policies and programmes are smoothly implemented? Will Botswana's Muslims along with other Botswana transform themselves to become viable agents for change and development? Will the Muslims assist to contribute towards securing a fair share of benefits for all in Botswana? In which way do they see themselves contributing towards Botswana's sustainable social, economic, and environment development? These questions are raised for future researchers to return to when they research and study the transformation of Botswana generally and in particular when they evaluate the Botswana Muslim community's contribution.

Acknowledgement

This revised text was based on an earlier article that was published in Turkish: 'Botswana Musulmanlari: Cagdas Profili' in Ankara based *Yeni Turkiye*, volume 97, 2017, pages 463-479). It should, however, be read in tandem with related texts on Gaborone's Muslims that appeared in *SCRIPTURA* and *ARIA* (see reference list) as well as my text titled 'Experience of Muslims in Southern Africa', which appears in Mark Woodward and Ronald Lukens-Bull (eds.), *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*. Springer, Cham. 2018: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73653-2_80-1.

References

Official documents and reports

- Botswana Muslim Association 2001. Annual Report, 2001. Gaborone: Botswana Muslim Association.*
Republic of Botswana 2014. 'Constitution of the Republic of Botswana'. <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/bw/bw008en.pdf> and <http://www.ditshwanelo.org.bw/Simplified%20Constitution%20of%20the%20Republic%20of%20Botswana%20-%20FINAL%20-%20April%202014.pdf>

accessed 13 July 2018.

Sheikh, M (ed.), 2009. *Botswana Muslim Directory*. Lobatse: Botswana Muslim Association.
United Nations Development Programme 2004. *Botswana: Millennium Development Goals Status Report 2004*. New York: United Nations, www.undp.org accessed 13 July 2018.

Secondary sources

- Amanze, J 2006. *Ecumenism in Botswana: The Story of the BCC*. Gaborone: Pula Press.
- Amanze, J 2000. *Islam in Botswana (c. 1882-1995)*. Uppsala: African Association for the Study of Religion.
- Amanze, J 1998. 'Islam in Botswana During the Colonial Period, 1882-1966'. *Botswana Notes and Records*, vol. 30, pp.67-78.
- Amra, M 2006. 'Islam in Southern Africa: A Historical Perspective', in Kasozi, A and Unay, S (eds.), *Islamic Civilisation in Eastern Africa*. Istanbul: IRCICA, pp.99-118
- Anon, February 2005. 'Ishaq Peloewetse: Islamic Scholar', *FLAIR: Instinct for Excellence*, pp.50-51.
- Anon, April 2016. 'Gulaam H. Abdoola: The Man, The Dream, The Journey', *The Memon*, vol. 13, pp.8-13.
- Anon, June 2016. 'Abdul Satar: Business Baron of Botswana. *The Memon*. Vol. 14, pp.7-14.
- Azarya, V 1996. 'Community', in Kuper, A and Kuper, J (eds.), *The Social Science Encyclopaedia*. London: Routledge.
- Basele, B April-May 2010. 'Shenaaz El-Halabi: Health Check', *FLAIR: Instinct for Excellence*, vol. 5, 5, pp.24-26.
- Burgess, S 2002. *SA Tribes: Who We Are, How We Live, What We Want from Life*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Chand, N 2018. *Bechuanaland's Muslim Pioneers (c.1882-1960): Their Journey and Legacy*. Gaborone: Botswana Muslim Association (Forthcoming).
- Grant, S 2006. 'A Preliminary Chronology of Modern Gaborone', *Botswana: Notes and Records*. 38: 182-194.
- Hall, S 1996. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Harris, J (ed.) 2001. *Tonnes Community and Civil Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haron, M 2006. 'Gaborone Muslim Community: A Vignette into their Lives', *Scriptura: International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa*, vol. 92, 2, pp.200-217.
- Haron, M. 2012. 'Striving Towards a Working Relationship among 'Ulama within the Southern African Region: A Report on the Sixth South African Ulama Forum', *BOLESWA: Journal of Theology, Religion and Philosophy*, 4, 1, pp.255-269.
- Haron, M 2014. 'Gaborone's Muslims: A Community on the Move', *Annual Review of Islam in Africa*. Vol. 12, 2, pp.36-40.
- Haron, M 2017. 'Botswana's Religious Demographics: A Comparative Insight into its 2001 and 2011 Censuses, in Grimm, B Johnson, T; Skirbekk, V; and Zurlo, G (eds). *Yearbook of International Religious Demography*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp.97-107.
- Jacobs, BD 2001. 'Community Sociology: Volume 4', in Smelser, NJ and Baltes, PB (eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*. New York: Elsevier, pp.2383-2387
- Mall, M July-September.2000. 'Al-Nur: Heralding an era of Enlightenment', *Future-Gen*, pp.12-15.
- Maano, U and Haron, M October 2011. 'Muslims in Botswana's Ramotswa and Lobatse: Their Developments and Demographics', *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 31, 2, pp.259-271.
- Moorad, FR December 2012. 'Message', *Al-Mag: Al-Nur School 20th Anniversary Magazine*, p.12.
- Parratt, SN 1989. 'Muslims in Botswana', *African Studies*, pp.48, 1, pp.72-82.
- Rabinowitz, D 2001. 'Community Studies: Anthropological Volume 4', in Smelser and Baltes, *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*, pp.2387-2389

Newspapers/newsletters

Bhamjee, A January 2011. 'Muslim Social Responsibility in Botswana', Botswana Muslim Association Dawah Newsletter. p.4.

Chiutsi, N April 2016. 'Property Mogul that Never Stops', Botswana Investor: Advancing Wealth Creation, pp.14-16.

Legodimo, C 2011. 'Dada Builds Another Clinic in Kanye', Mmegi, <http://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?sid=1&aid=935&dir=2011/February/Monday14/> accessed 13 July 2018.

Mmegi. 4 October 2006. <http://www.mmegi.bw/2006/October/Wednesday4/5025123251857.html> accessed 15 July 2018.

Toka, G 3 February 2008. 'LOBTRANS Collapse Shakes Banking Industry', Sunday Standard, <http://www.sundaystandard.info/lobtrans-collapse-shakes-banking-industry> accessed 13 July 2018.

Witness: The Leading Corporate Social Responsibility and Ethics Magazine February 2011. 'Corporate Social Responsibility: Muslim View on CSR', p.22.