

Second Common Country Assessment for Botswana

Final Report

United Nations System in Botswana

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Abbreviations

ALDEP	Arable Land Development Programme
ART	Anti-retroviral Therapy
BAIS	Botswana AIDS Impact Survey
BHRIMS	Botswana HIV and AIDS Response Information Management System
BIDPA	Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CBNRM	Community-based Natural Resource Management
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FAP	Financial Assistance Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IWRM	Integrated Water Resource Management
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MCH	Maternal and Child Health
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreements
MEWT	Ministry of Environment, Wildlife & Tourism
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
MMR	Maternal Mortality Ratio
NACA	National AIDS Co-ordinating Agency
NDP	National Development Plan
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NSP	National Settlement Policy
NSPR	National Strategy for Poverty Reduction
NWMP	National Water Master Plan
ODMP	Okavango Development Management Plan
PA	Protected Area
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
PHC	Primary Health Care
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
UV	Urban Village
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WUC	Water Utilities Corporation

Average exchange rates: (BWP per USD)

1996	3.30	2000	5.09	2004	4.69
1997	3.65	2001	5.81	2005	5.06
1998	4.20	2002	6.31	2006	5.81
1999	4.62	2003	4.93	2007 (to Sept)	6.19

Executive Summary

This Common Country Assessment (CCA) presents the United Nations (UN) agencies' shared analysis of Botswana's recent development achievements and remaining challenges over the medium term. The document is the product of an extensive consultation process within the United Nations system and with the Government and other development partners. The analysis also draws heavily on the information presented in various publications from the UN and the Central Statistics Office (CSO). Its publication comes as the Government is beginning the process of preparing the tenth National Development Plan (NDP 10), which will run from 2009 to 2015, and feed into the formulation of that Plan. It will also provide the basis for the formulation of the second UN Development Assistance Framework for Botswana (UNDAF).

The unique contribution of the CCA is to analyse the current development situation in Botswana from the perspective of the rights-based approach of the United Nations. Rights-based approaches view development as part of a larger process of promoting and protecting human rights, and therefore focus attention on inclusiveness, equity and the situation of the most vulnerable members of society. Rights-based approaches therefore attempt to look beyond national averages to consider the specific situation of women and children, ethnic minorities, people with disabilities and other weak or marginalized groups. Where possible, data are presented on development as it affects these groups, although in many cases the data are not available to do so.

The Botswana economy has enjoyed rapid growth based on exploitation of minerals and the use of revenues derived from mineral production for investment in economic and social infrastructure. Over the past 40 years, the economy and society have been transformed; from being a very poor country based on cattle rearing and subsistence agriculture, there has been extensive modernisation, rapid growth in average real incomes, reductions in poverty and improvements in living standards and social provision for the majority of the population.

Despite these achievements, both poverty and inequality remain high for a middle income country, and the benefits of rapid economic growth have been spread unevenly across the population. The highest incomes are enjoyed by those in formal sector employment, but they make up less than half of the labour force, and the remainder – engaged in informal sector and agricultural activities, or unemployed - are less well off. Low incomes, and hence high poverty rates, are concentrated in the rural areas, and the rural economy has stagnated for many years. Economic development efforts need to continue focusing on economic diversification, reducing dependence upon the diamond industry, achieving a higher rate of job creation, and reinvigorating the rural economy. The latter may be possible through modernisation and commercialisation of agriculture and the development of tourism. Given environmental fragility, doing so in an environmentally sustainable manner will be important.

Botswana's achievements with regard to education and health care have been impressive, although HIV and AIDS have undermined the latter over the past decade. A wide range of interventions have been undertaken to deal with HIV and AIDS, including the provision of anti-retroviral therapy through the public health system. However, with a 25% adult HIV prevalence rate, the impact of the disease is extensive, resulting in higher death rates, reduced life expectancy and lower population growth, and requiring the allocation of significant public resources to HIV and AIDS. There are also concerns that other health issues may have been marginalised as a result of HIV and AIDS. Having achieved a high level of treatment for HIV and AIDS, the policy focus is now shifting towards prevention. With regard to education, the sector is very well resourced by Government but efforts are needed to use those resources more productively, and also to bring those currently excluded from access to education within the system.

A wide range of social welfare programmes have been introduced to support those who are unable to benefit from job opportunities, and these have helped to support the living standards of the poorest and most vulnerable members of society. Programmes aimed at supporting the elderly, orphans, child nutrition, and the rural population in times of drought cover large proportions of the population, although are in need of review and possible modernisation.

Botswana has a good reputation in terms of democratic governance, with high quality public institutions, a long record of parliamentary democracy, and tolerance of opposing views. Corruption is low, although still a concern. Nevertheless there are concerns that the interests of some minority groups, especially those resident

in areas remote from the more populated eastern part of Botswana, do not receive adequate *de facto* protection, even if *de jure* all citizens are treated equally. Other issues of concern from a human rights perspective include the continued use of the death penalty, the criminalisation of homosexuality, and cultural discrimination against women, even though legal moves towards gender equality have been considerable.

Environmental issues are extremely important in Botswana, specifically those relating to environmental degradation, water scarcity, the depletion of mineral resources, wildlife resources, and the sustainability of economic activities in rural areas. Botswana is highly vulnerable to climate change, and a better understanding of the likely impact is required in order that policies can take this adequately into account.

Botswana is well placed to meet most if not all of the MDGs, although in some cases data availability is poor; for instance, data are not available to assess the rate of progress towards poverty reduction goals, and data on maternal mortality are weak. There have been setbacks with regard to child health and dealing with disease (particularly TB), driven by HIV and AIDS, but there are good prospects that interventions already in place will lead to significant reversals within the time horizon of the MDGs. Good progress has been made towards MDGs relating to education, gender equality and the environment.

Based on the analysis contained within this CCA, the United Nations agencies propose to concentrate their common efforts on issues relating to the inclusiveness of development, the economic, environmental and social aspects of sustainability, improved access to quality social services and improved governance and access to justice. The concrete forms of this assistance will emerge from further consultations with the Government of Botswana and donor partners during the process of UNDAF formulation and in the development of the country programmes of individual agencies. It is hoped that the CCA has helped to identify themes that will increase the consistency, coherence and effectiveness of United Nations assistance in Botswana.

1. Introduction

This Common Country Assessment (CCA) provides the background for the preparation of the second United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) for Botswana. The CCA represents the product of a process of consultation and dialogue between the UN Country Team (UNCT), the Government of Botswana (GoB) and a wide range of stakeholders.

The basic planning document used in Botswana is the National Development Plan (NDP), which outlines the Government's development priorities for the plan period and the policies, programmes and projects that it will implement in pursuit of these priorities. Botswana's current six-year National Development Plan (NDP9) ends in March 2009. Consequently, the next National Development Plan (NDP10), which will run from April 2009 to March 2015, is currently being developed.

For purposes of synergy, optimal responsiveness, and relevance, the UNCT has decided to align its planning cycle with the NDP cycle, beginning with the next UNDAF. The current UNDAF (2003-2007) ends two years before the commencement of National Development Plan 10 in 2009. Consequently, it will be extended for a two-year period to allow the next UNDAF - the second for Botswana – to take effect on January 1, 2010.

The CCA Process

In preparation for the next NDP, the GoB has embarked on a consultative process which, together with the findings of the Mid-term Review of NDP9, will constitute the core of the Government's situational analysis for NDP10. The CCA represents the UN System's parallel situational analysis, in preparation for the next UNDAF. These UN and GoB processes are mutually reinforcing as they progress in tandem and have a similar focus – accelerating human development in Botswana. In this context the UNCT opted to undertake a 'light' CCA (i.e. to limit the burden on partners in its development, given that priority should be given to NDP10) and this was a deliberate decision to ensure maximum support to the NDP process. The Government, NGOs, UN Non-Resident Agencies and other partners have been part of various consultations and meetings as scheduled in the CCA process programme.

The choice of a "light" CCA also meant that there were no additional studies commissioned; instead the process drew on a desk review of available data and literature and consultations with national stakeholders. Given, the context described above, the preparation of the CCA was undertaken with the assistance of a consultant, Econsult Botswana. The first stage of the process involved the preparation of three background documents:

- a) Identification of key development challenges;
- b) A socio-economic review, focusing on household incomes and poverty, inequality and access to resources, major social and economic policy and reform processes, and the international and national development commitments of Botswana.
- c) An overview of key socio-economic indicators.

These documents were discussed in a series of Reference Group meetings and at a stakeholders' workshop, following which the CCA document was prepared. The documents were also reviewed by the Quality Support & Assurance (QSA) Cluster of the Regional Director's Team for Eastern and Southern Africa. The participants in the CCA process include representatives of the Government (who co-chaired the Reference Group with the UN), members of the House of Chiefs and members of Parliament, representatives of all UN Agencies (resident, non-resident and regional offices), other key Development Partners, NGOs, CBOs, the private sector, etc.. The full membership of the Reference Group is given at Appendix A.

The brief for the CCA was broad in that it covered the whole spectrum of socio-economic issues in Botswana and did not focus on specific topics. However, there was a mandate to give particular attention to issues of gender and environmental sustainability.

The CCA embraces a human rights-based approach to development in accordance with the aims and principles of the Millennium Declaration. This sets out a vision of *inclusive development* in which economic growth is founded on human rights and benefits all segments of society, and which prioritises the elimination of structural, institutional and cultural obstacles to participation in national development and the realisation of each individual's human potential. An inclusive approach to development pays particular attention to the most disadvantaged and vulnerable members of society and emphasizes human dignity, equity and equality among

geographic regions, among ethnic groups, social strata, between men and women, between adults and children, and is measured in terms of the progress of *all members of society* towards realizing the aims and principles of the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs. This implies moving beyond indicators expressed as national averages towards a focus on economic and social variation and disparities. Therefore, the CCA reports data as far as possible in a way that permits disaggregation according to income group, gender and geography. For many indicators, however, disaggregation that permits an assessment of how vulnerable or potentially vulnerable groups are faring is simply not possible. A recurring theme of this CCA is the vital importance of building domestic capacity in data collection, processing and analysis in support of policy formation, monitoring, evaluation and public discourse relating to the shared goal of inclusive development.

The Botswana CCA comprises three sections: this Introduction (including chapters on the CCA process and Country Background); a Strategic Analysis (including chapters on Economic Growth, Incomes and Development, Social Development and Access to Social Services, Governance and Public Administration, and Environmental Sustainability)

Country Background

Botswana is a landlocked country situated in the centre of southern Africa, sharing borders with South Africa (to the south and east), Namibia (west), Zimbabwe and Zambia (north). With a population of around 1.8 million and with a surface area of some 550 000km², Botswana is one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world. The terrain and climate are largely arid; most of the country is covered by Kalahari sands and natural sources of surface water are very limited. Most of the country is unsuitable for arable agriculture, but is rich in minerals. The population is concentrated in the eastern part of the country, leaving the western districts very sparsely populated¹. Many of the country's development opportunities and challenges reflect these geographical, climatic and demographic conditions.

Although Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world at independence in 1966, it has grown rapidly over the past forty years, and has been transformed from a low-income to an upper-middle income country. Economically, Botswana has thrived on the basis of the production and export of diamonds, which has driven very high rates of economic growth and increases in per capita incomes, as well as a healthy government fiscal position and balance of payments. Agriculture, which is dominated by cattle-rearing, occupied the majority of the population at independence, but has declined over the years and now makes a relatively small contribution to GDP and incomes. Reflecting the weakness of agriculture and the growth of mining, industry and service activities, the country has become progressively more urbanised, and 55% of the population lived in urban settlements at the time of the 2001 Census.

Poverty rates are fairly high for a country of Botswana's income level (headcount poverty was recorded at 30% in 2002/03), and income inequality is also high. Nevertheless, poverty rates have been falling steadily as the economy has grown. Botswana has also recorded commendable improvements in social indicators over a long period, although some of this progress has been reversed due to the impact of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Botswana has one of the world's highest HIV prevalence rates (24% of the adult population in 2004), although the response from Government, donors and NGOs has been wide-ranging and there are signs that the epidemic has peaked.

Ethnically, Botswana is reasonably homogeneous. While ethnic origin of the population is not formally recorded, the Census does record first language. This shows that 78% of the population are Setswana speaking, 8% speak Kalanga, 3% speak Sekgalagadi, and English, Sembukushu and Sesarwa 2% each. The remaining 5% speak a range of other languages. There are concerns that some minority communities (such as Bakgalagadi, Bayei, Bambukushu, Basarwa/San, Baherero etc.), particularly those living in the more remote areas of western Botswana, experience higher poverty rates and less favourable human development (health & education etc.), although data is not available to measure this directly.

Botswana has made considerable progress with regard to gender equality, in that many previously-discriminatory laws have been reformed and women enjoy reasonably equal access to jobs, education and health care. Nevertheless, women experience higher poverty rates than males, higher unemployment, lower pay for similar work, and are increasingly victims of crime (rape and femicide), partly because cultural attitudes that hinder women's progress are changing more slowly than the formal legal environment.

¹ The four western districts (Kgalagadi, Ghanzi, Ngamiland & Chobe) account for 61% of Botswana's surface area but only 13% of the population, and have a collective population density of 0.6 persons per sq. km.

A particularly vulnerable group is orphans, whose numbers have grown rapidly as a result of HIV and AIDS. However, Government programmes to support orphans and those caring for them appear to have been effective at reducing, although not eliminating their vulnerability to poverty and abuse. More generally, opportunities for the youth are limited once they leave school, resulting in twin problems of youth unemployment and rising crime rates.

Environmentally, Botswana is fragile with very limited water resources. Large areas of land have been subject to environmental degradation, especially those near villages and other settlements. The country is prone to drought and is highly vulnerable to the impact of climate change. Environmental sustainability is central to many of Botswana's key development issues, including the exploitation of mineral resources, the use and re-use of scarce water resources, and the development of the cattle industry and arable agriculture. The future of tourism is also dependent upon the maintenance of Botswana's considerable wildlife resources and finely balanced ecological zones such as the Okavango Delta and the Kalahari Desert. Environmental sustainability is particularly important in ensuring the future viability of various economic activities upon which raising incomes in the rural areas, and hence reducing poverty, depend.

Vision 2016 and the MDGs

Over the longer term, the guiding document for development in Botswana is Vision 2016, a broad based strategy adopted in 1996 and focused on the aspirations for Botswana at the 50th anniversary of Independence. Vision 2016 comprises seven pillars that resonate strongly with the Millennium Development Goals:

- An educated, informed nation
- A prosperous, productive and innovative nation
- A compassionate, just and caring nation
- A safe and secure nation
- An open, democratic and accountable nation
- A moral and tolerant nation
- A proud and united nation

A more detailed exposition of specific objectives and the policies that are being pursued to achieve those objectives is contained in the main Vision 2016 document (GoB 1996).

A formal assessment of Botswana's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals – adapted in line with the Vision 2016 objectives - conducted in 2004 concluded that the country was making good progress towards achieving the MDGs (UNDP & GoB, 2004). Progress towards the MDGs is discussed in more detail in the next section of the CCA and selected indicators are summarised in the table below. Several MDGs have already been achieved, especially those relating to education (MDG 2 & MDG 7) and the environment. With regard to MDG 1 (Eradicating extreme poverty), although poverty has declined, data availability is not good enough to enable an accurate assessment of the *rate* of poverty reduction. Botswana has made considerable achievements with regard to MDG 3 (Gender equality), especially in education, but more remains to be done with regard to female empowerment in the economy and decision-making. With regard to MDG 4 (Reducing child mortality), data indicates a recent deterioration although there are good prospects of a reversal as the broad-based response to HIV and AIDS is rolled out. Under MDG 5, the maternal mortality ratio has been reduced significantly since 1991 but remains high, and is an area that needs urgent attention. For MDG 6, there have been major achievements in dealing with HIV and AIDS, but action is still required to deal with high TB infection rates. The monitoring of progress towards some of the MDGs is hampered by data inadequacies.

Table 1: Progress towards the MDGs – Selected Indicators

MDG	1990-94	2002-06	Target (2015)
1. Poverty rate (% of popn below PDL) [1]	47	30	23 (reduce by half)
1. Underweight children (under 5, %)	17.0	5.9	
2. Net enrolment rate, primary school (%)	96.7	98.5	100
2. Literacy rate, 15-24 year olds (%)	89.5	93.7	100
3. Ratio of males to females in primary schools	NA	0.98	≈ 1.0
3. Ratio of males to females in secondary education	NA	1.07	≈ 1.0
3. Ratio of literate females to males, 15-24 yr olds	1.26	1.19	≥ 1.0
4. Infant mortality rate (per 1000)	48	56	16 (reduce by 2/3)
4. Under five mortality rate (per 1000)	63	74	21 (reduce by 2/3)
4. Children immunised against measles (%)	74	86	100
5. Births attended by skilled personnel (%)	93	96	100
5. Maternal mortality rate (per 100 000)	326	150-190	81 (reduce by 3/4)
6. HIV prevalence among adults (%)	NA	25	Falling
6. Access to ART (% clinically eligible)	NA	95	≈100
6. TB notifications (per 100 000)	200	620	Falling
7. Proportion of population without access to safe drinking water (%)	23	4	12 (reduce by half)

Notes: [1] Poverty rates over time cannot be accurately compared due to changed basis for calculation.

Sources: CSO (2003a, 2004b, 2006a); CSO & GoB (2004); NACA & CSO (2005); GoB (2007b).

CCA Themes

The CCA provides a broad overview of development issues and challenges in Botswana. Some areas of specific emphasis, notably environmental sustainability and gender equality, are included through being components of CCAs globally, as well as key cross-cutting development issues in Botswana. The remainder of the material is grouped under three key headings: The Economy; Social Developments and Access to Social Services; and Governance and Public Administration. The three are interlinked. Ensuring healthy economic growth is a prerequisite for a long-term increase in living standards, but issues of how the proceeds of growth are distributed are important because, in the long term, growth needs to be inclusive for it to be sustainable. Social development is important in building human capabilities to enable participation, as well as providing the basis for greater productivity and efficiency that is the long-term basis for growth. Access to basic social services provides a safety net for those who cannot immediately benefit from income-earning opportunities. Governance needs to be inclusive in order that key policy and resource allocation decisions reflect broadly-based interests, which is again important for sustainability. Gender equality is an important component of inclusivity, with regard to economic growth, social development and governance. Finally, environmental issues are of crucial importance in Botswana, and are linked to the sustainability of growth, much of which is based on natural resource consumption, and the potential for reinvigorating the rural economy and significantly reducing poverty. The challenges posed by climate change are particularly intense in an arid, ecologically fragile environment.

2. Strategic Analysis

This section of the report provides a strategic analysis of socio-economic issues and challenges in Botswana. It is derived from a desk study of existing literature and data sources, supplemented with additional information provided by stakeholders. It comprises four chapters: Inclusive Economic Growth; Access to Social Services; Governance and Public Administration; and Environmental Sustainability. Throughout, particular attention has been given to the gender dimension of socio-economic development.

Inclusive Economic Growth

GDP Growth and Structure: Botswana is well-known for having one of the highest economic growth rates in the world in the post-independence period. Over the forty years from 1965 to 2005, real annual economic growth averaged 9% a year. Real income per capita increased from fairly low levels at the time of independence to middle-income country levels by the early-1990s, and reached P31 900 (US\$5 700) by 2005/06. According to IMF data, Botswana has the highest level of GDP per capita in sub-Saharan Africa.

This growth has been driven by the exploitation and export of minerals, with the diamond sector producing most of the sector's output by value. The mining sector has been the largest contributor to GDP since 1977/78 (when it overtook agriculture), and in 2005/06 contributed 41% to national output (value added). Over time, however, economic growth has gradually trended downwards as diamond production has reached a plateau. Hence there has been considerable emphasis over the past twenty years on economic diversification, so that other economic sectors would provide "engines of growth" once mineral-led growth began to tail off.

However, in recent years the growth of the non-mining private sector has been sluggish. GDP growth, excluding mining and government, has averaged only 3.6% a year between 1999/2000 and 2005/06, which is much slower than the NDP 9 growth target of over 5.5%. *Boosting the growth rate of the non-mining private sector is one of the major challenges facing Botswana.* This depends on achieving levels of international competitiveness that will support export-led growth, which in turn depends on achieving adequate productivity levels and removing constraints to investment (such as land availability)².

Notwithstanding the need to improve non-mineral growth rates, the number of new mining projects currently under development suggests that Botswana's next growth spurt may well be mineral-led. These include a range of non-diamond minerals (copper, nickel, uranium, zinc, gold, silver etc., as well as coal and methane), and indicate a welcome diversification within the minerals sector. However, *the continued importance of mining activities indicates the importance of ensuring that mineral-led growth is sustainable.* In general Botswana is recognised as a country that has followed best principles with regard to ensuring that mineral revenues are used sustainably, most importantly through the use of such revenues for investment purposes through the accumulation of assets (physical, human and financial) rather than for financing consumption, and it is important that such sound and sustainable management (of fiscal resources in particular, and mineral revenues more generally) is sustained.

While there are many reasons for the decline in economic growth, one of them is likely to be the impact of HIV and AIDS. Various studies have examined the likely impact of HIV and AIDS on economic growth in Botswana, and have generally concluded that economic growth would have been 1% - 2% a year higher in the absence of HIV and AIDS. Thus HIV and AIDS is likely to account for a significant portion of the amount by which actual growth has fallen below targeted levels. Government has addressed the negative growth impact of HIV through the provision of anti-retroviral therapy (ART) through the public health system, along with other policies to address the pandemic.

While the mineral sector has continued to grow steadily, this contrasts with the poor performance of the agricultural sector. Over the decade agriculture has contracted on average by 1.6% a year. This is not a new development – the total real value of agricultural output in 2005/06 was lower, in absolute terms, than it was in 1974/75, when the regular compilation of GDP statistics began; over this period the sector's contribution to GDP has fallen from 33% to 1.9%. For much of the past two decades the emphasis on diversification has been on developing the manufacturing sector; however, this has not been generally successful, and the sector has only

² The World Bank Doing Business survey (2007) provides an excellent overview of many of the factors that underlay competitiveness. Botswana's (relative) position in the rankings has slipped in recent years, most likely due to slower reform than in other countries.

grown slowly. Diversification is now envisaged more broadly, with an important role for service industries, including business and financial services, and tourism, as well as diversification within the mining sector.

As noted above, real per capita incomes have grown steadily over a long period. This has translated into much higher average incomes for Botswana. However, income distribution is quite unequal, and has been for a long period of time, and the actual incomes of different groups of Botswana have not necessarily followed the steadily rising path of average incomes. As the discussion below will show, slow formal sector employment growth and economic stagnation in the rural areas have resulted in a significant minority of Botswana being excluded from the benefits of growth, which has not been sufficiently inclusive.

Household Incomes: The national accounts data that provide information on GDP and sectoral growth rates do not provide information on household-level incomes or expenditure, which is necessary for a more detailed assessment of what is happening to living standards. The collection of such information from households is an expensive and time-consuming exercise, and is only carried out sporadically in Botswana. Indeed, during the entire 41 years of the post-independence period, there have only been four household surveys of this kind: the Rural Income Distribution Survey in 1974/75 and Household Income and Expenditure Surveys (HIESs) in 1985/86, 1993/94 and 2002/03.

Although infrequent, the HIESs do provide a rich set of information on the economic situation of households. The published HIES reports provide information on household incomes, expenditure and (some) asset holdings, disaggregated by place of residence (settlement type)³, and characteristics of the household head (such as gender and level of education). The source HIES data (household level) can be used for further analysis, including the calculation of poverty rates. However, detailed poverty figures are not included in the published HIES reports.

The most recent HIES (2002/03) showed that average (median) incomes are higher in male-headed households than in female-headed ones, except in rural areas where household incomes are more gender neutral; and incomes are higher in urban areas than in urban villages, which are in turn higher than in rural areas. When household size is taken into account, the contrasts (between urban and rural areas, and between male and female-headed households) become even more apparent. Urban households are smaller than urban village and rural households, and male-headed households are smaller than female-headed ones, thus raising per capita incomes in urban male-headed households relative to other household types.

The urban-rural disparity is also evident in the growth of household incomes. Over the nine year period between the 1993/94 HIES (CSO, 1995) and the 2002/03 HIES (CSO, 2004a), median household incomes grew by 15% in urban areas, 16% in urban villages, but shrank by 15% in rural areas. Male-headed households experienced higher income growth than female-headed households.

The HIES also showed a very clear positive relationship between the level of education of the household head and monthly household income, a relationship which holds across settlement types. It is clear that both living in a rural area and not being educated to a high level are associated with low incomes. Interestingly, the income premium between secondary and primary education is much larger than the premium between primary and no education.

Employment and Unemployment: Botswana's rapid economic growth has been accompanied by rapid employment creation. At the time of independence, only about 10% of the labour force had formal sector jobs, while a further 10% were employed in the South African mines; three quarters of the labour force was occupied in traditional subsistence agriculture (crop farming and/or cattle rearing). There was little unemployment in the modern sense (actively seeking work), although many of those involved in traditional agriculture would not have been fully occupied throughout the year.

Over the past 40 years, formal sector employment has grown at a much faster rate than the population and the labour force, and employment has become "modernised". By 2005/06, about 45% of the labour force was employed in the formal sector, around 20% in each of traditional agriculture and the informal sector, and some 17% unemployed. In comparison with most other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Botswana has quite a different labour force structure, with relatively high formal sector employment, and a relatively small subsistence agricultural sector.

³ The two most recent HIESs have three location categories – urban (gazetted towns/cities); urban village (predominantly non-agricultural settlement with a population of over 5 000, located on tribal land) and rural. Towns & cities have their own administrative structures, while urban village and rural areas are administered by district councils. The first HIES only had urban and rural locations. The published HIES results do not include data at a more disaggregated regional level (e.g. districts).

Data on formal sector employment is reasonably good, although like the GDP data, may suffer from under-recording of activity in new firms. Over the past decade, formal sector employment growth has averaged 2.7% a year. As female employment (3.5% a year) has grown faster than male employment (2.1% a year), the share of formal sector jobs held by women has risen from 39% to 42% over this period. Formal sector employment is dominated by government, which accounts for 38% of the total (29% in central government and 9% in local government). The mining sector, which accounts for by far the largest share of GDP, accounts for a relatively low share of employment.

The 1995/96 and 2005/06 Labour Force Surveys provide reasonable information on how employment has changed over the decade. While overall employment growth has been quite fast (4.1% a year), the growth of employment in traditional agriculture and the informal sector has been much faster than the growth in the formal sector. Hence employment growth has been concentrated in low productivity, low wage/income activities⁴.

Despite rapid employment growth, unemployment in Botswana remains a serious problem. Most surveys over the past 15 years have shown an unemployment rate of over 20%, and most sets of comparable surveys (census, HIES, LFS) showed an increase in unemployment between the 1990s and 2000s. However, the most recent LFS (2005/06) showed a significantly lower unemployment rate of 17.6%. In addition to recorded unemployment (which is defined in terms of ILO guidelines as people actively seeking work), a considerable number of "discouraged workers" (those who have given up looking for work) were recorded in the 2005/06 LFS. Including them in a broader definition of unemployment gives an unemployment rate of 31.6%.

There is a clear relationship between age and unemployment, with younger age groups experiencing a higher unemployment rate. The highest unemployment rate is experienced by the 20-24 year age cohort, at 35%, although above this age the unemployment rate drops quickly, and for those over 30 the unemployment rate is in the 5% - 15% range. Botswana's unemployment problem is therefore primarily a youth unemployment problem; of the 114 422 unemployed recorded in the LFS, nearly two thirds of them (72 587) are under the age of 30.

The 2005/06 LFS data show a contrast in the nature of male and female employment. Relative to men, women are less likely to have formal sector jobs and more likely to be involved with informal sector activities. However, traditional agriculture occupies more men than women. Female unemployment stood at 19.9% compared to 15.3% among males. In all age cohorts below the age of 50, female unemployment is higher than male unemployment, in some cases quite dramatically: in the 20-24 year age cohort, the overall unemployment rate of 35% is an average of female unemployment of 40% and male unemployment of 31%. Similarly, female unemployment has been consistently higher than male unemployment over time.

The root cause of the level of unemployment is a failure to create enough jobs in the economy; while the rate of job creation has been reasonably high, it has nevertheless been insufficient to absorb the growth in the population and the labour force. This in turn reflects low employment creation in the (capital intensive) mining industry and insufficient growth in the non-mining private sector. There is also some evidence of reluctance by some school leavers to take available work. Labour shortages are frequently reported in the agricultural sector and domestic service, despite the high rate of unemployment. As a result of such labour shortages, immigration regulations have recently been relaxed, and now permit unskilled foreigners to work in the agricultural sector. The complexity of the unemployment picture also reflects the fact that, even in the absence of a formal social welfare system for the unemployed, many are able to survive of support from other (working) household members.

There is some evidence that women are paid less than men for comparable or similar work. While the regular employment and wage surveys invariably show that female wages are lower than male wages, this may simply reflect differences in occupations, skills and experience levels. A detailed analysis of the 1995/96 LFS data (CSO, 1999) concluded that women tend to be concentrated in occupations that pay less than those occupied by men. Beyond this, wage differences persisted even when adjustments had been made for differing human capital characteristics. This was especially true in the private sector, where the bulk of the wage gap could only be explained by discrimination, whereas in the public sector the wage gap was largely non-existent.

The Government amended the Public Service Act in 2000 to include sexual harassment as an act of misconduct in an effort to empower women as workers in the public service. The absence of such legislation in the private sector and most parastatals continues to hinder female progression in the workplace.

⁴ However, data indicating rapid growth of employment in traditional agriculture should be interpreted cautiously, as they conflict with GDP data on agricultural output, which show a steady decline over the same period.

Informal Sector: As noted above the informal sector was the fastest growing segment of the labour force between 1995/96 and 2005/06 (averaging over 10% a year). Informal sector workers are predominantly women (60%), urban (55%) and slightly younger than the labour force as a whole. Well over half of those in the informal sector are self-employed without employees. The most important activities are retail trade (45%) and manufacturing (15%). While there is no data on incomes in the informal sector, it is likely that these are relatively low. Data on the informal sector are consistent with this being a second-best activity for those who cannot obtain formal sector employment. Nevertheless, the informal sector activities can be an important route out of poverty, and the positive aspect of the rapid recent growth of the informal sector is that it indicates entrepreneurial initiative. While many of those occupied in the sector are unlikely to enjoy the protection of employment legislation or related legal safeguards, the relationship between the informal sector and the law is complex; for instance, moves to over-zealously enforce trading laws and regulations (as seen in recent moves by Gaborone City Council to close down informal traders for infringing licensing and zoning regulations) may deprive many people (predominantly women) of a livelihood and are unlikely to be productive in social and economic terms. Further analysis of the nature of the informal sector and those occupied in it would help provide the basis for policies to support and strengthen the sector.

Poverty: Botswana does not have a consistent data series that makes it possible to accurately track changes in poverty levels over time. The headcount poverty rate was estimated at 59% 1985/86 and 47% in 1993/94, on the basis of a Poverty Datum Line (PDL) constructed in 1989 (BIDPA, 1996). In 2004 a new PDL was derived, and on the basis of this, the poverty headcount rate was recorded at 30% in 2002/03. However, there are significant differences between the old and the new PDLs that make it difficult to directly compare the 1993/94 and 2002/03 poverty rates, and it is not possible to draw reliable conclusions regarding the rate at which poverty has declined over this period, or whether Botswana is on track to achieve MDG1 (reducing poverty by 50% from 1990 levels by 2015).

The 2002/03 figures show that there is considerable geographical variation around the national poverty rate; in 2002/03, headcount poverty was relatively low in Gaborone and other urban areas (7% - 15%), and higher in the rural areas. Furthermore, rural poverty rates increase, the further away the area is from Gaborone. Poverty rates are particularly high in the western part of the country, with rates of 46% in rural north-west and 53% in rural south-west.

The stagnation of rural incomes while urban incomes have grown since the 1990s has resulted in poverty becoming even more a rural phenomenon. While the benefits of economic growth are lifting incomes across the board in urban areas, and to a lesser extent in urban villages, this is not spreading to rural areas, which are increasingly populated by the very old and the very young. All of this reflects the severe shortage of decent income-earning opportunities in the rural areas. In contrast to the basis of much welfare policy (e.g. the drought relief scheme), poverty in the rural areas – and therefore the bulk of Botswana's poverty – is not the result of drought, but a structural phenomenon rooted in the limited potential for traditional rainfed arable agriculture and the progressive decline in the returns to cattle rearing. As the 1996 Poverty Study noted, (BIDPA, 1996), there was no evidence that poverty-focused arable agricultural support schemes such as ALDEP and ARAP had ever succeeded in raising anybody out of poverty, and indeed were unlikely ever to do so. Problems of diminishing agricultural income and activity are related to, and compounded by, environmental degradation.

Besides the chronic weakness of agriculture as a source of income, the second structural cause of poverty in Botswana is that there has been insufficient employment creation to provide alternative income sources for those who wish to leave agriculture and the rural areas. Essentially, while Botswana's economic growth over the past forty years has been successful in significantly raising the living standards of between half and two-thirds of the population, some one-third – comprising the unemployed and those working in low productivity agricultural activities - has been left behind. Successful economic diversification, with rapid formal sector employment growth, remains the primary focus for alleviating poverty.

A National Strategy for Poverty Reduction (NSPR) was introduced in 2003, with three pillars (MFDP, 2003):

- Providing opportunities for sustainable livelihoods through employment growth with a broad sectoral and geographical spread;
- Providing well-targeted safety nets for those unable to take advantage of expanded employment opportunities;
- Developing capabilities through social investment programmes, targeted on the poor and at reducing inter-regional disparities.

The strategy includes a number of broad policies (notably economic policies focused on employment growth), some specific programmes based around sustaining livelihoods, enhancing human capabilities, enhancing participation, strengthening local government institutions, and strengthening national development capacity. It also entailed an institutional framework for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the NSPR, with the lead role played by the Rural Development Co-ordination Division in the MFD, supported by a Multi-sectoral Committee on Poverty Reduction. While the institutional structures have been established, it is not yet clear how well they function. An effective monitoring and evaluation mechanism is not yet in place.

Income Inequality: as might be expected from the combination of high economic growth and persistent poverty, income distribution is unequal in Botswana. The Gini coefficient for total income (including income in kind) was 0.57 in 2002/03 and for cash income was 0.63. High income inequality largely reflects inequality between rural areas and the rest of the country, as income distribution *within* urban and rural areas is lower, at around 0.5. There has been no significant improvement in income distribution over the past 20 years.

Access to Resources: Access to and control over resources encompasses ownership as well as the power to harness resources for economic production with the ultimate result being the improvement of the quality of life. Data on access to resources is patchy. Below we cover three important resources where data are available: cattle, land and housing, and financial services; most of them, however, are not gender-disaggregated. Land issues are also dealt with in the section on Environmental Challenges.

Cattle are traditionally regarded as an important asset, both for their use value (ploughing, milk, meat) and as a store of value and sign of wealth and status. As the importance of the rural economy has declined, along with the returns to cattle ownership, and other forms of asset have become more widespread, cattle ownership has fallen. In 1985/86, approximately half of all households owned some cattle. By 1993/94, this had fallen to 43%, and by 2002/03, it was only 38%. Cattle ownership was roughly the same in low income households as in all households (although herd sizes were smaller for low income households), and the extent of decline in cattle ownership amongst low income households has been similar to that for all households.

Land and Housing: Despite the decline in agriculture, the majority of households retain access to agricultural (grazing or planting) land. In 2001, 53% of households had access to agricultural land. In the vast majority of cases this was tribal (communal) land. Much of it was, however, unused. Slightly more female headed households have access to agricultural land (54%) than male headed households (52%). Interestingly, a far lower proportion of economically active heads of household (47%) have access to land than the economically inactive heads of household (66%). Despite Botswana's abundance of land in absolute terms, much of it is of poor quality and low productivity for agricultural purposes. There are concerns that systems of land allocation, access and tenure are neither efficient nor equitable.

With regard to housing, most Botswana (56%) live in self-built houses. However, a significant number (31%) live in rented accommodation. As would be expected, rented accommodation is more prominent in urban areas (including urban villages), where it is the largest single accommodation type (47% of the total). While there is no readily available comprehensive information on access to different types of housing by income level, much of the rented accommodation in urban areas is of poor quality (consisting of single rooms). There are limited sources of housing finance for low-income households, thereby limiting the scope for loan-financed self-built houses amongst the poor.

Financial services: Data on access to financial services is available from the FinScope™ Survey carried out for FinMark Trust in 2004. This surveyed use of financial products and services, with a particular focus on the use of banking products. The survey found that 43% of the population were "banked" in 2004, in that they used at least one banking product, and 57% were "unbanked". Furthermore, there was relatively higher usage of banking amongst urban residents, heads of households, well-educated people and those with higher incomes; for instance, 57% of the urban population was banked, as were 81% of those in full-time employment. Males were marginally more likely to use banks than females, and usage of banking was relatively low amongst the rural population, the unwaged, the young and the elderly, and those with less education; for instance, only 37% of the rural population were banked.

Government has provided various financial assistance schemes aimed at overcoming barriers to finance for productive purposes. Recent schemes include the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP, a grant scheme), the Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) loan scheme, and the Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA, a subsidised loan scheme). The FAP and SMME schemes have been wound up, while CEDA continues and will hopefully prove to be more sustainable. The problem, however, is that its sustainability rests on Government continuing to provide additional resources because its design does not ensure that it sustains itself. While FAP

included a bias in favour of women (who received a higher grant), this special consideration has not been extended to CEDA. Women's productive efforts are in part hampered by their more limited access to capital.

Government Budget: Government spending and revenues account for a very large proportion of GDP, averaging around 40%. This has been made possible by very high mineral revenues drawn from the large and profitable diamond mining industry. The very high level of social provision, notably health and education spending, has been made possible by such revenues⁵. Despite high spending levels, the overall government budget has generally been in surplus and the government has accumulated substantial savings as a result⁶. The government budget has been broadly driven by a policy principle that revenues derived from the sale of an asset, i.e. mineral revenues, should be invested rather than spent on consumption. Thus the capital base of the economy is preserved (as opposed to running down the capital base which would occur if mineral revenues were spent on consumption). Capital investment is interpreted widely, and includes spending on health and education, so that diminishing mineral wealth can be offset by the accumulation of financial assets, physical or human capital.

Government is a major economic player, providing nearly 40% of total employment. In recent years, Government consumption has contributed more to GDP than private consumption. However, there are major questions as to the sustainability of this model. Recent projections of government revenues and economic growth indicate a sharp drop off in diamond revenues between 2021 and 2030, as diamond production declines, with major implications for the level of sustainable government spending, as well as many other aspects of the economy. These figures suggest that the current spending levels may not be sustainable in the long term, and that government spending will have to be reduced below this level in order to avoid a fiscal crisis over the next 15-20 years. This will in turn require serious prioritisation of spending and increasing productivity and efficiency.

Government has also suffered implementation capacity constraints, and recent budget outcomes have been characterised by underspending, notably with regard to development (investment) projects. These constraints derive from both availability of skills and institutional capacity.

Agriculture and Rural Development: Government has attempted to address the economic and social problems of the rural areas – manifested in low incomes, high poverty rates and outward migration – through a number of policies over the years, including the Rural Development Policy (1973, revised in 2002) and the National Settlement Policy (1998). In addition, there have been various agricultural development policies, of which the National Masterplan for Arable Agriculture and Dairy Development (NAMPAADD) is the latest. The broad thrust of these policies is to address rural poverty and underdevelopment through the provision of social and economic infrastructure, and modernising and enhancing the viability of agriculture.

The Rural Development Policy aims to bring about economic and social development in the rural areas through encouraging private sector development supported by state-financed infrastructure and skills development. Notwithstanding the long-term decline of the agricultural sector, the policy envisages that rainfed arable agriculture and extensive cattle rearing on communal land remain central, due to their social and cultural importance. A limited role is envisaged for commercial agriculture and cattle rearing on privately-owned land. Alongside farming, the utilisation of natural resources and veld products, and tourism, are viewed as complementary economic activities.

The National Settlement Policy (NSP) aims to guide national physical planning and to provide a framework for guiding the distribution of investment in a way that reflects settlements' population size, economic potential, level of infrastructure and their role as service centres. Decentralisation is encouraged with the objective of ultimately devolving the authority and mandate for rural development concerns from the central government to local authorities, alongside a strengthening of Village Development Committees, NGOs and Community Based Organisations (CBOs). However, changes in demographic trends (discussed below) indicate that the NSP may be outdated and needs an urgent review.

While well-intentioned, it is arguable that these policies have a bias towards agriculture and the promotion of rural settlements that is unsustainable in the long term. For instance the NSP's recommendation that scarce fertile arable land shall be protected from all forms of encroachment does not reflect that such land may have more economically productive uses if located close to major urban settlements. The policy of providing primary

⁵ It is important to note that the value of free or heavily subsidised government provision of economic and social infrastructure and services is not reflected in poverty calculation, i.e., while the level of income/consumption poverty in Botswana is high, even poor Botswana receive very high levels of public goods provision compared to the poor in other countries.

⁶ This is in line with best practice advised for mineral-dependent economies.

schools to all settlements of at least 250 people may not be consistent with demographic projections showing a declining number of primary school-age children, a trend that is likely to be reinforced by rural-urban migration. And rather than slowing down rural-urban migration, the policy should perhaps accept that such migration is inevitable and perhaps necessary, and should focus on a very much changed rural-urban balance in the future, with the large majority of Botswana residing in urban areas and urban villages, and focus on managing such migration rather than slowing it down.

Although the rural development and settlement policies have led to a vast investment in the rural areas over the years, alongside the provision of widespread government services and facilities, there is little evidence of success; rural economic decline has continued, along with rural-urban migration. Increasingly the rural areas are populated by the old and the young (many of them orphans), with working-age adults seeking work elsewhere. While some of the ideas in the rural development policy are sound, others are not (such as the continued reliance on rainfed arable agriculture, which is especially vulnerable to the anticipated impacts of climate change). There have also been major challenges in detailed policy formulation and implementation, as well as lack of financial autonomy for local authorities.

At the root of rural development problems lies the poor performance of the agricultural sector, combined with a failure to transform the rural economic base. Poor agricultural performance has a number of causes. The most important component of agricultural production comes from the cattle sub-sector, which contributes over half of the sector's output (although this is down from three quarters a decade ago). However, the cattle industry has been let down by poorly designed and implemented policies, which have undermined the incentives to invest in the sector. Misguided efforts to protect the sector (through, for instance, state ownership of the Botswana Meat Commission, giving BMC a monopoly on beef exports, and restricting imports) have failed, leading to neither an efficient and profitable BMC nor decent incomes for many cattle farmers. Land allocation and tenure systems have encouraged inefficient land use. There are also concerns about the quality of extension services provided by Government. At the same time, the small-scale farmers who dominate the industry have resisted attempts at modernisation through improved husbandry practices that would raise productivity, preferring to maintain traditional, non-commercial attitudes and practices.

Arable agriculture is insignificant in economic terms, and probably performing below potential, and almost all of Botswana's food supplies (apart from meat) are met from imports. The decline of the sub-sector has been due to the long-standing focus on traditional rainfed arable production, despite adverse climatic and soil conditions, combined with a failure to modernise the sector. This is in turn due to the late implementation of an appropriate policy framework (NAMPADD was only introduced in 2002), compounded by poor land availability and inappropriate extension services. Furthermore, most farmers are relatively old. Land availability problems arise primarily from an inefficient and non-transparent land allocation process (which gives rise to corruption and land speculation), the lack of marketable land (and hence a limited role for the price mechanism to guide land use and allocation), and a general societal preference for a traditional land tenure system that does not facilitate efficient land use.

Despite its minimal contribution to the economy, arable agriculture still plays a role in the livelihoods of many rural households, especially female headed households. Diversifying the sector through the introduction of more economically viable crops, with modernised agricultural practices, as envisaged under NAMPADD, can therefore make an important contribution to alleviating rural poverty. Innovative technology can also play a role, and can facilitate a role for younger people in the sector.

Although agricultural production is low, food security is not a problem at the national level. Buffer stocks of grain supplies are held in strategic reserves to ensure adequate supplies, while Botswana's strong foreign exchange position means that there are ample funds to pay for imports. Food security may, however, be a problem for some poor households. This is addressed through the primary school and vulnerable group feeding programmes (see below), and through poverty alleviation initiatives.

The need to improve living standards in the rural areas is one of the most pressing development issues facing Botswana, as it is closely linked to poverty reduction. It is likely that part of the improvement in living standards will result from migration to the urban areas (including urban villages). But this is unlikely to be the whole solution, if only because the urban areas are already having problems in coping with high rates of urban-rural migration. For a manageable transition, the rural areas need to be retained as a buffer to slow down migration, which in turn requires reinvigoration of the agricultural sector. There is scope for improving agricultural performance. Suitable policy reforms can improve performance and enable the cattle sector to play a more sustainable role as a major source of income and employment in the rural areas. Similarly, arable agriculture has unexploited potential, through modernisation and commercialisation, focused on higher value products produced

for urban markets, as well as specialised and exotic products – including some indigenous ones – for export⁷. However, it is unlikely that traditional rainfed subsistence agriculture will play a significant economic role, although some activity may be retained for cultural or hobby purposes.

Social Developments and Access to Social Services

Botswana has benefited from a long-term programme of high public investment levels in social and economic infrastructure, along with a number of social welfare programmes focused on supporting those who do not benefit from broad-based economic growth. These efforts focus on the second and third pillars of the NSPR, those of building capabilities and providing a social safety net. Investment in education and health, and ensuring that access is equitable, are particularly important in enabling Botswana to meet the MDGs.

Education

Education Policy and Outcomes. Botswana's education policy has focused on achieving universal access to primary education, and more recently on providing ten years of universal education. It has also aimed at eliminating gender disparities in access to education, and on providing the skills needed to meet the demands of a modern economy.

Primary enrolment has risen to very high levels. The Net Enrolment Rate (NER) the 7-13 age group increased from 96.7 in 1995 to 98.5 in 2004. Total enrolment in primary schools peaked in 2002, at around 330 000 pupils, and is projected to decline further due to demographic changes (CSO, 2005). Revised enrolment projections for the period to 2008 show much lower figures than those used in NDP 9, and show the importance of accurate demographic projections in making resource allocation decisions. Data from the 2003 Literacy Survey suggest that non-attendance at school is very low – of 10-11 years olds, only 0.6% had never attended school, while among 12-14 year olds the figure was 1.1%.

Although enrolment rates are high it is important that children stay at school once enrolled. Of the students enrolled for (primary) standard one in 1998, only 79% had progressed to standard seven in 2004. In secondary schools, the progression rate has generally been improving. The rate of progression from form one to form five has increased from 30% in 1996 to 42% in 2004.

In terms of gender, more female students seem to progress to standard seven as compared to males. Between 1998 and 2004, for instance, 84% of females progressed to standard seven while only 75% males did so. The rate of female progression to form five has also been increasing; in 1996 the rate of progression was 31% while by 2004 this increased to 46%. The rate of progression of males also increased over the same period, from 29% to 39%, but remains lower than for females. Higher progression rates reflect increased investment in senior secondary education, where lack of places for those completing junior secondary has been a constraint. Female enrolment matches or exceeds male enrolment at all levels of education (primary, secondary and tertiary) except vocational training. However, concerns remain about females forced to drop out of secondary education due to teenage pregnancies.

The national literacy rate in 1993/94 was 68.9 percent, and increased to 81.2 in 2003/04, with a slightly higher literacy rate for females than males.

There is no data on educational attendance across ethnic groups. The closest proxy is educational attendance by language group, and there appears to be a considerable variation in the degree to which adults across different language groups have attended school. Only 41% of Sesarwa speakers have attended school, compared to a national average of 75%. However, it should be noted that this refers to the population aged 12 years and over, and recent efforts to extend primary schooling in particular to all communities is likely to lead to a different picture (not recorded in the Census) for those of school age.

⁷ This is essentially the strategy adopted in NAMPAADD.

Resource for Education: the level of unqualified teachers in primary schools has long been a concern, as it has affected the achievement of desired standards in primary school teaching. The number of primary school teachers increased from 10 792 in 1995 to 12 717 in 2004, while the proportion of untrained teachers has fluctuated around 7-10% of the total in most years.

Females continue to be the backbone of education sector, accounting for 64.8% of the total employees, however, their participation varies across levels and types of education. The majority of primary school teachers are female, accounting for 78.8% in 2003. In 2003, female instructors made up 34.6% of the total in vocational and technical colleges stood, while 30.2% of University of Botswana lecturers were female.

The Pupil-Teacher Ratio varies by location. In 2004 the national average pupil-teacher ratio in primary schools was 25.9, varying from 18.6 in Orapa to 28.4 in Francistown. There is no discernible difference between pupil-teacher ratios in urban and rural areas. Over time, the pupil-teacher ratio has declined steadily from 31 in 1991 to 26 in 2004.

Education spending has consistently accounted for the largest single share of government spending, at around 25% of the total. This equates to 10-11% of GDP. Botswana has one of the highest, if not the highest, level of public sector spending on education in the world, in relation to the size of the economy. A policy of cost sharing through the imposition of fees has recently been introduced for secondary education, whereby parents pay 5% of the cost to government. This issue is discussed further under Child Welfare below.

Issues: while the overall level of education spending is high and headline indicators are good, concerns remain regarding educational outcomes. There are particular concerns regarding the availability of resources in primary schools, and public provision of pre-primary education is almost non-existent. While primary enrolment is high, there is a persistent problem of a small excluded group who are thought to be predominantly from disadvantaged (poor, remote and/or minority) communities. The reintroduction of school fees at secondary level may inhibit secondary school attendance, particularly by children from poor families. The level of youth unemployment indicates that education is not sufficiently preparing school leavers for the world of work, whether in terms of skills or attitudes and expectations, although there are other factors besides education that affect youth unemployment. High education spending levels suggest that the problem is not overall availability of resources, but the allocation of resources across education sectors and the efficiency with which those resources are used. A shift towards science and technology/business/entrepreneurship based curricula would help to make education more productive and work related. Girls in particular need to be sensitized towards more science based degrees and careers as they are lagging behind in this area.

In terms of MDG 2, Botswana has already achieved universal access to 10 years of basic education, and is making important efforts to improve the quality and relevance of that basic education.

Health

Botswana is one of the countries that has been hardest hit by the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and was for several years rated as the country with the highest HIV prevalence rate in the world. This is having adverse implications on health and other development issues in the country. In addition, Botswana's health systems, despite efforts made by Government, continues to perform insufficiently in guaranteeing access, equity, quality, effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability in healthcare delivery. The health system continues to suffer from deficiencies, including weak workforce, paucity of relevant data and information and slow or ineffective implementation of policies and strategies. However the Government and development partners continue in their efforts to fight the HIV and AIDS epidemic and strengthen health systems, and some gains are being realized towards achieving the targets set in the MDGs

HIV and AIDS: Botswana's response to HIV and AIDS is generally considered to have been wide ranging and in many respects quite effective. The response comprised early and widespread campaigns to raise awareness and change behaviour (through the Information, Education and Communication program), with a focus on prevention; the response has received support at the highest political level and there have been no attempts to obscure the seriousness of the epidemic. The response to HIV and AIDS has also included the encouraging of HIV testing, initially on a voluntary basis and more recently through routine testing – with patients given the right to opt-out – in public health facilities. In addition important treatment interventions include the Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMTCT) and the provision of Anti-retroviral Therapy (ART) to all who need it, through the public health system. An orphan support programme is also in place, along with a Community Home-based Care programme. The public sector ART roll-out (through the MASA programme) has been quite impressive, with the number of patients treated increasing at an annual rate of 50% between 2004 and 2007, so that almost all of those who would clinically benefit from ART are now receiving it. By mid-2007, there were a total of 74 000

patients receiving ART through the MASA programme, with an additional 16 000 being treated in the private sector.

Government efforts to address the HIV and AIDS pandemic have been complemented by the work of a number of non-governmental and community-based organisations and networks, which aim at providing support, advocacy as well as promoting and protecting the human rights of all those infected and affected by HIV and AIDS (United Nations in Botswana, 2004).

Awareness of HIV and AIDS appears to be high; according to the Botswana AIDS Impact Survey Report of 2004, 92.6% males and 92.7% females have heard of HIV and AIDS; 12.9% knew all the ways of preventing transmission of HIV and AIDS, 82.3% knew at least one way of preventing transmission of HIV and AIDS, while only 17.7% did not know any way of preventing transmission of HIV and AIDS.

The impact of HIV and AIDS has been extensive, including an increase in the death rate and a reduction in population growth and life expectancy, as well as an increase in the number of orphans. The disease has also imposed a considerable burden on the public health system, with initially an increase in the numbers of patients being treated for HIV-related illnesses, and more recently the need to put in place an effective system for ART roll-out. Concerns have been expressed that HIV, AIDS and ART provision have squeezed the resources available for other, important health programmes. Women and girls provide the bulk of home-based care, which mitigates against the participation of women in income-generating activities – further exacerbating the depth of poverty among income-poor large households many of which are headed by women.

Studies on the economic impact of HIV and AIDS established that HIV and AIDS will reduce economic growth and cause the economy to be smaller, average incomes to be lower and poverty to be higher than they would have been without the epidemic (BIDPA, 2000 and Econsult, 2007). The more recent study also found that the provision of ART would reduce the negative economic impacts, and although the cost to government would be considerable, it would be manageable and would be justified in economic terms, over and above the human and social benefits.

The HIV prevalence rate has been regularly measured through (anonymous) Sentinel Surveys of pregnant women conducted at ante-natal clinics. These data suggest that the prevalence rate has peaked, at 37% in 2003, declining to 32% in 2006. It should be noted, however, that HIV prevalence rates are not an effective measure of “success” in an environment of widespread ART provision, as this will tend to raise prevalence rates by keeping HIV-positive people alive who would otherwise have died. In this situation, only incidence data (for new infections) are an effective measure of whether interventions are having the desired effect; incidence data are much more difficult and resource-intensive to collect. The 2004 Botswana AIDS Impact Survey (BAIS-2) measured prevalence through household-level testing, and recorded in an overall prevalence rate of 17.2% (of those aged 18 months and over), and an adult (15-49 years) prevalence rate of 25.3%. HIV prevalence rates tend to be higher for women and girls than for men and boys; lower for those with more education; and lower for more skilled workers than for unskilled workers. There is no statistically significant difference between urban and rural prevalence rates.

Voluntary testing for HIV status has long been encouraged, and these efforts have been more effective since ART has been widely available. Since 2004, routine testing has been practised in public health facilities, whereby all patients presenting themselves are offered an HIV test, which is carried out unless the patient declines the offer. Concerns have been raised by human rights NGOs that people would be unduly pressurised to take HIV tests, and that the process was susceptible to human rights infringements. However, there does not seem to have been any adverse public reaction to routine HIV testing. Typically, over 90% of those offered a test take up the offer. It is important to note the importance of providing education to foster an environment of informed consent with respect to routine testing that encompasses HIV and other illnesses. In both voluntary and routine testing, women comprise the majority of testers, suggesting that women are more aware of health issues than men, and make more use of available health services.

The stabilisation of HIV prevalence rates is a welcome development in the fight against the pandemic. Much of the progress can be attributed to the resources injected into testing, care and support services provided by the government and civil society organisations. Participation by mothers in the PMTCT programme has contributed to the reduction in the spread of HIV. The targeting of males for participation in PMTCT will serve to distribute responsibility for family health from mothers only to parents, thereby strengthening SRH efforts and curbing the spread of HIV. In the long term, however, an emphasis on prevention is required to achieve the objective of an AIDS-free generation. While PMTCT rollout has been successful, other prevention activities have been mixed: increased use of condoms has been reported, and there is some evidence of an increase in the age of sexual debut. However, inconsistent condom use (not “every time”) and the widespread practice of multiple partners

and inter-generational and transactional sex constraints makes the achievement of effective prevention much more difficult. A much higher HIV prevalence rate for young girls than for boys suggests that a focus on the girl child to promote behaviour change would be an effective prevention strategy. There is also a need to factor the role of gender-based violence in HIV programmes.

While attempts have been made to integrate influential groups such as traditional healers and religious groups into prevention and treatment programmes, some negative beliefs and practices persist (e.g. that illness is due to the victim being bewitched, and that diseases can be cured through prayer rather than clinical interventions) which undermine the effectiveness of those programmes.

Health Systems and Services Delivery: There are major crosscutting issues that affect the performance and quality of health services. Human resources for health are generally in short supply. The restructuring at the Ministry of Health to improve performance and the recent developments in health infrastructure increases the urgency to invest in human resource development, if the desired gains are to be achieved. The availability and use of timely health information for policy and planning is equally weak across all programmes. Consequently the effective implementation of policies formulated for the various programmes is slow and lacks proper monitoring and evaluation of outcomes and impacts. Stronger linkages between the Ministry of Health and other line ministries, development partners and key stakeholders should also enhance the probability of achieving the targets of the MDGs. The effect of HIV/AIDS on the health system needs to be assessed. On one hand it has greatly increased the demand for quality services, while at the same time the disease affects health staff and thus retards human resource development efforts.

Communicable Diseases - Tuberculosis and Malaria: TB is associated with HIV and AIDS, being one of the main opportunistic infections in those who are HIV-positive. After many years of decline, TB notifications started rising in the early 1990s, and increased from 200 (per 100,000 population) in 1990 to 620 in 2002. TB prevalence in Botswana is now one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa. An estimated 75% of TB patients are HIV-positive.

A number of initiatives have been undertaken to improve the fight against TB, including pilot testing Isoniazid TB Preventive Therapy (IPT) for people living with HIV and AIDS; the establishment of improved TB diagnostic capacity with the development of a TB reference laboratory with drug resistance capacity; strengthening TB surveillance capacity by the development and implementation of a national computerized TB register; and carrying out the assessment of TB transmission in health care facilities including congregated areas such as prisons. Nevertheless the programme is hampered by shortages of human resources; and poor communication between the Ministry of Health (in charge of technical policy) and the Ministry of Local Government (responsible for implementation at the local level); and weak TB diagnosis and contact tracing.

Botswana does not have as serious a malaria problem as many other African countries, due to its high elevation, low rainfall, lack of surface water and cold winters, as well as a successful malaria control programme. Nevertheless, malaria can be a problem in certain parts of the country in years with high rainfall. The Accelerated Malaria Programme launched in 1997 has facilitated decentralization of vector control activities, improved case management and created public awareness of the prevention of the disease. The death rate from malaria is low, with 40 deaths in 1999 and 4 in 2002.

Non-communicable Diseases. There is some indication that non-communicable diseases are on the increase, notably cardiovascular diseases, hypertension, cancer, mental disorder and diabetes. While the data may partly reflect improved diagnosis, it is also likely that lifestyle changes are encouraging the growth of non-communicable diseases. While improved treatment is important, there is also a need for health information and education, including advice on diet and exercise. Further situation analysis of non-communicable disease would help to determine the true burden of these diseases in the country. Finally, death and injury from road traffic accidents remains a major problem; these are due largely to driver error rather than the quality of vehicles or roads, which are generally good in Botswana.

Child Health: Child health indicators showed steady improvement through the 1970s and 1980s but since that time there has been a reversal. Between the 1991 and 2001 censuses infant mortality rose from 48 to 56 per 1000 live births, and under-five mortality from 63 to 74. This is thought to be mainly due to HIV and AIDS, which accounts for nearly half of under-5 deaths; the remainder are due to diarrhoea, acute respiratory infections, pneumonia and neonatal causes. However, demographic projections indicate that the peak in infant and under-5 mortality was in 1998, and they should have declined to 28 and 58 respectively in 2007, due to the rollout of ART and PMTCT. An emerging health issue relates to child diarrhoea, with well over 100 000 cases reported each year and a rising number of deaths. Many of the cases amongst infants are thought to be linked with bottle (formula) feeding by HIV-positive mothers in conditions of poor cleanliness and sanitation. Child immunisation is high, with

immunisation rates of over 100% reported in 2005 for BCG, hepatitis B, DPT, polio & measles (which may indicate problems with population figures).

Maternal and Reproductive Health: Data on maternal mortality is poor, with varying estimates of the maternal mortality ratio (MMR) from different sources. Government health facility data for 2005/06 indicates a rate of about 150 per 100 000 live births. While this is high, it is a great improvement on a rate of around 330 which was recorded in the 1991 Census. The proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel is high, at 97/100. This suggests that the high MMR is due to a myriad of factors that place women at risk, including delayed attention to complications at birth, unsafe abortions and teenage pregnancies. Work is ongoing (with support from UNFPA) to improve the data and improve the tracking of changes over time. However, further research is needed into the cause of the high MMR and on the development of appropriate interventions to reduce it.

Health Outcomes and Resources: Weak health systems, emerging health problems and HIV and AIDS, which caused the deterioration of several health-related indicators since the mid-1990s, have led to a rapid scaling up of inputs to the health system. In terms of human resources, the ratio of doctors to population increased from 2.6 per 10 000 in 1994 to 3.1 per 10 000 population in 2004. Nurses per 10 000 population increased from 23.5 in 1994 to 31.0 in 1999, but then fell to 24.2 in 2004. Hospital beds per 10 000 population have been increasing steadily, from 20.5 in 1994 to 22.4 in 2004. Among the highly trained professional cadres such as doctors, dentist, pharmacist and radiographers, 70% of filled posts were expatriates in 2000, and the trend has not significantly changed. Emigration of nurses to developed countries is a problem, although this outmigration is matched by a similar number of foreign nurses working in Botswana.

Government health expenditure increased from P299 million in 1996/97 to P2056 million in 2005/06. Over this period it rose from 5% to 12% of total government spending, and from 2% to 5% of GDP. Health spending per capita rose from around \$60 to \$230 over this period. Botswana is now one of the largest health spenders amongst developing countries (per capita and as a share of GDP). Much of this additional expenditure has been directed towards dealing with HIV and AIDS, and there are some concerns that there has been a diversion of health resources away from other health needs. Health spending takes place mainly through the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Local Government, which is responsible for Primary Health Care. There are concerns that despite the official health policy focus on primary care, resources are being focused on hospital care (although there are no data available on the breakdown of overall health spending due to the split across the two ministries). In addition to public spending on health, there is considerable private spending on health, raising total health spending by approximately one-third.

Cost-recovery in health care is limited. The fee for outpatient care in public health services has recently been increased from P2 to P5 (\$0.85) but there are generous exemptions. The degree of cost recovery may have to be increased to ensure long-term sustainability of health service provision as fiscal pressures intensify .

Gender Focus in Health Policy: One of the key reforms to national health policy that took place during NDP 9 was a paradigm shift -- the re-orientation of Maternal and Child Health (MCH) programme to a more comprehensive Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) programme. This reorientation was aimed at contextualising the reproductive health needs of various sectors of the population – especially those who have been marginalised by the MCH approach – adolescents and men. While the MCH approach focuses on women of reproductive age, it does not manifestly address gender equity and equality issues. In line with the ICPD Plan of Action (1994), the Reproductive Health approach makes the promotion of gender equality and human rights the basis for improved access to and participation in reproductive health.

The achievement of gender equality in sexual and reproductive health is contingent on the mainstreaming of gender into all activities of the SRH programme. These objectives target groups that have not been adequately covered in family health efforts. The sensitisation of children and adolescents is essential for any holistic reproductive health efforts. The significance of male involvement in their promotion and protection of their SRH as well as those of women and young people is critical to any SRH efforts as well as the prevention and management of HIV and AIDS. The implementation of the SRH programme is contingent on the generation of gender disaggregated data in the sectors of the health care system. Examples of areas where the gender disaggregation of reproductive health data could be improved include overall attendance in primary health care facilities as well as types of family planning methods accessed.

The main outstanding challenges with regard to health care are:

- Responding appropriately to the country's changing demographic profile;
- Prioritising disease programmes (notably between HIV and AIDS and other serious diseases)
- Appropriate resource allocation between PHC and hospital based services;

- Focusing on improving the quality of health service provision
- Harmonising the current range of health sector policies and strategies into an integrated health policy
- Developing a long-term cost-sharing strategy;
- Health information: improving the information relating to both resource use and allocation (e.g. HIV and AIDS vs other diseases; PHC vs hospital care) and health outcomes;
- Improving the referral system, reducing distances and delays between primary, secondary and tertiary facilities;
- Health education, including interventions with traditional healers and religious groups to build on positive practices and discourage negative ones.

Botswana has reasonable prospects of achieving MDGs 4, 5 & 6. Rising infant and under-5 mortality is a concern but there is likely to be a significant reversal as a result of programmes already being implemented. Improvements in maternal mortality are required if MDG 5 is to be achieved, and improved data will help in monitoring. With respect to MDG 6, achievements with regard to HIV and AIDS are on track, and malaria is already within the target, and the main concern is with regard to rising TB rates.

Demographic trends

Botswana's demographic trends have been overwhelmingly affected by HIV and AIDS. Prior to the 1990s when the impact of HIV and AIDS began to be felt, demographic trends manifested the expected developments in terms of declining birth rates (due to reduced fertility), declining death rates (due to improved healthcare), declining population growth, and increased life expectancy. However, the impacts of HIV and AIDS include rising death rates, reduced population growth, reduced life expectancy, reduced total population, and a changed population structure.

A recent study on the demographic impact of HIV and AIDS (Dorrington, Moultrie, & Daniel, 2006) shows that:

- **Total population** will continue to rise slowly, but HIV and AIDS has reduced the population to well below where it would have been; however, population will be slightly larger as a result of ART;
- **Population growth** is sharply lower, estimated at 1.4% in 2007 (with ART), compared to an estimated 2.14% in the absence of HIV and AIDS;
- The **birth rate** is falling sharply as fertility declines, while the decline in the **death rate** was reversed around 1991 and has since then been rising, although the widespread availability of ART has recently caused the death rate to start falling again. The **total fertility rate** is estimated to have declined from 6.8 in 1980 to 4.3 in 2000 and is projected to decline further to 2.4 in 2020.
- **Life expectancy** has fallen sharply, from an estimated peak of 62 years in 1990 to a low of 46 years in 2001. The introduction of ART has now caused life expectancy to start rising again, to an estimated 51 years in 2007; it is, however, not projected to rise significantly above this level for the foreseeable future;
- The **age structure** of the population has changed significantly, due to declining population growth, higher infant and adult mortality.

A further important demographic trend is rural-urban migration; in 1991, 46% of the population lived in urban areas, whereas by 2001 this had risen to 54%,

The combination of these developments means that the absolute number of children in certain age cohorts will fall. For instance, projections show that the number of children in the 0-4 cohort started declining in 2002, and that the number in the 5-9 cohort will start declining in 2007. This has major implications for the education system in particular, which is discussed below. If combined with continued rural-urban migration, it means that many rural areas could find the number of resident children falling quite dramatically, which needs to be factored into plans for the provision of social infrastructure, especially schools.

The second implication of these demographic trends is that the average age of the population will start rising, due to the declining numbers of infants and young children; for instance, the average age in 1990 was 21.1 years, but is estimated at 23.1 years in 2007.

The third implication, despite the rising average age, is the increasing size of the youth population; in 1990 youth aged 15-30 made up 26% of the total population, but by 2007 this is estimated to have risen to 32%, and is projected to rise further to 34% by 2015. This reinforces the need to address the youth unemployment problem. It also requires a concerted programme of engagement with and empowerment of the youth to assist in addressing youth unemployment problems and to counter a tendency for alienation that may be emerging.

Social Welfare Programmes

The Botswana Government provides a wide range of welfare programmes, although these are designed to meet specific needs rather than providing generalised income support. The main welfare schemes are summarised in the table below, and are in addition to the provision of free or heavily subsidised public goods (education, healthcare, water supplies etc.), from which most of the population benefit. Only the destitute programme is means-tested.

Type	Purpose	Target citizens	Type of support	Participation rate
Destitute	Program provide minimum assistance to destitute persons	All destitute	Food basket (1750 calories/day) & other consumption items	36 000 people
Old Age Pension (OAP)	Support elderly	All aged 65 or above	Monetary support	95% of those eligible
Primary School Feeding Program (PSFP)	Minimize child malnutrition or stunting	All primary school students	Snack and full midday meal (1/3 of daily calorie need)	312 000 students
Vulnerable Group Feeding Program (VGFP)	Minimize malnutrition to vulnerable group	Children aged under 5, pregnant and lactating women, TB patients		268 000 people
Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) program	Provide immediate needs of orphans	Orphans and children of adults registered in CHBC	Food, clothing, education, shelter, protection and care	57 800 people
Community Home Based Care (CHBC)	HIV positive persons with fully-blown AIDS	Provide food and care in their homes	Monetary benefits ranging from P200 to P1,500	14 900 people
Remote Area Development Program (RADP)	Provision of social service infrastructure	Citizens in 64 designated settlements	Access to basic infrastructure and business support/training schemes	
Labour Based Relief Program (LBRP)	Temporary income support during drought periods.		Employment in labour-intensive projects	

Source: BIDPA (2007), IMF (2007b)

In general Botswana's safety net coverage is quite good, although several of the core programmes (Destitutes Policy, Drought Relief) are old, and the whole structure of safety nets might benefit from a reform and consolidation process that would reflect changing the economic and social situation as well as aiming to reduce any overlaps and fill gaps that may be emerging. Since social welfare programmes are targeted at individuals, it is not clear whether other family and household members are benefiting. Amongst the most successful programmes have been those supporting nutrition, for primary school children, orphans and other vulnerable groups, which together reach around one-third of the total population. These have been instrumental in improving child nutrition, and are also important in supporting the success of HIV treatment programmes.

Child Welfare & Youth

Several issues related to the welfare of children have been discussed under education and health above. Other important issues include school fees, child-headed households and child labour, orphans, and birth registration.

School Fees: Secondary school fees were re-introduced in January 2006 and have inevitably generated some controversy. Introduced as a cost-sharing measure, the fees were set at a level equivalent to 5% of the cost to government of providing secondary education, with a provision for exemption for children from low-income households. Despite this provision, there is concern that some children will be dissuaded from attending school and therefore that the broader objectives of raising secondary enrolment would be undermined. Besides the objective of partial cost-recovery, the measure was intended to instil a sense of responsibility among students and parents towards the education system and education facilities, on the basis that something that is paid for (rather than free) will be more highly valued.

Fees per child were set at P300 a year for Junior Secondary and P450 a year for Senior Secondary schools. Exemptions are given to children from destitute families, orphans, students in need of care and registered with

the Social Welfare Services, and students whose parents are terminally ill and incapable of caring for the student materially. In addition, students from households whose total earnings are less than P550 per month receive partial exemption if they have more than one child in secondary school. Government Social Welfare Services play a central role in determining exemptions whether through registration under other programmes (e.g. the Destitute or Orphan programmes) or through the means testing of household incomes. However, there are concerns as to whether there is sufficient capacity to properly identify poor and vulnerable households.

Data from the Ministry of Education show that the payment record is patchy. Nationally, some 20% of students have been exempted from paying fees. However, of those who were expected to pay, only around 54% have done so. Fees have therefore been collected from only 43% of students, even though the expectation was that 80% would pay.

Although in principle students whose parents do not pay will not be excluded from school and measures will be taken against the parents, reports suggest that students are being excluded when their parents do not pay. Students will also be prevented from progressing from one stage of the education system to the next (e.g. from junior to senior secondary), and will not be eligible for government sponsorship at tertiary level, if they have fees outstanding. There is clearly a danger that educational targets will not be achieved, and that students from poor families will be particularly vulnerable. Furthermore, there is no significant financial benefit for government, as the total amounts raised are very small in the context of the overall budget, and the costs of collection in any case consume a considerable portion of the overall revenues.

Child-headed Households & Child Labour: No information is collected directly on child-headed households. However, some information can be gleaned from the 2001 Census data, which shows the age of household heads. No households are recorded as having a head aged under 12. Nationally, 0.8% of households have heads aged 12-14 (with twice as many males as females as heads), and 3.5% have heads aged 15-19. While the total number of households with heads aged 12-14 and 15-19 is relatively small – 3 133 and 14 349 respectively out of 404 705 households in total – this is an issue that needs to be monitored and action taken where possible, as there is a high chance that these households will be in poverty.

The Census also provides information on the occupation of children aged over 12. Approximately three quarters of those aged 12-19 are in school or other educational institutions (91% of those aged 12-14 and 66% of 15-19 year olds). A further 6.3% are employed, 5.6% are unemployed, and 11.9% are home-makers. Females are more likely to be in school than males in the 12-15 age group, but the situation is reversed in the 15-19 age group, where nearly 20% of females are home-makers. This may illustrate the impact of teenage pregnancies and consequent school drop-outs on female access to education. However, the data are not consistent on this point, as Education Statistics show that a higher proportion of girls than boys complete secondary education (in 2004, 46% of girls who had entered primary school in 1993 completed secondary (Form 5), compared to only 39% of boys).

The 2005/06 Labour Force Survey also provides information on child labour. According to the survey, 6.9% of 7-13 year-olds and 12.5% of 14-17 year-olds were employed at the time of the survey. This may appear to contradict the Census results, which record only 1.9% of 12-14 year-olds and 8.9% of 15-19 year olds as being employed. However, the definition of employment in the LFS only requires the respondent to have worked for one hour or more in the week prior to the survey, whereas the Census considers primary use of time. Given that two-thirds of the children and young people recorded as being employed in the LFS worked in agriculture, it is quite consistent for them to have done some work (and hence being classed as employed) while attending school full-time. Indeed, the LFS confirms that of the 38 375 recorded children who were working, the majority (80%) were also attending school. Some 3.5% of children aged 7-17 were working and not attending school, almost all in the 14-17 year age group.

While a relatively high unemployment rate (25%) is reported for youth aged 15-19, this applies only to those in the labour force; at least two-thirds of youth in this age group are in school.

Orphans: The rapid growth of the orphan population is one of the most striking outcomes of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, and one with potentially very long-term, negative impacts both on the orphans themselves and the society more generally. As HIV and AIDS developed rapidly during the 1990s, the rising number of orphans became of great concern, as well as the conditions in which they were living. A rapid assessment of the orphan situation carried out in 1998 concluded that "It was evident that many orphans had no access to basic human needs such as food, clothing, shelter, and toiletry. Their human rights were violated not only by society but also by caregivers. Most of the orphans are as a result of deaths related to HIV and AIDS. As their parents die the orphans

go through serious emotional stress. They are further impoverished, stigmatized, isolated and sometimes rejected" (MLG 1999:5).

The Government responded by introducing a Short-Term Plan of Action (STPA) for orphans, focused on meeting the urgent, immediate needs of orphans by providing food, clothing, education, shelter, access to health services, protection and care. Because of the particular situation orphans faced, it also included psychosocial support. While the STPA, as a *short-term* plan of action, was originally intended to operate from 1999-2001, it was initially extended to 2003, and thereafter continued operating until present day. An evaluation of the STPA in 2006 concluded that

"The STPA has managed to reach virtually all eligible orphans, but only with food packages. Other needed services appear not to have reached many eligible orphans, but without records it is not clear to what extent this is the case, nor is it clear whether *needy* orphans have not been reached, or non-needy orphans (e.g., education or housing support). There remain numerous operational problems, and important deficiencies. Despite these drawbacks, the evaluation has concluded that the STPA has made important progress, and offers a firm foundation for what will come next. It can only accomplish this, however, if implementation mechanisms are restructured and partners outside of MLG allowed to play a much higher profile role" (SIAPAC, 2006: xvi).

The STPA targeted primarily maternal or double orphans; paternal orphans were excluded unless there was evidence that the father had died. Some 41 000 orphans were eligible for inclusion in the STA in 2001, or around 5.6% of all children in Botswana.

Evaluation results indicated that Botswana has managed to register and refer for food almost all targeted orphans. The focus on the provision of basic needs has helped to protect not only the nutritional status of the orphans, but also other children in orphan caregiving households, and even caregivers. The evaluation also concluded that it is important to recognise the political, administrative, and financial commitment Botswana has made to dealing with the emergent orphans crisis. It is clearly on the development agenda in Botswana.

Assisting in developing an effective Long-term Plan of Action for orphans to replace the STPA is one area where the UN could provide meaningful support in Botswana

Registration of Births: Although the registration of births is compulsory, it appears that actual registration is low, especially in some areas of the country. More than 70% of children living in Kgalagadi, Southern and South East districts were registered for birth, but in the Ghanzi region, less than 50% of children were registered while in Ngamiland, Central, Kgatleng and Kweneng, the rate of registration ranges between 50 and 70%. Constraints to effective implementation of the law regarding birth registration include shortage of staff, long distances that some parents would have to travel to register, a lack of demand from parents by service providers such as schools, health facilities and social welfare services for birth certificates, and a lack of apparent understanding by parents of the value of registration. Lack of accurate birth registration makes proper planning of child-centred services difficult.

Youth: several issues affecting older children and young adults have been highlighted above. They are affected by high unemployment and face the risks of HIV and AIDS, while the proportion of youth in the population is increasing. The rapid modernisation of society alongside a strong traditional culture which puts a premium on old age puts youth in a secondary role and causes difficulties in coping with such changes.

The youth aspire to become future leaders, and yet their participation in development and decision-making processes remains relatively low. Youth alienation, leading to involvement in crime, is an increasing concern. Education and training remains a critical challenge to the youth and government. While school enrolment has increased significantly, and has achieved universal primary education, there is still a challenge for junior and senior secondary education. Moreover, there are concerns that primary and secondary schools do not prepare the youth sufficiently for 'life after school'. There are limited internships and employment programmes targeting the youth. Science and technology are developing quickly, and offer new and interesting perspectives for the youth. In order to capitalise on investment in science, communication and information technology, the youth need to participate and benefit.

Crime

While Botswana has historically been perceived as a low-crime environment, in recent years rising crime levels have become an increasingly acute concern. The availability of crime data is limited, but the data that are available show that the rate of murder and drug offences has been rising over the past decade. The causes of rising crime rates have not been thoroughly investigated, but it is likely that high poverty and youth

unemployment are contributory factors, along with the erosion of traditional social support structures (such as extended families, respect for elders and the authority of traditional leaders) and ineffective policing. Anecdotal evidence indicates that crime is increasingly a problem in both rural and urban areas. There is also concern that regional instability and the resulting flows of immigrants – notably from Zimbabwe – is exacerbating crime problems. Whatever the origins of crime, the development implications are serious. Security, for the individual and his/her property is a necessary condition for economic activity. Crime disrupts economic activity, increases costs, reduces hours of business for some and drives others out of business completely, and therefore slows down job creation. SMMEs and farmers may be especially affected but so will FDI.

Gender Based Violence: CEDAW recognises that gender-based violence is a form of discrimination that seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy their rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men. Gender based violence continues to pose a serious threat to the attainment of gender equality in Botswana. A few gender disaggregated police reports, civil society organisations and the media have highlighted the extent and nature of the problem. The most comprehensive study on violence against women to date (Women's Affairs Department, 1999) noted the key types of violence against women as: rape, assault, emotional and financial violence, incest, defilement, sexual harassment and femicide.

A study conducted on incest and defilement by the Women and Law in Southern Africa (2002) revealed the secrecy with which family members treat cases of incest, and the associated low reporting of such cases. The low reporting of cases is further perpetuated by the seeming reluctance of the police to handle such cases, adding to the culture of silence that surround these acts.

Botswana has experienced a spate of femicides popularly referred to as 'passion killings'. These crimes are perpetrated by males who were either engaged in relationships with the victims or estranged lovers. What is clear from the report on violence against women and the study on incest and defilement are that most acts of violence against women are domestic. The recently tabled domestic violence bill, currently being considered by Parliament, aims to address the problem in all its manifestations.

Rape cases continue to increase exponentially in Botswana in spite of increased penalties – currently 10 year minimum sentences with 5 years added if the perpetrator knew they were HIV positive at the time of committing the offence.

Sexual harassment in the workplace impinges on women's participation in the economy. Incidents of sexual harassment often go unreported due to the absence of legislation. The University of Botswana is the only known organisation with guidelines for addressing the problem.

Women's civil society organisations such as Emang Basadi, Women Against Rape and the Women's Shelter continue to be in the forefront of the war against gender-based violence. Measures undertaken by these organisations include sensitization of the public and policy makers and providing advice and assistance to women. Recent initiatives by the Ministry of Health are aimed at involving men in the fight against gender based violence.

Governance & Public Administration

The Cultural Environment: The significance of cultural beliefs and practices and their implications for development objectives cannot be over-emphasised. Cultural beliefs and practices permeate at different levels, affecting relations between females and males individually and collectively. Cultural beliefs and practices are reflected manifestly and latently by decision-makers; legislators in Parliament and the House of Chiefs (*Ntlo Ya Dikgosi*); the latter continues to be the key institution that provides advice to the Botswana government on cultural issues. The role and composition of this institution is changing; its membership has expanded to allow a wider demographic and social representation, accommodating females as well as representatives of smaller tribal groupings that have frequently complained of marginalisation.

Some aspects of Botswana culture have been identified as crucial contributors to development successes, notably the tradition of discussion and consensus-based decision-making, which has been maintained from historical times, through the colonial periods and into the post-independence period. Other aspects are negative, however, particularly with regard to gender and health issues. The National Policy on Culture of 2001 acknowledges the existence of cultural stereotypes, attitudes, indirect and direct marginalisation that women and men face in areas of inheritance, ownership of property, leadership and decision-making. The Policy pledges to make a contribution to the promotion and protection of the human rights of women to reduce and eliminate gender inequalities and imbalances. This is a significant breakthrough in the acknowledgement of the existence of negative implications of culturally-based gender inequality.

Economic Policy Framework: Botswana's economic policy framework rests upon two main pillars. The first is the maintenance of an open, competitive, market-oriented economy where private enterprise is encouraged and productivity and efficiency supports employment creation, rising real incomes and poverty reduction. The second pillar reflects the role of government in providing social and economic infrastructure that will both support private investment and assist the spread of economic opportunities both geographically and across income groups.

The main framework for economic policy is laid out in six-year National Development Plans (NDPs); the current Plan, NDP 9, runs from 2003/04 to 2008/09. A mid-term review takes place half-way through each plan period. The NDPs lay out the policy framework, sectoral priorities and public sector spending plans. Detailed annual programmes are contained in each year's Budget Speech.

The implementation of certain policies falls outside of the NDP and Budget process. These include monetary policy, which is determined independently by the Bank of Botswana, and trade policy, which is largely determined by Botswana's international commitments as a member of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

Politics: Botswana has a flourishing multiparty constitutional democracy, which has operated continuously since independence in 1966. Elections for the National Assembly occur every five years; every election since independence has been freely and fairly contested and has been held on schedule. The National Assembly has 57 elected members (increased from 40 members prior to the 2004 elections), and additional four "Specially Elected" members (effectively appointed by the largest party). The President is the leader of the party that wins a majority in the National Assembly. The Cabinet is selected by the President from the members of the National Assembly. An Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was established in 1996, and this has helped to consolidate Botswana's reputation for fairness in voting.

Women are still under represented in Parliament and Cabinet. Female representation in parliament peaked following the 1999 elections, and declined in the 2004 elections. There are six women in an 18 member cabinet. Indications are that women have made steady gains into decision-making positions in the public (25%), parastatal (30%) and private (27%) sectors. Women tend to still be concentrated in middle-management positions, and are confronted with the glass-ceiling that mitigates against their progression.

There is also an upper chamber (*Ntlo ya Dikgosi*), which has advisory powers only. The role and composition of this institution has recently been reviewed, and its membership was expanded to allow a wider demographic and social representation, and in particular to accommodate representatives of smaller tribal groupings that have frequently complained of marginalisation. While often viewed as static, cultural practices in Botswana have shown signs of dynamism. This dynamism was reflected in the ascension of the first female paramount chief (Kgosi Mosadi Seboko in 2002) as well as the inclusion of females in positions of traditional political leadership. Currently, *Ntlo Ya Dikgosi* has 4 female members out of a total of 35.

The constitution may be amended in minor ways by a simple majority vote in Parliament. More substantial amendments require a two-thirds majority, and major revisions have to be submitted to a referendum. Important constitutional changes in recent years have included limiting the term of the President to ten years, reducing the voting age from 21 to 18 years, allowing citizens outside of the country to vote, and specifying that should the position of President become vacant, other than at the time of a general election, the Vice President shall automatically become President.

The ruling Botswana Democratic Party has won all elections since independence, and although its share of the popular vote has always been above 50 percent, this has been in long-term decline as the opposition parties have been increasing in influence and importance. Nevertheless, fragmentation of the opposition has hindered their ability to secure parliamentary seats in a Westminster-style "first past the post" system. In the 2004 elections, the BDP won approximately 52 percent of the popular vote, but secured 77% of the 57 elected seats in the National Assembly. The opposition parties tend to be stronger in urban areas, and have benefited from long-term demographic changes as urbanisation proceeds.

Governance & Corruption: Botswana is widely considered to be one of the leading countries in Africa in respect of governance, reflecting the generally high quality of public institutions, an independent legal system, and a low level of corruption, all of which have been sustained over a long period of time. This achievement has been reflected in a number of international surveys and assessments, such as those published by the World Economic Forum, the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, and the annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), published by Transparency International. In general corruption is not perceived as a significant concern in Botswana. An anti-corruption body – the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) – was established by Act of Parliament in 1994. The impartiality of the DCEC is achieved by having it operate largely independent of

government structures, with the Director reporting directly to the President and prosecution decisions being taken by the Attorney General. It has its own powers of investigation, arrest, and search and seizure, and is widely recognized as being an effective anti-corruption agency.

Notwithstanding the good assessments of governance, there is a need for public sector reform. The public sector is extremely large, both in employment terms and its contribution to GDP, which is not sustainable in the long run as mineral revenues decline in real terms. Government employment has been used as a quasi-social safety net and poverty alleviation measure, and there are widespread perceptions of low productivity levels in the public sector. There is often poor implementation of policies, programmes and projects, leading to poor service delivery. There is scope for much improved efficiency in the public sector, which could be assisted by initiatives such as e-governance, which could also help make government more responsive. Similarly, there are concerns about the efficiency and dominant economic role of public enterprises (parastatals); although there are fewer such entities than in many other Africa countries, there has been virtually no progress with regard to privatisation, for which there is little enthusiasm.

Local Government, Traditional Structures and Civil Society: Besides central government there are various levels of local government. These include town and city councils (in the urban areas) and district councils (in the rural areas). The distinction is based more on the form of land tenure than the size of settlements; for instance, some urban areas (e.g. Orapa and Sowa, with populations of less than 10 000 in 2001) are quite small compared to the larger urban villages (e.g. Molepolole, Maun, Serowe and Kanye, all of which had populations of over 40 000 in 2001). Being located on tribal land, urban villages do not have their own administrations but are part of the relevant districts. Local elections are held for both city/town councils and district councils.

Although Botswana does well in terms of formal indicators of governance, there are some concerns that administration is over-centralised and that local government is unable to respond flexibly enough to local interests. While many functions are implemented by local authorities (e.g. large portions of the health, education and social security systems are run locally), most policies are determined centrally. Furthermore, local authorities have little independent funding, and are dependent upon central government subventions for almost all of their expenditure. Options for further decentralisation need to be examined. The representation of women at local government level stood at 19.6% following the 2004 elections. Women's political leadership at national and local government levels falls far short of the SADC target of 30%.

Traditional structures operate alongside local government, and the Tribal Administration, under the leadership of traditional chiefs (*dikgosi*) carries out a large range of functions, including the administration of the customary court system. These structures remain very important in rural areas and urban villages, although their role and influence is diminishing as urbanisation takes place. The scope of traditional leaders' jurisdiction has been reduced to primarily handling civil cases, while criminal cases are heard in such common law bodies such as magistrates' courts. Customary law continues to be widely used and is often preferred in cases involving theft, domestic disputes involving devolution of property. While the customary law remains largely uncodified, developments in the common law have inevitably had an impact on customary practices. An example is within the context of the devolution of family property through inheritance. Female children who otherwise would have stood to be marginalised in the customary inheritance processes may now challenge this marginalisation on the basis that many contribute significantly to the upkeep of their natal homes.

The local representatives of the main chiefs play an important role in land allocation in the rural areas and urban villages, although the primary role in land allocation is carried out by Land Boards, which are also partially elected. Although rooted in traditional structures and communal land ownership, the administration and allocation of land is highly problematic, with a lack of transparency, excessive bureaucracy, long delays, no effective market mechanism for reflecting supply and demand, and ample scope for corruption. The shortcomings embedded in this system are one of the main causes of inefficient and unproductive land use (discussed further under Environmental Issues below).

A wide range of NGOs and other civil society organisations work in collaboration with the government of Botswana on various development efforts. Most NGOs lack independent local funding sources, and are dependent upon government or international donor funding. The centralisation of local government and weak civil society may limit the channels for reflecting and incorporating community needs and choices into development processes. There is a need to strengthen role of civil society through capacity building to improve accountability and transparency in the public and private sector to fully understand and fulfil its role as a watchdog of good governance

Media and Press Freedom: While press freedom is difficult to measure, Botswana is considered to be one of the better performers in Africa. Reporters Without Borders (RWB), a campaigning organisation for press freedom, publishes an annual Press Freedom Index. In 2006 Botswana ranked at number 53 out of 168 countries globally, an equal ranking to that of the USA, and just below Japan, Israel and Chile.

The independent private press comprises a number of weekly newspapers and one daily newspaper, whose circulation tends to be concentrated in urban areas. Although their editorial line is generally anti-government, there is no censorship. The government produces a daily newspaper, which is distributed free of charge throughout the country. The fact that the government paper is free, and that it competes with the private press by offering subsidized advertising rates, is seen in some quarters as unfair competition aimed at undermining the private media.

Market weakness has encouraged consolidation in the industry and diversity of ownership has diminished in recent years. A single company now owns three weekly newspapers and one daily, and has a share in one of the two privately-owned radio stations. The only TV station, set up in 2000, is entirely controlled by the government, while the state-owned Radio Botswana is the only one that covers almost all of the country⁸. Approximately 63% of households have a radio and 25% a television set (in 2002/03). Amongst its many functions, the media can potentially contribute to empowering minority communities through the establishment of community radio stations, which could contribute to strengthening minority languages and raising awareness of relevant issues.

An independent press council was set up at the government's request in February 2003. Its job is to ensure that the news media are protected against threats and obstacles to their work and respect a code of professional conduct.

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs): The use of ICTs is an essential component of modern economic activity, especially if a nation wishes to participate in trade in services, the most dynamic element of the global trading system. ICTs also have an important role to play in offering innovative solutions to traditional development challenges, and in recent years the government of Botswana has paid a great deal of attention to developing an ICT-supportive environment. The telecommunications regulator, the Botswana Telecommunications Authority (BTA), is often seen as a model for other developing countries to follow, and has generally followed a progressive, liberalising agenda.

The 1995 Telecommunications Policy calls for the introduction of competition in the telecommunications sector, and this was followed by the enacting of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. Prior to that time the state-owned Botswana Telecommunications Corporation (BTC) was a monopoly with a mandate to provide telecommunications services to all areas. The implementation of the Telecommunications Act led to the creation of the BTA and the subsequent issue of two cellphone licenses, as well as a number of Internet Service Provider (ISP) and Data licenses. The partial liberalisation that has occurred since 1998 has had a number of economic benefits, including price reductions, more choice of products and improved service levels. A further round of liberalization of the telecommunications sector took place in 2006.

In recent years the penetration of telecommunications has been extremely rapid following the introduction of mobile phones. In 2006 there were an estimated 1 016 800 telephone subscribers, of which 979 800 (88%) were cellphone subscribers. Given the country's population the level of penetration is high. Botswana has one of the highest cellphone usage rates in Africa, with network coverage for almost the entire population, notwithstanding its large, sparsely populated territory.

Computer and internet use has also grown rapidly, from a low base, although the rate of growth is somewhat hindered by high costs, and internet penetration, with an estimated 3.4 users per 100 inhabitants, remains low. The government has a programme of computerising all secondary schools with the objective of ensuring that all school leavers are computer literate.

Awareness and use of ICT's is being introduced into the secondary school curriculum, and tertiary ICT courses have been expanded dramatically with the objective of ensuring that young people have necessary ICT skills. The low participation of females in science disciplines as well as poverty mitigates against women's use of ICTs as tools for empowerment.

Human Rights: Human rights issues in Botswana have generally had a low international profile given its record of democracy and good governance. In recent years, the most contentious issue has been that of the resettlement of Basarwa/San from the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve (CKGR), which has generated considerable international

⁸ Additional TV and radio channels are available by satellite.

publicity – mostly negative – for Botswana. The controversy stems from a government decision to move several hundred Basarwa/San from the CKGR to resettlement villages outside of the reserve, and to cease providing services (water, education, health services etc.) inside the CKGR. A full range of modern services would be provided in the resettlement villages.

The issue quickly became controversial. The government's position is that the continued provision of services in the remote area of the CKGR was expensive and unsustainable, and furthermore that the existence of settlements within the CKGR was inconsistent with its primary purpose of providing a haven for wildlife. The government also wished to see the Basarwa/San have access to the full range of services enjoyed by other groups in society, and, to that extent, to become further integrated into mainstream society.

Opponents of government policy, including some Basarwa/San groups and NGOs, have presented the story differently, claiming that the Basarwa/San have been subject to forced removals and unjustly deprived of the traditional lands and lifestyles, to which, as the original, "indigenous" inhabitants of the area, they have a special claim, over and above later arrivals. There have also been claims that the Basarwa/San were removed to facilitate mineral exploration in the CKGR and to prevent or pre-empt Basarwa/San claims to any minerals that might be found there, although there would be no such rights under Botswana law.

Local NGOs have attempted to play a constructive role between Government and the Basarwa/San, early on in the process formed a Negotiating Team had established a productive dialogue between the Government and San representatives, leading to a mutually agreed Management Plan for the CKGR. However, the involvement of the international NGO Survival International, with an aggressive anti-government campaign, led to a hardening of attitudes on all sides and a confrontational approach that has benefited neither the Government nor the San..

The debate as to whether the San people were being forced out of the Kalahari eventually ended up in the High Court, in the longest and most expensive legal case in Botswana's history. The Court eventually ruled that the CKGR residents who brought the case had lawfully occupied the land and were unlawfully deprived of it without their consent, and that it was unlawful and unconstitutional to deny residents entry into the CKGR. However, the court also ruled that the termination of services was neither unlawful nor unconstitutional, and decided that the government was not obliged to restore basic and essential services.

While the Court ruling has gone some way to bringing this issue to a close, there still remain several points of contention between Government and the Basarwa/San (and their supporters), on which further negotiations will be required. The High Court ruling also concluded that only through negotiations could this matter be successfully brought to a close.

The UN Special Rapporteurs on the Human Rights of Indigenous People and the Right to Food have written to the Government to express concern over reports of human rights violations of those who were forced from their lands and have requested further information from the Government in that regard.

While the CKGR case has been the most prominent human rights issue in Botswana in recent years, there have nevertheless other human rights issues at play. These include:

- other minority issues such as the status of "majority" tribes under the constitution, and access to mother tongue education;
- the continued use of the death penalty;
- legal backing for gender equality;
- gender based violence;
- legal education and access to the legal system;
- issues relating to HIV and AIDS (such as routine HIV testing in public health facilities, and protection from arbitrary dismissal for HIV-positive workers);
- the criminalisation of homosexuality;
- the effectiveness of employment laws.

Many of these issues have been raised by a variety of NGOs, and campaigns on some of them are ongoing. Several are touched upon in other sections of this report. In general Botswana's judiciary has played an independent role in assessing human rights issues, and have ruled against the government in some important cases.

The majority/minority tribes issue related to Sections 77, 78 & 79 of the Constitution which gave precedence to the eight Tswana tribes in the House of Chiefs, as well as the Chieftainship Act and the Tribal Territories Act. The Constitution was amended in 2005 to broaden representation in the House of Chiefs/Ntlo ya Dikgosi, although concerns remain that underlying discrimination against minority tribes in related legislation has not been removed. There are also concerns that attempts to create a 'united' nation free from tribal differences in practice

discriminates against minority tribes whose cultures and languages are effectively marginalised, perpetuating inequality. In particular there are concerns that the lack of mother tongue education for groups whose mother tongue is not Setswana hinders their ability to fully benefit from the education that is provided for them.

With regard to the legal system more generally, most cases are handled in customary courts, where legal representation is not permitted; this in turn may restrict the ability of citizens to receive a fair trial. In the formal legal system, the lack of legal aid (except for pro deo representation in capital cases), may make it difficult for the poor to effectively access the legal system.

The labour movement has raised concerns that Botswana’s labour legislation is anti-worker. A recent case involving the dismissal of several hundred workers in the diamond mining industry for engaging in an illegal strike has reinforced this view (a case challenging the legality of this action is still before the courts). While there are strict conditions for engaging in legal strikes, and strike action is rare, these are balanced by the relatively generous protection for workers from arbitrary dismissal and other actions which is embodied in the Employment Act.

International Human Rights Law: Below is a table listing the major human rights treaties and their protocols showing whether or not Botswana is a State party. It should be noted that, as at November 2007, Botswana is significantly behind in its periodic reporting obligations under CEDAW (since 1997) and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (since 2001). Reports or additional information are also overdue under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, including its two Optional Protocols.

Treaties and Conventions:	Date:	Reservations:
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights	Ratified 2000 Ratified 1986	Article 7, 12 (3)
Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights	Ratified 1998	
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court	Ratified 2000	
Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)	Ratified 2000	Article 1
Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees	Acceded to 1969	Articles 7, 12 (1), 17, 26, 31, 32, 34
Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees	Acceded to 1969	Article IV
Organization for African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa	Ratified 1995	
Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons	Acceded to 1969	Articles 7 (2), 12 (1), 31
International Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD)	Acceded to 1974	
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	Acceded to 1996	
Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (No. 111)	Ratified 1997	
African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child	Ratified 2001	Article II
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	Acceded to 1995	Article I
Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea, and Air	Ratified 2002	
Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children	Ratified 2002	
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	Not yet a state party	
Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	Not yet a state party	
Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aimed at the abolition of the death penalty	Not yet a state party	
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	Not yet a state party	
Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	Not yet a state party	

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families	Not yet a state party
International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance	Not yet a state party

Source: GoB 2007a; OHCHR

While several of these international treaties have been used as the basis for domestic legal reform, not all have been incorporated into domestic law, which limits the documents to an interpretative rather than a legal role. The Government has indicated that for some of these treaties, domestication is not a priority.

Gender-focused legal reform: There has been significant progress made in the area of law reform with respect to gender. Following the landmark ruling of the Unity Dow vs. Attorney General, the government embarked in a process of reviewing all laws that discriminate against women. The following laws have been reviewed and amended in accordance with the constitution and CEDAW: Affiliations Proceedings Act; Citizenship Act; Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act; Deeds Registry Act; Marriage Act; Mines and Quarries Act; Penal Code; Public Service Act.

Notable within the law reform process was the Abolition of Marital Power Act of 2004, which has afforded women married under the common law the position of legal majors. This gives married women the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes with respect to legal control over property, obtaining financial assistance, and in matters regarding the welfare of children. It must be noted, however, that the Act excludes customary and religious marriages. The lack of reconciliation of common and customary law continues to pose a challenge to the achievement of gender equality, as customary law beliefs and practices reproduce patriarchal practices that disadvantage women. There is also a problem of a lack of knowledge and awareness of women and men, especially rural women, on the amended and new legislation and how to access and utilize the justice system.

Gender Policy Framework and Implementation: The Women in Development Policy (1995) serves as the basis for integrating women in the development process with the overall view to facilitating the attainment of gender equality. In 1998 the National Gender Programme (NGP) and the National Gender Policy Framework (NGPF) outlined the six critical areas for concern (following the Beijing Conference): poverty alleviation and economic empowerment, power and decision making, education and training, health, violence and issues affecting the girl child.

The WID Policy has facilitated the elevation of the gender machinery to departmental status; the creation of the Botswana National Council on Women, the review of all laws affecting women, raised gender awareness and piloted gender mainstreaming in four ministries (Women’s Affairs Department, 2006). The Government and civil society organisations are currently consulting on the draft Gender and Development Policy which is informed by a review of the WID policy. The government of Botswana has signed and ratified CEDAW, signed the SADC gender and Development Declaration of 1997 as well as the addendum on the eradication of violence against women in 1998. However, there is a need for domestication of these and other international commitments.

There is evidence of inclusion of clauses relating to gender equality in various specific policies and overarching policy frameworks such as Vision 2016, the National Population Policy, the Revised National Policy on Education, the National Policy on HIV and AIDS, the National AIDS Strategic Framework, the Policy on Community Based Natural Resource Management and the National Policy on Culture. However, there are concerns that gender mainstreaming has not been implemented effectively.

In terms of MDG 3, Botswana has largely achieved gender equality in access to education at all levels. Steady improvements are being made in reducing legal discrimination against women, in increasing female employment, and in women’s participation in leadership and decision-making positions. Problems remain in reducing cultural impediments to gender equality, and in violence against women, especially rape and femicide.

Refugees: the number of refugees in Botswana, at around 3000, is relatively low. The bulk of these are long-standing refugees from regional conflicts in Angola and Namibia. Many of them are well settled in Botswana and show little inclination to return home even though many of the original causes for their flight have disappeared. There are some refugees from conflicts elsewhere in Africa (Somalia, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda etc.). The number of new arrivals is 6-7 a month, many of whom claim refugee status when they are caught on their way to South Africa. Most refugees are housed at Dukwe refugee camp, which is financed and run by the Government, with support from UNHCR; the camp has a school, a clinic and other public services.

A related issue is the number of immigrants arriving from Zimbabwe, many of them undocumented or becoming illegal after overstaying. The number of repatriations of undocumented immigrants to Zimbabwe runs at around 3-4000 a month; however, no reliable estimates exist of the number of undocumented immigrants within the country, virtually none of whom claim refugee status. Nevertheless the issue is a controversial one in Botswana, and has given rise to increased xenophobia and a more negative attitude towards immigrants in general, and increased police activity which affects both legal and illegal immigrants. There are concerns about the adequacy of Botswana's response to the significant increase in immigration from Zimbabwe, especially if even greater instability in Botswana were to cause even greater flows of migrants.

Natural Disasters: apart from HIV and AIDS, the major natural disaster to which Botswana is exposed is drought, which is common. Dealing with drought is integral to public policy; when a drought year is declared, a number of social and agricultural support schemes come into operation. These provide reasonable income support to those in rural areas, and many rural residents are better off in drought years than in non-drought years as social safety nets provide more than they would normally earn from agriculture (BIDPA, 1996).

Other disasters that have occurred in the recent past include floods, and animal diseases such as Foot & Mouth Disease. Outbreaks of FMD have been regular, usually due to cross border movements of infected cattle from Zimbabwe, and have been quickly and effectively dealt with by the Ministry of Agriculture. There was a reasonably effective response to widespread flooding in 2000, although concerns remain that poor land use planning and enforcement has resulted in continued exposure to flood risk in some areas. A well-resourced and broad-based planning system was set up in anticipation of Y2K problems, although this turned out to be a non-event. Potential disasters include earthquakes, cyclones, pest infestations, industrial/ hazardous material accidents, and an influx of refugees due to instability in neighbouring states. An official disaster management system has been established, co-ordinated by the Office of the President, and involving all levels of central and local government. In general there is an effective system for responding to "known" disasters such as HIV and AIDS, drought and FMD, but there is inevitably uncertainty over how well it would respond to low-frequency events.

Environmental Sustainability and Environmental Management Issues

Achieving environmental sustainability is one of the Millennium Development Goals. Specific targets relate to increasing access to safe drinking water, reducing conflicts between competing land uses, population growth - land use and degradation - and promoting environmental awareness and education. UNDP and the government concluded in 2004 that the country is likely to achieve the first MDG environment target – reduce by 50%, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water by 2015 - and has the potential to meet the other two (GoB/UNDP, 2004). For this CCA, eight major environmental challenges have been identified and are discussed in greater detail below.

Implementation of and compliance with natural resource management policies

During NDP9, Botswana has made significant progress with policy development related to natural resource management. Examples include:

- *Establishment of the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife And Tourism (MEWT)* as a Ministry with portfolio responsibility for coordination of environmental management;
- *General development and environmental policies:* the 2002 Revised Rural Development Policy with significant natural resource management coverage, 2005 EIA legislation, development of sector guidelines for the implementation of the EIA Act and draft regulations and the 2007 CBNRM policy. The draft Environmental Management Act is almost ready for discussion and approval;
- *Resource, ecosystem and issue specific policies:* the 2003 draft wetland strategy, the 2003 Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan; 2003 National WasteWater and Sanitation Plan, elephant management plan, 2006, Review of the 1991 Botswana National Water Master Plan, draft water conservation policy and the 2006 draft Forestry Policy. The UNCCD and UNCBD Action Plans were up-dated and revised in 2006 and 2007 respectively;
- *Area specific programmes and plans:* the 2006 Okavango Development Management Plan (ODMP), preparatory work for a similar plan for the Makgadikgadi Wetlands, protected area management plans and a start with wildlife management area plans.

Although the above has made the environment for sustainable resource management more enabling, aspects of natural resource management remain fragmented. Moreover, several resource management gaps remain and mainstreaming of environmental concerns into development planning needs to be enhanced and accelerated. It is

necessary that environmental concerns are fully integrated in the forthcoming development planning cycle. The first gap in resource management is the absence of an approved land policy. The draft policy needs to be finalised, based on the principles of sustainable land management. Furthermore, dated legislation needs to be revised and consolidated (e.g. water, veld products, forests and pollution). The forthcoming Environmental Management Act is a priority as it will guide the DEA activities and responsibilities, introduces overarching environmental principles such as the PPP, UPP and pre cautionary principles and is essential for mainstreaming national and global environmental issues in development planning. Developing renewable natural resources (e.g. solar power and rainwater) and increased user efficiency of scarce resources, especially water, need to be part of the future economic outlook. Such a path also requires that mineral revenues should be used to boost future productive potential.

While further policy development as outlined above will be beneficial, the emphasis of the enabling environment should rest with efficient and effective implementation of policies; capacity building, monitoring & evaluation and enforcement or compliance. Speeding up implementation of policies and programmes has been identified as a major challenge in the review of the MDG process (UNDP/GoB, 2004). Data compilation and analysis in support of policy implementation needs to be prioritised. Botswana has abundant statistics, but they are under utilised in policy design and evaluation. Natural resource accounting (minerals, water and livestock/ rangelands) needs to be institutionalised and used to identify adverse resource impacts of economic development at an early stage, to increase natural resource use efficiency (across and within sectors) and to compare and contrast impacts of different development scenarios.

Scarce water resources

Botswana faces increasing scarcity of surface and groundwater resources. Groundwater resources are already heavily used for rural areas, livestock and some of the mines and several well fields seem to be over-utilised (Arntzen et al, 2003). Total groundwater resources are estimated at around 100 billion m³ with an average annual recharge of about 1.6 billion m³ (SMEC, 2006). There are 25 000 officially registered boreholes of which over 10 000 are government owned.

The country's surface water sources are restricted to ephemeral and perennial rivers as well as water stored in reservoirs. The average total annual runoff is about 696 Mm³ (SMEC, 2006). Five large dams supplying urban areas have a total storage capacity of 354.1 Mm³ and a safe yield of 70.3 Mm³ per annum. Several new dams are being planned or under construction with an estimated total yield a total of 75.6 Mm³ per annum⁹ (SMEC and EHES, 2006).

Total water consumption of Botswana is 171.2 Mm³ compared to 140 Mm³ in 1992. The amount of treated wastewater has grown much faster from 13.6 Mm³ in 1992 to 27.1 Mm³ in 2003 (DEA and CAR, 2006), but only twenty per cent is currently re-used.

Several institutions are involved in developing and operating water supply: Water Utilities Corporation, Department of Water Affairs, District Councils and self providers such as mines and livestock owners. Most boreholes are owned by males (who are also the majority of cattle owners), placing females at a distinct disadvantage. Institutional reforms are currently being discussed with stakeholders. It is expected that responsibility for water supply in rural areas will be transferred from DWA to another agency and that a Water Council will become the water regulator. DWA would then concentrate on water resource planning and overall management. The provision of subsidised irrigation under NAMPAADD is one possible avenue for improving women's access to water for agricultural production, although it may not be a sustainable one given constraints on water supplies.

According to the Review of the 1991 BNWMP continuation of the water supply response will be inadequate to meet future unchecked demands. Therefore, a paradigm shift towards Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM) needs to take effect in resource strategies, programmes and projects. Water demand management would have significant environmental and economic benefits. Priority areas for action would be reducing reticulation losses from around 50% to 20% and increasing re-use and recycling of treated wastewater¹⁰. Wastewater currently constitutes 15.8% of fresh water consumption and only ten percent is re-used.

⁹ The figure seems to refer to safe yields, but this is not stated explicitly. The Dikgatlong dam accounts for 65 Mm³

Implementing the paradigm shift should be given priority. The use of Botswana water accounts, the preparation of a water efficiency plan (supported through the global water partnership) and adoption and implementation of the Water Conservation Policy are important steps towards IWRM. Increasing re-use and recycling activities for treated wastewater is equally important and generate resource benefits, keep water tariffs competitive and create job and income opportunities. Clear targets for water conservation and efficiency need to be set, which can be monitored and evaluated. The re-use and recycling targets of the National Master Plan for WasteWater and Sanitation (96% re-use and recycling compared to 20% at present) are exemplary, but progress in meeting the target needs to be monitored.

All perennial rivers are shared with neighbouring countries, and their resource use is subject to the revised 2001 SADC Protocol on Shared Water Resources. Water abstractions need to be negotiated with neighbouring countries and be based on a fair distribution of abstractions. River basin commissions are set up for the implementation of the SADC Protocol, and Botswana actively participates in three of them: OKACOM (Okavango), ORASECOM (Orange) and ZAMCOM (Zambezi).

Finally, global climate change will have a profound impact on Botswana's water resources, which should be anticipated and coped with. The ODMP hydrology study (Jacobsen *et al*, 2005) shows that upstream water abstractions and climate change have the largest impact on the Okavango water resources. The impact of climate change on surface and groundwater resources needs to be assessed and proper coping mechanisms need to be designed (e.g. artificial recharge, interconnections of individual water resources to increase safe yields).

Bush encroachment in rangelands

Botswana's rangelands cover around 90% of the country, and include National Parks, Game Reserves, Wildlife Management areas and livestock rangelands. Rangelands in eastern Botswana are mostly used by livestock; rangelands in western and northern Botswana are used by livestock and wildlife. Rangelands are found in State Land, communal land and increasingly on private land.

General concern about rangeland degradation has been reported for almost a century, but the understanding of the phenomenon has only improved over the last two decades when degradation was considered in its spatial and socioeconomic context. Degradation mostly occurs around settlements and boreholes, where animal density is highest. Small areas are completely barren (sacrifice zones) while large areas of rangelands experience severe bush encroachment¹¹. Around fifteen percent of the rangelands suffer from bush encroachment. This leads to a loss of biodiversity and a loss of productive potential for livestock and tourism. Bush encroachment affects the small livestock owners most, as they keep their animals around the villages. The economic costs are high and control of bush encroachment is expensive (P 1 -1 500/ha). Due to settlement expansion and an increase in the number of boreholes, the danger exists that most of the rangelands will be severely bush encroached.

Rangelands also provide veld products and wood. In communal areas, anybody can exploit these resources and around the villages, over harvesting is common. Limited knowledge about the specific veld products exists¹². Some CBNRM activities are centred on veld products, which generate significant amounts of cash for the rural communities. Resource use charges exist for some resources but generally there are no effective resource conservation mechanisms in place.

The challenges are therefore to establish resource effective management systems for village areas and to design effective and affordable ways of controlling the bush. Community-based rangeland management such as promoted through the Indigenous vegetation Project currently holds promise, but success is not guaranteed. It is worth to consider how the woody biomass from bush control can be utilised for energy purposes or improving soil fertility. Finally, the on-going development of a Forest Policy could assist the situation.

Sustainable land management and productive use

Botswana's land area is approximately 581 730 km². Around seventy per cent of the land is Tribal and managed by District Land Boards, who are responsible for allocation and management of Tribal land, communal areas, wildlife management areas and leasehold land. Freehold land covers about five percent of Botswana's surface area and is

¹¹ Impacts of grazing around a water point are distinguished through the piosphere effect which sets out three different zones around a water point : bare ground or sacrifice zone (0-200m), bush encroached zone (200-2000m) and grazing reserve which is normally beyond 2000m (CAR, 2006).

¹² Inventories of hoodia and grapple plants species have been made in order to gain insight in their availability and harvesting status. Furthermore, some research pilots on the cultivation of devil's claw and on the impacts of harvesting methods as well as fires on thatching grasses have also been set up in some districts

mostly found along the country's borders. State land mainly consists of national parks and game reserves, forest reserves and some wildlife management areas. This encompasses some twenty five percent of the total land area.

Land use, tenure and management are guided by a range of policies and legal instruments and the Ministry of Lands and Housing is the lead authority¹³. Ownership of and access to land resources are sensitive and important livelihood issues. Botswana's position differs from neighbouring countries in several ways. Firstly, the bulk of land is communal and facilitates access to land by the rural population. However, due to the ranching programmes of the Ministry of Agriculture, leasehold land is increasing at the expense of communal land. Secondly, population density is low, and therefore most people have access to residential and arable land, if they so desire. Women and youth (under 21 of age) may experience some problems in accessing land. Thirdly, land pressure exists around urban areas and large settlements. Pressure manifests itself in land use conflicts, commercialisation of communal land and land speculation. Fourthly, rapid economic growth and agricultural stagnation have led to the underutilisation of most arable land and the failure to improve land management practices. As a result, large parts of agricultural land are not used or under-utilised. While the Land Boards and the Agricultural Resources Board have land management instruments at their disposal, these are not or rarely used.

Land use planning in Botswana is reasonably well developed, with responsibility divided between local government and Land Boards. Land use zoning is based on physical conditions and natural resources, and normally identifies a few land use categories: residential, infrastructure, arable and grazing. In some areas, tourism areas are distinguished as well as special categories such as PAs and forest reserves. Urban and village development plans are prepared and planning areas are designated. However, the system is often criticised as for inflexibility, and lack of responsiveness to changing economic and demographic conditions, most notably by keeping land zoned as agricultural when it would be economically more rational to use it for residential, commercial or tourism purposes. Land use planning needs to be based on comparative resources and economic characteristics, such as access to markets for inputs and produce. This should be part of strategic environmental assessments to inform land use planning.

Conservation and utilisation of wildlife resources

There are twenty six species of protected mammals under the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992 and five of these are considered threatened. These are black and square-lipped rhinoceros, cheetah, brown hyena and wild dog. The wildlife Conservation Policy and Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act are under review.

Wildlife resources are mostly found in western and northern Botswana in National parks, Game Reserves, Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and, to a lesser extent, in communal areas. Wildlife resources from Parks, reserves and WMAs regularly spill over into communal areas or migrate between wildlife areas. Wildlife is preserved in PAs, and wildlife viewing and tourism is the only economic activity permitted. Wildlife utilisation is the primary form of land in WMAs. WMAs were developed to serve as migratory corridors for wildlife between protected areas. They act as buffer zones between human settlements and protected areas. Agriculture is permitted, but should not interfere with wildlife resources. No livestock boreholes may be drilled, effectively restricting livestock expansion into these areas. In eastern Botswana, communal wildlife resources have become minor, but in western and northern Botswana wildlife is still found in communal areas. Hunting is strictly controlled through a quota system (annual quota depends on the number by species) but enforcement is difficult.

Since the early 1990s, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) has emerged as a promising system of bottom-up natural resource management in communal areas. It could fill the management gap left by Land Boards. In exchange for resource use rights and the associated benefits, community-based organisations engage in sustainable management of wildlife and other natural resources. Many communities now benefit from wildlife resources and have established resource management practices, even though they are not yet comprehensive and fully sustainable. The programme is currently comprised of ninety-four officially registered community based organisations (CBOs). The approach combines natural resource conservation and generation of socio-economic benefits for rural people. Of the officially registered CBOs, eighteen are wildlife based and about ten percent of the country's population is involved in CBNRM projects (MEWT, 2007). Recently, CBNRM has been extended to non-wildlife resources, but the large benefits remain associated with wildlife resources exploited close to protected areas.

¹³ Tribal Grazing Land Policy of 1975, National Agricultural Development Policy of 1991, National Settlement Policy, District Development Plans, District Settlement Strategy, District Planning studies, District Integrated Land Use Plans, Tribal Land Act, Agricultural Resources Conservation Act, Town and Country Planning Act, Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act and Waste Management Act of 1998.

The 2007 CBNRM policy strives to establish a foundation for resource conservation-based development through balancing biodiversity protection and improvement of livelihoods of the local communities, participatory rural development and poverty reduction (Ministry of Environment Wildlife and Tourism, 2007). This is in line with the principles of several other policies such as the Community based Rural Development Strategy as well as the National Rural Development Policy.

Several CBOs have been reviewed in recent years, among others for the CBNRM national Forum and the Environmental Support Programme. Botswana CBNRM experiences are highlighted below with reference to wildlife, veld products and rangelands. Associated CBOs include Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT - tourism and hunting in a WMA), Kgetsi ya Tsie Trust (KyT; veld product collection in a communal area) and BORAVAST in south west Kgalagadi (management of rangelands).. In an effort to enhance CBNRM, the government collaborates with the NGO Conservation International and the French government in a four year project in the western Kgalagadi conservation corridor so as to enhance sustainable use of natural resources. The project requires movement of wildlife between the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP) and the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) and aims to benefit the communities living in the corridor through sustainable utilisation of wildlife. The CBNRM approach needs further support as it could fill the current resource management vacuum in communal areas, help to stimulate local economic development, and has the potential to reduce the dependency of rural communities on government.

The introduction of tourism concessions, which are tendered, have been highly successful in generating more government and community revenues and in developing tourism. . The tourism sector has grown tremendously in Botswana and now contributes 4.3% to GDP (WTTTC, 2007), well above the contribution of the agricultural sector. Tourism employs an estimated 23 226 jobs. The benefits of tendering need to be evaluated and its application for other resource rights deserves to be further investigated (e.g. livestock ranches).

Pollution and waste management

Pollution and waste have increased in time, but remain modest as compared to most developed countries. Most pollution issues are local in nature, even though their impacts may be severe and costly (e.g. pollution of groundwater). Illegal waste dumping is common, in particular of construction waste in and around urban areas even though the dumpsite and landfills are available. No facility exists in the country for disposal of toxic waste. Such waste has to be exported to South Africa in accordance to the requirements of the Basel convention.

The EIA Act requires projects to include pollution mitigation measures. It has proven difficult to monitor pollution and enforce control regulations, and it may be difficult to monitor the implementation of mitigation measures. Emphasis in waste management and pollution control should fall on monitoring and enforcement as well as on awareness raising and education. Indiscriminate waste disposal should no longer be a routine. Recycling of waste is very limited, despite the recent price increases. Informal collectors separate paper, plastic and tins at landfills for sale, but the potential for recycling and waste minimisation remains underexploited. Recent regulations of plastic shopping bags are a positive step towards waste reduction, but numerous opportunities for re-use and recycling remain un-used (e.g. PET bottles and batteries). It is also vital that the private sector assumes a greater role in the management of waste and households to pay more towards the costs associated with disposal of their waste. On-going reviews of the Waste Management Act and the Atmospheric Pollution Control Act will be useful to strengthen pollution controls as are current efforts to expand wastewater treatment works to all major villages and engage the private sector in waste management.

Biodiversity conservation and utilisation

Botswana has a range of unique species, ecosystems and genetic resources. Its mammal population appears most significant, but over two thirds of the mammals are threatened (red data listed or RDL). Endangered mammals include the wild dog, black cheeked lovebird and the elephant. Examples of those which are vulnerable include the cheetah, brown hyena, lion, springhare and cape vulture. The conservation dependant fauna consist of examples like the impala, white rhino, springbok, spotted hyena, giraffe blue wildebeest, African buffalo and gemsbok.

The Kalahari desert, Makgadikgadi salt pans and the Okavango delta are the richest in terms of biodiversity. However, some of these are shared with neighbouring countries and some stretch across the national borders.

In Botswana biodiversity plays a major role in the livelihoods of the rural population, in particular the rural poor who are dependent on gathering of food, construction material and medicines and on hunting. Biodiversity is threatened by a variety of natural and human induced activities such as climate change, population pressure, veld fires and land tenure.

In accordance with UNCBD, Botswana has developed a Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (BDSAP) to conserve and utilise its biodiversity resources and ecosystems. The Okavango Delta is now listed as a RAMSAR site, which also supports the maintenance of biodiversity, and a management plan has been developed. Government is currently preparing an endangered species management plan.

Generally, the main conflict area is biodiversity and agriculture, in particular livestock production. The expansion of human influence and agriculture poses threats to biodiversity as they clear land, harvest species, reduce species diversity and disturb wildlife resources. Generally, biodiversity is poorly documented and its importance insufficiently recognised. Therefore, documentation of biodiversity changes, implementation of the BDSAP, coordination of related activities and awareness raising are the key actions to be undertaken in support of biodiversity.

Climate change and MEAs

Botswana has ratified a large number of regional and global environmental agreements. While Botswana's contribution to global climate change is small, it is profoundly affected, and therefore it needs to focus on coping and mitigation strategies. Mainstreaming climate change throughout the development planning process is imperative. This includes development of new opportunities arising from combating climate change such as promotion of renewable energy sources industries (solar power¹⁴, bio fuels and gas). Moreover, climate change should be a concern addressed by all EIAs and SEAs.

An implementation strategy for Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) has been developed for the DEA (Keatimilwe *et al*, 2007). In support of this, the country has developed a number of policies, strategies and laws which reflect key ideologies of sustainable development advocated in the MEAs. These are policies for wildlife conservation, wetlands, tourism, pollution and waste management, wastewater and sanitation, CBNRM, resource conservation and development.

Botswana's capacity to fully implement global conventions is still inadequate. Key limitations to the implementation of MEAs are associated with lack of coordination of the MEAs and insufficient capacity. Capacity building should start at the grass roots level and in areas where the most environmental impacts are realised and where greatest material benefits of effective management are needed. Moreover, there is insufficient representation of Botswana during MEA negotiation and at the conference of parties (COPs) and an efficient reporting back mechanism needs to be established (Keatimilwe *et al*, 2007). The government has developed several measures and activities to achieve the objectives of the MEAs with support from donors. Some of these projects and programmes are indicated below:

- a. Environment Support Programme (ESP) is aimed at supporting MEWT and other institutions to meet their mandate for the protection and management of the environment. It was jointly initiated by the GoB and UNDP and covers various government departments and seeks to involve the public as well as the private sector. The programme has four components: environmental governance; environmental information; natural resource management and learning, evaluation and adaptive management. Through the ESP, the DEA and other stakeholders are in the process of adopting an MEA Implementation Strategy, and it is projected that this will assist in implementing the MEAs.
- b. National Capacity Self Assessment (UNDP) project seeks to help Botswana in carrying out a self assessment capacity to implement her duties under the Rio Conventions. The project entails taking stock of existing capacities within the environment sector, identifying capacity gaps and recommending ways of establishing synergy cross cutting issues.
- c. Biodiversity Enabling Activities (GEF) involves the development of the national biodiversity action plan, assessments of national capacity for implementing biodiversity conservation and sustainable utilisation measures as well as reporting to the conference of parties of the CBD.
- d. Okavango Delta Management Plan, which has now entered the stage of implementation through local authorities and the district DEA office.
- e. Okavango Integrated River Basin Management Project through GEF and USAID is aimed at supporting the Okavango River Basin Commission (OKACOM).
- f. Drought and desertification National Action Programme (UNDP)

¹⁴ Sunshine is abundant and Botswana could become a leader in solar power technology. This would bring economic and environmental benefits.

- g. Botswana Tourism Development Programme which entailed developing the tourism master plan and the ecotourism strategy
- h. Partnership for the development of environmental law in Africa (UNEP)
- i. Support to the management of chemical substances (DANCED) which grants support for the development of the associated legislation and management plan
- j. GEF small grants programme is primarily aimed at giving support to community projects that deal with environmental priorities like climate change.
- k. Climate change activities, including development of national greenhouse inventories and mitigation plans in the form of national communications and reporting to the Conference of parties for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)

3. Data Quality

A detailed dataset was prepared to accompany this study; selected charts and tables from this dataset are provided as an appendix.

General: Botswana's data quality with regard to socio-economic data is in general quite good. An extensive range of official data is collected and disseminated by the CSO, government ministries and other agencies, notably the Ministries of Finance and Development Planning, Health and Education and the Bank of Botswana.

Timeliness and Frequency: Official data is available with varying degrees of timeliness. Trade data and monetary / financial data are available at high frequency (monthly) and are generally available relatively quickly after the end of the reference period. The timeliness of other data is mixed. National accounts (GDP) data have in the past only been available with long lags, but the recent publication of quarterly GDP data indicates an improvement. And while summary data are now available quite quickly from national surveys (such as the Census, HIES and LFS), there are typically long lags before detailed data are published. Other data are even slower, notably those published by the CSO on the basis of information provided by other government ministries: as at the time of writing this report (the third quarter of 2007), the most recent Statistics Yearbook available is for 2004, and the most recent published Education and Health Statistics are for 2004 and 2003 respectively. It would surely be feasible, with better organisation and probably not much of an increase in resources, to publish such data within 12 months of the end of the reference period. With regard to frequency, the main problem relates to nationwide surveys. The nine year cycle between HIESs and the ten year cycle between LFSs, needs to be halved if monitoring of key socio-economic trends is to be effective.

Disaggregation – e.g. by gender, region, age etc.: Disaggregation of data is mixed. Health and education data are available on a regionally disaggregated basis, as are census data. However, the regional definitions are not consistent across types of data (e.g., health districts are not the same as administrative districts). Macroeconomic data are not available with regional disaggregation. The HIES data are broken down by settlement type (urban, urban village and rural), and not by region. Labour Force Survey data are also disaggregated by region.

A reasonable degree of gender disaggregation is provided, for instance in health, education, literacy, employment, labour force and census data. HIES data provide some gender disaggregation, but only by gender of household head (because it is a household survey) rather than by individuals; it is not possible, for instance, to derive per capita incomes of females and males (as opposed to that of female and male headed households).

Data Gaps, Consistency and Reliability: A number of data gaps or questions regarding data reliability/quality were identified in this study, where data were either non-existent, inconsistent over time, or of questionable quality. Key data in this category were:

GDP data: there are concerns that the sampling process used to collect GDP data may under-record production from new firms. As a result, GDP growth and the extent of economic diversification may be under-recorded. The main evidence for this is the much faster growth in exports (e.g. of textiles) than of production, and the more comprehensive coverage of export data.

Poverty data: the Government/CSO has not generally published poverty data in the past, even though such data can be calculated from the HIES data. A detailed analysis of poverty data was published in 1996 by BIDPA, based on the 1993/94 HIES, but by 2007, no poverty data had been published from the 2002/03 HIES. The combination of long gaps in between surveys, and between surveys and data publication, combined with methodological changes (e.g. in the definition of the Poverty Datum Line), makes the tracking of poverty alleviation difficult.

Unemployment data: there is no direct survey of unemployment, although questions relating to unemployment are included in other nationwide surveys. Over the period from 1991 to 2005/06, there are nine data points available for unemployment, approximately one every 1.5 years. Given the method of collection, however, there may be some inconsistency in the data series.

Demographic data: The detailed assessment and calibration of demographic data carried out by Dorrington *et al* (2006) questioned some of the data published by the CSO, and concluded that total fertility, the number of children and the size of the population had been underestimated, and that life expectancy had been overestimated. Even in the CSO's own publications, demographic data are inconsistent (e.g. comparing the Population Projections 2005 with the population data published in the BAIS2, 2004).

Agricultural data: there are inconsistencies in Agricultural Census data, especially relating to the livestock data, that may lead to an under-recording of agricultural GDP. There are also large inter-annual fluctuations that indicate data problems. Data on agricultural output (declining) are inconsistent with Labour Force Survey data on agricultural employment (sharply increasing).

Health and Education data: these suffer from delays and presentation that is not user-friendly. There are also some data puzzles that may indicate inconsistent application of data collection methodologies at the district or institutional level. For instance, some of the district-level data on access to health services (CSO 2007b), and on school enrolment, are not consistent with common-sense expectations, and need further investigation before they can be treated as reliable.

Dissemination: Data are disseminated through a range of general and specialised publications, primarily by the CSO and the Bank of Botswana. Some CSO data, and most Bank of Botswana data, are available online. The CSO website, however, is of poor quality, and users are not notified of new information being posted. The availability of hard copy publications from the CSO is also inconsistent. One aspect of data dissemination that falls short of international best practice is the political review of some data before release. Besides causing delays in data dissemination, this practice may undermine the essential impartiality of the data production process.

A considerable amount of data is available internally within government departments and agencies but is not published. While some official bodies are quite accommodating to requests for data, it would be preferable for the data to be generally available to the public. Examples include crime data and some HIV and AIDS data (from the MoH Sentinel Surveys, and NACA's BHRIMS).

Environmental Data: Botswana has a rich set of environmental data, often in the form of valuable time series, particularly in the areas of agriculture, wildlife resources and water consumption. However, the data are not fully exploited to the benefit of resource management and development. There are a number of general problems:

1. The data are not always consistent, either over time or between different datasets; there is need for careful verification of data before publication.
2. The data are not available in an integrated, comprehensive data base. Instead, data are fragmented and kept by different institutions (e.g. DWA, WUC, DWNP, DEA, DFRR and MoA).
3. Data collection does not seem to be guided by the needs of data users, for example for assessing impacts of policies. There is need for a regular review of the data needs and collection, involving major stakeholders in the public and private sectors as well as academia and civil society.
4. The use of many data and statistics appears inadequate, with limited data analysis, especially in the areas of policy evaluations and development.
5. Limited access to source data. Improved access to statistics and data could stimulate data analysis, for example by students.

4. Key Areas of Co-operation

Botswana boasts an impressive range of economic policies and social programmes, which are focused on maintaining high growth, diversifying the economy, alleviating poverty, and extending public services to all Botswana. However, it is sometimes the case that these responses are hampered by lack of capacity, an overly top-down approach, and problems in achieving genuine local ownership and management. The proposed areas of support have been selected during the process of CCA preparation, and reflect issues identified by the Reference Group, the Stakeholder Workshop, reviewers of draft documents, and the Government of Botswana. While the range of development challenges facing Botswana is broader than those listed below, these represent areas where UN agencies are considered to have a comparative advantage. The potential areas of co-operation listed below will be refined as both NDP 10 and the second UNDAF are developed. The focus throughout is on supplementing and developing local capacity in a manner which is sustainable in the long term.

The Economy: while Botswana has experienced good rates of economic growth for many years, the benefits have not been evenly distributed, and poverty and inequality remain high for a middle-income country. Rural areas, and in particular the more remote areas, are being left behind, while women and female-headed households suffer from higher unemployment and poverty levels, and lower average incomes. While poverty has been reduced, the availability of comprehensive poverty data is limited. Employment creation has not been fast enough. Dealing with poverty requires redoubled efforts to improve the economic environment, encourage domestic and foreign investment through improving the investment climate and international competitiveness, and to focus on labour-intensive activities. There is also a need to rethink rural development strategies; these should be based on modernising agriculture in an environmentally sustainable manner and encouraging tourism, but recognise structural weaknesses in rural areas and long-term outward migration as a reality. Given the lack of formal sector jobs, the informal sector is a reality, and needs to be nurtured. Areas in which UN assistance could contribute to this include:

- supporting policy and institutional reforms, and capacity development, towards achieving high and sustainable rates of economic growth and diversifying the economy, especially in the areas of trade, investment, entrepreneurship and tourism
- the formulation of pro-poor development strategies; support for the modernisation of arable agriculture and the cattle sector, especially in the context of challenges posed by climate change; other means of ensuring that future growth is pro-poor; and the establishment of an effective poverty monitoring mechanism;
- supporting approaches to development that empower people and communities to be more active as agents of their own development; particular emphases should be put on community driven approaches to development that ensure effective local participation in identifying development issues and planning and those that strengthen local capacity to respond to incentives;
- formulating policies to help the informal sector develop as a source of entrepreneurial activity, and supporting informal sector enterprises to graduate to the formal sector; reviewing the regulatory framework so as to avoid suppression of the informal sector;
- addressing food security at the household level, dealing with poverty-related vulnerabilities and the impact of HIV and AIDS;
- assistance with gender mainstreaming in economic policy and advising on gender sensitive budgets that are essential for ensuring that the needs of females and males are incorporated at all levels of economic development planning and implementation.

Social Development: in many respects the social development framework is good and complements the focus on employment creation as a means of reducing poverty. Social achievements have been impressive, although there have been setbacks as a result of HIV and AIDS. Nevertheless there are weaknesses in relation to the updating and integration of different policies; the need for improved data and information systems; and ensuring efficient allocation and use of social sector resources. There are also weaknesses in the land allocation and tenure systems which are encouraging economic inefficiency, constraining agricultural and rural development, and contributing to housing shortages. Areas of where UN support could be valuable include:

- reviewing the effectiveness of the system of social safety nets and their integration and modernisation where necessary;
- assistance with the prioritisation of health spending, using evidence based assessment of cost-effective interventions encompassing HIV and AIDS as well as other needs; developing cost-sharing strategies for long-term sustainability in the health sector; developing an integrated health policy; assistance with focusing on areas of particular health needs, including reducing child and maternal mortality and dealing with TB; formulating policies to deal with other communicable and non-communicable diseases;

- supporting the development of human resources for health;
- supporting the strengthening of health information management systems; and monitoring and evaluation of the effectiveness of health interventions
- ensuring that policy formulation (especially health and education) reflects recent demographic changes, and contributing to a review of national settlement policy in the light of such changes and continued rural-urban migration;
- ensuring that the needs of the elderly are met through appropriate policies and interventions, given that the elderly are particularly vulnerable to poverty and are affected by demographic changes and HIV and AIDS;
- advising on the development of child-focused legislation to support orphans and counter child abuse and child labour;
- assisting in achieving more productive education expenditure and improved results for the very high level of resources devoted to education in Botswana;
- ensuring that the rights and special needs of the youth are met through appropriate policies and interventions, given that they are particularly vulnerable in the context of high unemployment and high prevalence of HIV - and are a key constituency in the prevention of the further spread of HIV;
- advising on the development, implementation and monitoring of child-focused legislation and policies to support orphans and counter child abuse and child labour;
- advising on the modernisation of land allocation and tenure systems to efficiently address economic and social needs.

HIV and AIDS: despite major advances in addressing HIV and AIDS, they remain a major health issue as well as having widespread social, demographic and economic impacts (e.g. orphans, life expectancy, population structure, poverty and vulnerability, government spending) Areas where the UN could contribute include:

- supporting the shift from the treatment of HIV and AIDS to HIV prevention;
- strengthening strategic information collection, analysis and use;
- supporting evidence informed planning particularly for prevention scale up;
- assisting in capacity development in selected areas for enhanced results based management of the national response to HIV;
- improving harmonization and coordination among partners contributing to the national response through facilitating joint planning and reviews of HIV and AIDS programmes as well as strengthening relevant strategic partnerships;
- contributing to analysis of resources implications and needs for sustainability of the national response to the epidemic;
- helping to strengthen monitoring of HIV programme implementation while at the same time emphasizing evaluation to determine their effectiveness, efficiency and impact;
- contributing to enhanced knowledge sharing and learning on HIV and AIDS;
- enhancing initiatives to address the relationships between gender and HIV.

Governance: gaps that the UN could help to address include:

- strengthening local government, community organisations and civil society organisations as mechanisms for delivering development services.
- inclusive participation/civic engagement at all levels (electoral laws, institutions and processes, mobilization channels, communications channels to enhance public policy dialogues and decision making;
- accountable and responsive governing institutions (strengthening legislatures and councils, supporting public administration reforms at central and local levels, promoting access to justice and rule of law).
- grounding governance in international principles;
- capacity strengthening;
- support for improved implementation of policies, programmes and projects, leading to better service delivery;
- public sector reform, improved efficiency and responsiveness, focusing on a smaller but more efficient public sector;
- advising on options with regard to e-governance;
- advising on best practice interventions to deal with corruption and potential corruption;
- enhancing governance systems to ensure that minority rights and interests are protected;
- reforming the legal system to provide for effective access and fair treatment for the poor and other marginalised groups;
- advising on domestication of international treaty commitments;
- strengthening effective, efficient and representative local government;

- enhancing governance systems to ensure that minority rights and interests of minorities and vulnerable groups (such as children and women) are protected;
- advising on how to deal with steadily increasing flows of migrants from unstable countries in the region;
- strengthening contingency planning and supporting adequate testing of disaster-response policies.

Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation: a number of deficiencies were identified during the preparation of the CCA. The lack of reliable, up-to-date, disaggregated data remains a major constraint on effective policymaking, monitoring and evaluation. There are many areas of potential co-operation where the UN could assist the agencies involved in data gathering, analysis and publication. These include:

- Capacity development in monitoring and evaluation, including the development of appropriate training curricula;
- Generally improving data quality and management, and developing capacity at the Central Statistics Office and counterpart offices in ministries;
- Assisting in co-ordinating and integrating software used in data gathering and analysis, and developing relevant ICT capacity;
- Accurate, consistent and regular monitoring of income and poverty trends;
- Further disaggregation of economic and social data based on gender and income groups;
- Ensuring consistency in geographical definitions/boundaries to permit consistent regional analysis of social and economic trends;
- Developing coherence and consistency between data from different sources and institutions;
- Improving the production of consistent time series for social-economic and environmental data;
- Improving public access to all forms of data collected by government;
- Fully reflecting MDGs in planning processes, and engaging civil society in plan preparation.

Gender: there is need to continue to strengthen the capacity of the gender machinery. Important initiatives could include:

- the review of gender mainstreaming policies and enhancement of activities in line ministries, with a more participatory approach leading to improved ownership and buy-in;
- strengthening the capacity of the Women's Affairs Department to monitor and provide effective guidance to other sectors;
- establishing and improving monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to continuously assess opportunities and challenges;
- improving understanding of the legal and justice system so that the enhanced legal framework leads to real empowerment;
- domestication of CEDAW, the CRC and the SADC Gender Instruments and the implementation of the Beijing Platform of Action;
- building capacity amongst rural women (and men) through rural CBOs and NGOs;
- the enhancement of the capacity of gender-based civil society organisations, through initiatives such as strengthening governance structures and systems, communication and advocacy strategy, improved financial and human resources as well as understanding their role as civil society organizations; building capacity to have a strong network to coordinate and facilitate a proactive and effective response to gender concerns and priorities.

Environment: Botswana's environment is fragile and there are numerous environment challenges, which are especially important in terms of reinvigorating the rural areas and enhancing rural livelihoods. Potential areas of UN support include:

- analysing the likely impact of climate change on agricultural production and developing appropriate strategies;
- evaluating the impact of tendering for resources (such as wildlife concessions) and its potential to affect other resource rights (e.g. livestock ranches);
- capacity development and support for effective implementation of multilateral environmental agreements;
- support for economic diversification based on comparative natural advantages in favour of sectors dealing with renewable natural resources: forms of agriculture, solar power, rainwater harvesting and water demand management and wildlife utilisation;
- integration of environment into development planning through development of 'environmentally sensitive' performance indicators (e.g. genuine net savings index, natural resource accounting);
- promotion of sustainable and productive land utilisation;
- exploring and developing the links between the environment, gender and poverty reduction;
- strengthening natural resource inventory development and management systems.

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Appendix A: CCA REFERENCE GROUP MEMBERSHIP

A. Government of Botswana

- 1 Finance & Development Planning
- 2 Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation
- 3 Local Government
- 4 Health
- 5 Education
- 6 Agriculture
- 7 Environment, Wildlife & Tourism
- 8 Labour and Home Affairs
- 9 Trade and Industry
- 10 Youth, Sports and Culture
- 11 Office of the President
- 12 National Aids Coordinating Agency
- 13 Women's Affairs Department
- 14 Central Statistics (SCO)

B. UN Agencies (resident)

- 15 Office of the UN Resident Coordinator
- 16 UNDP
- 17 UNFPA
- 18 UNHCR
- 19 UNICEF
- 20 WHO
- 21 UNAIDS
- 22 FAO

C. UN Agencies (non-resident)

- 23 ILO
- 24 OHCHR
- 25 UNESCO
- 26 UNIFEM
- 27 IOM
- 28 UNODC
- 29 WFP
- 30 UNIDO
- 31 OCHA
- 32 UN HABITAT
- 33 World Bank
- 34 UNEP

D. Other Organizations

- 35 BOCONGO (*representing Civil Society*)
- 36 BOCOBONET
- 37 Botswana National Youth Council
- 38 BOCCIM (*representing private sector*)
- 39 BOTUSA Project
- 40 ACHAP
- 41 Ditshwanelo
- 42 Botswana Council of Churches (BCC)
- 43 Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)