SITUATION ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BOTSWANA



A female voter casts her vote in Botswana elections, Gaborone.
Photo:Mboy Maswabi

INTERNATIONAL IDEA
INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

20 YEARS OF SERVICE
GENDER LINKS
FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

WPP
Women in Political Participation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 1
ACRONYMS 2
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 3
INTRODUCTION 4
NORMATIVE FRAMEWORKS 6
GLOBAL AND REGIONAL TRENDS 8
NATIONAL LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK 10
REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING IN BOTSWANA 11
INFORMAL BARRIERS TO WPP 14
ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND TEMPORARY SPECIAL MEASURES (TSM) 15
POLITICAL PARTIES 20
FINANCING ELECTIONS 22
ELECTIONS MANAGEMENT 23
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS 24
ROLE OF THE MEDIA 26
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY 28
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 29
BIBLIOGRAPHY 32

ANNEXURES

ANNEX A: INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS 33
ANNEX B: QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INTERVIEWS/FOCUS GROUPS 35

List of figures

Figure 1: Women in political decision-making in SADC 9
Figure 2 : Women in parliament (both houses) by electoral system 16
Figure 3 : Women in Local government by electoral system 17

List of tables

Table 1: Women in National Parliaments - Global ranking as of 1st October 2020 8
Table 2: Women's representation in political decision making in Botswana (2020) 12
Table 3: Historical representation of women and men in Parliament (1974 - 2019) 12
Table 4: Women and Men participation in Local Government (1994 - 2019) 13
Table 5: Local Elections in Botswana in 2019 13
Table 6: Possible combinations of TSM and electoral systems 19
Table 7: Summary of radio debates on WPP and quotas 20
Table 8: Political Parties in Botswana - Gender analysis of their manifestos 21

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chigedze Virginia Chinyepi conducted the research and writing of this report. GL Special Advisor Colleen Lowe Morna provided strategic guidance and edited the report with the assistance of GL Governance Associate Susan Tolmay. We are deeply indebted to all key informants listed at **Annex A**. Special thanks to Gabz FM Radio for providing two slots on "The Arena With Setho" programmes to debate electoral system in Botswana as well as Elsie Alexander for airing the debates during her two consecutive programmes. The research forms part of the of the International Idea-led consortium: *Enhancing the Inclusion of Women in Political Participation in Africa* funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) though the Embassy of Sweden Ethiopia. The six other organisations in the consortium are Women and Law in Southern Africa, Padare/Enkundleni/Mens' Forum on Gender, The African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET), Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), and Cheikh Anta Diop University -Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire (UCAD IFAN) African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET), Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), and Cheikh Anta Diop University - Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire (UCAD IFAN). We thank our sponsors and all partners in this endeavour.

ACRONYMS

AP	Alliance for Progressives
AYC	African Youth Charter
BCP	Botswana Congress Party
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BOCONGO	Botswana Council of NGO
BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action
BPF	Botswana Patriotic Front
BNF	Botswana National Front
BMD	Botswana Movement for Democracy
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EMB	Election Management Bodies
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FEMNET	The African Women's Development and Communication Network
FGD	Focus group discussion
FPTP	First Past The Post
GBV	Gender-based violence
GL	Gender Links
GMPS	Gender Media Progress Study
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFAN	International Financial Advisors Network
IPU	Inter- Parliamentary Union
KIIs	Key informant interviews
LGBQI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Queer and Intersex
MISA	Media Institute of Sothern Africa
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PR	Proportional Representation
NPGAD	National Policy on Gender and Development
RAP	Real Alternative Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	The Sustainable Development Goals
SORB	Sexual Offenders Registration Bill
TSM	Temporary Special Measures
UDC	Umbrella for Democratic Change
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WPP	Women's Political Participation



With less than a decade to go to 2030, the deadline for the Sustainable Development Goals, women constitute just 11% of MPs and 18% of councillors in Botswana: well below the gender parity target and among the lowest proportions in Southern Africa.

Democracy is about the fair representation of all interest groups in society. The fact that women are not represented in proportion to their presence in the population is a violation of this principle. Many international and regional legal frameworks recognise and are concerned about the under-representation of women in political processes. Promoting women's political participation at different levels and in different ways is key to ensuring equality, democratisation and political justice.

Gender Links is part of the *Enhancing Women's Political Participation (WPP) in Africa* consortium led by International IDEA with six partners. The three-year project is funded by the Embassy of Sweden in Ethiopia with the overall goal of increasing the political representation and participation of women in Africa in line with the Maputo Protocol of 2003, various sub-regional protocols and standards and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

This situation analysis of WPP in Botswana is part of the consortium's work and aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the state of women's participation in political decision making at all levels, including in political parties, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the media.

Interviewees ranging from serving and former politicians to academics and activists (see Annex A) highlighted a range of barriers to women's representation and participation in political decision making, including the electoral system that is unconducive to ensuring election of women and other marginalised groups; patriarchal norms and standards linked to culture and tradition, violence during campaigning and elections; lack of resources and political party support.

Accelerating women representation in political decision making requires an inter-sectional approach involving government, civil society, the media, academia, the private sector, youth and men. The upcoming Constitutional Review - the first since independence in 1966 - provides a unique opportunity to re-write herstory in Botswana; review the electoral system with a gender lens, and adopt the special measures that have proven necessary in every country in the world that has succeeded in increasing WPP. *The time is indeed now!*

Introduction

Gender equality and good governance are two of the most pervasive themes in development debates in recent times. They come together in the growing body of literature and thought around gender, democracy and good governance.

Through socialisation, not nature, women and men are allocated different and unequal roles in society. Women are assigned the private sphere, taking care of the home and family, while men are assigned the public sphere, running the affairs of society.

Where women venture into public spaces they are expected to play roles similar to the home - that is nurturing roles. Also grafted onto the gendered "division of labour" is a difference in power relations. Whether in the home, in the community, or in national life, men occupy the decision-making roles. Patriarchy is the system that defines these power relations between women and men, allocating a dominant role to men and a subordinate role to women.

Politics and governance involve all aspects of power: who has power, what power relations exist, how power is exercised, the institutions of power, how they operate, what policies and laws are churned out from these institutions and what impact those have on people. Through the patriarchal powers vested in them by society, men become the "directors" of virtually all public life - the "face" of politics and governance.

Nowhere, says a report of the United Nations (UN) to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 "is the gap between *de jure* and *de facto* equality among men and women greater than in the area of decision-making."[1]

Politics is not only about institutions of power and who occupies them. It is also about how that power is exercised and the outcomes. Women's non-participation renders them non-citizens in decision-making. The outcomes of policies reinforce their inferior status. The signs of this include the feminisation of poverty, development programmes that do not change women's status, abuse and Volence Against Women and Girls (VAWG).

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA) adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 calls on governments to take measures to ensure women's equal access to, and full participation in, decision-making. They should do this by creating a gender balance in government and administration; integrating women into political parties; increasing women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership as well as increasing women's participation in the electoral process and political activities.

The link between democracy, economic and social progress has led to a growing focus on **good governance**.[2] The pillars of "good governance" are now generally agreed to include the government's responsibility (that is, the executive and administration). Democracy stands on two pillars. **Representative democracy** focuses on the quantitative representation of all groups in society to access decision-making. **Participatory democracy** allows for qualitative inputs that draw on the experiences and aspirations of those represented. The sum total is better, more responsive and more accountable governance.

[1] United Nations, *Report of the United Nations to the Fourth World Conference on women*, (UN, 1996) pp.12
[2] UNDP, *The African Governance Forum Conceptual Framework* (1997), pp.3



> ...Democracy to me means government of the people, by the people and not government of the people, by men. Democracy by nature should be inclusive, with proportionate representation of most, if not all sections of the population of a country.
>
> *- Dr Margaret Nasha, Former Speaker of the Parliament in her new book - Madam Speaker, Sir.*

The **equity arguments** make the case that women have a right to share in decision-making in proportion to their numbers as a distinct group in society. The essence of democracy is the fair representation of all interest groups in society. The non-representation of women to their population is a violation of this principle. In short, women have a right to equal participation in political decision-making, whether they make a difference or not. Cooper and Lybrand maintain that parliaments should be "mirror images" of each country.[3]

The qualitative or **efficacy arguments** concern how women's interests, perspectives, and experiences enrich governance. This school of thought, reflected in various Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) resolutions and international commitments, holds that women's under-representation in politics violates the democratic principle of fair representation. The IPU maintains: "The concept of democracy will only assume true and dynamic significance when political policies and national legislation are decided upon jointly by men and women with equitable regard for the interests and aptitudes of both halves of the population."[4]

The BPFA argues: "Women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision- making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning."[5]

The Botswana Situation Analysis forms part of the International Idea-led consortium: *Enhancing the Inclusion of Women in Political Participation (WPP) in Africa*. The six other organisations in the consortium are FAWE, FEMNET, Gender Links, IFAN Gender Laboratory, PADARE, and WLSA. The consortium focuses on eight African countries: Botswana, Eswatini, Zimbabwe, DRC, Tanzania, Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal. The overall objective of the WPP Consortium is to increase the political participation and representation of women in Africa in line with the Maputo Protocol of 2003, various associated sub- regional protocols and standards, and the Sustainable Development Goas (SDGs). The consortium has five main areas of work:

- Knowledge Generation, Documentation and Dissemination
- Training and Capacity Enhancement
- Policy and Political Dialogues
- Advocacy and Outreach
- Peer to Peer Exchanges and Mentorship

The Botswana Situation analysis forms part of the first cluster of activities. It is the foundation for a series of strategic initiatives that include working with political parties; the Independent Electoral Commission; Cross Generation debates; the media and civil society towards *women's equal and effective participation in all areas of political decision-making*.

[3] Cooper and Lybrand, 'Women and parliaments in Australia and New Zealand', a discussion paper prepared for the Commonwealth Minister's Conference on the Status of Women (1994) (unpublished),
[4] Inter Parliamentary Union, *Plan of Action to Correct Imbalances in the Participation of Men and Women in Political Life*" (IPU, 1994).
[5] United Nations, *The Beijing Platform for Action*, paragraph 181, (UN,1995).

Methodology

This study is based on a literature review of WPP in Botswana, the region and Africa. It includes quantitative data collection from recent elections as well semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, some conducted virtually due to COVID-19 restrictions. As reflected at **Annex A**, GL conducted 38 interviews; three of these in groups of more than one and ten 10 of these virtual due to COVID-19 restrictions. The interviews covered a wide range of serving and former politicians at national and local level from all political parties; government officials; media personnel and civil society organisations. Guiding questions for the interviews are **Annex B**.

Gabz FM, a local Radio station, offered two slots for the debates on Women's Effective Participation in Politics as well as Electoral Systems and Quotas. These debates, held on different days, expanded beyond key informants to general listenership. This improved the debates beyond just panellists, as they included a diverse group of people whose contributions made the discussions lively and interactive. Panellists on Electoral Systems and Quotas included former health minister Joy Phumaphi, academic and gender activist Elsie Alexander. Councillor Motamma Horatius; and Daisy Bathusi, former President of women's wing of Botswana Congress Party joined the panel on Women's Effective Participation.

Normative frameworks

Most Southern African countries, including Botswana, have made commitments through global, regional and national instruments like the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Maputo Protocol and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, to promote gender equality.

International

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1970)

Article 7 states that States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

The UN Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/15 (1990)

Calls on governments, political parties, trade unions, and professional and other representative groups to adopt a 30 percent minimum proportion of women in leadership positions, with a view to achieving equal representation.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995)

Outlines 12 strategic objectives and critical areas of action including "Women in power and Decision Making". Among the critical areas of insufficient progress identified in Beijing Plus Twenty is the "participation of women in power and decision-making at all levels."

The 2003 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political participation (A/RES/58/142) (2003)

Article 1 (e) To promote the goal of gender balance in all public positions and to take all appropriate measures to encourage political

parties to ensure that women have a fair and equal opportunity to compete for all elective and non-elective public positions;

The 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political participation (A/RES/66/130)
Article 4 calls upon States in situations of political transition to take effective steps to ensure the participation of women on equal terms with men in all phases of political reform, from decisions on whether to call for reforms in existing institutions to decisions regarding transitional governments, to the formulation of government policy, to the means of electing new democratic governments;

The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (2015)
SDG 5 underscores women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making. It picks up from where MDGs 3 left off, calling for the gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. Women's political participation is identified as a main indicator.

Continental

The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol, 2003)
This Protocol was adopted to complement and strengthen the African Charter by prompting women's rights. Article 9. 1 calls on state parties "to take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that women participate without any discrimination in all elections; and women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes." State parties are urged to go beyond numbers by ensuring "increased and effective representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making."

Regional

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) (Updated in 2015)
Article 12 requires all state parties to endeavour to have at least fifty percent of decision-making positions in both private and public sector occupied by women by 2015.

Article 13 goes further and advocates that state parties "use special legislative measures to enable women to have equal opportunities with men to participate in all electoral processes including the administration of elections and voting".

Botswana signed the Post 2015 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in 2017.



Women's Political Participation in Botswana, Gaborone 2020. *Photo: Mukayi Makaya*

Global and regional trends

Globally women's representation in parliament sits at just 25% ranging from 61% in Rwanda to 0 in the pacific islands. Botswana ranks 162 out of 190 countries.

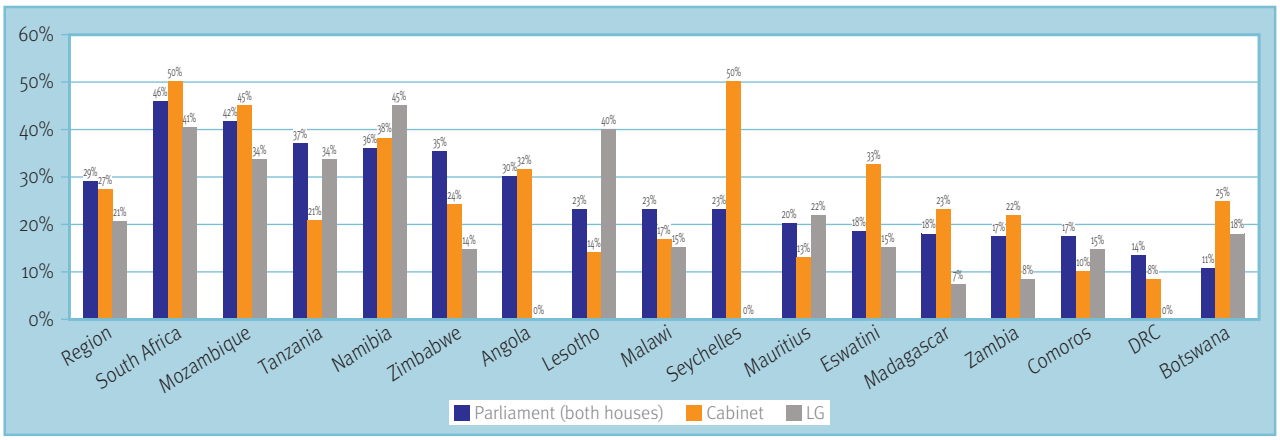
Table 1: Women in National Parliaments - Global ranking as of 1st October 2020

Rank	Country	Lower or single house		Upper House or Senate	
		% Women	Women/Seats	% Women	Women/Seats
	49 - 62 %				
1	Rwanda	61.3	49/80	47.2	17/36
2	Cuba	53.2	322/605	-	-
3	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	53.1	69/130	47.2	17/36
4	United Arab Emirates	50.0	20/40	-	-
	40 - 49%				
5	Mexico	48	241/500	49.2	36/128
6	Nicaragua	47.3	43/91	-	-
7	Sweden	47.0	164/349	-	-
8	Grenada	47.7	7/15	30.8	4/13
9	Andorra	46.4	13/28	-	-
10	South Africa	46.4	184/397	37.7	20/53
11	Finland	46.0	92/200	-	-
12	Costa Rica	45.6	26/57	-	-
13	Spain	44.0	154/350	39.0	103/264
14	Namibia	43.3	45/104	19.1	8/42
15	Senegal	43.0	71/165	-	-
16	Mozambique	42.4	106/250	26.1	12/46
17	Switzerland	41.5	83/200	-	-
18	Norway	41.4	70/169	-	-
19	Argentina	40.9	104/257	40.3	29/72
20	New Zealand	40.8	49/120	-	-
	10 to 13.3%				
154	Liberia	13.3	9/73	3.3	1/30
155	Hungary	12.6	25/199	-	-
156	Sierra Leone	12.3	18/146	-	-
157	Côte d'Ivoire				
158	Liechtenstein	12.0	3/25	-	-
159	Congo	11.3	17/151	18.3	13/69
160	Antigua and Barbuda	11.1	2/18	52.9	9/17
161	Myanmar	11.3	49/423	12.1	27/224
162	**Botswana**	**10.8**	**7 / 65**	**-**	**-**

Source: IPU. Data provided by national parliaments, accessed October 2020.

Table 1 shows that there are just four countries that have achieved 50% or more women representation in parliament. The top 20 countries range from 40% to 62%. With just 11% women in parliament Botswana is 162 globally and has the lowest ranking of any country in SADC.

Figure 1: Women in political decision-making in SADC



Source: Gender Links 2021.

Figure 1 compares the proportion of women's representation in SADC in parliament, cabinet and local government. It shows that, except in South Africa and Seychelles at the cabinet level, no country in the SADC region has reached the 50% target of women at any level of political decision-making. The regional averages are also all below 30%, which is worrisome considering all countries (except Mauritius) have signed the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development that was adopted in 2008 and updated in 2015. Botswana, which hosts the SADC Secretariat, has the lowest representation of women in parliament; and third lowest representation of women in local government and cabinet.

Helen P. Manyaneng, President of the Alliance for Progressives (AP) Women's League stated that if instruments signed by the Botswana Government are not implemented, structural barriers for women's political participation will remain a challenge: "There is the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which took long time to be signed, then after signing now it's not being implemented, so if you are not implementing, it's like you are not doing anything. We see women in Parliament from the ruling party, we thought they would push for its implementation, they're just quiet. We also thought they would support the Commissioner of Enquiry on Gender Based Violence; they're saying it's not a priority. In Botswana, I think that women who get elected forget themselves, they no longer think they are women out there that they are representing. Once they get to those Ministerial posts, they forget where they come from".[6]



Helen P. Manyaneng. *Photo: Mboy Maswabi*

[6] Helen P. Manyeneng - Interview (28.10.2020)

National legal and policy framework

Constitutional provisions

The Botswana Constitution, dating back to the independence of the country, in 1966 is 54 years old. While it provides for non-discrimination on the basis of sex it does not give clear guidance on equal involvement of women and men in different contexts such as political participation and leadership.

Section 3 of the Botswana Constitution stipulates that every person in Botswana is *"entitled to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual that is to say, the right whatever his race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex to life, liberty, security of the person and the protection of the law; freedom of conscience, of expression and assembly and association; and protection for the privacy of his home and other property and from deprivation of property without compensation"*.

Section 15(3) prohibits discrimination on the basis of political opinion. It defines discrimination as, *"affording different treatment to different persons, attributable wholly or mainly to their respective descriptions by race, tribe, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or* ***sex*** *whereby persons of one such descriptions are subjected to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of another such description are not made subject or are accorded privileges or advantages which are not accorded to persons or another description."*

Section 67 provides for the franchise and specifies who has the right to register and vote in the national assembly and local government elections. The section refers to citizens who meet the set criteria; citizens here implies both men and women. This section, therefore, provides rights for women to register and vote in all elections.

Laws amended to address gender inequality

- The Employment (Amendment) Act, of 2010, which establishes a minimum pay of half salary for women on maternity leave and prohibits discrimination in the workplace.
- The Interpretation (Amendment) Act, in 2013, which sets the legal age of age of maturity at 18 irrespective of sex;
- The Legal Aid Act, in 2013, aimed at increasing access to justice including by women;
- Married Persons Property Act, in 2014, which allows persons married under customary law to opt for civil law for the administration of their properties.

National Gender Machinery

Botswana's National gender machinery is the Department of Gender Affairs under the Ministry of Nationality Immigration and Gender Affairs, the department was referred to Women's Affairs, which latter has to be inclusive to be Gender Affairs. Its core mandated is ensure that the landscape in Botswana, is gender sensitive and gender responsive. This is done through monitoring all policies, programs and projects in government and giving guidance in terms of mainstreaming gender. The National Policy on Gender and Development was adopted in 2015 with the long term goal to reduce inequalities in the opportunities and outcomes of social, economic, political, cultural and legal development for both women and men.

The National Policy on Gender and Development (NPGD) adopted in 2015 addresses the following 5 priority areas:

1. Women's participation in the economy.
2. Women in leadership which includes women in political participation.
3. Social protection and Health.
4. Women in education cover areas of climate change or the environment.
5. Women's access to Justice and freedom from violence.

The NPGAD emphases that good governance and leadership are critical and key for sustainable development, particularly towards gender equality.

The Director of Gender Affairs Department, Thapelo Phuthego highlights that:

> In addition to priority areas indicated in the Policy, another priority area is on Special Measures which cuts across the five main areas. In terms of subscription, we subscribe to International instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), we subscribe to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) of which Botswana has already submitted the Beijing plus 25 country report. We have also submitted the CEDAW 4th country report and we have presented the same.
>
> There will be the mid-term review of the CEDAW in 2021 to which we will submit a report. Domestication of the CEDAW, we have done an audit of our laws in as far as domestication is concerned and we are at 50%. We will be waiting for the Constitutional review, which is being mentioned, of which if it were to be done, definitely we will have interest in terms of gender equality, as we revise it. So basically, I can say we subscribe to the International instruments that I have mentioned including the Sustainable Development Goals. At Continental level we subscribe to the African instruments, mainly being the African Union agenda 2036 where we aspire for an Africa where we will have our women and youth participate equally in the development of the continent.[7]

Rachel Loeto Principal Gender Policy, Gender Affairs Department adds:

> The Department has developed a number of policies to mainstream gender across Ministries, the National Operational Plan and the National Strategy on Gender and Development. While these were put in place to achieve meaningful improvement of equality and equity among women and men, implementation and enforcement remains a challenge due to lack of funding. These were all running for five years from 2015 - 2020, their time have elapsed and milestones have not been achieved. Without budget allocation, and political will to implementing these policies and strategies, review will be just another document developed for failure." Said Ms Rachel Loeto, Department of Affairs Department.[8]

The major challenge observed over the years by those working in this area, is that even though there are special measures in place, there is lack of commitment from Government to implement them. Temporary special measures in the absence of alignment of the electoral system to have them enforceable will not yield the expected result.

Botlogile Tshireletso, former Minister Local Government and Rural Development argues: "It is high time and long overdue for the country, to ensure that special measures on gender equality are expedited. How do we make sure that there is parity between the genders - start with the political mandate, going on to the governance."[9]

Representation of women in political decision-making in Botswana

Women comprise over 51% of the population of Botswana, but only 11% of MPs; 18% of councillors and 25% of the cabinet.

7 Thapelo Phuthego The Director, Rachel Loeto Principal Gender Policy, Gender Affairs Department - Interview (30.10.2020)
8 Ibid
9 Botlhogile Tshireletso - Interview - (23.10.2020)

Table 2: Women's representation in political decision making in Botswana (2020)

	Last election	Next elections	Electoral system	No of seats	No of women	% Women
National Assembly	2019	2024	FPTP	63	7	11%
Cabinet	2019	2024	Appointed by the President	24	6	25%
Local government	2019	2024	FPTP	609[10]	111	18%

Source: IEC, 2019 Botswana General Elections Results.[11]

With just two more elections to go before the 2030 deadline set in the SDGs, it is evident that special measures are needed to increase women's representation at all levels of political decision-making in Botswana.

Parliament

Botswana gained political independence in 1966 with no women in Parliament. After independence, Botswana had three terms (15 years) of a male only Parliament until 1974 when two women came to Parliament through Special Nomination: Gaositwe K. T. Chiepe appointed Minister of Commerce and Industry, and Kebatshabile Disele, a backbencher until her elevation to cabinet as Minister of Home Affairs in 1979.[12] Ten years later, in 1984 Disele ceased to be a member of Parliament. Clara Olsen, a specially elected MP, brought the number of women to two.[13]

The opposition parties did not have a woman MP until in 2013, when Habaudi Hubona of the Botswana Congress Party (BCP) was elected to Parliament after a by-election following the death Tshelang Masisi, a member of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). But Hubona served for seven months only, losing general elections in 2014 elections. Another woman member of the opposition was elected into Parliament during the 2014 general elections, Ms Same Bathobakae of the Botswana National Front (BNF) but she died in 2016. Since then, there has never been a woman member of Parliament from the oppositi.

Table 3: Historical representation of women and men in Parliament (1974 - 2019)

Year	1974	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
No of Men	23	23	24	22	40	36	55	57	57	**57**
No of Women	1	2	2	2	4	8	7	7	6	**7**
% Women	9	12	12	11	10	18	13	11	10	**11**

Source: IEC, 2019 Botswana General Elections Results.

Table 3 shows that women's representation in parliament peaked at 18% in 1999. In all the other elections since 1974, women's representation in parliament has hovered between 9% and 13%. At the very moment that there is a concerted push globally and regionally for gender parity, women's representation in parliament (after the latest 2019 elections) is 11%: just one percentage point higher than in 2014.

[10] 498 are directly elected and 119 are specially nominated by the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development
[11] independent electoral commission - https://www.iec.gov.bw/index.php/election-results/election-results-2014.html , accessed 16 December 2019
[12] Gretchen Bauer, 2011, Update on the Women's Movement in Botswana: Have Women Stopped Talking? African Studies Review; Vol. 54, No. 2
[13] Inter-Parliamentary Union - https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=10&year=2020 , accessed October 2019

Local Government

Local government comprises 16 Administrative Districts and 16 District Councils. Table 4 shows women and men elected to Local Government as Councillors from 1994 to 2019. Women's representation in local government peaked at 21% in 2004 and has since declined to 18% in the 2019 elections.

Table 4: Women and Men participation in Local Government (1994 - 2019)

Year	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
No of Men	341	312	387	399	473	**498**
No of Women	60	93	102	88	116	**111**
% Women	15	23	21	18	19	**18**

Source: African elections. tripod.com -2004; 2019 Botswana General Elections Results.

The 2019 local government elections were contested for in 490 wards by 1747 candidates: 235 (13%) women compared to 1512 (87%) men. Of these candidates 419 (86%) men and 71 (15%) women won the different wards during the elections.

Table 5: Local elections in Botswana in 2019

	Women	Men	Total	% Women
Nominated	235	1512	1747	13%
Elected	71	419	490	15%
Appointed	40	79	119	40%
Total councillors	111	498	609	18%

The Minister of Local Government and Rural Development has the powers to appoint specially nominated councillors after every election. In 2019 the Minister nominated 119 councillors across the 57 constituencies as per the requirements of the Local Government Act. Women comprised 40 (34%) of the nominees compared to 79 (66%) men, adding to the already high number of men elected. As reflected in Table 5, the result is 609 councillors with 111 (18%) women and 498 (82%) men. This is an example of a missed opportunity to increase women's representation at the local level as the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development could have nominated more women.

Enabling women to actively participate in politics at all levels of decision-making on equal terms with men is essential in achieving equality, peace, democracy and sustainable development. The lack of women's full participation at all levels, is denying more than half the country's population their fundamental human rights.

Chieftainship - Traditional Leaders

Given the importance of culture and tradition in Botswana it is worth noting this as an important sphere of leadership that women are excluded from. The chieftaincy in Botswana is the foundation of cultural leadership, and for many years all chiefs and traditional leaders have been men. Kgosi Mosadi Seboko of Balete tribe became the first female traditional leader in 2008. She was “allowed” to be a member of house of chiefs - Ntlo Ya Dikgosi in 2018: the only woman out of 35 members of the Ntlo Ya Digosi. There are now three women in the Ntlo Ya Dikgosi.

Informal barriers to WPP

Despite evidence of why it is important to have women in decision-making, several factors continue to undermine WPP. These may be divided into two categories. The first are the deep-seated systemic "informal factors" such as custom, culture, tradition, socialisation and gender stereotypes which in their most extreme form are expressed as gender violence. These age-old patriarchal norms will not be eradicated overnight. They result in the constant "one step forwards, two steps backwards" syndrome.

INFORMAL FACTORS	FORMAL FACTORS
Custom, culture, tradition, religion	Electoral systems and management
Lack of support	The media
Socialisation, juggling time	Finances and resources
Violence Against Women in Politics	

The second category of "formal" or more immediate factors is more within our control. This includes electoral systems and election management; finance and resources as well as the media. Violence against women in politics is deeply rooted in patriarchal norms

Cultural, traditional and religious barriers

Botswana is a patriarchal society, characterised by cultural norms, beliefs and practices that perpetuate gender inequalities. This remains the main systemic barrier to women's political participation. Politics is still viewed as a male space and it is not easy to break the stereotype. The Setswana proverb *'ga di nke ke etelelwa ke manamagadi pele, di ka wela selomo - Banna ke baeteledipele ka tho¬lego'* literally translates to "A team of ox is never led by females, otherwise the oxen will fall into a ditch - men are perceived to be born leaders." Proverbs like this result in women being submissive. This weakens their self-esteem and confidence. The notion that women cannot lead has resulted in women being excluded from positions of power.

Nitza, A, Chilisa & Makwinja-Morara,[14] also note that the asymmetrical relations between men and women can be perpetuated by proverbs such as *'ga nke di etelelwa pele ke manamagadi'* Such messages then shape the manner in which people behave. Politics in Botswana is perceived to be a male space and women participating in politics are often deemed as less feminine and face scrutiny from society.

While formal laws are important for providing formal protections and setting standards, sustainable change needs more systemic intervention that go to the hearts and minds of the people. Cultural practises and behaviours are developed and crystalised over time and cannot be unlearned or erased overnight. Batswana are conservative, both men and women alike and most adhere to cultural practises that promote male superiority and female inferiority. To bring about change in societal attitudes, individually and collectively there is need to develop and crystalise a new awareness, new culture of gender equality.

As former MP and cabinet minister **Joy Phumaphi**, put it: "So I think the challenge there for a woman is essentially that people have got no confidence in you just because you are a



Photo: GL Botswana

[14] Nitza, A., Chilisa, B., & Makwinja-Morara, V. (2010). Mbizi: Empowerment and HIV/AIDS revention for adolescent girls in Botswana. The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 35(2), 105-114.

woman, you know, it means you won't deliver. I mean some of the women who were opposing my journey in politics by saying, "oh if it was Mr. Phumaphi we could understand. He is a lawyer who understands our problems; what can she deliver?"

Phumaphi observed that even though women are the majority voters during any election, they tend to vote for men, and sometimes against women candidates using their votes to bring other women down. Culture plays a major role in the way in which people behave and respond to anything. It is therefore vital to pay crucial attention to cultural impediments obstructing gender equality in politics. Women do not see leaders in themselves as the society has socialised them to view men as leaders and them as helpers.[15] Politics in Botswana is perceived to be a male space and women participating in politics are often deemed as less feminine and face scrutiny from society.[16]

Lack of support

As most of the respondents interviewed observed, the lack of support for the women running for political office greatly hinders their capacity to build consensus on a wide range of issues affecting them in political representation and governance. They all agreed however that through sharing experience and learning, women can be united, support one another and enable them to achieve their political agenda even across party lines.



Photo: GL Botswana

Keabonye Ntsabane successfully contested the 2019 local elections in Ramotswa after two unsuccessful attempts in 2009 and 2014. She says she experienced ageism as some said she was too old to contest for elections. She had limited financial resources, one of the main obstacles in standing for elections. However, she used the experience from her previous efforts to run a more strategic campaign. Having worked in the women's movement, and as former Botswana country manager for Gender Links, Ntsabane knew challenges women politicians face and was knowledgeable on how to overcome those challenges. On her third attempt she has now won the election and is a Councillor.[17]

Socialisation and juggling time

Women play a multiplicity of roles as single heads of households, caregivers, mothers, wives, and have the obligation to fully play these socially constructed roles. Women do not see leaders in themselves as the society has socialised them to view men as leaders and them as helpers.[18]

By contrast, men have a supportive socio-cultural environment and the economic resources to launch massive political campaign especially backed by the fact that they have been longer in the political arena.

Electoral systems and Temporary Special Measures (TSM)

Electoral systems provide the framework for the electoral process; they create order for the electoral process and ensure compliance. The electoral system may be set out in the Constitution, or in the Electoral Law, or both.

Electoral systems may be changed or adapted, to suit particular needs and circumstances. Electoral systems and TSMs have a key bearing on the extent of women's political participation in every country in the world.

[15] Somolekae, G., *Political Parties in Botswana: EISA Report No 27*, (EISA, 2005)
[16] Nitza, A., Chilisa, B., & Makwinja-Morara, V., *Mbizi: Empowerment and HIV/AIDS revention for adolescent girls in Botswana*. The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 35(2) (2010) pp. 105-114.
[17] Testimonial from 5050 BY 2024: Women in politics strategy workshop, Palapye, Botswana, 21-23 January 2020
[18] Somolekae, G (2005). Political Parties in Botswana: EISA Report No 27, Johannesburg

There are three main types of electoral systems used in the SADC region:

- In the *Proportional Representation (PR)* or "list system" citizens vote for parties that are allocated seats in parliament according to the percentage of vote they receive. Individual candidates get in according to where they sit on the list. In an open list system, voters determine where candidates sit on the list. In a closed list system, the party determines where candidates sit on the list, although this is usually based on democratic nomination processes within the party.
- In the *Constituency* or *"First Past the Post" (FPTP)* system, citizens vote not just for the party, but also for the candidate who represents the party in a geographically defined constituency. Thus a party can garner a significant percentage of the votes, but still have no representative in parliament, because in this system "the winner takes all".
- The *mixed system*, which includes components of both the PR and FPTP systems, provides for both direct election of constituency representatives and for a political party addressing issues of accountability and inclusiveness.

The Electoral system mandated by the Constitution of Botswana is the First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) where "the winner takes all", meaning the candidate just needs a simple majority to win the election. The legal provisions that cover elections in Botswana are the Botswana Constitution, Electoral Act and Local Government (District Councils) Act.

The FPTP system has been criticized because it does not allocate seats in the proportion of the popular votes for each party. The electoral system has also not worked for the marginalised groups including women and other electoral systems have been seen as more favourable to these groups (Lowe-Morna, 1999; Somolekae, 2000, 2006).

A comparison of women's representation in the SADC by the electoral system illustrates the impact electoral systems have on women's access to political decision-making.

Figure 2: Women in parliament (both houses) - By electoral system

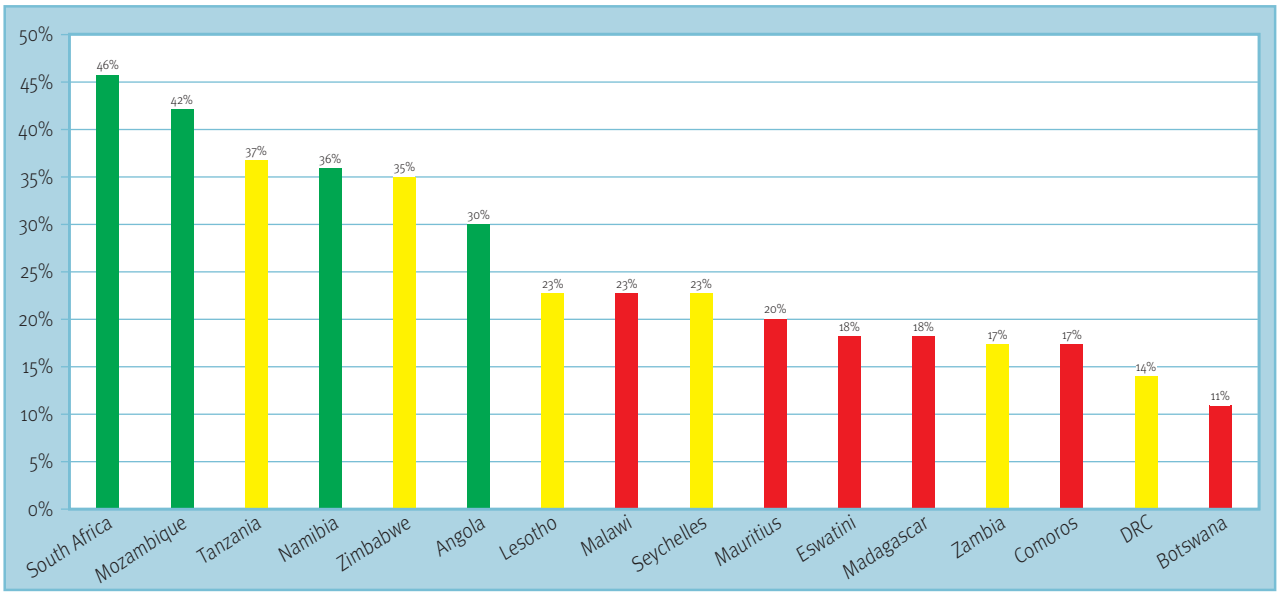
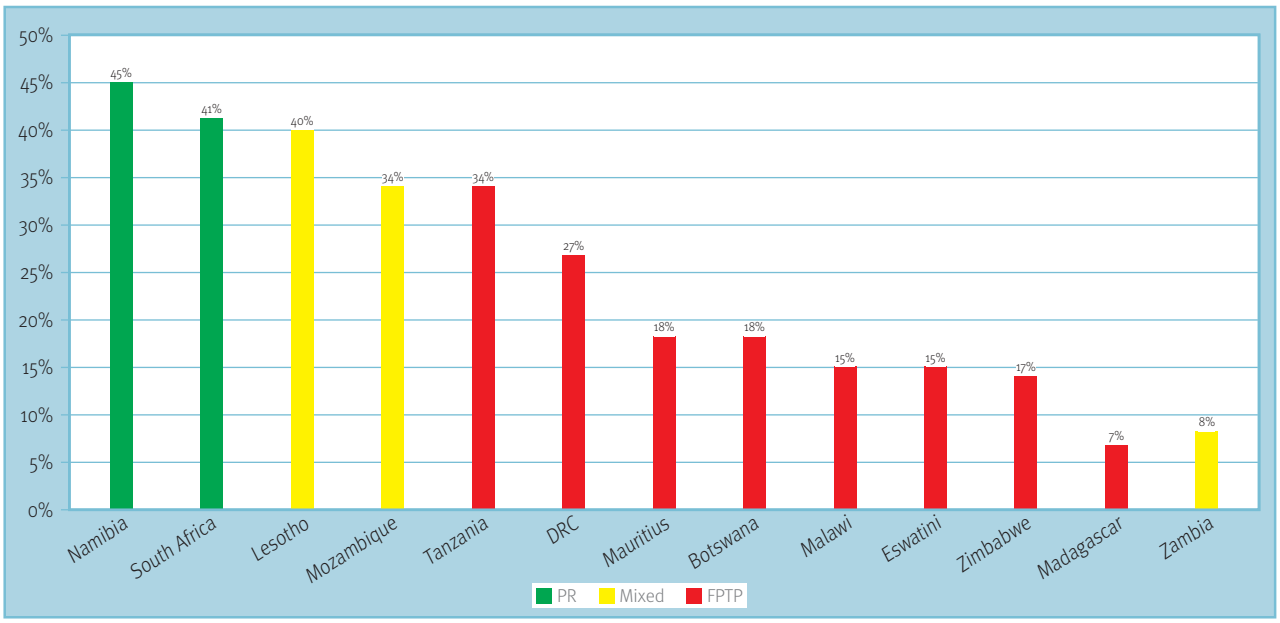


Figure 3 : Women in Local government - By electoral system



Figures 2 and 3 show the countries with the highest proportion of women in decision-making, at both the national and local levels, use the PR or mixed systems. All countries that have achieved a level of 30% or higher women in decision-making have had either political party voluntary, or legislated quotas.

The Constitution has undergone several amendments since its enactment in 1966, but these amendments have been piecemeal with minor changes. There are moves afloat to review the Constitution. This is a great opportunity for mainstreaming gender into election debates.

Gender Links spoke to three former ministers in Botswana's cabinet, and a senior figure in the opposition Botswana Congress Party (BCP) who all agreed for the need to amend the Constitution and change the electoral laws. **Dr Margret Nasha**, the first woman Speaker of National Assembly (2009 - 2014) says nothing can be done to change the law as long as the Constitution has not been attended:



Photo: Mboy Maswabi

"All laws emanate from the constitution which is the main legal document from where you draw all these particular laws that may lead to electoral reforms.

The starting point is the Constitution and I hate the word "amend" because I don't think our Constitution should be amended; it should be totally re-written because it is outdated. From the first page to the last, so as later on it can include all these electoral changes and so forth, electoral Act and other electoral issues should be in the Constitution.

During my time as Speaker National Assembly, I fought to strengthen Botswana Parliament by separation of powers, refused several orders from the Executive branch in order demonstrate the independence of Parliament. Countries and disadvantaged groups have won gender inequality by changing laws. FPTP is a very expensive electoral system firstly and secondly that expense is the one that makes women to be kept out then we totally refuse to finance parties. Democracy is not cheap."[19]

[19] Dr Margret N. Nyasha - interview (20.10.20)


Photo: GL Botswana

Tshimologo Dingake, president of the opposition Botswana Congress Party (BCP) women's wing added: "The FPTP system not only denies women, but all interest groups representation within the system that finally makes laws in the country. In countries where there is PR, we even have Green parties and other special interest parties able to participate."


Photo: GL Botswana

According to former Minister of Health **Joy Phumaphi**, "we cannot talk about democracy when large chunks of the community are left out. Women comprise 50% of the population but less than 10% of our legislature. We also need to make adequate provision for minority groups such as people living with disability and indigenous groups such as the original inhabitants of this country that is the San people. We must not delude ourselves into believing that we have democracy. We have a system of governance that we have adopted which is actually oppressing. If your interests are not represented, then you are being oppressed because you are not being given a voice, you are being suffocated. I think we must call for Proportional Representation or a combination of the two systems, FPTP and PR, mix them into one thing and turn it into a brand."


Photo: Fikile Morake

"The FPTP electoral system has never worked for any country. Countries that have more women in both parliament and council have the PR electoral systems. In Africa we have Rwanda as an example," noted former Minister of Health, **Professor Sheila Tlou**. "With the upcoming Constitutional review, women in Botswana must take advantage of that to lobby for a quota in the Constitution reserved for women. There is an urgent need to re- write the entire Constitution; not amend it. This will then be followed by the legal framework that will include all electoral changes to enforce and implement the requirements of the Constitution. The Constitution should defend and protect gender equality. Unless there is a review of the Constitution and an amendment of the electoral law such that they are inclusive, women will remain excluded."

Temporary Special Measures (TSM)

Botswana laws do not provide for TSM/quota for women's representation in either the National Assembly or Local Government. There are also no legal provisions obliging political parties to have quotas for gender representation in their parties. The law does not provide for affirmative action for any disadvantaged groups including women. This is left to the will of different political parties. Even within these parties, intra-party processes do not encourage women to contest for candidacy.

There are three main types of TSMs/ quotas:

Voluntary party quotas - which political parties voluntarily adopt, this has worked well in for example Mozambique, South Africa and Namibia, where the ruling parties have adopted quotas which they have to some extent observed. However, where parties fail to observe their quotas, or where only opposition parties have quota's voluntary part quotas

Constitutional and legislated quotas take two main forms: reserved seats (in which a certain proportion of seats are reserved for women) or reserved candidature (in which a party must field a certain proportion of women candidates). Seat reservation can be applied in the FPTP system (for example in Uganda); in the PR system (for example in the Zimbabwe senate) or in a mixed system (for example the parallel systems in the Zimbabwean and Tanzanian parliaments). Candidate reservation can also be applied in the FPTP system (for example local elections in Mauritius); the PR system (for example local elections in Namibia) or the mixed system (for example the national assembly in Lesotho).

Table 6: Possible combinations of TSM and electoral systems

Type of quota	FPTP	PR system	Mixed PR and FPTP
Voluntary party TSM	E.g. Zimbabwe ZANU PF and MDC Alliance subscribe to gender parity in their Manifestos.	E.g. Frelimo in Mozambique.	E.g. SA local government - ANC voluntary quota.
Constitutional or legislated TSM-reserved seats	E.g. Lesotho In 2006 local election - a third of seats were reserved for women - it has since been changed.	In the senate in Zimbabwe, 60 of the 80 senate seats are distributed on a PR basis.	E.g. The Tanzanian and Zimbabwean constitutions reserve 30 % of seats for women (distributed on a PR basis).
Constitutional or legislated TSM-reserved candidature	In the local elections in Mauritius, one third of the candidates have to be a different sex.	E.g. Local government elections in Namibia, one third of the candidates have to be women.	In the national elections in Lesotho, women must comprise at least 50% of the PR candidates (who constitute 40% of the total).

Source: Gender Links 2021.

Table 6 shows that it is possible for any type of quota to be combined with any type of electoral system to increase women's political representation, showing that Botswana could adopt a quota even without changing the electoral system as there are examples of countries using the FPTP electoral system and having a quota.

The best outcome of a Constitutional review would be a change the electoral system and adoption of a 50% quota. Botswana could consider a mixed system with a quota, which has shown to increase representation, for example in Zimbabwe and Tanzania, though reserved seats may not be the optimal choice, as these can be perceived as 'token' seats. Legislators could learn lessons from any of these SADC countries

Public debate on electoral systems and quotas

On November 9 and 16 2020 Gabz FM - a local Radio station, offered two radio slots for the debates. Panellists included Joy Phumaphi - Former Minister of Health, Florence Shagwa - Botswana Congress Party, Women's wing; Daisy Bathusi - Botswana Congress Party, Women's wing; Motamma Horatius - Councillor, Gaborone City Council; and Elsie Alexander- (gender activist).

The debates were held on different days and expanded beyond key informants to general listenership. This improved the debates beyond just panellists, as they included a diverse group of people whose contributions made the discussions lively and interactive. The debate showed encouraging public support for a change to the electoral system and adoption of a quota. Table 7 summarises some of the comments from the radio shows, in support of and against WPP and quotas. Key outcomes from the debates included:

Table 7: Summary of radio debates on WPP and quotas

In support	Against
Our Constitution does not embrace gender equality. All International and regional instruments signed and ratified, lack of political will to domesticate and implement them, The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development calls for 50% of women representation at all levels of decision making. Nothing has been done. Socio -Economic factors contribute to women's poor performance just at primary level elections of party campaigning stage.	This is democracy, why should you women be given positions on a silver platter, they must go out and compete with men, they demand equality, they must fight for it like men. They have been given special nomination and special election at both Council and Parliament respectively.
This is an opportune time for Botswana as there is some indication that there will be review of the Constitution. We must take advantage of that and ensure that the either Quota or PR, even mixed. FPTP alone can never work for us. We must not wait to start the review process in 2022, it will be too late for the numbers to increase in 2024 elections. Our leader can say good thing, but what they say is opposite of what they say.	Women are in the majority; they must vote for each other. They are the ones who vote for men in their parties, as opposed to women in other political parties.
The Constitutional review will allow for Quotas for women. There must be a deliberate discrimination to accommodation women's participation in politics. Political education must be extensive, like what the first caller said, it shows we lack political education. Cultural and Religious barriers must be removed.	
We just saw what Joe Biden of United State of America did, he has Kamala Harrison as his Vice President, even though in Southern African Robert Mugabe had his Vice President a woman -Joyce Mjuru was short lived; It is step in the right direction women are capable of leading as much as men or even better as earlier on alluded to. We must change the Constitution to include that when the President is a men, Vice President must be a woman, vice versa.	

Source: Gender Links 2021.

Key outcomes of the debates include:

- ***Constitutional Review:*** The majority of participants supported an immediate and urgent Constitutional review as promised by President Mokgweetsi Masisi in the 2019 elections. This will result in amendments to the Electoral Act. Among issues on the table are election of the President directly by the people and not by the party; and allowing those not affiliated to any party to participate. Almost all Southern African countries have undertaken constitutional reviews since independence. This is a unique opportunity to integrate gender considerations into mainstream political discourse.
- ***Electoral system:*** The majority of callers agreed that a complete switch to PR may not be desirable and may not work in Botswana. They favoured a mixed electoral system of FPTP and PR. A good example of this is found in Lesotho, where two thirds of the seats in the house of assembly are FPTP and the other one third are PR.
- ***Legalised quota:*** Participants agreed that the Electoral Act should include a 50% quota for women in line with the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

Political parties

Despite Botswana being praised for being a beacon of democracy, and one of the African states that continues to enjoy the fruits of a stable democracy, the extent to which women

exist or even take part in the political positions and subsequently leadership, remains worrisome.[20] Even though women are in the majority as voters and are often active supporters of political party mobilisation and campaigning, they are generally excluded from party leadership. Of the eight political parties that contested the 2019 elections, none of them have a woman leader. Male dominance of party politics is one of the key constraints for women to get through and participate especially as candidates.

Table 8: Political Parties in Botswana - Gender analysis of their manifestos

Name of Party	Ruling/ Opposition	Partly leader Gender	Quotas	Gender Mainstreaming/Other References
Alliance for Progressives (AP)	Opposition	Male	Yes	The AP manifesto mainstreams gender; propose to introduce a hybrid electoral system that will enable the introduction of a quota system.[21]
Botswana Congress Party (BCP) - member of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Opposition	Male	Yes	BCP has a 30% quota, but is not implemented. As a member of the UDC their manifesto has mainstreamed gender.[22]
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	Ruling	Male	No	The BDP manifesto focuses on GBV and how they intend to address that; the manifesto also highlights that they would undertake a comprehensive Constitutional review which will remove all discriminatory provisions in favour of more inclusive ones.[23]
Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD)	Opposition	Male	No	Nothing on quotas mentioned in their manifesto.
Botswana National Front (BNF) member of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Opposition	Male	Yes	BNF is a member of the UD, will use special nomination to empower under-represented constituencies: A UDC government will reserve at least two thirds of the positions of specially elected members of parliament and councils for disadvantaged minorities, women, youths and other marginalised groups".[24]
Botswana Patriotic Front (BPF)	Opposition	Male	No	Partially recognises gender mainstreaming, but no quotas in the manifesto.
Botswana Peoples Party (BPP) member of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Opposition	Male	Yes	BPP is a member of the UDC, their manifesto has mainstreamed gender. A UDC government will reserve at least two thirds of the positions of specially elected members of parliament and councils for disadvantaged minorities, women, youths and other marginalised groups.
Real Alternative Party (RAP)	Opposition	Male	Yes	The RAP manifesto partially mainstreamed gender, it goes further to recognise gender beyond men and women and include other groups such as the Lesbian. Gay, Bisexual, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI) people.[25]

Source: Gender Links - Botswana Policy Brief 2019.

[20] Apiko, P. (2019, 12 02). ECDPM. Retrieved from ECDPM Website: http://www.ecdpm.org
[21] Alliance for Progressives Manifesto
[22] Botswana Congress Party Manifesto
[23] Botswana Democratic Party Manifesto
[24] Umbrella for Democratic Change Manifesto
[25] Real Alternative Party Manifesto

Table 8 is a gender audit of the eight political parties that contested the 2019 elections. All of them are led by men. Five opposition parties have committed to gender mainstreaming and implementing quotas if they were elected. The ruling BDP addresses GBV in its manifesto but makes no provision for gender mainstreaming or adopting a quota. However, the BDP does commit to undertaking a constitutional review in which all discriminatory provisions will be removed in favour of more inclusive provisions.

BPF Vice President **Caroline Lesang** says there is a need for a holistic and intersectional approach, educating voters, empowering women through mentorship and role modelling.



Photo: Mboy Maswabi

"Political campaign also has unsafety implications to us as women; but the main thing is educating the voter. There are many smart women who have the potential to become Ministers and Presidents in this country. I blame culture and assigned gender roles but with continued education that shows women holding positions designated for men not just politics in large organizations and government. When I was approached to join BPF they wanted me to chair the Women's Wing. I refused and told them that I want to be the Vice President of the Party!"

Financing elections

Money is essential to participating in politics and is a factor throughout the electoral process, from nomination to campaigning and reaching constituents. Research shows that a lack of funding is one of the primary barriers to women's participation in politics.[26] "Women's lower socio-economic positions in most countries mean that they may lack economic independence to pursue a political career. Gender socialisation roles, which position men as the 'breadwinners', mean that men are more accustomed to raising funds for their own use, while women have been traditionally relegated to the private sphere."[27] Women also lack access to moneyed networks and credit and political clientelism.[28] Women's inability to pay even candidate registration fees can exclude them from the election process, let alone having sufficient funding throughout the electoral process, including money to transport potential voters to rallies, feed them, print t-shirts, fliers, paying campaign teams, among others.



BDP Women's Wing Executive Committee during the interview - November 2020. *Photo: Chigedze Chinyepi*

The Electoral Act Sections 80-89 provides for elections expenses and election agents. Section 81 provides that the election expenses for any candidate shall not exceed P50 000. Section 80(2) prescribes what will not be deemed as election expenses[29]. There is no state financing of political parties in Botswana, nor is there any law regulating political party funding or expenditure[30].

Interviewees identified intimidation and lack of funds as key barriers to women's equal representation in decision-making. "In almost every general election held every five years, more women lose the race at the early stage of primary elections at party level. This deficiency

[26] Ballington, J and Kahane, M., *Women in politics: financing for gender equality in Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns: a Handbook on Political Finance*, Elin Falguera, Samuel Jones and Magnus Ohman, eds. (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2014) pp. 300-343
[27] Ibid pp. 304
[28] Ibid pp. 308
[29] Botswana Constitution Section 80-89
[30] Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa - https://www.eisa.org.za/wep/botparties3.htm accessed 11/2019

is mostly caused by lack of resources to help women's campaigns; women start from a position of inequality to be competitive with their male counterparts," noted Monica Tabengwa, a human rights lawyer.[31]

According to BDP women's wing Treasurer Orefitlhetse Masire: "Political funding is crucial for women in politics, their portion must be higher than that of men as this will be a way of affirmative actions to close the inequality gap between women and men. This will finance expenses that come with campaigns as a package thought to end of election. Funding should come from government; government should fund all parties including opposition is that we are not on the same level when approaching financiers, they don't get better recognition as opposed to the ruling party. So, if all parties get a certain % across the board; women should get a higher % than that of men. The political play field is not level; hence women need to be supported better than men."[32]
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) Women's Wing executive committee members strongly believe that the party needs to make some structural changes to enable the female members to participate equally and effectively in seeking positions of power. "BDP as well should use the 50/50 stated in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development to advance our women within the party. We are all in agreement on this as women of the party because it's not that women don't participate; they do and I believe they can juggle family and politics as it has been done for many years before. I believe it always boils down to money, if you don't have money you can't get visibility," said Deputy Secretary General Bridget Mavuma.[33]

Electoral Management

Section 65A of the Constitution of Botswana in 1997 establishes the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) comprising seven members headed by a Chairperson, who shall be a Judge of the High Court, and assisted by a Deputy Chairperson, who shall be a Legal Practitioner. The two are appointed directly by the Judicial Service Commission (JSC). There is no mention of the need for gender sensitivity in the appointment of Commissioners. Currently the chairperson is a male and three of the six commissioners (50%) are women. One position is vacant.[34]

The responsibilities of the Commission as outlined in section 651 (12) of the Constitution are as follows:

- To conduct and supervise elections of members of the National Assembly and Local Authorities;
- To conduct referenda;
- To ensure that elections are conducted efficiently, properly, freely and fairly;
- To give instructions and directions to the Secretary to the Commission with regard to their responsibilities under the Constitution and Electoral Laws generally;
- To perform such other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of Parliament.

Voter registration and education

The IEC has the primary responsibility of registering voters and ensuring that elections are conducted efficiently, properly, freely and fairly. Voter registration is provided for in Section 67 of the Constitution of Botswana.

Typical of other SADC countries, women consistently constitute a higher proportion of voters than men in Botswana. In 2014, 824 434 people were registered to vote: 456 087 (55.%) women and 456 087 (45%) men. In 2019 - 925 478 people were registered to vote; 505 052 (55%) women and 420 426 (45%) men.

[31] Monica Tabengwa, a human rights lawyer- interviee (23.10.20)
[32] BDP Women's wing - interviewed (26.10.2020)
[33] BDP Women's wing - interviewed (26.10.2020)
[34] Independent Electoral Commission of Botswana website, https://www.iec.gov.bw/index.php/about.html, accessed 21 June, 2021.



IEC at work during the 2019 elections. *Photo: Mboy Maswabi*

Women candidates

IEC Commissioner Samboyo Motsamai emphasised the policy formulation role, providing guidance on reviews of electoral laws and recommendations on laws affecting elections to improve the delivery of the commission on its mandate. She acknowledged that while women constitute the majority of voters and political party members, this does not translate into candidacy: something the IEC has no control over:

> The majority of people driving the engine of political parties are women, from grassroots mobilisation of members ensuring lower level structures are established; but when now it comes to participation as candidates they are not considered. The IEC has no role at that level as it speaks to the democracy within individual political parties because we accept candidates; we have no say in how they become candidates.
>
> As a country we must understand that the history of every society has an impact on how each society does things. The culture has an impact because it is informed by the history of the society. Our laws do not have any provisions saying if you are a woman you can't stand for this position and at the same time, we don't have Proportional Representation we know there is a provision for special election. As for why people who are empowered to use that do not use it to appoint women when they see that we have capable women who have not been able to do well at the polls or did not participate at the polls but can be brought in through special elections, we don't know why that is not being used. We need to engage stakeholders to at least have this legislation that enhances women participation. Even at desk top analysis, it clearly shows that women do not want to vote for another women, they seem not to want to be led by other women.[35]

Violence against women in politics (VAWP)

The World Population Review of 2020 reveals Botswana as a country with the 2nd highest number of Gender Based Violence (GBV), including rape cases, in the world at 92.9 per hundred thousand people.[36]

Botswana laws do not specifically address violence against women in elections. VAW is dealt with the existing laws that address violence such as the Penal Code Chapter 08:01 and the Domestic Violence Act Chapter 28:05. Section 114 of the Electoral Act prohibits "acts or incites another to act in a disorderly manner for the purposes of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was convened or has in his possession an offensive weapon or missile". The Electoral Act does not address violence against women in elections specifically.

According to interviews conducted for this report insufficient implementation of existing laws; lack of support from political parties; the socio-economic divide and current power structures are the major contributors of violence against women in politics. VAWP contributes to the low

[35] Shamboyo Motsamai - Commissioner IEC- Interview -(06.11.2020), Raleru and Doreen Seromula
[36] World Population Review Report of 2020

rates of women running for political office. This violence comes from all angles: spouse, family, relatives, community and the state itself.

According to the interviewees, the violence is mostly verbal / emotional, often characterised by slurs, public shaming, insults and lack of respect for privacy. Political candidates and their families routinely face violence during campaigns throughout election time. This comes from their male oppositions and from the voters, and generally they face societal violence and abuse for going against the norm and running for public office. This violent nature of politics often deters women from participating within the political sphere.

Almost all of the women interviewed felt that this violence breaks their resolve to join politics. Within political parties there is need for safeguarding mechanisms, to root out sexual harassment and abuse of women and to create a safe environment that is inclusive and empowering, especially to young and aspirant female politicians.

IEC Commissioner Shamboyo Motsamai said:

> It is crucial [to address GBV] because violence in any sphere is perpetrated by male dominated circumstances. I am yet to come to a situation where women are the perpetuators, it usually starts with men. Women don't function well in atmospheres where violence is prominent. They absent themselves. In this country we have had situations where the use of vulgar language prevails. That is one of the reasons women do not participate especially in positions of power because they will be humiliated and degraded. As women we care about our reputation, integrity and how our children are referred to because what you say, to me can end up being my child's name at school and can be bullied on those bases. These are the things we need to talk about and political parties will have to correct.[37]

Violence against women in politics is a major deterrent to those who stand for highest office at party level. A case in point is when Pelonomi Venson-Moitio, then Minister of Local Government and Rural Development announced her intention to contest for Presidency of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) by challenging President Mokgweetsi Masisi, on the 18 December 2019. She was dropped from Cabinet the day after she presented her letter to him. Her citizenship came under scrutiny when it came to light that she was born to a Malawian father and a Motswana mother. For a person to be President of Botswana they must be a national by birth and not by descent. This is clearly not the case, since her mother is Motswana. This kind of "unspoken" violence against women in politics contributes to the low number of women interested in standing for high political office.

Charity Keobokile a young woman who contested the elections for the first time in 2019 says she had an eye-opening experience. She contested the election under the opposition Alliance for Progressives (AP) after she was informed that the AP needed a female Council candidate in Mahalapye to achieve gender balance among candidates. She started her campaign late. Challenges she faced included lack of support, especially from women, who asked her why she was contesting for election as a young woman. Some members of her campaigning team undermined her by sharing her strategies with her competitors.

As a young woman she also endured sexual harassment from those that she thought were supporting her and general public in rallies. Some men would make it seem like they wanted to support her campaign only for them to later make sexual advances to her; at the rallies the words that were used were derogatory and belittling, she cited that in one rally that her opponent kept emphasizing that, "ke tsile go go ja" which means "I will win these elections from you and destroy your dignity". The way it

[37] Shamboyo Motsamai - IEC Commissioner -Interview- 05.11.2020

was said had sexual undertones and he kept saying it to make her uncomfortable. She was also bullied a lot on social media; this platform was supposed to assist her reach a high number of young people but in the end it was used by people to harass her and bully her. Other challenges she experienced were lack of resources including transport and finances.

Despite all the challenges that Keobokile experienced, she said that she had learnt valuable lessons in her campaign, she has grown and is ready for 2024 where she will contest once again. Her dream is to see herself advancing the course on women empowerment and she will keep on doing this.[38]

Role of the media

In Botswana, the media sector includes television, radio, and print. The media play a key role not only in educating and creating public awareness on gender issues but also support on the national socio-economic and political development agenda. Print and broadcasting media make biased reports of women as followers, sex objects, beauty pageants. These all undermine the ability of women as fit and capable politicians. The media tends to attack women who campaign for elections rather than focus on the issues that they are articulating Media has to date failed to give special coverage to female candidates' campaigns or to interview them, further reinforces their marginalised situation.

Women are socialised to believe that politics is a kind of rough and "dirty game" that requires not only the skills but the threshold to withstand critique no matter how severe it may be. The tactics used by media ensures that voters lose focus on the national priorities that the women discuss rather focus is on their characters making them unattractive candidates. Magazines and political rallies demean women who are not married as unfit to be politicians, yet men are looked upon and portrayed as fit regardless of their marital status. An average women candidate is often portrayed in the negative, sexist, stereotypical and trivialized.

An example of such portrayal is the cartoon portraying Dr Katheleen Letshabo, who was a Vice President of the Botswana National Front (BNF) as a castrated bull, after she indicated her wish to be the party President. The implication of the cartoon, was that the Presidency is only for men.[39]



Women in the media during 2019 elections

The 2019 Botswana elections were highly contested. The opposition Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) mounted a spirited campaign in the build-up to the general elections.

The media, especially the private media, offered fair and balanced coverage of both the ruling

[38] Testimonial from 5050 BY 2024: Women in politics strategy workshop, Palapye, Botswana, 21-23 January 2020
[39] https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/imported/articles/attachments/the_kathleen_letshabo_cartoon_controversy_eno_akpabio.pd

party and the opposition parties. Most female candidates did not have a lot of media coverage. Social media platforms, especially Facebook, benefitted women candidates, as it provided an alternative to the mainstream media.


Photo: Reboud Investment

Motamma Horatius, Councillor for Itumeleng ward, Block 3, Gaborone shared her experiences of running a campaign while pregnanct: "When I was campaigning I was expectant, I decided to put on an oversize dress and not ordinary maternity dresses. Public perception was that I am a real cultured woman as I do not put on tight dresses. This was portrayed as a good thing for a politician. After winning primary elections, I went into confinement. This was blown out on social media by the community I was to serve as a Councillor; that I will not be able to carry out my duties fully as I will be nursing the baby."[40]

Helen Manyaneng, AP Women's League President explains her challenges in getting media coverage during her campaign: "Media coverage during my campaigns was close to zero, whenever I requested coverage at my rallies, I would be thrown from pillar to post by every media house. I later learnt that they would not cover you unless you pay them some money, even government media. This is why political funding is very imported. It would be used for such media coverage including posters."[41]

A few female candidates featured prominently. These included former Minister Dorcus Makgatho, Bonnington North candidate Annah Mokgethi and the Gaborone central candidate Mpho Pheko.

Makgatho attracted media attention because she stood firm against former President Ian Khama, which most prominent ruling party members did not do. The attention included negative coverage from the Khama camp's campaign against her. Mokgethi stood against the party president of the UDC. Pheko from the UDC was tipped as one of the women who stood a chance to win the constituency. However, as is often the case with women candidates, the coverage included reference to her looks. She was referred to as "Dr Bae" in the build up towards the general elections.

WPP Media training

The GL media training workshop for journalists on "Media Reporting on WPP" held in Gaborone from 18 - 20 November 2020, engaged media practitioners on the role they play in providing women in politics with a platform to share their ideas, policies and programmes with the electorate. Media gives aspiring politicians an opportunity to grow their political career and fight stigmatisation on women politicians.

Journalists acknowledged that in some instances there is little "positive coverage" for women in politics due to the focus of some media houses on what readers/listeners are most likely to find interesting.

The journalists debated the role of the media in promoting good governance and gender equality in their coverage. Media is an important tool and journalists have a role to play in promoting good governance, accountability, ethics and gender equality. Journalists did a monitoring exercise during the workshop, which showed the negative role that media can play in undermining women and diminishing their value and contribution in society. The equal representation of women in all spheres of development including in media positions is a good indicator. Adhering to media standards, including ethical reporting and adherence to gender equality would improve the quality of the news. Presenting accurate and unbiased narratives without gender stereotypes would encourage women to participate. Giving credit when its due without discrimination, means presenting both men and women equally without vilifying one or other for no reason other than their gender.

[40] Honourable Motamma Horatiou - interview (30.10.2020)
[41] Helen P. Manyeneng - Interview (28.10.2020)

Role of civil society

Civil Society Organizations (CSO) in Botswana are regarded as a partner in development: a link between Government and the citizenry. They advocate for gender equality and human rights, including women's political participation. Emang Basadi, Gender Links and BOCONGO, have been lobbying for the signing of regional instruments such as the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development to pave the way for Temporary Special Measures to address gender gaps.

According to Emang Basidi Women's Organisation Executive Director Ida Mokeriatane the organisation's core mandate is to build the capacity of women in politics. Emang Basadi has been active in lobbying for WPP sincethe the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995. More recently:

> Emang Basadi has embarked on awareness campaign on Constitutional review, as the President announced that they will be a review during this five year period of his government. Emang Basadi is consulting and unpack the electoral reforms. In 2018 we undertook a research study we call "Mme O Kae".[42] The results of the study indicated that there is need to educate people on the advantages and disadvantages of different electoral systems. Botswana has signed several instruments that promote gender equality, including the latest signed in 2017, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which has Special Measures calling for 50% women participation in politics and all levels of decision-making positions. The Protocol has not been domesticated, nor popularised, until this is done, implementation and enforcement cannot be done, hence it cannot trickle down to party levels[43].

She calls upon journalists to use their media powers to educate the nation on these issues that are barriers to achieve gender equality.

Gender Links work on WPP in Botswana has a special focus on local government through the Centres of Excellence (COE) for Gender in Local Government, a visionary programme run in partnership with local government associations across Southern Africa. In Botswana, GL partners with the Botswana Association of Local Authorities (BALA). The programme aims to ensure women's equal and effective participation in decision-making, and to translate this into gender responsive governance through gender action plans whose progress is measured by the Gender and Local Government Score Card. GL has run successful campaigns for the adoption of quotas for women in local government in Mauritius and Zimbabwe.

In Botswana, the COE programme has been running since 2016 working with 32 councils, 8 urban and 24 rural. Twenty councils are implementing the *Sunrise Empower Women, End Violence Campaign*. Fifteen councils are implementing sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) campaigns. Botswana has started implementing the "hub" and "spoke" programme in which older established "hubs" provide mentoring and support to mentee councils "spokes" that are still in the initial phase of the programme. There are four hub and eight spoke councils.

[42] Emang Basadi - Mme O Kae Study - 2018
[43] Interview, Emang Basidi Women's Organisation Executive Director Ida Mokeriatane, 03.11.20

Conclusions and recommendations



Photo: Sapphire Brand Marketing

"Men have made political landscape conducive to them and will not give it away to women on a silver platter. Women must fight with all what they can to get the space. As women we are expected to perform more than men to be at the same level. The recent State of the Nation Address (SONA) presented on the 9th November 2020, failed address issues on women and gender equality.

We should by now, be looking at what is in place to address the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development Protocol. What special measures are needed to enable the 50% of women representation in decision making positions by 2030.

Women empowerment issues must not be just lip service, but visible to translate to true empowerment; women street vendors are kicked out of streets yet those are the SMMEs. There is Gender Commission which has been established in 2016, there is nothing they have done in delivering their mandate. Gender Commission should be holding Government accountable for not delivering on gender equality and equity.

Setting up these Commissions should not just be done to sound politically correct, but push the gender agenda forward. Gender equality and gender equity are for both men and women. There is no democracy when a great part of women is not represented in decision-making positions; there is need for a special dispensation like temporary special measurers to address this disparity. Women should not be treated as trivial and less important in the society, Botswana must be run by both men and women equally."[44] ***Daisy Bathusi,*** *candidate, Vice President in the BCP.*

Despite Botswana being regarded as one of the countries with a stable democracy in SADC, it is one of the poorest performers when it comes representation of women in politics at both national assembly and local government. Even though over half the population in Botswana, is women men dominate in the political space. This report demonstrates that women are underrepresented in all areas of political decision making. Until the disparities between men and women in Parliament, local government and at all levels of decision making are bridged through legislative reforms, Botswana cannot fully claim democratic governance.

There are a range of barriers keeping women out politics: formal, like the electoral system, political party practice, and the media; as well as informal such culture and socialisation. Interviews highlighted violence against women during campaigns and elections, and lack of funding and political party support as significant hindrances to women getting into and advancing in political decision-making.

Many of the interviewees believe the Constitution needs to be amended or even overhauled to bring it in line with international norms and standards, which call on States to have equal representation of women in political decision-making. There is also the need to change the electoral system and adopt a temporary special measure to accelerate women's representation at all levels of political decision-making.

There are some practical steps to be taken to accelerate WPP. Mentoring is a key strategy for increasing WPP - with women both as mentee and mentor. Sharing experiences and learning from those already in the system helps young aspiring politicians to watch and learn. Parties can also encourage veteran politicians to mentor

[44] Daisy Bathusi - Interviewee November 2020

less experienced politicians especially to promote gender equality and democracy. Women politicians should start making use of social media platforms to connect people - for campaigning, awareness building and create a more positive narrative about WPP.

The media has a key role to play and should be part of the solution rather than the problem. They need to avoid only negative reporting on women in politics and should cover all candidates in a fair and unbiased, avoiding stereotypes and sexist language and images.

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) are key allies, but they need funding to conduct advocacy and lobbying for constitutional review and electoral reforms. Mass education of the population and empowerment of women candidates has the potential to bring about sustainable change. The approach needs to be holistic and intersectional.

Recommendations

Constitutional Review:

✓ An overhaul of the now outdated pre-independence 1966 Constitution to ensure strong provisions for gender equality and affirmative action; as well as review of the prevailing electoral system.

Electoral Law Reform:

✓ Change the prevailing FPTP system to PR or mixed system both at national and local level.

Quotas:

✓ The Electoral Act should be amended to require political parties to field 50% women candidates at both the national and local government levels, regardless of the electoral system.
✓ The Special Election/Nomination should be done away with, and to the extent it is maintained, should also adhere to the gender parity principle.
✓ Botswana should conduct study visits to neighboring countries with a similar electoral system that have recently introduced quotas for WPP (eg Zimbabwe) with a view to learning what strategies can best be applied in Botswana.

Political Parties:

✓ Set quotas for equal representation of women within their structures.
✓ Be required to develop succession plans that will stipulate mentorship by political veterans to the young and aspiring politicians. This should indicate the political retirement age from start for both council and parliamentary positions.
✓ Develop a Code of Conduct that can be used to hold political parties accountable especially during the election campaigns.
✓ Provide funding to party candidates. Women to be considered for a higher percentage than men because they have fewer resources compared to men; this will enable a fair campaign.
✓ Have party wings/leagues for all structures. Current set up allows women's and youth wings only. In the absence of “men's wing” the interpretation is that men are the “PARTY”, women and youth are their subordinates hence referred to as “wings”.
✓ Take more deliberate steps to adopt affirmative action measures aimed at increasing participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in decision making structures.

The Independent Electoral Commission:

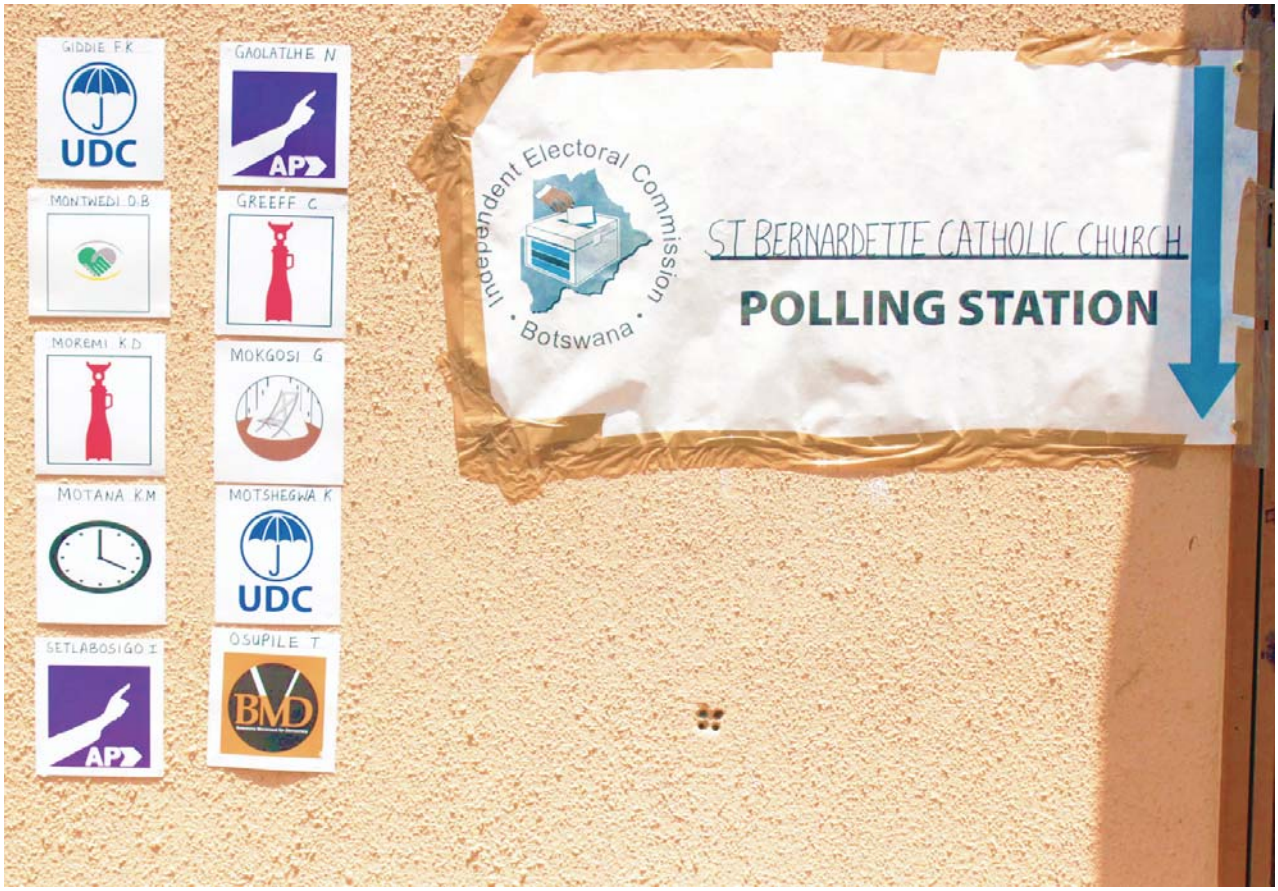
✓ Develop a Gender Policy to aid its internal operations.
✓ Provide gender disaggregated data
✓ Advocate for legislative reforms that will ensure equal representation of men and women.
✓ Advocate for legislative reforms to address violence against women in elections.

The Media:

- ✓ The Code of Conduct for broadcasting should be amended to provide for equal coverage of women and men (voters and politicians) during elections.
- ✓ Continuous Media training for journalists and editors on gender responsive coverage.
- ✓ Training for women in politics on use of the media, including social media.

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs):

- ✓ Work collaboratively to strengthen their monitoring and lobbying and advocacy roles.
- ✓ Begin advocacy and lobbying for Constitutional review as early as now for the 2024 elections.
- ✓ Begin advocacy campaigns and lobbying for quotas and electoral reform well in advance of the 2024 elections.
- ✓ Increase fundraising efforts for lobbying and advocating for the equal representation of women and youth in politics.
- ✓ Build capacity of women candidates to campaign and take up political decision-making positions.
- ✓ Lobby political parties to develop and implement quotas within their parties.
- ✓ Conduct political and voter education about the 50/50 campaign and the importance and benefits of electing women into political decision making.
- ✓ Take forward innovative programmes for gender responsive governance such as the Centres of Excellence for Gender in Local Government.
- ✓ Devise innovative programmes for the involvement of youth, especially young women in local government, such as the junior councils.



St Bernardette Catholic Church Polling Station, Botswana, Gaborone. *Photo: Mboy Maswabi*

[44] Daisy Bathusi - Interviewee November 2020

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apiko, P. (2019, 12 02). ECDPM. Retrieved from ECDPM Website: http://www.ecdpm.org

AP Manifesto

BDP Manifesto 2019, p43

BPF Manifesto, 2019, p5

Botswana Constitution….http://www.elwas.gov.bw

Rural Development- Interview - (23.10.2020)

Botswana National Assembly Report 2014

Botswana National Assembly Sex offenders Registry Bill

Emang Basadi - Mme O Kae Study - 2018

Gender Media Progress Study

Gretchen Bauer, 2011, Update on the Women's Movement in Botswana: Have Women Stopped Talking?, African Studies Review; Vol. 54, No. 2

https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=10&year=2020

https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/imported/articles/attachments/the_kathleen_letshabo_cartoon_controversy_eno_akpabio.pd

Independent Electoral Commission (IE) - 2019 Elections Report

Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

National Policy on Gender and Development - 2015

Nitza, A., Chilisa, B., & Makwinja-Morara, V. (2010). Mbizi: Empowerment and HIV/AIDS revention for adolescent girls in Botswana. The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 35(2), 105-114.

Misa Botswana

Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

RAP Manifesto, 2019, p3

Revised SADC Protocol on Gender and Development 2015

Statistics Botswana 2019 Annual Report

Somolekae, G. (2005). Political Parties in Botswana: EISA Report No. 27. Johannesburg: EISA

UN General Assembly Resolution on Women's Political Participation (2011)

World Population Review Report of 2020- https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=10&year=2020

ANNEX A: INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Interviewees	Designation	Focus	Date	Nature
Former ministers and speaker (4)				
Dr Magret Nasha	Former Speaker, Botswana Parliament	Barriers to WPP	20.10.20	Face to Face
Joy Phumaphi	Former Minister of Health, Botswana cabinet	Barriers to WPP	04.11.20	Virtual - Zoom
Prof Shiela Tlou	Former Minister of Health, Botswana cabinet	Barriers to WPP	04.12.20	Virtual - Zoom
Botlogile Tshireletso	Former Minister, Botswana cabinet	Barriers to WPP	23.10.20	Virtual
Women in national politics (13)				
Daisy Bathusi	Botswana Congress Party - Women's wing	Financing	02.11.20	Virtual - Zoom
Caroline Lesang	Botswana Pariotic Party - Vice President	Barriers to WPP	04.11.20	Face to Face
Magdeline Joubeta	Botswana Patriotic Front - Secretary for Labour	Barriers to WPP	04.11.20	Face to Face
Helen Pushie Manyeneng	Alliance for Progressives - Women's wing Chairperson	VAWP	28.10.20	Face to Face
Tshimologo Dingake	Botswana Congress Party - Women's wing President	Electoral systems and quotas	26.10.20	Virtual
Unami V. Lesole	Botswana Democratic Party - Women's Wing	Electoral systems and quotas	23.10.20	Face to Face
Neo Maruapula				
Orifitlhetse Masire				
Bridget T. Mavuma				
Pearl Markus				
Kgomotso Seduke				
Talita Monnakgotla				
Mercia Sebonaphe				
Women in local politics (5)				
Olga Ditsie	Mayor of Jwaneng Town Council	Local Government	10.11.20	Virtual
Motamma Horatius	Councilor - Gaborone City Council	Local Government	31.10.20	Face to Face
Keabone Ntsabane	Deputy Council Chairperson - South East South - Ramotswa	Local Government	11.11.20	Virtual - answered a questionnaire
Tinny Dinoko	Deputy Mayor - Lobatse Town Council	Local Government	29.11.20	Face to Face
Sylvia Muzila	Former Mayor - Francistown City Council	Local Government	03.11.20	Virtual
Independent Electoral Commission (4)				
Shaboyo Motsamai	Commissioner - Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	Electoral systems and quotas	16.11.20	Face to Face
Motlapele Raleru	Cooperate Affairs - IEC			
Doreen Seromula	Acting Secretary for IEC			
Mavis N. Mukungu	Chief Information Education Officer - IEC	Electoral systems and quotas	03.11.20	Face to Face

Interviewees	Designation	Focus	Date	Nature
Government (3)				
Thapelo Phuthego	Director Gender Affairs Department	Effective Participation	04.11.20	Face to Face
Elizabeth Motsubi	Principal Gender Officer - Policy and research			
Rachel Loeto	Principal Gender Officer - Policy formulation, Monitoring and Evaluation			
Media (3)				Media
Victor Baatweng	News Editor Sunday Standard	Media	29.10.20	Face to Face
Pini Boitshoko	Journalist Mmegi	Media	19.11.20	Face to Face
Keamogetse Motone	Journalist the Patriot	Media	20.11.20	Face to Face
Academics and activists (6)				
Monica Tabengwe	Human Rights Lawyer	Electoral systems and quotas	23.10.20	Virtual - Zoom
Dr. Mpho Pheko	Lecturer - University of Botswana. Umbrella for Democratic Change - 2019 Parliamentary candidate	Electoral systems and quotas	07.11.20	Face to Face
Dr Sethunyane Mosime	Lecturer - University of Botswana	Barriers to WPP	01.11.20	Virtual - Zoom
Ida Mokerietane	Secretariat - BesNet Election Observer and Executive Director - Emang Basadi	Electoral systems and quotas	03.11.20	Face to Face
Monametsi Sokwe	Executive Director - BOCONGO	Civil society	29.10.20	Face to Face
Desmond Lunga	Director - Men and Boys for Gender Equality	Civil society	04.12.20	Face to Face
Total	38 interviews; three of these in groups of more than one.			

FOCUS GROUPS

Focus group	Focus	Date	Panellists
Gabz FM Radio	Electoral Systems and Quotas	09.11.2020	Joy Phumaphi - Former Minister of Health
			Florence Shagwa - Botswana Congress Party, Women's wing
			General public contributing to the discussions
Gabz FM Radio	Electoral Systems and Quotas	16.11.2020	Daisy Bathusi - Botswana Congress Party, Women's wing
			Motamma Horatius - Councillor, Gaborone City Council
			Elsie Alexander - Gender Activist
			General public contributing to the discussions

ANNEX B: QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INTERVIEWS/FOCUS GROUPS

1. Introduction

✓ Is WPP participation seen as important? Why?

International, regional, sub-regional framework

✓ What international, regional and sub-regional instruments and protocols on women's political participation has the country ratified?
✓ What provisions do these make for women's representation and effective participation in the political process?
✓ Have these instruments and protocols been domesticated?

2. Women's representation in politics

✓ How many and what percentage of women were elected a) in the lower house b) in the upper house if this exists and c) in total?
✓ If the elections included local government, how many and what percentage of women councillors were elected?
✓ How do these figures compare to the last election? Has there been an increase or decrease in the percentage of women? If so, why?
✓ Are there differences in the proportion of women's representation in the different tiers of governance? If so, why?
✓ How do the figures break down by political party? Has there been an increase or decrease for each political party? If so, why?
✓ What proportion of women were re-elected, i.e what is the retention rate? How does the retention rate compare to that of men?
✓ Do the parties accept the election outcome? If not are any of the seats won by women contested in court or through other means? What is the outcome of this?

3. Structural Barriers to Women's Political Participation

✓ What are the key barriers preventing women from participating in politics? For example, traditional and cultural barriers, lack of education, lack of adequate financing, violence (and especially gender-based violence). Please give examples.
✓ What factors facilitate women's effective representation and participation?
✓ Specifically what role do traditional authorities play in facilitating or inhibiting women's political participation?
✓ What particular challenges do young women face?

4. Electoral systems and Temporary Special Measures

Constitution, National laws and Policies on Gender

✓ Does the national Constitution explicitly promote gender equality?
✓ Is there a conflict or potential conflict between customary and or religious laws and the Constitution? If so, does the Constitution state that statutory laws take precedence, especially with regard to women's rights?

- ✓ Is gender equality reflected in the Constitution as a central feature of democratic citizenship?
- ✓ Does the Constitution provide for affirmative action for women in political decision-making in all areas and at all levels?
- ✓ Does the Constitution allow for independent candidates?
- ✓ Does the Constitution provide for independent body/bodies to promote gender equality? What role do these play in the conduct of elections?
- ✓ Has the country adopted a National Gender Policy? How effective has this been in mainstreaming gender?
- ✓ Does the National Gender Policy include targets, time frames, and a strategy for attaining gender parity in political decision-making?
- ✓ Does the electoral law/code provide men and women equal rights to participate in the electoral process; for example, the right to vote, to stand for public office, to choose a political party, to access information on registration, campaign, and associate freely?
- ✓ Does the electoral system in the country help to enhance women's representation in political decision-making[45]?
- ✓ Are there special measures to enhance women's political participation? For example, constitutional or legislated quotas; safe constituencies; reducing and/or waiving nomination fees; voluntary party list quotas; mandated party list quotas and double-member constituencies; quotas for executive appointees (where these exist)?
- ✓ Does the election act prohibit sexual harassment and gender violence in all areas of elections?
- ✓ Is there a mechanism to enforce such provisions? How effectively has it been applied?
- ✓ Does the election act list gender discrimination as one of the grounds for contesting an election result? Has this been tested?

5. Political parties

Commitment, codes and party statutes

- ✓ Is there a commitment to gender equality on the part of political parties? How and where is this reflected?
- ✓ Have the parties set norms and standards for promoting gender equality?
- ✓ Has gender been mainstreamed in the constitution, manifesto, policies and structures of each political party?
- ✓ To what extent do the procedures for the selection of candidates for decision-making within the party enhance or hinder gender balance and sensitivity?
- ✓ Do the political parties offer gender awareness training for all cadres?
- ✓ Do the political parties offer capacity building, mentorship and other initiatives to enhance the political empowerment of women?
- ✓ Do political parties have codes of conduct on or that include firm measures to address sexual harassment/ gender violence in all party, political and election conduct? To what extent have these been effectively implemented?
- ✓ How do parties work to ensure peaceful elections, including the absence of gender violence?

Women in political parties

- ✓ Is the right of women to join, or together with others to establish, a political party for purposes of competing in an election respected?
- ✓ Does the election act oblige political parties to take measures to enhance gender equality?

- ✓ Have the parties themselves instituted special measures to enhance gender parity in all their structures, at all levels? For example, does the party have quotas for women's participation within the party?
- ✓ Out of the top six positions, how many are held by women?
- ✓ To the extent that women are missing from decision-making in the party, what is being done to redress this imbalance?

Women's wings

- ✓ Do the parties have women's wings? How effective are these in promoting gender equality within the parties?
- ✓ How has the women's wing they supported women in electoral process? e.g. providing mentoring, sponsorship and training for women in politics?
- ✓ How free are women in the party to take a stand on women's rights, especially where these may be contrary to party positions?

Selection of candidates

- ✓ Are women involved in the processes to select candidates for the party (for specific seats in the case of FPTP, and position on the lists, in the case of the PR system)?
- ✓ Is the right of women citizens to present themselves as candidates for election respected?

Women candidates

- ✓ How many women and men ran for office for each party?
- ✓ How does this compare with the last election? How is the variance explained?
- ✓ If this is a FPTP system, what percentage of women were fielded in safe seats for the parties? In a list system, where are women candidates situated on the lists?
- ✓ What proportion of the women candidates are new, and how does this compare with the proportion of new male candidates?
- ✓ How many women are running as independent candidates? Is this more or less than before? Why?
- ✓ Are there any women candidates for the post of Prime Minister or President? Are they treated equally (by the media, public opinion, the EMB etc).

6. Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs)

- ✓ Does the election act or law that establishes the independent electoral body or structure provide for equal representation of women and men at all positions and at all levels within the organisation?
- ✓ Is the EMB committed to gender mainstreaming ? Where and how is the reflected?
- ✓ Does the EMB have a balance of women and men commissioners? If not what measures have been taken to address this consistent with the appointment procedures in the country? For example, are there data bases of potential women commissioners?
- ✓ Does the EMB have a balance of women and men officials at all levels? If not what measures have been taken to address this? For example, how are positions for the EMB advertised? Are women encouraged to apply?
- ✓ How are EMBs supporting women candidates? e.g. reducing and/or waiving nomination fees?
- ✓ Has the EMBs engaged in gender targeted interventions?

[45] Research shows that there is a much higher representation of women in Proportional Representation (PR) electoral systems than in the First Past the Post (FPTP) system. Mixed electoral systems are also more favourable for women than the FPTP system.

- ✓ Does the EMB collect sex-disaggregated data in all parts of the electoral process?
- ✓ Is this information routinely analysed and used to take corrective action?
- ✓ Does the GMB ensure gender aware training for the administration of an election?
- ✓ Is gender taken into account in election monitoring, before, after and during?
- ✓ Are gender indicators written into the KPIs for elections? Are these analysed and commented on?
- ✓ To what extent does EMBs reporting reflect this gendered analysis of the elections?

Voter rights

- ✓ Are women citizens able to express political opinions without interference otherwise than as reasonably permitted by law?
- ✓ Do all citizens, women and men have the right to receive and impart information and to make an informed electoral choice?
- ✓ Is the right to freedom of association, assembly and movement for women and men equally respected, other than as reasonably permitted by law;
- ✓ Do citizens have the right to vote for a political party which has a record of addressing issues which affect women;
- ✓ Are citizens inhibited in any way from voting for a political party which has women in leadership positions;
- ✓ Is the right of every citizen to be eligible as a voter, subject only to disqualification in accordance with criteria established by law that are objectively verifiable, respected for all women and men?
- ✓ Is there provision of information about the polling process; venues, times, etc. in languages and formats accessible to all women and men, especially in remote rural areas.
- ✓ Is the right to vote in secret strictly observed for women and men?
- ✓ Are voting stations equally and easily accessible to women and men?
- ✓ Are all voting stations safe, including safe from gender violence of any kind?

Voter registration

- ✓ Do voter registration procedures affirm the right of women citizens to an effective, impartial and non-discriminatory procedure for registration of voters?
- ✓ Is information on voter registration (dates, timing centres) made a minimum of three months in advance, in languages, formats and media (e.g. radio) that are equally accessible and non-discriminatory to women and men?
- ✓ Do the times for registration take account of the multiple roles of women and are they flexible enough to allow either early or late times for registration?
- ✓ Does the registration take place in safe and easily accessible venues?
- ✓ Do the procedures cater for all levels of literacy and illiteracy, including functional illiteracy?
- ✓ Do voter registration procedures set efficiency standards and are these adhered to, mindful of the multiple roles women play, and the opportunity cost for them of spending long hours in queues.
- ✓ Are there clear criteria for the registration of voters such as age, identification and citizenship and are these fair to men and women?
- ✓ Is every eligible citizen, woman and man, registered as a voter, subject only to disqualification in accordance with criteria established by law that are objectively verifiable and not subject to arbitrary decision?
- ✓ Is the right of the individual to prompt, effective review or correction of procedures when voter rights are negatively affected by an action or omission of the state or its officials adhered to?

Voter education

- ✓ How gender-aware are voter education materials? Do they reflect and depict all relevant aspects of diversity (such as race, ethnicity, disability, urban/rural divides)?
- ✓ Are there voter education programmes specifically targeted at women? Do these reflect the particular needs and concerns of women?
- ✓ Do women access and participate in voter education programmes?
- ✓ Does the electorate become familiar with gender equality as central to electoral issues and procedures through national programmes of civic and voter education?
- ✓ Do voter education programmes explain complex electoral processes in a manner which will be understood by illiterate voters (the majority of whom are women in many countries)?
- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place at times that accommodate the domestic and economic roles performed by women?
- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place in venues accessible to women (for example, are these venues child friendly?)
- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place in safe venues that will not inhibit women's attendance?
- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place in an environment in which women feel confident that they can express themselves without fear of disruption and ridicule, or harassment by political parties following such meetings?

Special provisions

- ✓ Have special provisions been made for women and men with particular physical disabilities, pregnant women, the elderly and those with children?
- ✓ Do these include facilities as well as systems and measures to reduce waiting time?
- ✓ Are there provisions for “special votes” for those who may not be able to make it to the polling station?
- ✓ Is this information readily accessible to women and men needing it?
- ✓ Does the EMB keep sex disaggregated data on special votes? Is this analysed as part of understanding the gendered nature of elections?

Campaign finance

- ✓ Are there campaign finance regulations? If yes, how do these regulations impact on the equal participation of women and men?
- ✓ Do these regulations include strategies to prevent corruption? How are these applied, and with what effect on women candidates?

7. Violence Against Women in Politics

- ✓ Is the right to campaign on an equal basis with other political parties, including the party representing the existing government, respected? Is the right to move freely within the country in order to campaign for election equally observed for women and men?
- ✓ Is the right of women party members, candidates and voters to campaign on an equal basis with their male counterparts respected?
- ✓ Do women in opposition parties face even greater barriers in their campaign?
- ✓ Are campaign rules clear and gender aware? Do they include protection from violence, including gender based violence in all forms, which may affect women's participation?

- ✓ Do security arrangements take account of the particular challenges that women face, such as misogyny, abusive language and GBV? Is this effectively prevented/addressed during the elections?
- ✓ Do the campaign processes ensure the right of party members, candidates and voters, especially women, security of person and property during the campaign and throughout the electoral process?
- ✓ Are women visible in campaign events, as candidates, voters, spokespersons, and commentators?
- ✓ What kinds of violence do women experience in politics - physical, sexual, cyber harassment, verbal abuse? Please give examples of both blatant and more subtle forms of violence. What effect do these have?
- ✓ How have women taken up cases of violence, within their parties, with the police etc. What response have they had?
- ✓ Is VAWP changing over time - improving or getting worse?
- ✓ What can be done to ensure that women participate fully and effectively in a safe and secure environment?

8. The Media and Social Media

- ✓ Do the laws, policies and practices that cover media conduct during elections require gender balance and sensitivity? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Does the media give equal space/ air time/ weight to women candidates? What has been the experience of women candidates? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Does the media make a special effort to profile women candidates? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Are there complaints mechanisms for women politicians/ the public with regard to unequal or unfair treatment by the media? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Are these well-known/used? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Is there training for the media on gender responsive coverage of the elections? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Is there training for women politicians on making strategic use of the media, including new media? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Does gender form part of media commentary and analysis during elections? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Are women politicians on social media? Which social media? How has this affected them - positively or negatively - please give examples.

9. Effective participation

- ✓ Are women represented in leadership positions within political decision-making - eg as speakers, mayors, chairs of committees, in cabinet?
- ✓ If so in what areas - for example do women lead only in the “soft” portfolios? Are they also in non-traditional portfolios - please give examples.
- ✓ What tangible difference have women made in these public spaces - laws, policies, services. Please give examples.
- ✓ How is this contribution viewed - by other women, men, the public.
- ✓ What opportunities are being created for young women to begin to claim these spaces?

10. Civil society

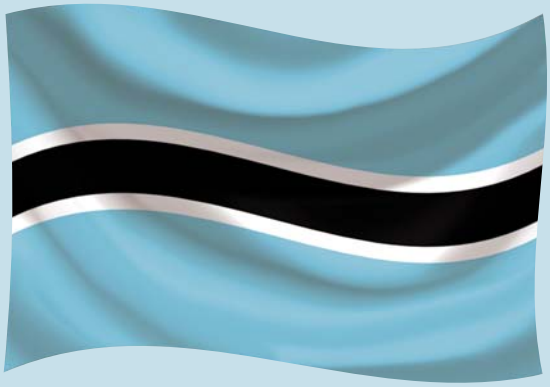
- ✓ Are women's rights organisations among the civil society stakeholders consulted in the elections?
- ✓ Do civil society organisations (CSOs) promote the 50/50 campaign as part of voter education?
- ✓ Do CSOs support capacity building of women candidates regardless of political affiliation?
- ✓ Do CSOs support gender mainstreaming efforts of the EMBs?
- ✓ Do CSOs form part of election-monitoring processes?
- ✓ Do CSOs conduct a specific gender audit of the elections?
- ✓ How are the results used to enhance gender awareness of the electoral process?

Gender in election analysis

- ✓ Is there a stand-alone gender audit of the election? Who conducts this (civil society, statutory body, a consortium)?
- ✓ Do gender considerations and data form part of the EMB and election commission reports?
- ✓ Are these in stand-alone sections or is gender mainstreamed throughout these reports?
- ✓ Does gender form part of the media analysis, panel discussions and debate following the elections?
- ✓ Overall, to what extent do the elections contribute to women's equal and effective participation in political decision-making in the country?

11. Conclusions on enhancing WPP in Botswana

- ✓ Based on the assessment, what recommendations can be made for enhancing women's political participation? These may include:
- ✓ Electoral reform
- ✓ Legislative reform
- ✓ Political party reform
- ✓ EMBs
- ✓ Media
- ✓ Civil society



INTERNATIONAL IDEA
INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

20 YEARS OF SERVICE
GENDER LINKS
FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

WPP
Women in Political Participation