



BEYOND INEQUALITIES

Women in
Botswana



Women in
Development

Southern Africa Awareness



BEYOND INEQUALITIES

Women in
Botswana

SARDC

Southern African Research
and Documentation Centre



DITSHWANELO

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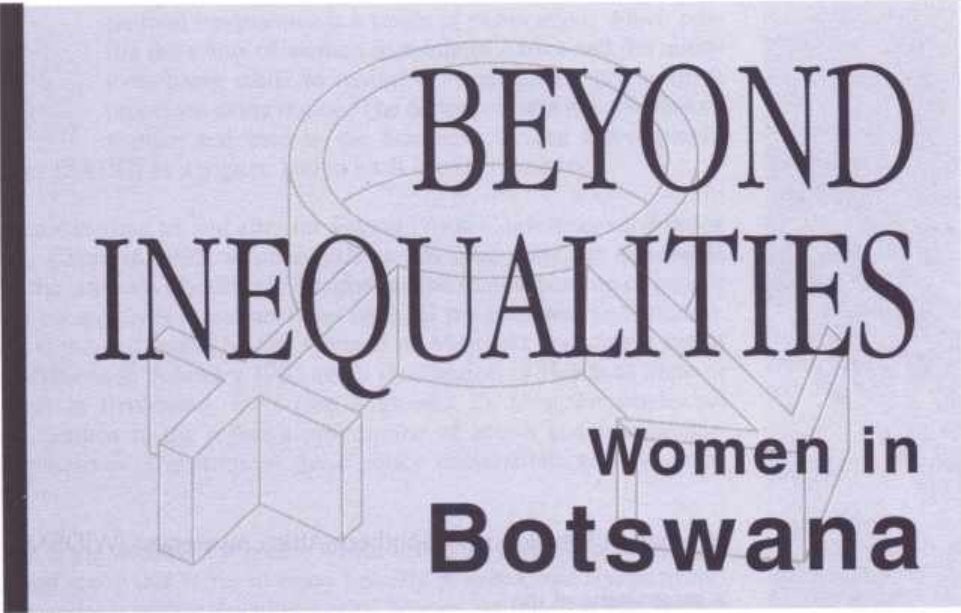
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BEYOND INEQUALITIES

Women in
Botswana

A Profile of Women in Botswana

produced by

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and the

Women In Development Southern Africa Awareness (WIDSAA) programme

of the

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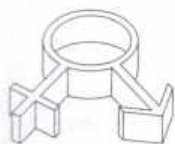
Development Indicators

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PREFACE



Beyond Inequalities is a series of publications which profile the status of women in southern Africa and the initiatives being made to mainstream gender in development processes in the region. The series presents the situation of women and men in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) as a region, and in each member country.

In the process leading to, and after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China in 1995, southern Africa has seen slow but noticeable change in the attitudes towards the integration and mainstreaming of gender issues and perspectives in national and regional programmes and policies. This has culminated in the SADC Council of Ministers adopting a set of recommendations in February 1997 and a Declaration of Heads of State or Government in September 1997 (see Appendix 3), to make gender an important element in the region's programme of action and community-building initiatives. The fruits of these policy declarations are still to be realised.

The reality of the women of southern Africa is that they remain a vulnerable, marginalised group that is yet to enjoy equality in status, and access to services and resources with male counterparts. Women are found at the "bottom rung of poverty, of illiteracy, of landlessness";¹ and are concentrated in the rural areas where facilities and services are scarce. Women are the most affected by negative impacts of economic adjustment programmes. Cuts in social expenditure such as in health and education mostly impact on women and girls, who are victims of the worst forms of violence.

While women are the daily managers and users of natural resources, largely for the benefit of others, women are not involved in the major decisions that affect these resources and the environment.

In politics and decision-making, women turn up in the largest numbers every election year as they constitute more than half the population of the different countries. Yet women are visibly absent in decision-making positions of government, of parastatal organisations, and of private companies. Women remain concentrated in the so-called "female professions" and at the very best are in the middle-management positions.

For strategies to be developed that address the subordination and vulnerability of women, it is important that the causes of this situation are identified. The series Beyond Inequalities reviews the roles and responsibilities, access to and control over resources, decision-making powers, needs and constraints of women vis a vis men.

The identification of the causes of these problems should lead to appropriate strategies to resolve them both at national and regional level.

The 12 country profiles in this series document and analyse information along themes drawn from the Critical Areas of Concern identified in the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) and derived from what the countries of the region consider to be priorities. The profiles are therefore part of an ini-



DITSHWANELO, THE BOTSWANA CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Botswana Centre for Human Rights is an NGO which focuses on rights awareness and education. It aims to expand the general population's awareness and knowledge of human rights by promoting and protecting human rights, paying special attention to the marginalised and underprivileged. DITSHWANELO's current activities include striving for the reform of discriminatory laws and improving public access to affordable legal assistance. The organisation has produced several publications and works closely with other NGOs, and academics.

SARDC

The Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) is a regional resource centre covering the SADC region. Its objective is to improve the base of knowledge about regional, economic, political, cultural and social developments, and their implications, by making information accessible to policy makers, non-governmental organisations, the private sector, development agencies and the media in the region and internationally. SARDC's main programmes are on the environment and disaster management, gender, sustainable democracy and SADC information. SARDC has offices in Harare, Maputo and Dar es Salaam. Patron is Julius Nyerere.

tiative that seeks to bring to light gender issues as they relate to the development process. In addition to providing information for planning and development purposes, the profiles indicate gaps for future research focus and will be updated at intervals.

These national profiles on the status of women in southern Africa are an achievement of Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness (WIDSAA), a regional networking information programme that covers the 12 member countries of the SADC region. WIDSAA is a programme of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), in collaboration with a range of national partner organisations and supported by the Netherlands Government Directorate of International Cooperation (DGIS), through the Royal Netherlands Embassy regional WID programme.

The WIDSAA objective is to contribute to the improvement of the status and position of women in the SADC region through awareness-building; and to collect, document and disseminate relevant and accessible information based on national and regional perspectives. WIDSAA aims to collect and organize gender information in such a way that it is easily accessible for analysis and presentation toward the development of policy frameworks; and seeks to assist governments, organisations and peoples of the region to move quickly and effectively towards the empowerment and involvement of women in development.

A workshop of WIDSAA national partners and local consultants reviewed the Terms of Reference and defined a framework for preparation of the profile series. The WIDSAA partners consulted national stakeholders, interest groups and gender activists in the process of developing the national profiles.

A regional profile on Women in Southern Africa, mainly deriving from the 12 national ones, includes further contributions of more than 30 professionals from throughout the SADC region.² An advisory Gender Reference Group guided the process of organising and presenting information.

An Introduction to each profile outlines the methodology and conceptual framework.

Part I gives the national perspective and context, including a historical summary, macroeconomic framework and demographic information. This is followed by a situation analysis of gender issues by theme, containing baseline data on women in society and how they fare relative to men.

Part II reviews the programmes and policies of government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), donor and development agencies, community-based organizations (CBOs) and other stakeholders involved in mainstreaming gender into development, assessing the extent to which gender imbalances receive due attention.

Part III highlights the achievements and commitments in the context of the Beijing Platform for Action, as well as priorities for future action. This section seeks to establish links between the current situation and the future ideal, contrasting the situation of women with the policy intentions to address it.

Part IV contains a reference of materials used in compilation of the profile as well as a bibliography of country-specific WID documents and additional statistical tables.

The series title *Beyond Inequalities* is a forward-looking one, based on an assessment that inequalities are now generally acknowledged as an impediment to development and economic growth in most countries and regions of the world. The challenge, therefore, facing women and men is to look beyond inequalities to cooperation, peace, development and prosperity.

Critical Areas of Concern

Box 1

A review of progress since the Nairobi Conference highlights special concerns — areas of particular urgency that stand out as priorities for action. All actors should focus action and resources on the strategic objectives relating to the critical areas of concern which are, necessarily, interrelated, interdependent and of high priority. There is a need for these actors to develop and implement mechanisms of accountability for all the areas of concern. To this end, Governments, the international community and civil society, including non-governmental organizations and the private sector, are called upon to take strategic action in the following critical areas of concern:

- ✦ The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women
- ✦ Inequalities and inadequacies in an unequal access to education and training
- ✦ Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services
- ✦ Violence against women
- ✦ The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation
- ✦ Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources
- ✦ Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels
- ✦ Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women
- ✦ Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women
- ✦ Stereotyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media
- ✦ Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment
- ✦ Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl-child.

SOURCE: Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration, United Nations Department of Public Information, New York, 1996.

Botswana National Platform for Action

- ✦ Women and Poverty including economic empowerment of women
- ✦ Women in Power and Decision-making
- ✦ Education and Training of Women
- ✦ Women and Health
- ✦ The Girl Child
- ✦ Violence against women (including human rights of women)

SOURCE: Ditshwanelo, Gaborone 1997.

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Bookie Monica Kethusegile, Head of Programme
SARDC-WIDSAA, Harare

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ACRONYMS

ADB	African Development Bank
ALDEP	Arable Land Development Policy
ARAP	Accelerated Rain-fed Agricultural Programme
ANC	Antenatal Care
ASU	AIDS/STD Unit
BOB	Bank of Botswana
BHC	Botswana Housing Corporation
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BMC	Botswana Meat Corporation
BMI	Body Mass Index
BOFWA	Botswana Family Welfare Association
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CSO	Central Statistics Office
COP	Community of Property
CJSS	Community Junior Secondary Schools
CSCE	Cambridge School Certificate Examination
DNFE	Department of Non-Formal Education
DC	District Commissioner
DGIS	Netherlands Government Directorate of International Cooperation
FHS	Family Health Survey
FHH	Female Headed Households
FF	Female Farmholders
FLF	Female Labour Force
FAP	Financial Assistance Policy
FHD	Family Health Division
GAD	Gender And Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GAD	Gender and Development
GG	Gender Gap
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GOB	Government of Botswana
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
HDR	Human Development Report
HDI	Human Development Index
JC	Junior Certificate
LF	Labour Force
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rate
LS	Labour Statistics
MCHFPP	Maternal, Child Health and Family Planning Programme
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOE	Ministry of Education
MLGHA	Ministry of Local Government and Home Affairs
MCI	Ministry of Commerce and Industry
MLF	Male Labour Force
MH	Male Households
MHH	Male Headed Households

MF	Male Farmholders
MSE	Micro and Smallscale Enterprises
MMR	Maternal Mortality Rate
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NMS	National Migration Survey
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NIR	National Institute of Development Research and Documentation
NLU	Natioanl Literacy Unit
NACP	National AIDS Control Programme
NSS	National Surveillance System
PACT	Peer Approach to Counselling by Teens
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
PFA	Platform For Action (Beijing)
PHCR	Population and Housing Census Report
RIDS	Rural Income Distribution Survey
RAD	Remote Area Dwellers
SACU	South African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SSE	Small Scale Enterprises/Entrepreneurs
SSS	Senior Secondary Schools
SDF	Staff Development Fellows
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
TTC	Teacher Training College
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UB	University of Botswana
VET	Vocational Education and Training
VTC	Vocational Training Centres
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WLDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WAD	Women's Affairs Department
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women in Development
WIDSAA	Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

BOTSWANA DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

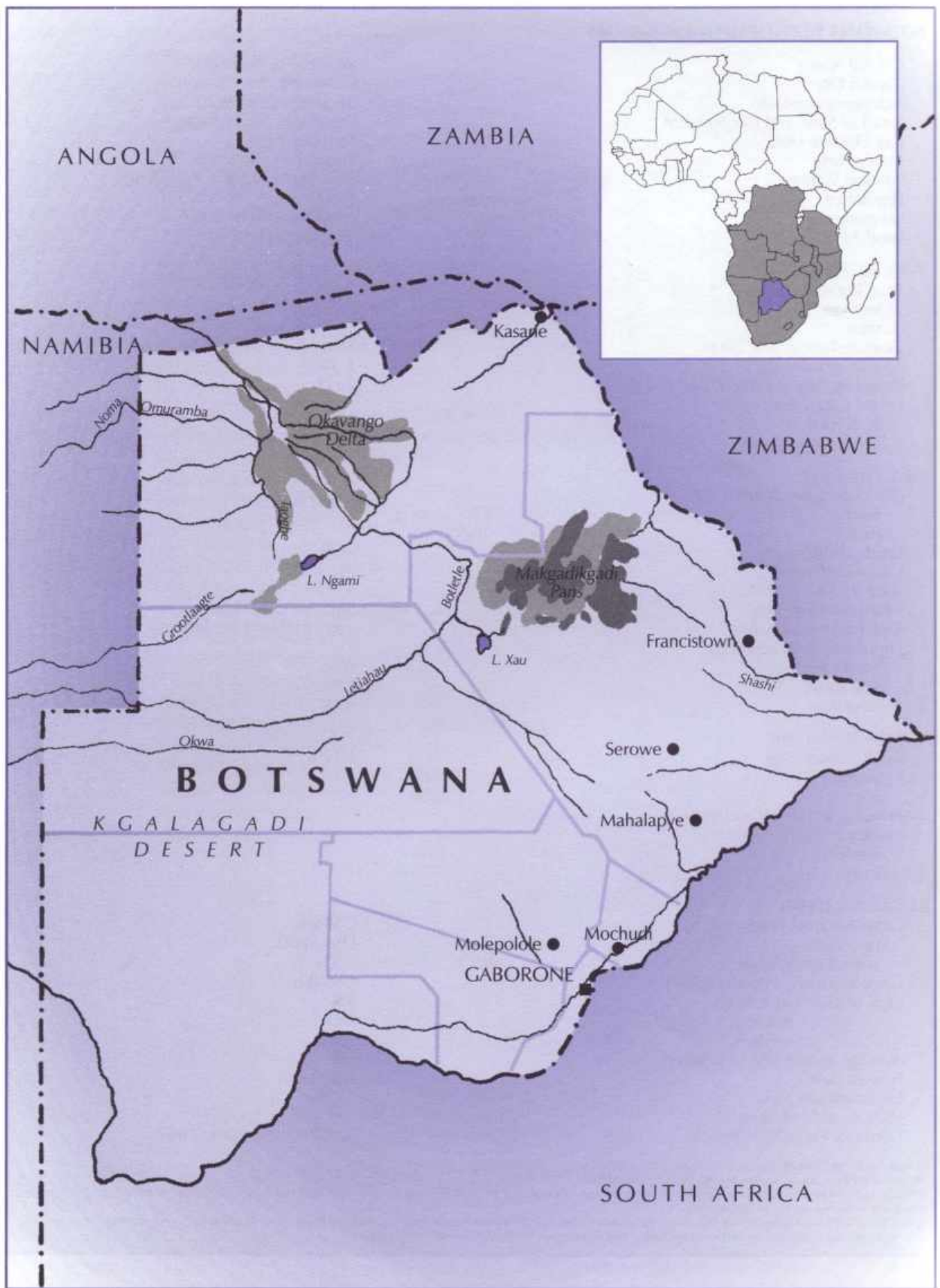
Official Name		Republic of Botswana
Capital City		Gaborone
Independence Date		30 September 1966
Head of State and Government		President Festus Mogae
Last Election Held		October 1994
Ruling Party		Botswana Democratic Party
Political System		Republic, Executive President
Legislature		Parliament
Languages		English and Setswana
Land Area		582,000 sq km
POPULATION (1994)		
Total (estimate)		1.4m
women	-	
men	-	
Estimate by the year 2000		1.6m
Annual growth rate		2.3%
Doubling date at current rate		2025
Urban population		
% of total		27%
annual growth rate		6.6%
HEALTH (1994)		
Life expectancy at birth		52.3 years
women	53.7 years	
men	50.5 years	
Crude death rate*		11.8
Crude birth rate**		36.6
Total fertility rate***		4.7
Infant mortality rate		55 / 1,000 live births
Maternal mortality rate		250 / 100,000 live births
Population with access to		
health services		89%
safe water		93%
sanitation		55%
EDUCATION (1994)		
Adult literacy rate		68.7%
women	58.0%	
men	79.3%	
Primary, secondary and tertiary		
enrolment ratio (combined)		
women	72%	
men	70%	
ECONOMY (1994)		
Gross National Product (GNP)		US\$4bn
per capita		US\$2,800
annual growth rate		9.5%
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)		US\$4bn
as % of GDP		
-agriculture		5%
-industry		49%
-services		46%
Average annual rate of inflation		9%
Foreign debt		US\$0.7bn
Export-import ratio		112%
(exports as % of imports)		
Currency Pula (100 Thebe)		3.95P=1US\$ (June 1998)

*Crude Death Rate: Annual number of death per 1,000 population.

**Crude Birth Rate: Annual number of births per 1,000 population.

*** Total Fertility Rate: The number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her child-bearing years and bear children at each age in accordance with prevailing age-specific fertility rates.

SOURCES: UNDP Human Development Report, Oxford University Press, New York 1997. Figures given here are taken from current international sources, often estimates, and may differ from national data contained in the text and tables. Most figures given are for 1994 except where indicated.



INTRODUCTION



Preparation of this WID Profile of Botswana was undertaken to highlight the areas of hidden underdevelopment in a country which otherwise boasts of unparalleled growth since 1970. Like most other ex-colonies, Botswana became independent in 1966 without the required human expertise or developed natural resources. However, due to a combination of factors, the country has attained much more than almost any other country in Africa. From being one of the least developed countries, Botswana now ranks among the World Bank's list of middle income group of nations. The Gross Domestic Product, P12,530 million is unrivalled by most other developing countries.

A sustained average growth rate of about 10 percent for three decades; a low mortality rate for infants, under-five children, and mothers; extensive health and education coverage for the people, particularly the children; plus the laying down of other infrastructure necessary for industrial and manufacturing sectors, such as roads, rail network, and other transport linking many far-flung parts; provisions of potable water to most areas; and most important of all the protection of natural resources — mineral and cattle — have all made Botswana the envy of many countries in the region.

All this growth, unfortunately, runs parallel to poverty among some population sectors, particularly among women. Although poverty is not easy to measure and poverty datum line (PDL) estimates can be misleading, 55 percent of Botswana are reported to be living below the PDL. In addition to gender gaps in terms of various socio-economic indicators, there are other gaps as well. Many of the youth who, after five to nine years of schooling have no means of livelihood and the remote area dwellers, who are mainly San-speaking minorities, have largely remained outside the charmed circle of development. Admittedly, the existing ad hoc safety nets have protected many from starvation and destitution, but ad hoc remedies are not permanent solutions to deep-rooted problems of inequity and poverty. Active efforts have to be made to stamp out the roots of unequal access to opportunities before it is too late, that is, before a more serious economic recession hits Botswana or the world. It is clear that once the structures of equity are in place cyclical peaks and troughs of prosperity can be managed without serious damage to the social fabric.

National Context

The case of Botswana is unique in Africa. Botswana has managed to develop its human and natural resources, with substantial foreign assistance and its own diamond based revenues, far more effectively than any other developing country in the region. Yet there are pockets of deprived areas and disadvantaged population sections. In other words there is poverty in the midst of plenty. While the government is concerned with redressing the dichotomy, its poverty eradication programmes have failed to do so. One major reason for this failure is an inability to accept the reality of unequal gender relations in designing development projects. Cutting across gender relations is the class factor which enables rich women to exploit their poorer sisters as badly as males do to all women. Diamonds may not forever support the national economy. It is essential to carefully diagnose the cause of this



poverty and identify the poor so that corrective interventions can be made. It is also essential to understand why existing poverty eradication policies have failed to achieve the projected results. The most rewarding way is to link gender with development.

Timing for this WID and GAD study is also right. The rising development curve had already peaked and levelled off by 1991. Persistent droughts of the 1980s and early 1990s plus a fall in diamond prices due to world recession threaten to undermine the very basis of Botswana's prosperity. For the second time in many years, total revenue and grants in 1994-95 declined by nearly 17 percent from the previous year, particularly the revenue from non-mineral income tax which is expected to decline further due to a reduction in the income tax.³ Since then the economy has picked up again but there is little room for complacency. The poor are known to be the most vulnerable to droughts and recessions. For the sake of social justice and equity serious efforts have to be made to make income distribution less uneven and to improve the quality and extent of development contours. Hopefully, this report will help by updating the information on who receives what, how much and why.

Given its potential goodwill and wealth, Botswana has a good chance at achieving growth with equity, an issue which has been given considerable prominence by concerned groups and also by the 1995 Bank of Botswana report. The GAD concept is appropriate to understand the extent and depth of the problem of inequity and to recommend ways of resolving the problem.

Aims and Objectives

The following WID-GAD profile, in line with similar other regional studies, sets out to describe the existing disparities in Botswana in terms of peoples' situation. In accordance with the terms of reference, "it is an analytical device for summarising information related to the position of women from the analytical and strategical framework of autonomy, its principal elements being physical, economic, political and socio-cultural".

Since the UN declaration of 1975 as The Year of the Woman, which was followed by two more such years in the mid-1980s and 1990s, the issue of women's rights, of their subordinate and unequal position in society has marked various debates, both at national and international level. As the decision-makers in almost all countries are still men, at the state level the issue still remains simply a subject for discussion and little more. However, many national and international NGOs have emerged to organise and network with deprived and disadvantaged female groups and CBOs. Progress is slow and piecemeal. Each step ahead is preceded by persistent lobbying and advocacy mainly by local organisations, along with a detailed exposition of the way women have been denied their rights.

The present analysis aims to provide information which counteracts male political assertions that "our women are well taken care of". Picking up each area such as education, health, politics, social relations, and economic roles, this Profile aims to show how women do not have the same status as men; that girls and women are denied opportunities to develop themselves in the way boys and men are; and when they fail to perform equally, they are depicted to be inherently inferior, bound to remain subordinate to men. The main bread winners of half of Botswana households are women and yet they do not receive the same privileges and rights as male heads.

The database which is integrated into the report should help to dispel the baseless myth of women's inability to be anything other than mothers and wives. It should also convince the most conservative cynics of the gravity of the situation where more than 60 percent of 15-19-year-olds are unemployed or where urban women earn less than half of what men do. Most youth, particularly teenage mothers, are also potential victims of the growing AIDS epidemic, which has already created a new type of orphan, and from which they have to be protected if humanity is to thrive. Women's right to control their bodies, their labour and their productivity is the basic premise on which survival rests.

To justify its claim of being a unique example of a working democracy in sub-Saharan Africa, Botswana has to provide proportional representation to different sections of its population all of whom must be empowered to have a say in their own affairs. Democracy as an institution has yet to grow in Botswana to cope with the material growth. To sum up, even though inequality might have stabilised since 1991, the gender and sectional gaps are still too wide.⁴ One of the objectives of this report is to identify these gaps. In essence, this Profile will try to highlight gender, regional and age disparities in terms of access to natural resources, facilities and development. Its purpose is to educate not only men, but women as well who still remain imbued with the idea that they are born to serve men in all possible ways and to help change their perceptions of stereotyped gender roles.

Vision

It is evident that as long as 50 percent or more of the population remains poor, deprived and subjugated, no society can achieve sustainable growth and optimum development. So, our vision is to create a just society where growth and development are accompanied by an equitable redistribution of the national wealth. Social justice, one of the cornerstones of Botswana's national philosophy, demands that existing imbalances be redressed and appropriate interventions be made to give all persons equal rights and equal access to opportunities to fully develop their potential irrespective of gender or social position. That it is feasible to do so is clear from many of the achievements of Botswana since Independence. If a country can come so far, nothing can stop it from going the whole way and eradicating disparities and exploitation of one group by another as long as its development planning is designed to address the specific needs of men and women with different socio-economic backgrounds.

Conceptual Framework

GAD is the guiding principle of this study. Gender is a social construct by which women and men are ascribed distinct positions and roles in society. By itself it would not have been so bad but for the fact that this construction allocates all the prestigious and dominant positions to men and reduces women to a position of subordination to men. The ideology of patriarchy is one of the ways in which these dominant and subordinate gender relations are sanctified in many societies. And patriarchy underpins kinship and economic relations in Botswana.

In general terms Botswana's development record is ahead of many developing countries. But because of unequal gender relations the fruits of this development are not shared equitably between men and women. Of the 50-55 percent of its people said to living below the PDL in the 1980s most were women.⁵ Despite some improvements since then, income distribution remains skewed, particularly in gender terms. The failure of Botswana's development policies to distribute the fruits of growth equitably can be

linked to their inability to take into account the disempowered position of women vis-a-vis the domineering role of men in every walk of life. Policies have tried to meet the practical needs of women for shelter, food, health and education, but these changes do not challenge the gender subordination of women in a society and fail to empower them.

Gender development planning shifts policies from welfare to equity and from anti-poverty to empowerment by addressing such strategic gender needs as the abolition of the sexual division of labour; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and child care; the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as equal rights to own land or property, or access to credit; freedom of choice over child bearing; the establishment of political equality; and ending male violence and control over women.⁶

According to UN statistics, women do two-thirds of the world's work, earn one-tenth of the world's income, and own one-hundredth of the world's property.⁷ Women constitute more than half the population in Botswana; yet few enjoy the fruits of their labour equitably. The strongly entrenched ideology of patriarchy, along with almost uncontrolled reign of capitalist forces have made development planning and its policies gender-blind, denying women their proportional share of the benefits accruing from these policies. Any analysis of development must look at the central role gender plays. As long as the majority of the population, which is female, is denied equal rights and share in national wealth, and as long as the state remains male-controlled, development policies will continue to produce skewed results. Planning has to be informed by gender dynamics. The existing assumptions of trickle down development must be replaced by concepts of target designing and full participation by women and men if gaps created by their social location and gender roles are to be closed.

Methodology

Basically, this report is a deskwork product. Much of the data is collected from official reports such as annual education, labour, agricultural and occasional health reports. There already exist at least three situational analyses of women and children sponsored by UNICEF and the Botswana government. Additionally, the government regularly produces analytical reports based on their decennial census since 1971. There were studies of rural income disparities in 1974; then came the household income and expenditure surveys of 1984-85 and 1993-94. Toward the end of 1970s and beginning of the 1980s in-depth studies of labour migrations and their impact on the society produced rich and useful data which is still relevant. Although all these studies have revealed the poverty of rural areas, particularly women, not all publications provide gender disaggregated data.

In the 1970s, the main issues of concern were related to the absence of local expertise and the large-scale exodus of unskilled labour to South Africa. By the end of the 1980s these issues were insignificant. Gender and regional differences came to be considered in data collection in some areas from the mid-1980s. But there are still many areas where this is not done. For example, it is common knowledge that women keep small stock more than cattle. But no report sheds light on this issue, or on the production of female farmholders, their access to land and other agricultural inputs, and their average earnings. In fact little is known about female farmholders involved in crop cultivation, although detailed information on the sex of the calves born is available!

The most serious problem is that of the non-availability of gender disaggregated data for crucial indicators. Despite all these caveats, the available

information does highlight the gender inequities in terms of employment opportunities, income distribution and family responsibilities.

Labour Statistics published by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) are the main source of information on formal employment. Their biggest advantage is that they are produced more regularly than other reports. But, being an establishment-based sample survey of formal sector employment only, they completely overlook such service sectors as domestic work, cobbling, barbering and street vending. Nor do they include borehole syndicates, thrift loan and burial societies and associations. The labour force figures given by the 1991 census are higher (275,000) than those given by the Labour Statistics of that year (218,000). Domestic workers alone constitute a major part (31,000) of the missing numbers.

Extensive use is also made of the population and housing reports of 1981 and 1991, and two Household Income and Expenditure Surveys (HIES) of 1988 and 1995, particularly the latter. The 1988 HIES collected data in 1985-86, and the 1995 HIES did so in 1993-94. Each census and HIES is an improvement on the previous exercise. While that improves the quality and ranges of information available, it makes longitudinal comparisons on some variables difficult when information categories change. For example, the 1991 census has three population locations -- urban, urban villages, and rural -- as opposed to simple rural-urban of the 1981 census reports. Some areas that were rural in 1981 are now villages which are too big to be rural and not urban enough to be towns.

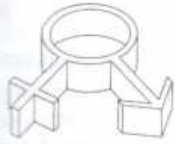
The way two census reports calculate their unemployment rates is different from HIES. The census labels all those not in work as economically inactive. Only those actively seeking work are categorised as unemployed. Those who, after fruitless job-hunting, have given up the search are excluded from the ranks of the unemployed. Criteria used by HIES are not clear. Whatever the criteria of government surveys, they categorise many otherwise overworked women as economically inactive, just because the economic outcome of their work is hidden. Nor has any effort been made to calculate the cash returns of their activities labelled as "housework" and left unremunerated and unrecognised as productive work.

There are also useful research reports sponsored or undertaken by such NGOs as Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) and Emang Basadi. Some of their research has focused on the most burning issues of the day: maintenance laws, marriage and inheritance and their impact on women's position. These reports are used to analyse how the gender factor operates in keeping women poor and powerless.

Since the 1940s, hardly any serious studies of the family in Botswana have been undertaken. WLSA is currently engaged in a study of the family and its access to resources but its results are not yet available. Nonetheless, this most basic social institution, the family, has been drastically transformed in Botswana, although it is still supposed to operate under the rules and norms of the old family headed by male patriarchs. What adjustments women have made to survive in this changing situation is not clear. Yet, to understand women's poverty these adjustment mechanisms must be studied.

PART I

SITUATION ANALYSIS



Botswana is a land-locked country in Southern Africa with a small population of 1.4m people spread over a sprawling area of 582,000 sq kms. Two-thirds of this land, covered by the sands of the Kalahari desert, is largely unfit for human habitation or agriculture. Climatically, the country is prone to endemic droughts, sometimes lasting five to seven years at a stretch. During the best rainfall years the country receives 280mm to 600mm rain in various areas. When it comes, rainfall is so torrential that it often washes away the scarce topsoils. The ecology has dictated cattle-rearing, mixed with some subsistence agriculture, as the most viable form of economic activity.

History

Botswana has historically evolved as a multi-ethnic society. The earliest known peoples in the region are commonly believed to be the ancestors of today's Khoesan communities. Today Botswana's Khoesan speak over a dozen languages and numerous dialects, which fall into three quite distinct language families, of which the most prominent are the Khoe speakers. Rock paintings and other evidence of advanced Late Stone Age material culture date back to c25,000 B.C.E. (BC).

Archaeological evidence confirms the advent of pastoralism among the communities in northern Botswana by c200 B.C.E. Many scholars now believe that early Khoe were subsequently responsible for diffusing knowledge of livestock-keeping throughout the rest of the region. Late Stone Age societies are believed to have been characterized by a gender-defined divi-

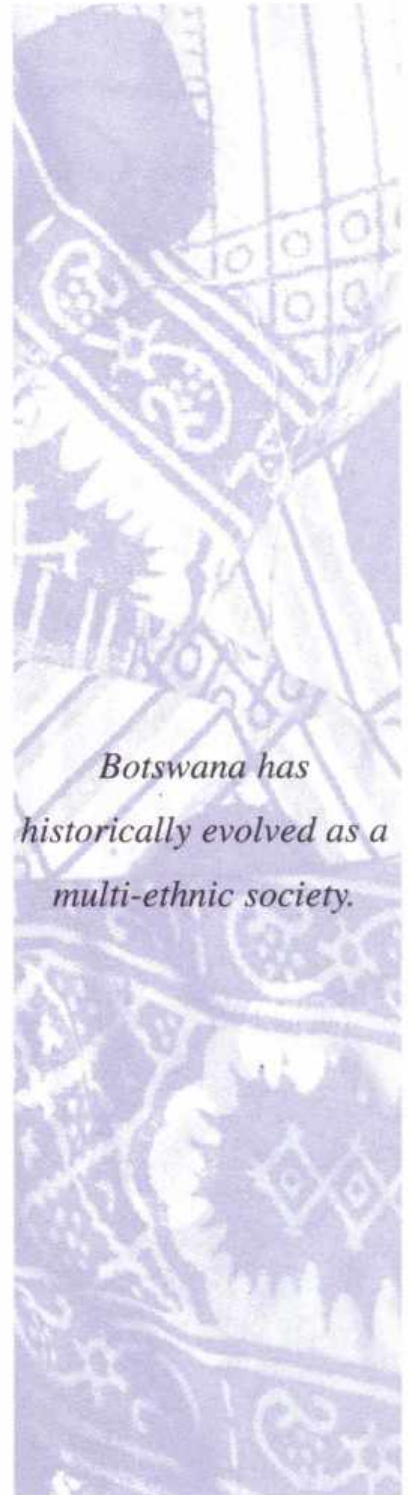
sion of labour in which women generally foraged, while men hunted and looked after livestock.

Iron Age evidence currently dates back to c350 C.E. (AD), possibly coinciding with the arrival of Bantu speakers, though metal was embraced by Khoesan during the same era. The introduction of iron axes and hoes allowed people to clear land and grow crops, giving rise to settlement. By the eleventh century eastern Botswana was the home of a number of Late Iron Age civilizations, characterized by sophisticated material culture, social hierarchies, and participation in long-distance trading networks.

The introduction of Iron Age arable agriculture coincided with new patterns of gender-specific economic specialization. In general, females assumed primary responsibility for tending crops, while hunting and livestock-keeping remained as male domains.

Representatives of virtually all of Botswana's indigenous ethnic communities could be found in the country by 1800. These included Batswana and such related Sotho-Tswana communities as Bakgalgari, Bapedi, Babirwa and Batswapong, as well as Bakalanga, Hambukushu, Wayie, Bekuhane (Basubia) and Ovaherero. Between c1450 and 1840 the Bakalanga of the north-east formed the core of the great Butwa kingdom, which has left a rich legacy of *dzimbabwe* style-stone ruins.

Ethnic Batswana communities based in the southeast developed strong military traditions, while gradually extending their control over the peoples and resources of the Kgalagadi sandveld and



Botswana has historically evolved as a multi-ethnic society.

Okavango-Chobe river systems. In the process the Khoesan, Wayie and Bakgalagari were taken as *malata*, a subordinate status variously defined as serfdom, slavery or enforced vassalage. Female *malata* were commonly used as household servants and field labourers by their masters, while men served as herders and tribute-paying hunters.

Between 1820 and 1840 much of Botswana was disrupted by the iMfecane/Difaqane era invasions of Sebetwanes' Bakololo and Mzilikazi's Amandebele. Thereafter, during the mid-nineteenth century the regional hegemonomies of such Batswana rulers (*dikgosi*) as Sechele of Bakwena, Sekgoma of Bangwato and Letsholathebe of Batawana were secured by their control over the local trade in guns for game products, particularly ivory.

Possession of firearms further enabled the communities of eastern Botswana, led by Sechele, to successfully resist Afrikaner invaders in the Batswana-Boer War of 1852-53. This success resulted in the migration of many ethnic Batswana from South Africa to Botswana, including such communities as the Bakgatla bagaKgafela, Balete and Batlokwa, in the decades prior to the establishment of colonial rule.

In addition to the guns-for-game-products trade, the eastern communities in particular were transformed by the arrival of missionaries who built schools and attracted new forms of commerce, while converting such powerful rulers as Sechele and Sekgoma's son, III Khama. Until independence, however, literacy was confined to a small elite. Girls tended to outnumber boys in primary schools, but most of the few who went on to further studies were boys.

The colonial era began in 1885 with the Warren Expedition proclaiming

the land north of the Molopo and south of the 21° latitude as Britain's Bechuanaland Protectorate. The protectorate was extended in 1890 and 1892 to assume the configuration of Botswana's modern borders.

From the beginning the British saw the Protectorate's destiny as lying with the settler colonies of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa, whose amalgamation into one great dominion was envisioned. In 1895 the territory was almost handed over to the British South Africa Company, while the Protectorate transfer to Pretoria administration was provided for in 1909 Union of South Africa Act.

Incorporation into the settler domains, which was resisted for years by nearly all Batswana, was never carried out by the British. Instead a small British administration was established across the border in Mafikeng, South Africa. The Mafikeng administrators relied on local District Commissioners and police to maintain law and order by working with a number of recognized local rulers or chiefs. Within this system of indirect rule the chiefs were empowered to collect taxes on commission, uphold customary law and otherwise control their subjects with usually limited imperial interference.

In terms of economic development, the colonial administration neglected the Protectorate, conceiving it as primarily a labour reserve for the South African diamond and gold mines. Migrant labour, which had roots going back to the 1860s, had become a predominate adult male activity throughout the Protectorate by the 1930s. Women also participated in the migrant labour system to a lesser degree. In general the long-term absence of adult able-bodied males placed an increased burden of social reproduction on females.

Modern economic development can be dated to the re-opening of the Lobatse abattoir in 1954, which coincided with a modest expansion in colonial development grants-in-aid. Even so, responsibility for development continued to rest with local communities, who looked primarily to the missionary churches for external aid. When independence came in 1966, Botswana was listed as one of the five least development countries in the world, with virtually no paved roads, local wage labour and an annual per capital income of about US\$60.

The new independent government had to start on a clean slate without skilled human resources or rich natural resources. To add to all this, from the 1960s until 1990 liberation wars in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa had serious fallout in Botswana. Since independence, largely thanks to the discovery of extensive, high quality diamond deposits, Botswana has rapidly developed its socio-economic infrastructure. Today the nation boasts the third highest UN Human Development Index in Sub-Saharan Africa. But, as of 1992, 47 percent of Botswana's population was listed as living below the local poverty datum line. A 1996-97 study by the Botswana Institute of Development Policy Analysis further confirms that female-headed households are disproportionately impoverished.

Unlike many other *nouveaux riches*, Botswana planned its economy by stressing human resource development. Various policies concerning education, health, and agriculture were launched through five-year national development plans which were meticulously reviewed and revised, correcting mistakes and charting alternative routes to the proclaimed goals of self reliance, democracy, economic independence and social justice.

Botswana's gross domestic product (GDP) experienced an unprecedented growth in the 1980s as a result of a judicious use of a steadily growing diamond-based revenue to install basic social and physical infrastructure; an ability to attract generous foreign aid right up to the early 1990s; and the nurturing of a liberal democracy underpinned by a multi-party parliamentary system and a relatively free market-based economy.

Emphasising the traditional principles of self-sufficiency and social justice, the Botswana government tried to spread the social gains of its economic growth among all the Batswana. Despite serious problems caused by pockets of human settlement scattered over a huge land area and a shortage of qualified local personnel, significant strides have been made in this direction. Allocation of increasing proportions of government revenue (30 to 40 percent in the 1990s) to an expansion of basic social infrastructure has established the essential prerequisites for an equitable distribution of national economic gains:

- ◆ universal basic education has replaced high illiteracy rates;
- ◆ construction of tarred major roads and improvement of the rail network have reduced transport problems in large parts of the country;
- ◆ primary health care has brought a clinic within the reach of most Batswana, 8-15 km being the maximum distance of a health clinic from a village;
- ◆ a dramatic decline in infant and under-five child mortality and maternal mortality rates have not only raised the life expectancy of Batswana women but also improved their lifestyle.

Macro-economic Structure

Botswana's economy is heavily dependent on the mining sector, particularly diamond-mining. A country which depended solely on

cattle and agriculture till the 1960s, now earns nearly half of its revenue from mining; the share of agriculture has dropped from more than 40 percent in the 1970s to 4-5 percent in the 1990s. Diamond mining accounts for more than 70 percent and agriculture, primarily beef, for about five percent of total exports.⁸ The beef industry is purely export-oriented as Botswana receives preferential treatment from the European Union for its beef exports in terms of quota and price.⁹

Using its mining revenues, the government has put in place essential infrastructure to achieve its goals of social justice and equity and sustainable development of its resources, to attract international aid and participate in regional networks such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) headquartered in Gaborone.

The foundation of its economic policy has been a commitment to a free market. Even within the southern African region Botswana cannot do otherwise, being a member of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). A fiscal-monetary environment conducive to attracting foreign investment has been created to diversify the economy, particularly the manufacturing sector which remains the weakest in Botswana. A low corporate tax regime, relaxed foreign exchange controls, wage controls, inflation and currency exchange rates and provision of collective public services are some of the means used to achieve this aim. The situation is reviewed periodically and reforms introduced.

For example, to resuscitate the depressed conditions of 1992/93, the government has further liberalised exchange controls, reduced corporate tax rates, restrained wages and is in the process of restructuring its parastatals. These measures have been balanced with high social and economic expenditures in order

to protect poor and disadvantaged groups from the exploitation of capitalism. Despite this commitment, however, Botswana's poverty eradication programmes have not achieved projected goals.

Priority Areas

The four main objectives of government planning are sustained development, rapid economic growth, economic independence and social justice in order to achieve more evenly balanced development.¹⁰ The government is conscious of the fact that diamond revenue, which has produced a high growth rate, has not been reinvested rapidly and sufficiently enough in domestic productive activities to create income earning opportunities for those seeking work. Therefore, the proclaimed objective of the government policies is to diversify the economy and reduce dependence on mining, in order to promote social justice, sustained development and economic independence. While efforts have been made to achieve these objectives, a lot still remains to be done.

The current National Development Plan (NDP VIII) envisages the future stimulus for growth to come from non-mining activities in the private sector, which alone, it presumes, can spread productive work throughout the country. It aims at creating, through the private sector, direct participation of more Botswana in the development process, a wider sharing of the benefits of development and greater self-reliance of households.

Poverty in the midst of plenty is the country's main concern at present. Since existing programmes have not worked, a fresh look has to be taken at the roots of this poverty. Most reports have established the fact that women are the poorest citizens, and those women in the remote areas the poorest of all. Similarly deprived are some children who drop out of the education

Year	GDP (Current prices) '000	GDP per cap (Current prices)	GDP per cap (Constant 1985/86 prices)	GNP (Current prices) '000	GNP per cap (Current prices)	GNP per cap (Constant 1985/86 prices)	Mid-yr Pop Estimate '000
1984/85	1,828.6	1,720	2,185	1,633.4	1,537	1,524.4	1,063.0
1994/95	12,530.3	8,287	3,206	12,177.0	8,054	NA	1,512.0

SOURCES: Bank of Botswana, *Annual Report 1995*, Gaborone, 1996; *Annual Economic Report 1996*, MFDP Gaborone, 1996.

system, work as herdboys or domestic maids, and the unemployed junior school leavers. These, along with the remote area dwellers, should be the priorities of future government planning and practice.

ECONOMY

Botswana is one of the few developing countries which has seen tremendous and sustained economic growth in the last 25 years. It is the primary role of any responsible government to create and preserve the macro-economic stability essential for growth and equity. In Botswana's case this is all the more crucial because it is prone to both external shocks and temporary booms due to its high dependence on diamonds and internal shocks due to endemic drought. Both of these booms and busts are destabilizing. So far the government has successfully maintained the macro-economic stability by keeping a long-sighted judgement on external and internal monetary balance. Its trade, exchange rates, monetary income and fiscal policies have been that it does not allow the aggregate demand on its resources to outgrow the available supply of those resources. This has allowed an uninterrupted high rate of growth since the 1970s.

Macro-economic Policies

In the three decades since independence Botswana has had an average growth rate of more than 12 percent in real terms. Both the gross national product (GNP) and the gross domestic product (GDP) had an unprecedented rise in the 1980s

Year	1984	1993	1994	1995
Bal of Payments	165	981	390	NA
Foreign Exchange US\$ Million (FE)	472	10,509	11,961	13,251
	737	4,097	4,402	4,696

SOURCE: Bank of Botswana *Annual Report 1995*, Gaborone 1996. FE= Foreign Exchange.

(Table 1). This growth has to be placed within the broader context of the rest of southern Africa where the GDP of most countries grew by two to four percent while some actually experienced negative growth rates.

The strength of Botswana's economy is also reflected in its accumulation of foreign exchange reserves as an insurance against hard times (Table 2). Very few developing countries can boast of 25 months coverage from their foreign reserves as does Botswana. Similarly, Botswana has succeeded in keeping imports below exports, once again avoiding trade imbalances (Table 3).

Much of this growth has been made possible by rich dividends produced by mineral, mainly diamond, exploitation. Botswana is a 50 percent shareholder in the Debswana company and subscribes 20 percent equity of the Jwaneng mine. Moreover, 65-70 percent of the Debswana profits accrue to the government; while, from Jwaneng, the government receives, in addition to the profits derived from fiscal arrangements, a proportion of the distributable profits related to the 20 percent equity.¹¹

Export and Import of Goods and Services 1984-94 (Pula Million)

Table 3

Year	EXPORT				IMPORT	
	Total Value	% of GDP	Minerals	% of Tot.	Total Value	% of GDP
1984	1,074.5	58.8	684.1	63.7	1,029.4	56.3
1994	5,980.1	47.7	3,975.4	66.4	4,251.6	33.9
Growth pa	45.7%		48.1%		31.8%	

SOURCE: Annual Economic Report 1996, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP), Gaborone.

Expenditure Allocation to Social and Economic Services 1984-1994 (Pula Million)

Table 4

Year	Economic	Social	Public Service	Total
1984	180.0	172.0	138.0	615.0 a)
%	29.0	28.0	22.4	
1994	972.0	1,664.0	1,273.0	4,599.0 b)
%	21.1	36.2	27.7	

(a) The remaining 20.6 percent was spent on lending and transfers to local authorities or given as grants. (b) Only P4,277 m of this was spent. And part of the expenditure was on transfers and grants.

SOURCE: Bank of Botswana Annual Report 1995. Gaborone, 1996, pp 564-565.

In a situation of mono-culture mining economy accompanied by a natural monopoly, government intervention is essential to ensure that the monopoly is not exploited for the benefit of a few at the expense of the total society. It is for this reason that substantial proportions of government revenue have been allocated to social services such as education, health, and human and natural resource development. Although Botswana's principal strategy of economic management has been the use of the free market system, it has taken its own responsibility towards social and human development seriously and continued to allocate high ratios of annual revenue to these areas.

On the other hand, through its sound fiscal and monetary management policies connected with taxation, foreign exchange controls, wage and salary levels, as well as the provision of infrastructure essential for industrial and financial activities, the government has tried to attract foreign investment to diversify its economy. Although its income and wage policy, as well as

its labour policies, have sometimes been detrimental to objectives of growth with equity, according to the government they have created an enabling environment that has promoted individual initiative, domestic savings, capital inflows and productive investment.¹²

The economic growth curve, however, reached its peak in 1991 and has since been declining. After a deeply felt recession, there are signs of revival in many economic sectors, most particularly in mining which has been the mainstay of the national economy since the discovery and exploitation of diamonds, cobalt, copper and nickel from the 1970s, and soda ash in the late 1980s. But manufacturing and construction are still depressed.

The declining returns from diamond mining, lower revenue growth and high population growth have forced the government to review its policies. It is now opting for diversification of the industrial and service sectors which are expected to replace mining as the chief mainstay of the GDP by 2015. Serious thought is being given to reform public spending by devising cost recovery in areas where substantial spending cuts are not feasible, such as higher education and water rates for big consumers.

Other areas of reform already identified are the gap between making policy decisions and their effective implementation, the need to prune overstretched and overgrown government departments and to strengthen others.¹³ There is also an attempt to bring the private sector into the provision of various services such as telecommunications. The government is further thinking of phasing out certain subsidies which have outlived their use. It is too early to assess the impact of these reforms on an equitable distribution of national wealth and social services. Growth with equity has been one of the proclaimed objec-

tives of Botswana's development planning. Equity, however, remains an elusive goal since benefits have been distributed unequally. national prosperity evenly. Poverty still haunts many rural and remote areas in Botswana despite a series of programmes targeted at the rural poor. In the last 20 years wealth distribution has been skewed, although lately there are indications of marginal improvement.¹⁴

A 1970-75 study, Rural Incomes Distribution Survey (RIDS), concluded that 45 percent of the rural people, who then formed 90 percent of the population, lived below the poverty datum line (PDL). This figure increased to 55 percent in 1985-86.¹⁵ Of these, 64 percent were supposed to be rural and 30 percent urban dwellers. By 1995 a national PDL of 37 percent was reported which also said that 50 percent of rural households' consumption level is still below the PDL.¹⁶ This report acknowledges that despite Botswana's strides in bringing a large proportion of its population along in the process of development, there are still too many who have been left behind without productive employment opportunities and without adequate levels of income.¹⁷ The gap between the poorest and the richest Botswana is too wide to be acceptable (Table 5).

The disposable cash income of the lowest 10 percent of rural households is less than P7 per month, which rises to P117 if in-kind payments such as gifts and occasional cash transfers from relatives, school meals and drought relief, are taken into account. Additionally, the inflation rate, although much less than it was in 1981 and 1992, still remains in double digits (Table 6). The urban inflation rate in 1995 was 11.1 percent and the rural rate was 9.8 percent. The cost of living index, with 1980 as the base, has almost tripled in 15 years.¹⁸ Consequently, the 35 percent annual rise in the mean disposable

Percentage of Total Income by the Poorest, Middle and the Richest, 1985-94

Table 5

Year	Poorest 40%	Middle 40%	Richest 20%
1985/86	10.7	27.8	61.5
1993/94 (Persons)	11.56	29.11	59.34
1993/94 (Households)	9.36	29.4	61.24

SOURCE: HIES, 1995, p.61.

Inflation Rate and Cost of Living Index 1981-95

Table 6

Year	1981	1985	1991	1992	1995
Inflation	16.3	8.1	11.4	16.1	10.8
COL Index Sep '85 as 100 base	119.3	100.7	186.91	217.7	298.8

SOURCE: Statistical Bulletin vol 15, no 4; vol 19, no 2; Annual Economic Report 1996, Bank of Botswana, Botswana Financial Statistics, Oct 1995.

income from 1985 to 1994 loses its glamour and buying power.

The fragile resource base of Botswana's agriculture has made mining the sole basis of its economy. Mining, however, does not create many jobs and without job-creation proportionate to the population growth socio-economic development will remain unequal. Increasing at a rate of 3.5 percent for two decades the population has shot up from about 950,000 in 1981 to 1.3 million in 1991 and was estimated to be around 1.5 million in 1996.

The youthful nature of this population means that a high percentage are economically inactive and dependent. The large proportion of those Botswana under 15 (43 percent) and under 25 (63 percent) throws a heavier burden on the economically active to retain their jobs. Despite a well-planned education policy, less than a quarter of primary school pupils make it to educational institutions beyond Junior Secondary. Thus every year thousands of Junior Secondary school leavers join the ranks of job-seekers for whom the government must provide some means of livelihood. The following section deals with

the extent and type of employment available to Botswana.

Means of Production

"Although no longer the largest sector of Botswana's economy, agriculture is still the most important." That statement, in NDP V may not be fully accurate today, but the majority of Botswana depend on the land, whether for cattle-rearing or crop production. According to the latest survey (1995), the ratio of own-produce consumed to total national consumption has fallen from 23 percent in 1985 to 13.7 percent in 1994. However, in rural areas it still remains about 21 percent; while that of earned income has increased from 48 percent to 62 percent.¹⁹ Obviously, the majority of those who depend on their own produce are rural women, since 48 percent of the rural, and 55 percent of the urban, village (essentially rural) households heads are female.

The most important of the essential resources are land, livestock especially cattle, labour, cash and credit, water and inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and ploughs. Almost all these resources are in short supply for arable production. The endemic droughts and erratic rainfall have eroded peoples' faith in crop production to such an extent that there is a lukewarm popular response to government interventions, such as the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP). This response has forced the government to change its policy focus from food self-sufficiency to food security in 1991.²⁰ Since food security implies increasing the buying power of the people -- which remains low -- crop production continues.

Beef production is the most important part of Botswana's agricultural sector. All 450 commercial cattle, goat and sheep farms are the sole monopoly of men who get a wide range of subsidies from the govern-

ment to raise livestock to be sold to the Botswana Meat Corporation (BMC). As a result of preferential treatment in the form of a fixed quota and above-the-market price for its beef from the European Union, the BMC and its clients make handsome profits at the expense of poor farmers. A 1980 study estimated that the tax revenue from the agricultural sector, less the subsidies it was given in 1979-80 was "nearly zero".²¹

That analysis is still the case. The most important of the cattle barons' privileges (all of whom are male) is the dual grazing land facilities under the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) of 1975. The government allocated large freehold ranches to big cattle farmers, under the TGLP, on the understanding they would not graze their cattle on the communal grazing lands. Since this policy was not legislated, the cattle-owners continue grazing on both which seriously overgrazes the communal lands.

Although the TGLP was developed to improve grazing control, range-management, increase productivity and safeguard the interests of those who own a few or no cattle, its net effect has been to erode further the capacity of the smallholders.²² The tight male control over the political power levers has silenced all criticism of the commercial farmers' dual grazing rights.

Land

Most farmers are subsistence crop producers. Of these, female farmholders form one-third of the total and are the most resource-poor. Access to land, preferably cleared and stumped, is difficult for women farmers. Traditionally, this access is regulated through a male relative, a father or husband. In the context of rapid social change, such relations have become tenuous at best, and all but disappeared for the single women heading their households who have no near male kin-

man. Under the common-statutory law, land can be acquired from the Land Boards which are normally composed of men who, still steeped in the patriarchal ideology, find ways of overlooking and delaying women's applications.²³

Female access to farms has been roughly one-third of the total farms including cattle and crop farms (Table 7). The 1980s migration study recorded one-third of the female households owning land.²⁴ In some areas the situation is much worse. For example, one researcher working in the Kweneng District found only 20 percent of the female-headed households had access to land.²⁵ In 1992, there were about 6,000 poor households without any land or cattle.²⁶ More importantly, the number of resource poor farmers has shot up from 44,000 in 1981 to 58,000 in 1990.²⁷ All these sources reconfirm that most disadvantaged farmers are women.

The remote areas have the lowest percentage of female landowners. The lowest ratio of female farmholders in 1988 — well below the national 34 percent — was recorded in Ghanzi and Kgalagadi. Although there has been significant improvement in these areas (1993) wide gender gaps still exist in Letlhakane and Ngwaketse areas (Table 8).

Cattle and livestock

The long-standing tradition of keeping women from cattle ownership has more or less continued to this day. Cattle have been the most important and prestigious possession of men who monopolise commercial cattle farming. While women did, and do, a considerable amount of cattle management work — 11 percent, according to a 1991 ALDEP survey — their exclusion from ownership was traditionally sanctioned by various rituals, as in many other pastoral societies. Cattle constituted the main proper-

Traditional Farmholders by Gender, 1988-1993

Table 7

Year	M %	F%	Total	Total Crop Farmholders
1988	65.1	34.9	85,900	62,800
1993	65.8	34.1	100,927	56,214

SOURCE: Botswana Agricultural Statistics, 1988, Table 14; Botswana Agricultural Census Report 1993, Table 3.1.

Farmholders by Gender in Some Remote Districts, 1983-1993

Table 8

Districts	1983			1993		
	M	F	GG	M	F	GG
Ghanzi	80.0	20.0	-60.0	59.4	40.6	-18.8
Kgatleng	75.5	24.5	-51.0	66.0	34.0	-32.0
Ngamiland East	75.0	25.0	-50.0	66.3	33.7	-32.6
Ngwaketse South	73.5	26.5	-47.0	69.8	30.2	-39.6
Kgalagadi	72.2	27.8	-44.4	NA	NA	NA
Letlhakane	NA	NA	NA	80.5	19.5	-61.0

SOURCE: 1988 Botswana Agricultural Statistics, p 29; 1993 Botswana Agricultural Census Report, p 49

ty and since property inheritance was, and is, from father to son, widows do not receive any share. Only in occasional instances, such as when a divorcee returned to live with her parents, was she given some cattle by the father.²⁸

Even when women did have cattle, they depended to a large extent upon male kinsmen for cattle management and sale. Often women's cattle became part of the family herd and decisions about their use was made by men. Moreover, since cattle management is male-dominated, women are unable to borrow cattle through the *mafisa* system under which rich cattle-owners lend their cattle to men in return for some services on a sort of share-cropping basis.

This traditional view of cattle ownership leaves women with inadequate access to draft power to cultivate land. A 1984 study shows cattle ownership is essential for access to agricultural extension services including subsidy or credit facilities.²⁹ Those who lack cattle, the majority of whom are women, are also deprived of these agricultural inputs.

There is a huge gender gap in terms of access to cattle, a gap which has increased since 1988 (Table 9). The ratio of female farmholders who do not have cattle has risen from one-half to two-thirds. Male farmholders without cattle is far less. Between 1988 and 1993, the proportion of those owning more than 20 cattle dropped overall, narrowing the gender gap slightly, but only eight percent of female farmholders and 23 percent of males are in this category. Twenty cattle are considered essential to cultivate an average field of five hectares, but of the total national cattle herd women own only 14 percent. This extreme marginalisation is a reflection of female poverty, especially for rural women for whom own produce still remains crucial to survival.

The percentages are out of total female farmers for women and male farmers for men.

Constraints on access to cattle means that even those female farmholders who have land cannot cultivate without hiring draught power. Sometimes donkeys are used for ploughing. Gender disaggregated data on donkey ownership, however, does not exist. Women are equally disadvantaged in their access to small stock: only 37 percent had small stock in 1991; and 56 percent of those who did, owned less than six goats and sheep.³⁰

Hiring draught power is not only expensive and well beyond the means of many women, but usually is only available late in the season which reduces the opportunities for a good harvest and discourages many farmers from cultivating. A 1980 study verifies that households without access to draught power plough fewer hectares later than normal and harvest a much lower yield.³¹

There is further proof in Table 10 that a minority of farmholders own draught power. Women constitute a small fraction of such owners although exact figures are not available. The majority hire or borrow after the owners have ploughed their own fields.

Labour

Female farmholders' access to labour is equally restricted, particularly for those households which have no male present. Two 1982 studies found 46 percent of female households without a male, and only 12 percent of male households short of male labour.³² In the initial stages of cultivation, male labour is essential for clearing, stumping, yoking cattle to the plough and ploughing itself. Households headed by single women are too poor to afford hired labour. They have to depend on family labour to cultivate.

In addition the 1995 HIES indicates that an average female household has an average of two fewer adults and 2.8 more children than a male household. Due to increased school enrolment, even child labour is unavailable for weeding or scaring birds. In 1991, an ALDEP survey found 75 percent of female households with less than one hired hand; 80 percent with fewer than two; and most of them depended on two family labourers.³³

Another ALDEP study (1992) found 91 percent of female farmers not assisted by ALDEP, unable to

Cattle Ownership by Gender 1988-1993 (%) Table 9

Cattle No	1988			1993		
	M	F	GG	M	F	GG
0:00	31.5	50.6	+19.1	37.4	65.6	+ 28.2
1-10	16.4	28.3	+11.9	26.6	19.1	- 7.5
11-20	17.8	9.3	- 8.5	13.1	7.5	- 5.6
21-60	23.9	8.0	- 15.9	15.7	5.8	- 9.8
61+	10.2	3.6	- 6.6	7.0	1.9	- 5.1
	55,900	30,000		66,436	34,491	
Total Herd	1,972,000			1,562,000		
Herd ownership	88%	12%	-76.0	86%	14%	

SOURCE: 1988 Botswana Agricultural Statistics, p 141; 1993 Botswana Agricultural Census Report.

hire labour, leaving them fully dependent on family labour which, according to the HIES is a maximum of two adults.³⁴

Cash and credit

In 1994 half of farmholders received cash remittances which were not enough to be invested in agriculture. Female farmholders' opportunities of earning cash are extremely limited in rural areas, despite some improvement since 1985.³⁵ Even beer-brewing, which used to be an important cash-earning activity for women, now faces stiff competition from cheaper manufactured *chibuku*.³⁶ Women's total cash earnings are far lower than men's.

Botswana laws do not allow women married under Community of Property regime to have ready access to credit because they must have their husband's permission to borrow money. Additionally, because women cannot legally register property in their own name, they lack collateral to obtain credit.

Single women also have little property to use as collateral. Few financial institutions have lending facilities for smallscale entrepreneurs, a majority of whom are cash-strapped women. The rules governing lending to single women are equally restrictive, further constraining women's capacity to seek more lucrative enterprise.

Water, seeds and equipment

While drinking water facilities have been provided in many areas now, irrigation facilities do not exist. Big cattle ranchers have been assisted by government to sink boreholes at national expense but smallholders have not received similar assistance.

Good seed, fertilisers, row planters, harvesters and other farm equipment are too expensive for small farmholders, especially the

Draught Power Ownership, 1988

Table 10

Own	Mafisa	Hired	Borrowed	Others	Total
30.6	2.0	50.6	11.8	5.0	62,800

SOURCE: 1988 Botswana Agricultural Statistics, p 129.

Labour Components of ALDEP Farmers 1982-1992 (%)

Table 11

Female Farmholders	Model 1 of ALDEP	Non-ALDEP Farmers
Family Labour	78.0	91.0
Hired Labour	5.0	0.00
Both	17.0	9.0

SOURCE: ALDEP Survey of 1982-1992, 1992.

resource-poor female households. Consequently, more than 80 percent of farmers still sow their fields by hand and few apply fertilisers.

The total impact of the wide gender gap in accessing productive resources is that women remain the most resource-poor of all farmholders. Half Botswana's households are headed by women, 50 percent of whom in the 1980s were single without any male member.³⁷ The remaining half of the female-headed households are often labelled as de facto since the actual male head is away from home working at a paid job for most of the year. Such de facto female-headed households receive both cash and other assistance from the male heads at crucial times of the year. Compared with female households which have no adult male member, the de facto female-headed households are better off at least in terms of access to, if not control over, essential natural resources.

Employment

There are two main employment sectors — formal and informal. Information on the latter is scarce and often unreliable. Labour statistics published by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) are the main source of information on formal employment.

An important resource Box 2

"...Women constitute more than 50 percent of the population in this country, and in addition, 47 percent of the families in Botswana are female-headed households.

The scenario presupposes that women are an important resource in economic terms and therefore, their full participation as partners in socio-economic development is critical and should be given due recognition and support."

SOURCE: Excerpt from Minister of Labour and Home Affairs speech to Parliament on Botswana Women in Development policy, August 1996.

(This Profile also relies heavily on the population and housing census reports of 1981 and 1991, and two HIES reports of 1988 and 1995, especially 1995. The 1988 HIES collected data in 1985-86, and the 1995 HIES in 1993-94. The two HIES reports are less significant than the census reports since they are sample surveys and, by definition, excluded the homeless. But their findings are comparable since both were conducted during drought years and had many similar analytical categories.)

Formal Sector

Employment in South African mines which used to be the greatest single employer of Botswana men until the early 1980s, now accounts for about 10,000-11,000 men annually. The formal sector labour force within Botswana increased annually by 10 percent between 1964 and 1990, an exceptionally high rate, especially in the 1980s when it was more than 14 percent. The growth rate declined to 2.4 percent annually between 1991 and 1994 because of recession.³⁸

Employment in the private and parastatal sector grew more than 10 percent-a-year compared with eight percent in government positions between 1980 and 1990, although the government remains the single largest formal employer, especially in the rural areas.

There were 145,000 jobs created between 1981 and 1994, less than the 165,000 new entrants to the labour force (Table 12).³⁹ The gov-

ernment's position is that this employment deficit is due to an exodus by women from traditional agriculture to formal sector employment. While it is true that the number of persons engaged in traditional agriculture declined by 48 percent (144,000 to 75,000) between 1981 and 1990, most of whom were women, in fact, nearly twice as many women (119,000) left family agriculture between 1971 and 1991 as did men (61,000).⁴⁰ It is obvious that traditional farming has become far less rewarding than formal employment, especially for women who are denied access to basic farming inputs.

(Labour force is defined as those above 12-years-of-age and in employment or seeking employment; while the labour force participation rate (LFPR) is the proportion of an age cohort who are economically active.)

Gender disparities in both the labour force and the labour force participation rate are evident from Table 12. The female labour force ratio of the total labour force has fallen from 40 in 1981 to 38.5 in 1991. The most striking decline in the participation rate is for the 15-24-year-olds which now remains in the educational system longer than was the case in 1981, more so for girls than boys. But the gender disparity is not fully visible since 59 percent (184,400) of women in 1981 and 63 percent (287,400) in 1991 were categorised as economically inactive while, in the same

Labour Force and Labour Force Participation 1981-1991

Table 12

	1981				1991			
	M	F	Total LF	GG	M	F	Total LF	GG
LF 12+yrs	185,100	125,300	310,400	-59,000	271,400	169,800	441,200	-101,400
LFPR 12+yrs	73.2%	40.8%	55.5%	-32.4	67.5%	51.3%	51.3%	-16.2
LFPR 15-64 yrs	82.0%	47.0%	279,200	-35.0	79.0%	45.0%	408,600	-34.0
LFPR 15-24 yrs	69.0%	52.0%	101,200	-17.0	57.0%	36.0%	122,800	-21.0

LF= Labour Force; LFPR = Labour Force Participation Rate

SOURCES: Bank of Botswana, Annual Report 1995, p 63; Population Census, 1981, 1991.

Labour Force and Economic Activity of Persons Above 14 Years, 1981-94

Table 13

Economic activity	1981			1991			1994		
	M	F	F as Row %	M	F	F as Row %	M	F	F as Row %
Cash earn 1	87,100	39,500	31.0	188,700	113,300	37.5	148,100	143,400	49.0
Non cash employ 2	59,500	57,100	48.9	44,600	25,700	36.5	48,700	29,600	37.8
Unemployed	23,600	18,600	44.0	30,900	28,800	48.2	49,500	50,000	50.2
LF12yrs+	185100	125300		271,200	169,800		254700	219300	

1) Cash-earning includes self-employment, 2) Non-cash employment is paid in kind and includes family agriculture.
 SOURCES: Population Census 1981, 1991; FHES 1995, Table 5. Figures in this table are rounded.

two years, only 27 percent and 32 percent of men were inactive.⁴¹ Much of the work with which women are involved is not accorded any value in terms of payment or in national accounting practices.⁴²

There is a major narrowing of the gender gap in terms of participation in cash earning opportunities which seem to be equally divided between men and women as are the unemployed in 1994 (Table 13). In the 1980s the number of cash-earning men doubled and that of women almost tripled. (Of these only 32 percent were in paid employment, the remaining 17 percent being self-employed.) Cash-earning continued to rise for women in the 1990s but fell for men as the construction industry, which was almost completely male, declined in the early 1990s.

This near-gender parity among cash-earners is the result of more women shifting from family agriculture to the cash-generating sector. With higher education, people's aspirations have changed especially since family agriculture has become less rewarding than formal paid employment. Wages in the formal sector, although restrained, have increased more rapidly and higher than cash returns in either the agricultural or informal sectors. However, not all women seeking paid employment have been successful since half those unemployed in 1994 were women compared with 44 percent in 1981.

This growth between 1981 and 1994 of the female labour force and its participation rate in paid employment which is higher than the male labour force has reduced the gender gap in the labour force and the paid employment sector. (Table 14) There are two reasons for this: higher female education rate at the senior secondary level and, more recently, at the tertiary level; and the diversion of women, particularly those who are younger, from the family agricultural sector to the formal sector.

As mentioned above, the male labour force declined due to a reduction in the construction industry which has been a male preserve until recently. But gender disparity within the labour force is still high in view of the fact that women constitute 54.5 percent of the population above 24 years.⁴³

Employers, particularly in the private sector, are not keen to employ women because of their domestic and reproductive responsibilities. Most formal paid employment has been created in the private and parastatal sector, although the government accounts for roughly a third of the jobs available. The gender disparity in this group has decreased significantly from 56 percent to 22 percent as female participation has increased at three times the rate for men, although it still remains lower. Figures on the gender division of labour in traditional agricultural are not precise

Year	Labour Force			Paid Employment		
	M	F	GG	M	F	GG
1981	185,126	125,346		55,633	15,566	
%	59.7	40.3	-19.4	78.1	21.9	-56.2
1991	271,245	169,788		140,118	76,601	
%	61.5	38.5	-23.0	64.6	35.4	-29.2
1994	254,651	219,335		131,874	84,635	
%	53.8	46.2	-7.6	60.9	39.1	-21.8
Growth p.a	2.8	5.8	+3.0	10.5	34.1	+23.6

SOURCES: Employment Statistics Unit; MFDP *Labour Statistics* 1981, 1991/92, 1993/94; HIES, 1993/94, 1995. Labour force is defined as those actually in work and those actively seeking employment. Their age is above 12 years. Under Paid Employment the percentages are out of total paid employees.

but it is well-known that most (74-80 percent) production-related tasks are carried out by women.⁴⁴

Tables 12 and 14 make clear that gender disparity in terms of participation in the formal job market has declined in the last 15 years. This reflects the phenomenal growth in the economy between 1981 and 1991. With a downward slide in the growth curve, the rate of job creation in the formal sector has been declining since then. The 14 percent growth in formal employment in the 1980s dropped to three percent between 1991 and 1994.

While keeping school-age youth out of the labour force, the participation of 30-64-year-old adults in cash-earning areas almost doubles with a resultant reduction in the gender gap in this category. Nearly three-quarters of the 72,000 women between 30 and 64 were in cash jobs in 1991 compared with less than one-third in 1981. Despite this, gender disparity is still high at 29

percent as 64.5 percent of cash-earning jobs are still in male hands (Table 15). Similarly the proportions of cash and non-cash employment are almost reversed from 1981 to 1991, while the ratio of persons in family agriculture has dwindled. It is not only young women who prefer paid employment to working in family agriculture. Even the participation of 30-64-year-old women in the traditional agricultural sector declined sharply.

Informal Sector

Most Batswana earn their living through informal sector employment. The exact number is unknown, but various estimates through sample surveys have been made in the 1990s. There were two surveys of micro- and small-scale entrepreneurs in 1992. The most reliable is HIES, 1993/94.

Table 16 gives various estimates. The 1994 figure of 62,000 household entrepreneurs is underestimated since it lists only entrepreneurs

Employment Category	1981			1991						
	M '000	% of MLF	F '000	% of FLF	GG	M '000	% of MLF	F '000	% of FLF	GG
Cash Emp	45.0	51.3	14.7	31.4	-19.9	100.8	71.5	55.4	70.6	-0.9
Fam Agric	36.1	41.2	28.8	61.5	+20.0	29.5	20.9	16.8	21.4	+0.5
Unemplmt	6.6	7.5	3.3	7.1	-4.2	10.7	7.6	6.3	8.0	+0.4
Total	87.7		46.8		-53.43	141.0		78.5		-62.5

SOURCE: *National Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, 1995*. Table 5.2 based on Census Reports of 1981, p. 130-32; and Census Report of 1991, p. 308-309. MLF= Male Labour Force; FLF= Female Labour Force; Fam Agric+ Family agriculture.

and not their workers which could double the number employed in this sector. Even that could be a low figure since some households might consider their enterprise too small to be mentioned; while others might not report a business for fear of having to pay income tax.

Not much was known about the gender differences among these entrepreneurs since most studies of the smallscale enterprises have dealt in a cursory way with women even when they have acknowledged that 75 percent of the proprietors of household enterprises and 72 percent of their workers are women. The findings of a government-commissioned Small Scale and Informal Enterprise Study (1992), a consultancy report on Business Women in Botswana, (1992) and the SIAPAC Report on Effects of Gender on Access to Credit and Grants in Botswana (1991) all confirm the predominance of women in the informal sector. The SIAPAC study indicates 100,000 to be a rough estimate of people involved in smallscale enterprises.

The 1994 HIES indicates nearly 70 percent of household enterprises to be female; and that they employ an average of two workers, most of whom are female family members. Most of these household enterprises, especially those that are female-owned, are unregistered, unlicensed and untaxed. The 1992 studies suggested a growth rate of 7.8 percent in employment among these enterprises. (No other criteria of growth were considered and no period of growth mentioned.) Most of them stagnate with an average life-span of less than three years. Although fewer female smallscale enterprises grow than their male counterparts, when they do grow, it is at a faster rate than males. Three-quarters of the smallscale enterprises in 1992 could employ more than one worker in addition to the proprietor.

Small Scale Enterprises, 1984-1994

Table 16

	1984	1988	1992	1994
Total	30,000	72,000	88,000	62,000(HH)a)
M	NA	NA	24,640	19,200
F	NA	NA	63,360	42,800

SOURCES: L. Daniels & Y. Fisseha, *Micro and Small Scale Enterprises in Botswana. Results of a Nationwide Survey. Gemini Project, May 1992. Gaborone: HIES, 1993/94, 1995, p 90.*
A) Households, as opposed to individuals indicated by other sources.

Household Enterprise by Gender of the Main Entrepreneur, 1994

Table 17

Enterprise	M	% of MHH	F	% of FHH	F % of Entrpr	GG
1	9,184	47.9	32,912	76.9	78.0	+22
2	7,458	38.9	9,903	23.1	57.0	+16
3	2,522	13.2	0	0.0	0.0	-100
Total No	19,164		42,815			+23,651

SOURCE: HIES, 1993/94, 1995, p 90. 1. Beer-brewing/selling, Hawking/Vending, Property Renting; 2. Sewing/Selling Clothes and Food - both raw and cooked, General Dealer; 3. Building, Plumbing, Making/Selling Furniture, Smithing, Taxi Driving, Auto-repair & Panel Beating. MHH=Male Household Heads; FHH= Female Household Heads.

A study of Table 17 confirms the complete exclusion of women from the traditionally male enterprises, such as smithing, building, plumbing and auto mechanics and their convergence in the traditionally female operations connected with food processing and sale, particularly of beer, and services. Beer-brewing and selling, hawking and vending and property-rental are the most popular businesses, 77 percent of them being run by women.⁴⁵ This confirms the 1992 survey reports.

The Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) introduced in 1982 to assist micro-level entrepreneurs had not even begun to address the issue. Only four percent of female entrepreneurs had received any grants from FAP and the majority were unaware of its existence. Those who knew of FAP could not afford the required five percent outlay to receive an FAP grant. Fifty-three percent of the 2,000 FAP recipients in 1993 were women. The root problem remains the lack of political will to make government general poverty eradication policies gender-sensitive, which accounts for

the failure of these policies to reach women and men equitably. Neither FAP nor ALDEP was specifically designed for female entrepreneurs in the informal sector, be it trade or subsistence agriculture.

Unemployment

There are a number of problems in measuring unemployment. Normally those who are able and willing to work, but cannot find jobs are considered unemployed. However, Botswana is not certain how to measure those who do periodic or piece-work. Botswana's 1981 census includes this type of workers among the unemployed, but in the 1991 census they are considered as employed. There are also the 'discouraged workers' who, after unsuccessfully seeking work have given up the effort, yet in the 1991 census they are not considered unemployed. Another group are those who prefer unemployment to low-paid work. Theirs is voluntary unemployment, which is not a serious issue in Botswana, except among some university graduates.

If measuring unemployment is difficult in Botswana, measuring female unemployment is doubly so because, among other reasons, a woman respondent often designates herself as a job seeker or a housewife by her self-image. The majority of Botswana women, like many world-wide, think of their primary role as that of being good mothers, wives and care-givers for their families. Another reason it is difficult to quantify female unemployment is that government administrators

are still reluctant to put a price on the work women do outside formal employment. Women's productive and reproductive tasks, besides formal employment, are labelled as 'economically inactive' in census reports. A UNDP report (1995) estimates that 66 percent of work done by women is unrecognised and unrewarded. Employment is officially considered in terms of a single occupation, but women perform many tasks which do not fall into this narrow view of 'economic'.

Despite these complexities, Botswana presently has an unemployment rate of 21 percent. After rapid growth of jobs in the 1980s, many economic sectors have downsized and laid off their workforce in varying degrees, especially in construction and manufacturing. Only government has been expanding and unemployment overall has more than doubled since 1981.

Unemployment (Table 18) is calculated from among the economically active population, which leaves out more than 418,000 'economically inactive' women and men. But the overall rate, after a moderate decline in 1991, has shot up to 23 percent for women and 20 percent for men, narrowing the gender gap from more than five in 1981 to three in 1994 among the unemployed. This has occurred because of a higher increase in male unemployment rather than any overall increase in the employment ratio. The swelling ranks of the jobless present a bleak picture for Botswana's economic situation, most particularly in urban areas where the gender gap is the widest.

More than 100,000 Botswana were unemployed in 1994. The highest rate is among urban villages which had no gender difference but, compared to 1986, more women had less access to jobs in the towns than in the villages in 1991 (Table 19). The over-

Unemployment Rates by Gender, 1981-1994

Table 18

Year	Total	M%	Total	F%	GG	Total%
1981	18,772	10.2	19,495	15.5	+5.3	10.2
1985	23,107	13.4	34,756	17.8	+4.4	15.7
1991	31,852	11.3	29,413	17.3	+4.0	13.8
1994	49,878	20.0	50,604	23.0	+3.0	21.0

SOURCES: 1991 Population and Housing Census, p 130-31; HIES 1985/96, 1988; HIES 1993/94, 1995. Tables 5 of both.

Location	1985/86%			1991%			1993/94%		
	M	F	X	M	F	X	M	F	X
Urban	17.8	35.2	+17.4	12.2	19.1	+6.9	14.0	22.0	+8.0
Urban Village	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	30.0	30.0	0.0
Rural	26.3	43.4	+17.1	11.1	14.4	+3.3	19.0	20.0	+1.0
National	13.4	17.8	+4.4	1.7	17.3	+5.6	20.0	23.0	+3.0
Total Unemployed	15.7			13.8			21.0		
Seeking Work '000%			NA			61.2			100.4
Total Pop. '000	258.2	311.8		402.0	457.1		440.6	531.5	
				(11+ years)			(10+ years)		

SOURCE: 1991 Population and Housing Census; HIES, 1985/86, 1988; HIES 1993/94, 1995; National Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 1995.

	1981			1991		
	M	F	IDES	M	F	IDES
Total Pop 12+yrs	258,200	311,800	+53,600	402,200	457,200	+55,200
Labour Force	210,300	151,400	-58,900	297,900	341,200	+43,300
Econom Active	189,000	127,400	-61,600	271,400	169,700	-101,700
EA % of Total Pop	73.2	40.9	-32.3	67.4	37.1	-30.3
Econom Inactive	69,200	184,400	+115,200	130,600	287,400	-156,800

SOURCE: 1991 Population and Housing Census Table 12.1; National Report for the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 1995.
EA= Economically Active; EI = Economically Inactive.

female unemployment rate exceeded that of males between 1991 and 1994, despite a slight fall in the female-male ratio from 1.5 to 1.1.

The HIES reports categorise people at work, at school and unemployed. The 1995 survey does include 'housework' as a category, but it is excluded as an 'economic activity'. This sort of categorisation seems to indicate that the number of economically inactive women is twice that of men and comprises 62 percent of females over 12. In addition, in 10 years the gender gap among the economically active has increased enormously (Table 20).

Yet it is widely understood that women's workload is far heavier than men's, especially in Africa.⁴⁶ The economic situation would have been very different if nearly 300,000 Botswana women were 'economically inactive'. If work in subsistence agriculture is not work, economically speaking, then women must shift

to the formal labour market to prove their worth -- precisely what Botswana women are now doing.

The 1995 HIES unveils a more serious threat of widening unemployment among the 15-24-year-old category, who constitute more than one-fifth of the population. Admittedly, there is a sharp fall in gender disparity among unemployed youth in 10 years, except for the urban 20-24-year-olds. But the overall unemployment rates in all areas for the 15-19-year-old youth were extremely high in 1994, particularly in the urban villages and towns. More than 72 percent of female and 60 percent of male youth are unemployed.

The gender gap has fallen due, once again, to a greater rise in male, than female unemployment, and not due to a decline in total unemployment. HIES' criteria for calculating unemployment is not clear. Even if it is calculated out of the total population, including 20 percent of those below five and

above 65 years, the unemployment rate will still be high at 52 percent for female and 40 percent for male youth. The gender gap among unemployed youth in 1994 is most pronounced among the 15-19-year-olds in urban villages. It is lowest in rural areas, although there has been a slight improvement overall since 1981.

The job deficit situation for young people in Botswana is not new, but it has now changed its age profile. Prior to 1989, a large proportion of 10-12-year-olds took to the streets and to crime as most of them could not enrol in junior secondary schools. However, educational policy reforms of the late 1980s assumed all students of nine years of basic education. The bottleneck has now shifted to higher secondary schools and to the 14-plus-age group. High percentages of boys and girls are jobless as the nine years education has raised expectations that they will join the formal employment sector without adequate preparation. A special case is young girls who previously went into family farming after primary school but now prefer to join the formal job market after two additional years of post-primary schooling. The rate of job-seekers, as well as the gender gap, is very wide among teenagers and the 20-24-year-olds.

Income

As already noted, a 10 percent annual increase in the formal labour workforce in 13 years is not matched by a parallel decline in the gender gap. More noticeable is the entry of women into such traditionally male sectors as mining, construction and finance and business, although in a small way and at salaries, predictably, below those of men in similar jobs. Salaries are the highest in the first six employment areas indicated (Table 22) where women constitute a minority. While the seven employment areas in the right half of Table 22 are the lowest paying which have most of the formally employed women — 73 percent of the total female workforce in paid employment. The average female salaries in mining are, strangely, higher than male's, but their presence there has always been a token one: i.e., 0.3 percent to the male six percent; and since 1988 it has never been more than 485.

	1985/86				1993/94			
	M	F	All	DDS	M	F	All	DDS
Urban								
15-19	31.7	41.9	37.5	+10.2	58.0	64.0	62.0	+6
20-24	39.5	51.0	46.8	+11.5	27.0	40.0	33.0	+13
Urb vill								
15-19yrs	NA	NA	NA	NA	60.0	72.0	66.0	+12
20-24					42.0	51.0	46.0	+9
Rural								
15-19	42.1	53.5	47.7	+11.4	37.0	40.0	38.0	+3
20-24	44.2	71.2	60.7	+27.0	30.0	35.0	32.0	+5
National								
15-19	39.8	50.4	45.3	+10.6	46.0	55.0	51.0	+9
20-24	42.7	64.5	56.3	+21.8	32.0	40.0	36.0	+8
Total Pop								
15-19	51,151	27,273		-23,878	78,585	85,955		+7,370
20-24	33,314	35,260		+1,946	50,939	60,567		+9,628

SOURCE: HIES 1985/86, 1988, Table 5; HIES 1993/94, 1995, Table 5.

Econ Activity	M	F	GG
Mining & Quarry	7426	483	-6943
Education Pvt	1068	1385	+317
Elect & Water	2114	316	-1798
Finance & Bus	9143	5578	-3565
C.Govt-Other	30047	13575	-16472
Govt Educ	5955	14822	+8867
Agricultur	3435	1081	-2354
Manufact	11634	9124	-2510
Construct	19640	3293	-16347
Commerc	19434	23859	+4425
Comt Svc	5261	3500	-1761
Transpt & Comm	6203	2322	-3881
Loc Govt	10514	5297	-5217
Total %	72%	38%	-32%
Total	131874	84635	47239

GG-Gender Gap

SOURCE: Labour Statistics 1993-94.

Finance and business is slightly better as it not only offers women marginally higher salaries, but maintains a gender balance among its employees. The gender gap is most pronounced in education which absorbs 19 percent of women (five percent men) but pays much lower salaries. This is primarily because most of them are in Primary Education (Table 22).

However, women's share of the highest paid jobs (a salary of more than P1,000-a-month) is very low, the gender gap being nearly 45. Their share of the next highest jobs with salaries between P500 and P999 is equally low – 26 percent. Half the women in formal employment earn less than P500-a-month while only 2.6 percent of men are in the same position. While gender gaps, in terms of employment, have come down, there has been little improvement in terms of remunera-

tion. Women remain poorer than men no matter what the sector of the economy.

Such high gender disparities are primarily the result of women's difficulty climbing the ladder of paying occupations beyond a certain point. The problem is as much a lack of the necessary skills among women as attitudinal biases among men in authority in both public and private sectors.

An occupational breakdown of the formally employed Batswana explains the income disparities between men and women. Despite progress made since independence, only 25 percent of administrators and managers, and 33 percent of professionals are women. In fact, the gender gap in these categories has increased by more than six percent since 1986, despite the fact that these are high profile positions car-

Salary Ranges for Formally Employed 1994

Table 23

MLF 131.874 FLF84.645	Economy Sectors a) P1000+ salary pm		Economy Sectors b) P500-999 pm		Economy Sectors c) P<P500 pm	
M Total	61.956		66.483		3.435	
% of sector	72.3		73.8		8.4	
% of MLF	46.8		50.4		2.6	
F Total	23.669	L	23.619	L	37.357	L
% of sector	27.6	-44.7	26.2	-47.6	91.6	+83.2
% of FLF	27.9	-19.0	27.9	-22.5	44.1	

MLF= Male labour force; FLF=Female labour force)
SOURCE: Labour Statistics 1993/94, p9, 19. a) Mining Utilities; Finance, Pvt Education, Govt Education (for men only); C. Government, Transport. b) Community Services, Local Govt; Manufacturing; Construction & Commerce (for men). c) Agriculture, Manufacturing, Construction & Commerce (for women).

Occupations of the Formally Employed, 1991

Table 24

Occupation	Total	M		Total	Occ%	F		
		Occ%	MLF%			FLF%	L '91	L '86
1 Admns/Manager	6,889	74.3	2.8	12,382	25.7	1.7	-48.6	-42.0
2 Professional	6,287	66.9	2.6	3,119	33.1	2.2	-33.8	Occup
3 Para-prof/Technic	12,624	43.7	5.3	16,276	56.3	11.6	+12.6	-33.0
4 Clerk/service/sale	23,654	44.0	9.9	30,099	56.0	21.5	+8.0	+33.0
5 Craft/trade/Plant/ machine worker	67,188	82.1	28.0	14,595	17.8	10.4	-64.3	NA
6 Elementary worker	123,000	62.4	51.2	73,894	37.5	52.6	-24.9	-82.0
Total Population	239,500			140,365				

SOURCE: Population and Housing Census, 1991, p 347-48; Labour Statistics, 1986, p 31.

Pula	M%	F%	ULE
0.00	.7	.7	0.00
<500	40.8	53.8	+13.0
500 - 750	14.9	15.8	+9
500-1000	25.8	26.4	+6
1000-3000	23.6	17.2	-6.4
3000>	9.2	1.9	-7.3
Mean Pula	1290.5	690.3	-600.2
Median Pula	625.5	454.7	-170.8

SOURCE: HIES 1993/94, 1995, p 57.

Mean	1986				1994			
	M	F	All	ULE	M	F	All	SE
Urban	687	256	505	-431	1892	861	1525	-1031
Urb Vill	-	-	-	-	935	565	731	-370
Rural	165	105	136	-60	518	357	441	-161
National	313	141	234	-172	1087	532	833	-555
Growth %					312%	389%		+67
Median	110	66	83	-54	500	300	373	-200

SOURCES: HIES 1985/86, 1988, p 44-45; HIES, 1993/94, 1995, p 56-57.

rying with them the best salaries and prestige. The data for professionals and para-professionals in 1986 was merged, making it difficult to identify change. One area where gender disparity has declined is in elementary occupations — unskilled work. Domestic work alone absorbs 32,000 women. A majority of female and male workers (more than 51 percent) are in the lowest paid jobs as semi-skilled and unskilled workers in agriculture, and domestic work. Most of the service sector jobs in education, health and community welfare are women; while the majority of technicians, para-professionals, plant and machine-operators and craft and trade-workers are men. About 42 percent of women and one-third of men remain in jobs with middle incomes.

Along with the rise in national per capita income to P8,287 in 1993-94 from less than P1,000 in 1981, individuals gained as well, but the gender gap did not fall accordingly.

In 1995 more than 70 percent of households had disposable cash incomes below P750.⁴⁷ Only 22 percent of all households earn more than P1,000 monthly while 10 percent earn over P2,000. Female household heads benefited marginally more than men during the 1980s boom. Female earnings are now 53 percent of that of men, instead of 45 percent in 1986, but the gender gap is still high at P600. The gender gap in the disposable cash incomes is most pronounced in the urban towns where men earn more than twice that of women (Table 26).

Despite a higher growth rate of female household earnings between 1986 and 1994, the gender gap remains wide, particularly in urban areas where female earnings constitute 45 percent of men's. The situation of rural women improves slightly when in-kind income is added to cash receipts, bringing their median income just above that of men. However, the gender gap rises in all other areas, especially urban towns where female earnings constitute 45 percent of male earnings.

Moreover, 80 percent women and 62 percent of men had access to less than the national mean cash income of P833 for households surveyed in 1994 while 81 percent of women and 67 percent of men did not get the mean total income (P1016), including in-kind receipts.⁴⁸ Of all households more than 70 percent earned less than P750 with more than 71 percent of female-headed households in this group. Urban female households have access to only 45 percent of male earnings.

The returns of household entrepreneurs are equally low with 76 percent receiving less than P500, and only 15 percent earning more than P1,000 per month.⁴⁹ The 1992 small-scale enterprise studies indicated that the average size of

female businesses, in terms of workers, was lower than their male counterparts and that fewer female enterprises than male had grown since their inception. In fact very few small-scale enterprises can access the necessary initial capital outlay. Of 19 percent which had grown, the female small-scale enterprises had the higher growth rate. The majority had stagnated, and five percent had declined.⁵⁰

The government-instigated FAP designed to help smallscale enterprises has achieved only limited success. Only a quarter of the businesses had heard of FAP and just four percent had received FAP grants. Of the 2,034 FAP grant recipients by March 1993, the majority (53 percent) were women entrepreneurs. But most of those who had capital investments above P10,000 were men. Three-quarters of the female-run enterprises are so poor they cannot employ more than one worker.⁵¹

Minimum hourly wages for the 108,000 Batswana listed under 'elementary occupations' have only increased from 40-44 thebe to 104-125 thebe, between 1982 and 1994. (One pula consists of 100 thebe.) These workers still earn less than P300 per month.⁵² Since domestic work is still unregulated, it is likely the lowest paid occupation.

Workload

No specific study of the work done by women and men has been made in Botswana but it is clear that the female workload is much heavier than for men. The traditional extended family system in which the group members, covering many households, co-operated in such major tasks as building and thatching huts, clearing new fields, weeding and reaping has largely fallen into disuse.⁵³

Much of the help from outside the immediate household has to be paid for, preferably in cash. Since men

Cash and In-Kind Income Distribution Among Households 1986-94

Table 27

In Pula	1986			1994		
	M	F	ULE	M	F	SE
National Mean	234	83	NA	1290	690	-600
Median				626	455	-171
Urban Mean	736	287	-449	2130	952	-1178
Median	382	193	-189	1012	513	-499
Urb Vill Mean	NA	NA	NA	1093	699	-394
Median				642	483	-159
Rural Mean	260	174	-86	714	561	-153
Median	153	116	-37	413	421	+8
Total Households		222,393			291,610	

SOURCE: HIES 1985/86, 1988, p 52-53; HIES 1993/94, 1995, p 56-57

are absent from many female-headed households, some sending cash remittances but others not, male labour is too scarce for women to hire. A 1974 study revealed women undertaking 74 percent of crop production and 11 percent of cattle management with the help of their children. By 1991 they were found to be doing 80 percent of the agricultural work.⁵⁴ Rural households have lost much of their male input and virtually all of their children's because of universal primary education, leaving all production tasks with women in family households. The situation is slightly better in de facto female households where male labour is available at crucial moments in the production cycle.

In addition, there are other household chores including fetching water and fuelwood -- the two most time-consuming tasks in many rural areas -- cooking, laundry, cleaning the premises and rearing children. The absence of older children is most acutely felt in helping bring up the younger members of the family. Some households (20 percent), unable to cope with the increased workload, are forced to withdraw their children from school. About 20 percent of those not completing school cited this as the reason. A considerable number of rural women also run small-scale enterprises such as baking, brewing or sewing to earn cash.

In urban areas the situation is no different. Contrary to the census classification, all women are economically active, indeed hyperactive. Women combine different types of activities:

- ♦ running almost single-handedly informal sector enterprises; combining formal employment with informal enterprises;
- ♦ affluent women have the extra task of chauffeuring children to and from school, twice-a-day;
- ♦ nursing sick children -- many working mothers run the risk of losing promotion chances due to family demands on their 'working' time; and
- ♦ running of household on top of everything else, often with little assistance from men who would rather go drinking after work, except when important decisions have to be made.

Employers are also reluctant to hire female candidates, all things being equal, because of the right to maternity leave or time off to attend to sick family members.

Agriculture and Food Security

Unlike the rest of the economy, Botswana's arable agriculture is in poor condition.

The number of farms and cultivated acreage has been sharply reduced. The 10-year average crop production between 1979 and 1988 was 33,310 metric tonnes, the planted area 246,600 ha and the average yield 135kg per ha.⁵⁵ This is far lower than the production of peasant farmers in neighbouring countries with similar soil and rainfall. And, of course, the worst impact is on the poorest of farmholders, the majority of whom are women.⁵⁶

It is a matter of deep concern that most farmholders are able to plough only a small part of their land, harvesting only about two-thirds of what is ploughed and harvesting less than 100kg per ha.

Even government-assisted farmers under ALDEP fail to increase their yield significantly. The cost of producing one kg of ARAP and ALDEP crop, is double that of imported grain.⁵⁷

The poor are as poor as their land and their draught power is so low as to be almost non-existent. Poor farmers lack the cash to hire draught power and labour to plough sufficient acreage in time for a good harvest. The cycle of poverty continues and researchers now suggest that the farming costs per hectare could be twice as high for the poor as it is for the rich.⁵⁸ While natural disasters like drought and pests affect all farmers, the means to overcome them are unequally distributed between rich and poor farmers. Since poor farmers produce for their own consumption, the food security situation in Botswana is grave.

For middle-sized farmers, too, agricultural production is a risky affair because of competition from cheaper South African produce, which is difficult to control because of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) to which Botswana belongs. In any given year food imports account for half of domestic needs and during drought years the import ratio rises still higher. This is the reason both people and government have moved from the earlier goal of food self-sufficiency to food security. However, if people must purchase their basic food requirements, they require cash. As noted earlier, the cash income of rural households is far below the rest of the country. Moreover 70 percent of Botswana earn less than P500-a-month which is insufficient for purchasing basic nutritional needs.

Government policies to meet critical food requirements during the prolonged drought periods of the 1980s and early 1990s, have saved people from starvation. While the Accelerated Rainfed Agricultural

Programme, which was in existence from 1985 to 1990, was a safety net protecting farmers by giving them free agricultural inputs. ALDEP, first introduced in 1982 and now in its second phase from 1994, has failed to achieve its three targets: increase production of basic grains and legumes; increase rural incomes through improved agricultural production; and create more rural employment opportunities.

Like most other policies it was not gender-designed and failed to address the problems of female resource-poor farmers.

Agricultural production is shrinking every year. The extended family is increasingly being replaced by the cash economy. In the process, all small farmers, especially women with much limited access to cash, are becoming disillusioned about farming. This is reflected in the large-scale exodus of women below 30 from family agriculture to cash employment, even if sufficient jobs do not exist. Smallholder agriculture needs to be restored or the rural economy will die. The old assumptions that growth through development programmes, especially those which are gender-blind, will benefit the poor and the women through the trickle-down method have failed. These old programmes must be replaced by target-designed participatory projects where recipients are involved at every stage of the project process.

Although this section has painted a grim picture of the economic position of women compared with men in Botswana, it must be emphasised that not all women are equally disadvantaged. Their presence can be seen and felt in many areas unheard of two decades ago. Taking advantage of the various government and non-governmental programmes, some women, albeit a tiny minority, have graduated from street-vending to general dealers' shops, butcheries, food packaging and

Year	1. Planted '000 ha	2. Harvested '000 ha	2 as % of 1	Production M tonne	Ave. Yield Kg/ha
1982	204	76	37.2	18,000	93
1988	364	300	82.4	215,000	295
1993	278	109	39.2	16,600	61.7

SOURCE: 1993 Botswana Agricultural Census Report, 1996, p 41-43.

manufacturing. In many cases, they are linked to important men who help them get access to credit, training and market information.

Despite that assistance, there is evidence that, given equal opportunities and equal rights, women can contribute to the national development as well as to their families. Women's main obstacles remain legal barriers and heavy family and domestic responsibilities which, along with 'traditional' attitudes, see them only as good mothers and wives. It is imperative to change social attitudes in line with the socio-economic transformations through which Botswana has passed in the last three decades.

Relief

The Botswana government has always taken the problem of endemic drought seriously. Well-planned and implemented measures such as the Drought Relief and Accelerated Rainfed Agricultural Programme (ARAP) saved hundreds of people from starvation during the severe 1981-87 drought. Universal assistance was given to everyone in drought-affected areas through food for work programmes on public works, and seeds and fertilizers for cultivation. By the late 1980s all needy farmers were receiving assistance under ARAP which lasted from 1985 to 1990.

The drought monitoring and relief continues and it has been proposed that, because of frequent drought, this programme should be integrated into the national development plans to avoid establishing fresh

Year	Total	Percentage of GDP
1983	167.0	7.95
1989	402.4	11.45
1993	289.6	6.41

SOURCE: Human Development Index 1996 Database, Draft.

% of Aid	Human Res Development	Transport	SocDevlp	HumanAid + Relief	Natural Resource	Agriculture	Disaster Preparednes
1989	120.5	45.7	10.9	9.1	15.3	35.5	0.6
%	29.9	11.3	2.7	2.2	3.8	8.8	0.1
1993	85.5	58.7	4.3	12.4	70.5	12.9	0
%	29.5	20.2	1.5	4.3	24.3	4.4	0

SOURCE: Human Development Index 1996, Draft

structures each drought. Instead of being an ad hoc safety net the programme should become an ongoing social welfare plan which is necessary to protect the poor households most vulnerable to drought since during each disaster their income is reduced and their livestock, draught power and total harvest are destroyed.⁵⁹ A total of P440m was spent by the government along with a substantial grant by donor agencies on these relief programmes. In addition there is a destitute allowance for those who qualify.

The latest government intervention to link growth with equity and achieve social justice is a P100-a-month old-age pension, for all people above 65 years of age.

Foreign Aid

Botswana has been exceptionally fortunate in attracting generous foreign assistance both at official and non-governmental level for its developmental programmes. In the peak year, 1989, when maximum aid was received, it contributed more than 11 percent of the GDP. Equally significant is government's receiving these aid programmes on its own terms without the conditionalities usually attached to them.

It has been able to withstand donor pressure without deviating from its own goals or losing sight of its priorities.⁶⁰ The government has been able to negotiate aid packages from a position of strength. Nearly 30 percent of overseas aid has been allocated to human resource development and another 25 percent to natural resource development, momentum can be maintained even when foreign aid is gradually phased out.

POLITICAL POWER SHARING

If Botswana women have not had a proportionate share of the economic wealth, their access to political power has been even less. Women who are voters and political party members apparently continue to uphold and nurture this liberal democracy. Women's participation in positions of responsibility and power, both in public and private institutions, is exceptionally low, although they constitute more than 54 percent of the 25-39 years old population.⁶¹ Although Botswana is often cited, especially in the foreign press, as a "shining example of democracy", the majority of its population remains under-represented in the country's power structures. Prior to 1997 there was only one woman in cabinet, a clear case for the continued demand for more women in the structures of power and decision-making. This will make them not only truly democratic but introduce a different cultural ethos.

The analysis of these data (Tables 31-34) is quite clear. Women who are voters and political party mem-

Area	1984				1994			
	M	F	BOTSWANA	F%	M	F	BOTSWANA	F%
Parliament	36	2	-34	5.5	40	4	-36	9.0
Cabinet	14	1	-13	6.6	14	1	-13	6.6

SOURCE: CSO, *Women and Men in Botswana, Basic Facts*, 1995

bers, continue to uphold and nurture democracy, but they are not allowed to reach senior, or even middle-level, leadership. The local councils are the highest positions women can expect to reach. Even the few who have made it to key positions, have to accept, as a survival strategy, the masculine ethos of these institutions. A lone woman sitting in a cabinet of 15 or a board of directors of seven will not find it easy to raise her voice and be heard. Since Independence, there has been only one woman in the cabinet. It is essential to bring more women into the structures of power and decision-making, not only to make them truly democratic but also to change their culture.

Democracy is much more than simple voting rights, which all adult Botswana women have; or the holding of multi-party elections every few years, which happens in Botswana without exception.

Private and parastatal bodies display male control of power even more obviously than government. Practically none of the financial and insurance institutions have any woman on their boards of directors. Until very recently, the central bank, the Bank of Botswana, was a male preserve. Towards the end of 1995 it appointed one highly qualified woman to its seven member board. The Botswana Housing Commission (BHC) and the University of Botswana have followed suit.

The country's two main banks, Barclays and Standard Chartered, have a few women in managerial positions at small branches and many in supervisory roles but none on their boards of directors. Botswana's senior secondary schools, teacher training colleges (TTCs), and the vocational training centres (VTCs) are all headed by men. One college of education, Molepolole College, was headed by a woman for some time until

	Perm Secry	Chief Justc	Director	Commissioner	Accountant	Managers
M	7	1	26	5	14	3
F	1	0.00	15	0.00	2	0.00
UST	-6	-1	-11	-5	-12	-3
F%	12.5	0.00	40.5	0.00	12.5	0.00

SOURCE: CSO, *Women and Men in Botswana. Basic Facts, 1995.*

Administrators	M	F	F %	EO
Grade C1-F 0	1219	494	28.8	-725
Professional/Tech	52	14	21.2	-38
Total	1271	505	28.5	-763

SOURCE: Directorate of Public Service Management, 1994.

	Mayors	Town Clerks	Councillors
M	9	23	409
F	1	5	70
	-8	-18	-339
F %	10.0	17.8	14.6

SOURCES: CSO, *Women and Men in Botswana. Basic Facts, 1995 (a)* Includes Deputies.

	M	F	F %	BC
Bank of Botswana	6	1	14.3	-- 3
Bots Housing Corp	7	1	12.5	-- 6
University Council	15	2	11.7	--13

SOURCE: Official information obtained from the respective institutions, 1995.

1995. Female heads can be seen in Community Junior Secondary, and Primary Schools only. Since the entry of the private sector into the education field some schools have female proprietors, but these are all below the senior secondary level.

Virtually all faculty deanships and directorships at the University of Botswana (and the Polytechnic, which is now the university's new Faculty of Engineering) are male with the exception of the university

librarian. While the ratio of female heads of departments at the university has increased from 12.5 percent in 1994 to 20 percent in 1996, no

engineering departments have female heads.

Among the teaching staff, the majority of science teachers are men.

Indicative of the recent importance attached to reducing the gender gap in vocational education and training (VET) is the appointment of a female director of that department in the ministry of education in 1995 which is part of an education plan currently undergoing fundamental change.

Voting

From Independence in 1966, Batswana women and men have enjoyed the universal franchise which, like other basic human rights, has been enshrined in the Constitution. Various election studies have shown that women exercise this right fully, as do men, however the equity often stops at the ballot box. Women, steeped in centuries old culture of subordination to men, have failed to use their right to vote to place candidates of their own gender on the ballot papers. Nor have the political parties taken any leadership in this direction. Most women and men still believe women cannot be leaders and decision-makers, they can only be followers, accepting the male decisions in public life as many continue to do in private life.

Since 1994 effective work is being done by Emang Basadi, a Women's NGO, which seeks to raise the consciousness of women in rural and urban areas to exercise voting and other political rights. WLSA and WLDAF also are involved in greater political action movements for women.

Although Botswana has seven political parties, and usually more just before general elections, very few have any affirmative action policy to achieve gender equity among candidates contesting elec-

Women in power and decision-making

Box 3

The constitution of Botswana guarantees equality among women and men as well as individual freedom and human rights. However, women tend to have a very limited presence in the upper echelons of power and decision-making. For example, representation both in cabinet and Parliament is predominantly male, despite the fact that the majority of voters are females.

Similarly women have made limited advancement in economic power-sharing and are conspicuously absent from the boards of most of the private and parastatal companies in the country.

This factor might be attributed by cultural belief and attitude that says *Ga di nke di etelelwa ke manamagadi* (cattle are never led by a female cow). This kind of socialisation makes females too submissive, weakening their self-esteem and self-confidence to hold public positions.

Women also face serious limitations due to:

- Insufficient access to finance.
- Insufficient effective markets.
- Insufficient entrepreneurial skills.
- Socio-economic and cultural constraints.

Equality in decision-making is essential to the implementation of programmes and to the empowerment of women.

The following strategies and actions need to be adopted in order to balance the sharing of power and decision-making:

- ◆ Take measures to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same levels as men;
- ◆ Support NGOs and research institutes that conduct studies on women's participation in decision-making;
- ◆ Build and strengthen solidarity among women through information, education and sensitisation activities.

It is imperative to involve government officials, NGOs, private and parastatals, other national and international bodies and the community including both women and men to fulfil the demands of change for the advancement of women in our country.

SOURCE: Botswana Daily News October 31, 1996 p 5.

Headship of Teaching Institutions, 1994

Table 36

Head	College of Educ	TTC	Sen Sec Schools	Com.Jun.	Pr School	University	Polytech
M	2	4	23	133	347	1	1
F	0.00	0.00	0.00	33	268	0.00	0.00
ILTY	-2	-4	-23	-100	-79	-1	-1

SOURCES: Unified Teaching Services; Computer Department, University of Botswana.

tions. In fact, only two parties have any stability - the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and the only opposition party in Parliament, the Botswana National Front (BNF). Their central committees until recently had few women. At present the BDP has three women members out of 10 on its central committee. The BNF, in its 1994 election manifesto asserts the need to reserve 30 per cent of its seats for women but little has been done to implement this intention. The BDP does not have any explicit policy of affirmative action, although under mounting pressure from women's lobbies it did nominate two women to Parliament after the 1994 general elections.

The reluctance of the political parties to address the strategic needs of women is evident from the way their female candidates are selected and allocated marginal or unsafe constituencies. It took the government three years to amend citizenship laws which openly discriminated against women, and many more to ratify the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). For years Botswana had been promising to finalise a Draft Policy on Women, first written in the mid 1980s. This was done only towards the end of 1996 under pressure from NGOs.

Symptomatic of this half-hearted approach by government to rectify gender inequalities is the recent Deeds and Registration (Amendment) Bill tabled before Parliament in September 1996. This Bill allows for immovable property to be ceded or transferred to women married in Community of Property (COP) - a right which women previously had only with the husband's permission. But the Bill does not cover other property such as cash, farm produce, cattle or vehicles etc. And yet most couples' property

consists more of the latter than of houses. More importantly, the Bill does not remove the marital power of a husband which is at the root of a woman's subordination to her husband, in case of a COP marriage. Nor will the proposed amendment enable women to buy immovable property without the husband's assistance, which is essential for them to obtain bank loans.⁶² The question women must ask is why amend the law if real power is not accorded. Such so-called "gender neutral" policies appear to apparently satisfy the demands for equality, which is not borne out in reality. Work being done by such women's organizations as WLSA, WLDAF and Emang Basadi is making Botswana women more knowledgeable of their potential rights and capabilities.

Departmental Headship at the University, 1995

	M	F	TTY	F%
University	32	4	-28	11.1

SOURCE: Administration, University of Botswana; includes faculty of engineering.

Teaching Staff in Science Subjects in Schools and the University of Botswana, 1994

Table 38

Subject	Schools			University		
	M	F	HY	M	F	
Biology	58	2	-56	13	4	-9
Chemistry	50	12	-38	16	1	-15
Physics	58	3	-55	19	0.00	-19
Maths	384	173	-211	30	5	-25

SOURCE: Unified Teaching Services, Ministry of Education; Acting Dean, Sciences Faculty, University of Botswana, 1994.

Law and Gender

A gendered analysis of the promotion and protection of human rights in Botswana shows a differential impact on the 1.4 million population, usually to women's disfavour who comprise 52% as mentioned earlier. In practice, the two legal regimes pertaining in the country include laws which are discriminatory to women and entrench their subordination to men. The matter of "The Attorney General of the Republic of Botswana vs Unity Dow" confirmed constitutional legal equality between men and women, which in reality falls far short in responding to many women's lived experiences.

Women in business

Box 4

The legal system in Botswana discriminates against women married in community of property. These laws effectively prevent many thousands of women from starting their own business. Because of these laws, banks and other financial institutions require the husbands of women married in community of property to sign all forms regarding loans and credit.

These unjust rules originate from some ancient principles of Roman-Dutch law that were imported into Botswana. Unfortunately, these principles have been incorporated by Parliament into statutes such as the Married Persons Property Act and the Companies Act.

A woman who is married out of community of property has full legal capacity and can make legal binding contracts in her own right separate to her husband.

But a woman married in community of property generally lacks the legal capacity to make contracts, and is said to be subject to 'marital power' of her husband. The effect of this marital power is that, on marriage, the property of both husband and wife becomes part of one joint estate. All property acquired after the marriage also goes automatically into this joint estate.

In theory, it is jointly owned by both husband and wife, but the husband becomes the single administrator of the joint estate. It is therefore the husband alone who has power to make contracts, to acquire or dispose property.

In a similar way, section 143 of the Companies Act disqualifies a woman married in community of property from being a director of a company unless her husband gives his written consent and that consent is lodged with the Registrar of Companies.

There are certain exceptions to these rules regarding women married in community of property. A wife for instance, does not require her husband's assistance in buying necessities - such as food, clothing, medical bills. What is a 'necessary' depends upon the financial circumstances of the family in question.

SOURCE: Andrew Briscoe, *Mmegi*, Gaborone, Botswana, 2 August 1996.

Botswana has a dual legal system comprising customary law, which is mainly uncodified and applied by the tribal customary courts, and the general law which includes Statutes and Roman-Dutch common-law. The customary courts have limited criminal jurisdiction but unlimited jurisdiction in matters of a 'customary' nature. In civil matters, there is a theoretical choice of law, but since a majority of Botswana live in the rural areas, the customary courts are the most accessible and preferred option.

Government plays a key role in defining the status of women. This has implications on the extent to which the laws are gender-sensitive

and protect the rights of women. Parliament, for example, which has the responsibility of enacting legislation has 46 members, of whom only four are women. The House of Chiefs, which is key in the legislative process, comprises only male chiefs. Law enforcement at the administrative level is generally poor in terms of gender-responsiveness. The high court and court of appeal judges are all men. In the subordinate courts, there are a number of women magistrates, but it is traditionally a male domain.

The predominance of men in key positions who influence the legislation and the administration of law impacts on the sensitivity shown in social and state practice about the issue of the rights of women and their protection. It has also failed to set minimum standards regarding cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, which has grave implications for the protection of women against violence. It is yet to ratify the Convention Against Torture, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Botswana is a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and has ratified the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, which provides that every state shall ensure the elimination all discrimination against women and ensure the protection of the rights of women and children stipulated in international declarations and conventions, placing an obligation on the Botswana Government to actively combat violation of the rights of women. However, the situation at national level, which should reflect this continental commitment, still needs marked improvement.

Botswana has enshrined a Bill of Rights in the Constitution which provides for equality and protection before the law. However, numerous women are subjected to cruel and

inhuman treatment at the hands of men with very little positive state or social intervention. The extent or intensity of the abuse of women is difficult to quantify for a variety of reasons: women are fearful of reporting incidents which occur behind closed doors; police statistics are scanty or non-existent; and not much quantitative or qualitative data exists. An overview of social attitudes to abuse appears to be condescending and unsympathetic. There is a general social sanction of violent behaviour towards women and a reluctance to act decisively against its perpetration.

The issue of violence against women has been identified as one of the six critical areas of concern in Botswana.⁶³ Violence against women cuts across class and social background. Despite recognition of the problem as endemic, there are few empirical studies which provide a solid basis from which to map its true dimensions. However, the few statistics available document and make visible the pervasiveness and extent of the problem. Both before and after Beijing, activism and theory-building on gender violence has developed rapidly with district workshops, national conferences and documentation of violent incidents against women.

There are several reasons being advanced for the vulnerability of women to violent treatment, the most obvious being society's construction of female sexuality and its role in social hierarchy. Botswana society holds a concept of a woman as property and dependent on a male protector. The National Report for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 observes:

"A large part of women's relatively low social status...derives from some traditional cultural values which recognize women as minors who constantly require male protec-

tion in relation to both the external world and the management and control of property....In denying them independent access and rights to inheritance of such assets as cattle...these cultural principles also deny women the right to an independent means of making a living, and thus tie them to a dependent relationship with men as fathers, husbands, uncles and even adult sons."

It is abundantly clear that gender violence in Botswana is embedded in the context of cultural, socio-economic and political power relations. The society is organised around hierarchical power relations which give legitimacy to violence against women. The disadvantaged and subordinate status of women, both from a social and legal perspective, has an impact on the extent of their protection from the violence of men. Urgent national activism is afoot to address this critical problem. This is the main reason for the identification of violence against women as a critical area for action for both government and civil society.

There are different forms of physical and psychological abuse, that women are subjected to. The statistics on rape and incest give a strong indication of one dimension of the problem.

Although 1983 statistics were not available, Table 39, compiled from national police records, shows a steady increase in reported cases of sexual abuse, which includes rape and defilement. The latter is sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of 16. The report on the research on rape observed that "the cases that finally reach the court are a fraction of the actual cases that do take place".⁶⁴ Although more visible through the present statistics than other forms of violence against women, the crime is still very much under-reported because some women never report. This state of affairs has been ascribed to fear,

Number of Rape and Defilement Cases Reported in Botswana 1982-1992 Table 39

Year	Rapes Reported	Defilement	Total
1982	459	72	531
1983	-	-	-
1984	412	34	446
1985	475	30	505
1986	491	40	531
1987	600	41	641
1988	700	25	725
1989	581	48	599
1990	614	42	656
1991	750	52	802
1992	712	49	761

SOURCE: *The Prevalence and Consequences of Rape on Women in Botswana: An Agenda for Research and Action*, Emang Basadi Women's Association, Gaborone, 1995, p.10.

	Number	Percentage
Under 5	2	3.0
6 - 10	5	7.6
11 - 15	20	30.3
16 - 20	18	27.3
21 - 25	6	9.1
26 - 30	4	6.1
31 - 35	1	1.5
36 - 40	2	1.5
41 - 45	1	1.5
46 - 50	1	1.5
51+	6	9.1
Total	66	100

SOURCE: *The Prevalence and Consequences of Rape on Women in Botswana: An agenda for Research and Action*, Emang Basadi Women's Association, Gaborone, 1995, p.12.

shame, and "little or no faith in the laws and their enforcement".⁶⁵ The vulnerability of women located in the rural areas is also serious, since their immediate access to police and medical facilities are limited.

Table 40 reveals that the most vulnerable age group is between 11 and 20-years-old and 51 and older. Three percent of rape survivors are under five. The 1995 Emang Basadi report further found that women and girls are subjected to various kinds of rape including power, anger and sadistic rape from either known assailants or strangers. The psychological and health implications are critical and there is no state-funded rape counselling, although local organisations, such as ChildLine do deal with child abuse. ChildLine reported that 11 percent of the total number of cases dealt with from July, 1991 to May, 1996 were sexual abuse, 22 percent emotional abuse and 19 percent physical abuse. Sixty percent of their clients are female, ranging in age from one to 28. Of those the largest number are between 11 and 21.

Table 41 shows the increasing number of reported cases. The 1995 Police Rape/Femicide Report indicates that there were 853 cases reported in 1993, an average of two

cases reported daily. However, not all reported cases are prosecuted, and not all prosecuted cases result in convictions. Since rape and defilement are considered crimes against the state, they are prosecuted by the state and the primary responsibility of investigating and acquiring evidence falls on the state. The majority of those involved in the administration of law are men which has a bearing on their level of sensitivity to the issues. Table 41 also shows a high rate of closure of cases. Most survivors do not get to see their attackers brought to justice which gives the impression that the judicial system favours the perpetrators.

The Penal Code, which is one of the key pieces of legislation regulating criminal activity, provides for a maximum sentence of life imprisonment with corporal punishment for rape but stiff penalties are rarely meted out. The code also provides for protection of women and girls from incest with maximum sentences ranging from seven to 14 years. The familiar nature of incestuous abuse of both boys and girls is a strong force in the relative invisibility of incest matters in the courts and larger society.

The law does not recognise the rape of a wife by her husband, even in situations where they are separated. A study of court records nationally, found that sentences for rape ranged from six months to nine years, usually accompanied by caning.⁶⁶ This apparent lack of effective enforcement could be attributable to the fact that the Court of Appeal has held that corporal punishment coupled with a long prison sentence is inhuman and degrading and therefore unconstitutional. This ruling reduces the likelihood of any perpetrator incurring a sentence of life imprisonment and corporal punishment.

The effectiveness of the rape law to protect women has been criticised [Rape/Femicide Report, 1995]

Year	Reported	Convictions		Closed	
		Number	%	Number	%
1982	459	147	23	215	47
1984	412	147	36	178	43
1985	475	138	29	215	42
1986	491	178	36	221	45
1987	600	197	33	300	50
1988	700	166	24	368	53
1989	581	180	31	326	56
1990	614	149	24	360	59
1991	750	157	21	422	56
1992	712	114	16	500	70

SOURCE: *The Prevalence and Consequences of Rape on Women in Botswana: An Agenda for Research and Action*, Emang Basadi Women's Association, Gaborone, (1994:14 court records).

because of certain legal requirements and procedures. These include: (a) corroboration, which views the survivor's evidence with suspicion and requires that it be supported in some material way; (b) admissibility of a prior relationship between the survivor and perpetrator, questioning her credibility; (c) use of inconclusive medical evidence which only establishes the presence of sperm and not the identity of the accused; (d) holding of rape trials and hearings in open court. There is no legal requirement that the perpetrator should be tested for sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including HIV/AIDS, but the survivor is tested.

Rape has been classified in Botswana as a moral offence, rather than an offence against a person.⁶⁷ This effectively removes it as a crime of violence against women. The same holds true for various forms of violence that occur in domestic situations.

This makes the crimes less personal to the woman and more expansive as crimes against the people, which supposedly shows the moral outrage of larger society against such crimes. However, it robs the women of control of the process and can subject her to double jeopardy. A limited sample of statistics from the urban police stations in Gaborone from January to August, 1990 indicates that of 21 cases of assault causing actual bodily harm against women, 11 were withdrawn and only seven went to trial. Of 30 cases of common assault on women, half were completed and five withdrawn. Since an assaulted woman is the key witness for the prosecution, when she withdraws, the state cannot prosecute.

This limited sample of statistics does not indicate the actual number of cases reported each year but it is clear, however, that women do, in some instances withdraw complaints against partners. This could be

**Report from the Central Police Station
Gaborone on Domestic Violence 1986-1990**

Table 42

Year	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
W/drawn by complainants	5	14	28	9	8
Completed in court	6	4	22	1	8
Cases pending	Nil	Nil	Nil	24	3

SOURCE: *Domestic Violence and the Law: The Case of Botswana*, Peter Takirambudde, undated, p. 8.

attributed to fear of societal reprisal, in the case of a married woman, that she has taken her husband to court, or fear of the aftermath of a conviction. If the rape statistics are anything to go by, the likelihood of acquittals is high and even when perpetrators are convicted, the sentence is likely to be lenient, allowing the assailant to go free.

The police are often, and at times justifiably, accused of dragging their feet along with insensitivity. They are further implicated in denying women effective access to the law and courts of their choice by dismissing cases as domestic disputes or ghettoising them by relegating them to customary courts which have limited jurisdiction in most cases.

Table 43 does not show the total number of cases reported which creates a difficulty in determining the percentage number of incidents in each case for comparative purposes. The table also does not show the nature of cases dealt with. However, it is obvious that the police try to play the role of counsellors with their positions as law enforcement officers becoming secondary. Few police officers get training in social and psychological counselling. The extent, therefore, to which they are able to "reconcile" the survivor and perpetrator of domestic violence is suspect.

Rhetorical statements are often heard regarding customary sanctioning of "chastisement" of women by husbands and, in some instances, by intimate partners,

**Reports from the
Central Police Station
Gaborone on Domestic
Violence, 1989-1990**

Table 43

Year	1989	1990	Total
Reconciled	5	11	16
Referred to DC/Cust. Cts	3	2	5
Partners separated	2	4	6

SOURCE: *Domestic Violence and the Law: The Case of Botswana*, P. Takirambudde, undated, p. 9.

combined with a general belief that it is acceptable. There is some evidence of disciplining of a wife through beating given by researchers:

"If husband and wife quarrel, and the wife is at fault, the husband may beat her. Wife-beating is common and considered quite justifiable if the woman is unfaithful, stays out late at night, or neglects any of her ordinary domestic duties."⁶⁸

However, in the Court of Appeal in a case where the appellant had murdered his wife, the judge stated:

".....the law does not and will not recognize what is alleged to be an accepted custom in Botswana, that a husband may physically assault his wife if she incurs his discipline."⁶⁹

There is a large body of testimony from women about instances of unsympathetic police officers who fail to treat them with the seriousness they deserve. These crimes are often referred to as "domestic disputes", and are referred to the informal dispute resolution system, meaning family and close relatives, which can be unresponsive, unsympathetic, inadequate or alternatively non-existent.

Research into femicide in Botswana in 1995 has revealed one of the most atrocious ways of violating and permanently terminating the rights and lives of women. Femicide has been described as the culmination of a protracted and prolonged violation of a woman's person resulting in death.

Although Table 44 does not show the number of cases reported and not prosecuted, or pending cases, it does show how critical the situation is. Between 1985 and 1993 there were 68 women and girls murdered by men. Their ages ranged from six to 87 years. Eighteen of the victims were married women, and 17 women in intimate relationships

with men. Eleven percent of the victims were strangled, 33.3 percent were beaten, then stabbed with a knife and 56 percent with a variety of instruments, such as a hammer, axe and steel chair. Most of the killers (66 percent) were convicted of manslaughter and only one was convicted of murder while 24 percent of those charged were acquitted. Sentences ranged from six to 14 years, with some of the perpetrators being declared mentally unsound.

Remedies available to abused women, apart from criminal charges and an inadequate law enforcement system, are interdicts to restrain the husband or batterer from abuse, prohibit or regulate his occupation of the home or otherwise binding over the accused to keep the peace. Interdicts are designed to restrain the continuance of a wrong in the future. Due to its limitations interdiction has been described as imposing "limitations on...[its]...real value to those who are in immediate protection from violence".⁷⁰ Another problem with the interdict is that it is only actionable in civil courts and few women have knowledge of the procedure or can afford access to the court or even know the possibility exists. It has been observed that "...it is virtually impossible to obtain judicial assistance to eject a violent husband from the family home".⁷¹

The impact of non-protective laws in the area of family law can be felt mostly by married women, under both customary and common-law. Women married in community of property are relegated to the position of legal minors which means a woman cannot enter into a legally binding transaction without the consent of her husband, unless she is classified as a public trader. The husband with the marital power, on the other hand can, as the administrator of the property, deal with it in any manner he pleases without the consent of his wife. There have

Cases of Female Murder Prosecuted in Francistown and Lobatse 1985-1993 Table 44

Year	Reported and Prosecuted
1985	4
1986	7
1987	5
1988	8
1989	8
1990	8
1991	6
1992	7
1993	5

SOURCE: Research on Femicide in Botswana, 1995 court records, WLDFA, p 4.

been reported cases of women whose houses and other assets have been sold, and few had recourse to the law. Theoretically, marital power is not to be used unreasonably and must be used for the benefit of the family.

Prior to the amendment of the law, a woman married in community of property could only acquire immovable property in the name of her husband, however, since the amendment, the property can be registered in her name. As indicated earlier a woman cannot enter into certain financial transactions without her husband's consent, such as obtaining a bank loan. The implications for women experiencing marital problems are negative indeed. This marriage regime, despite its obvious problems, is a common practice and is defended as a regime that assures cohesion of the family.

The other option, Out of Community of Property leaves non-formally employed women even worse off, since they do not have the financial capital to acquire assets independently and, as such, it is shunned by women who are not material resource independent. More importantly, many women are unaware of the option. Some of the invariable consequences of marriage for women, regardless of which regime, include the loss of legal guardianship over their children which goes to the father, conjugal rights which are meant to be mutual and the mutual obligation to look after the welfare of the home.

The customary laws of inheritance of most Setswana groups, in the absence of a will, do not allow for wives and daughters to inherit property, since all inheritance is from father to son or another male family member, preferably a brother.⁷² In case of a will, women can inherit under the statutory law, but the practice of will-making is rare.

Consequently in Botswana, the majority of women and children are excluded from inheritance.⁷³

No-fault divorce under statute and common law in Botswana is said to provide equal right to property (if married in community of property), as well as custody and access to children. However, most women, especially those that have irresponsible husbands, are generally poorer after divorce. This is the case whether they sue, or are sued for divorce because of the sometimes protracted and complex process of dissolving a marriage, which requires legal counsel and can be prohibitively expensive. As a result the matter can drag on, and if the woman is not in possession of some of the assets, she is likely to lose them permanently. With regard to actual division of property, the experience of organisations such as The Botswana Centre for Human Rights DITSHWANELO, WLSA, WLDAF, Emang Basadi and Metlhaetsile Women's Information Centre, is that women tend to get the smaller portion of the assets. On the other hand, custody is normally awarded to the woman, especially where the children are very young. However, the experience of most divorced women is that despite having been granted an order for maintenance of the children, fathers do not pay, and even though enforcement legislation exists, it is inadequate and poorly enforced.

The area of maintenance law continues to be critical for women in Botswana. There is legislation to protect the rights of single mothers' children, deserted wives and their children and divorced women. The most frequently used law is the Affiliation Proceedings Act, which covers the large number of single mothers in Botswana. The law is inadequate as it provides that a single mother can only obtain a maximum of P40 (US\$10) a-month for the child, and only until it reaches

13-years-old or 16 if the child is still attending school. The government is under heavy pressure from many quarters to amend this act but so far nothing has changed. WLSA, one of the organisations leading the campaign, has even drafted alternative legislation and presented it to some parliamentarians in November 1996 which seems to have had some impact.

Of critical importance is the lack of enforcement of maintenance laws in the wake of defaulting fathers. The Maintenance Orders Enforcement Act has, theoretically, sufficient provisions for enforcement, however, in practice few fathers are ordered to pay, despite non-payment being a criminal offence. Some women have complained of police officers who refuse to serve process because they say the papers are worthless and do not warrant attention. There are also reports of police officers persuading women to drop cases of contempt of court and negotiating on behalf of the fathers for payment out of court.

Other pieces of legislation of note include the Income Tax Act which does not recognise single mothers as household heads which denies them the privileges enjoyed by married household heads. The Mines and Minerals Act which still prohibits women from working underground, negating the Employment Act which no longer has a restraining clause. In fact there are at least 25 pieces of legislation discriminating against women.⁷⁴ These are currently under review.

There are some laws which impact negatively on men, such as the common-law position that single fathers do not have the right of access to their children, since the law provides that a child born outside marriage belongs to the mother. Single fathers have only the duty to maintain. Only single

mothers have the right to give consent to the adoption of a child born outside marriage. Corporal punishment for certain offences can be meted out to men but not to women. These laws must be carefully analysed to ensure gender sensitivity; single father rights remain to be clearly articulated. The overall picture regarding protection of the rights of women reveal the inadequacies in legislation as well as social and political resistance to change. However, activist organisations, groups and individuals continue to work for women's empowerment and have been key in conducting research and lobbying for women's rights to be higher on the political agenda.

Legal education and literacy are also a priority. Education for human rights is critical in a society with limited knowledge and especially of the rights of women. Discriminatory laws need amendment and programmes that target these issues must receive government support in order to exist. Although the Women's Affairs Department is in receipt of additional support by virtue of the new women's policy, capacity remains an urgent need.

Some progress has been made due to the Beijing Conference: the discriminatory citizenship law has been amended; the Women in Development Policy was approved in 1996; and the bill to amend the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act is undergoing amendment to make procedures in rape cases more gender sensitive. There is also a concerted effort to work collaboratively on initiatives to address the gender imbalances with the drafting of the National Plan of Action and the National Gender Programme by government, NGOs and members of civil society.

There have been consistent public declarations for the need for government intervention in supporting

the NGO position that violence against women be one of the six critical areas of concern. The Women's Affairs Department has made submissions to the National Development Plan (8) to include a component on programmes for combating violence against women. The recent Women's Policy articulates government's commitment to working towards eradication of the problem in cooperation with NGOs.

SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Kinship Systems

Tswana society is highly structured and predominantly patrilineal. Descent is traced through the father and property and rank normally passes to the son, or to the next male member of the lineage. A man also bears his father's given name. In times of need and trouble, a man is supposed to be advised and helped by his close male relatives, from both his parents' side and wife's side. A man is also ritually linked to some of his own siblings, with whom he is said to work together for life.

While a man is from the beginning respected by his in-laws, a woman has to win that respect from her in-laws by proving herself to be a good wife. The position of men and women is not equal in Tswana society. Gender ideology which propagates male superiority and female subordination is built into all kinship structures.

Historically and to some extent presently, a distinct class emerged among the Tswana, the highest being the chiefs, dikgosana; next came the commoners, batlhanka, and the recent immigrants not yet accepted as full members of the clan. Class distinctions mainly operate in political life,²⁵ but also have social implications as well. There are also the serfs, malata, often referred to as the Basarwa who mainly consisted of the San speakers and the Kgalagadi.

While the immigrants, after some time were accepted as commoners, the malata remained as servants of the nobility, doing all the menial work without any of the social and political rights of the other three classes. Social mobility for commoners was through lending cattle or individual skills, but not for the malata who even today are looked down upon as inferior beings, despite the absence of any legal distinctions. It is these malata who remain the most deprived and disadvantaged groups in the country in terms of their access to natural resources, opportunities and rewards.

Sexuality

The traditional construction of woman demands that she either be a docile daughter, wife or caring mother. The moment they cross that line they were and, sometimes even at present are, branded as whores. Incidents of thwarted lovers killing women who would not have them have been reported in Botswana. Women's sexuality is determined by the socio-cultural norms which deny women control over their own sexuality. Few Batswana women have the right to decide how many children they will have or at what intervals, even when they are not married. This is because they cannot refuse the sexual advances of their male partners without the risk of losing them to others. Nor can they always persuade men to use contraceptives. This lack of control over their sexuality has become a serious problem given the growing threat of HIV/AIDS, in addition to seriously undermining women's confidence in themselves. The rapidly increasing rate of rape in Botswana also psychologically shatters female ability to control their own sexuality.

Fortunately Botswana has been spared war situations or other socio-economic crisis which normally allow men to go on raping rampages thereby violently assert-

ing their domination and masculinity. Media reports indicate a high incidence of rape of young and little girls in the country. These violent acts partly contribute to the rising teenage pregnancy rate, which was as high as 23% in the late 1980s.⁷⁶

The media further complicates the problem by depicting women predominantly as sex symbols. A woman's body is commercialised in pictures, magazine covers, television and other advertisements. It ignores the constant efforts being made by women's groups to fight for their equal rights which are otherwise enshrined in the Constitution. Recently, parliament has approved a policy on women, first promised in 1981, an event which should have been publicised in a big way but went completely unreported in the local press. Most journalists are men and the few women who do write are constrained by male dominance with attendant problems, though some can be credited with rescuing women's issues from the ghetto of journalism. There is one women's magazine which features the activities of big socialites. Ordinary women struggling to keep their families alive have no mouthpiece of their own.

Socio-political Gender Situation

In traditional Tswana society, women did not have the political rights enjoyed by men; they did not have a place in the tribal council, *kgotla*, (meaning both the council and the venue of the council meeting); even after political reforms in some groups gave females some rights, women did not, and still hesitate to speak in the *kgotla*. Customary law treated, and still treats, women as minors who remain "subject for life to the authority of male guardians".⁷⁷ Under customary law a woman cannot initiate legal action, nor can she claim damages which, when paid in cases of adultery or impreg-

nation, are paid to the husband or father. In other words their capacity as social actors is severely limited. Although certain Tswana groups relaxed their former rigidity to allow women a share in the inheritance from either side, this is not an obligatory right.⁷⁸

Socially too, women were considered inferior and were not allowed to officiate at religious ceremonies or sacrifices. An exterior reflection of this was a way of dressing, greeting and visible social interaction between men and women indicating the subordination of the latter. At social gatherings women sat apart from men. The only thing that gave women the same respect as men was age. The dynamic social interaction and concerted gender contestation have had profound effects on some aspects of these legal regimes. Women's identities continue to change and gender ideologies are challenged daily in many ways, including the customary and cultural settings. WLSA's work has been key in uncovering the myth of male supremacy as found in many laws and asserting a recognition of women's perspectives.

Socialisation

Right from childhood, girls were and are initiated into following their mothers and other women at home in their female roles of cleaning, sweeping, preparing food and cooking, and nursing younger siblings. The boys accompanied men to the cattle-post and on hunting trips, a custom which still continues. They had their special costumes, songs, dances and gatherings from which girls were excluded. They, as men, were also allowed greater sexual freedom.

Traditional initiation ceremony rituals prepared boys and girls for two very different types of roles. One domineering and in control, the other into lives of self-effacement and submission to men in their fam-

ilies. Male members of a regiment remained bound in strong solidarity as intimate and equal companions throughout their lives. Girls, however, did not develop such bonds because they had to move to their husband's village after marriage. Despite the discontinuation of these initiation ceremonies, socialisation of boys and girls is still along the same lines through school, text books, the media and, the family.

Marriage Relations

In marriage too, women have fewer rights. Marriages were negotiated, and continue to be negotiated, between the families of the bride and the groom. As marriages between cousins, particularly cross-cousins, were preferred, it is difficult to determine how much say boys and girls had. But between the genders, boys had greater freedom to select their brides. A marriage was sealed by two things: the payment of *bogadi* (bride price) usually in the form of cattle by the groom's family to the bride's male kinsmen, brother and maternal uncle; and by the birth of a child after which the woman went to live with her husband's family. She was expected to be kind, timid and obedient to the husband and his family to the extent of tolerating his battering and freely mixing with other women without complaining. A husband had the right to demand sex from his wife irrespective of her wishes. The concept of rape within marriage did not exist.

In marriage the husband is the legal head of the household; he controls land, livestock, and other property, and allocates them for use by other members of the household.

According to one source, women do not even have the right to dispose of the cereal crop they have grown on the family land; hence their half-hearted contribution to agricultural work.⁷⁹ All a woman can lay claim to are her utensils, and some personal things.

In all cases of conjugal conflict, family and tribal councils prevailed upon the woman to accept the husband's excesses. Adultery is a female crime only and is treated as such in the tribal courts, unless often repeated. Usually the husband claims compensation from his wife's lover, whereas if he himself is the offender she has no legal remedy save in a civil rites marriage.⁸⁰

A divorced woman, however, has always had the right to remarry. If she did not, her parents gave her some household property and, sometimes, cattle. Her children could stay with her as long as they are young but as adults they returned to the father. Although the father was supposed to contribute towards the children's maintenance, with the coming of labour migration to the South African mines, it became easy to avoid such commitments. To this day, courts have failed to make fathers pay for the maintenance of their children.

The family-group comprising different households, whose men claimed to be the descendants of a common ancestor, was the setting for important domestic events and activities of all members. There was constant cooperation among members to carry out such tasks as building, thatching huts, clearing new fields, weeding and harvesting. In times of need there was mutual assistance in the form of gifts or loans of food, livestock or other necessities. The group also managed such issues as betrothals, marriage negotiations, feasts, settlement of estates and the future of widows. It also tried conflict resolution before taking recourse to the formal courts. In essence, a family group acted as a veritable insurance agency.

Colonialism, Christianity, urbanisation and labour migration have eroded the built-in insurance mech-

anisms of the family-group without putting anything in its place. The emergence of a smaller household has not only increased female responsibilities, it has made many women poorer with nothing to fall

back upon. With the large-scale exodus of men to the mines and urban centres, all productive tasks have been left to the women. While their workload has multiplied, their resource base has dwindled. The reason is that men have refused to give up control over land and cattle.

Plans to review discriminatory laws

Box 5

Joyce Kelebogile has just filed for a divorce to protect her house from her husband's creditors. She can no longer buy property, because she is afraid it will be attached.

In the past, the family property has been confiscated to recover debts her husband owed, debts she did not know about. This year the deputy sheriff repossessed all the furniture and the family car.

After 20 years of marriage, the house is all she has left. She bought it through a government tenant purchase scheme.

Kelebogile is a civil servant and the family breadwinner. She says she has stayed in the troubled marriage for the sake of her children. She wants them to complete school.

Her husband has failed in every business he has tried. He usually did not consult her when he took out loans. He mortgaged family property.

"A woman married into community of property cannot enter into important transactions without the assistance or consent of her husband," says Dr. Athaliah Molokomme. But a married man can enter into any transaction without consulting his wife. "Basically the law does not sufficiently protect women married in community of property," she asserts.

Molokomme says women married out of community of property are better off. "They have the capacity to enter into transactions without their husband's consent."

Tebogo Makate of WLSA in Botswana, cites the Deed Registration Act as another discriminatory law. If a woman is married and purchases property, her husband's name has to be disclosed. If the woman is married in community of property, the property cannot be registered in her name.

"The husband can dispose of the family property without his wife's consent," says Makate.

SOURCE: Lekopanye Mooketsi, Africa Information Afrique (AIA), Gaborone, Botswana, 25 October 1996.

Women, who are the main family food producers now, do not have easy access to productive resources, including credit facilities, under the statutory laws of Botswana. This access is still mediated through men. The common law treats women as legal minors, denying them the right to contract, take loans and register property in their own name and control their hard-earned assets, if married under the Community of Property option. Many women are not sufficiently well-educated to know their rights. This partly explains the decline in Botswana's agricultural production. While traditional society took care of all women even if in a spirit of benevolent patriarchy and paternalism, with the breakdown of traditional society, many women have become poorer and even destitute. There has never been a specific government policy to deal with issues of gender inequality.

Women, however, have devised ways to deal with the situation. Many educated women, realising the constraints marriage places upon them, have opted to 'live together' with men of their choice without getting married (Table 45).

The incidence of divorce and 'living together' has increased while that of marriage has declined. This is because single women, particularly educated professionals have the economic freedom and confidence to manage their affairs themselves. The rural female farmholders are slightly less daring than an average Motswana woman in terms of living together. Nationally, there is little gender gap in this area. What is surprising is the big gender gap in

Marital Status of 12+yrs old 1991, 1994 Table 45

12+yrs 1991	Married	Never Married	Divorced/ separated	Widowed	Living together
M	24.0	61.3	1.4	1.3	11.0
F	23.3	55.8	3.0	7.5	10.7

Marital Status of Farmholders, 1994 Table 46

M	83.5	5.1	1.5	3.0	7.0
F	16.2	28.1	7.4	42.7	5.5
GG	-67.3	+23.0	+6.1	+38.3	-1.5

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census Report, p 251; 1993 Botswana Agricultural Census Report, 1996 p 53-55.

the two categories of married and never married farmholders. Very few female farmholders seem to opt for matrimony. Even age is not a factor since only three to four per cent farmholders of either sex are below 34. The fact remains that more than three-quarters of family are single and, as such, have less access to resources which can only be acquired through men. Only the widows among them are in a slightly better position than others.

The family structure has been radically transformed. Existing units which are called family have little in common with the traditional family. Many of these are simply an extension of another household somewhere in the rural areas. Young women leave their children to be brought up by their single rural mothers while they try to get a foothold in the urban formal sector employment. While they may have temporary liaisons with men from time to time, there is no dominating male anymore for these units. Children grow up with old grandmothers without ever having known a father. Such family units might receive occasional assistance from an uncle or brother but for all practical purposes these single women decide their own affairs.

Most of them are too poor to make much use of this 'emancipation' from male control as their lives are hedged in by the dual legal regimes which do not recognise the changed social situation. Similarly, all state policies and programmes are designed for an imaginary family of a man in control of his wife and children, a situation which no longer reflects reality. Half the national households are headed by women, and in urban areas as high as 55 percent.

It is clear that more women than men migrate from rural to urban areas, although the gender ratio of total migrants is slightly tilted towards men.

Household Heads by Gender and Location, 1994 Table 47

	1986 Urban 1994	86 Urb Ville 1994	1986 Rural 1994	1986 National 1994				
M	58.0	64.0	-	45.0	52.7	52.0	54.0	53.0
F	42.0	36.0	-	55.0	41.3	48.0	46.0	47.0

Source: HIES1985/86, p 21; HIES 1993/93, 1995, p 28.

Migrants 12 Years and Over by Gender and Location, 1991 Table 48

	Bet+in Dists	Urban-Urban	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	Rural-Rural	Total
M	46,50.	16,994	9,731	11,067	8,711	46,503
F	46,400	16,105	9,868	12,073	8,354	46,400

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census Report, Table F5.

Plight of unmarried mothers

Box 6

An unmarried mother seeking a court order to increase maintenance payments for her two children from their father has stirred up an outcry over a national social injustice and general discrimination against women.

The High Court in Gaborone has yet to decide on her request for the father to pay P2,275 a month (US\$165) to each of her children. But the case has woken up the politicians to the need for an argument to overhaul the Affiliation Proceedings Act, which provides for a maximum of P40 a month to each illegitimate child up to the age of 13.

Much better treatment is accorded to mothers who were married to the father. There is no ceiling on the level of maintenance, with the amount being calculated on the father's earnings. Maintenance ceases at the age of 21.

Pressure from women's groups has partly been behind an official rethink about the law and others that are unfair to women. Already the citizens law has changed, striking out a clause that prevented children from becoming citizens if they were born to Botswana women married to foreigners.

Action groups are pushing for the terms of maintenance payments for unmarried mothers to be the same as those for their married counterparts.

To add to the hardships, many fathers fall behind in their payments, which are made to a magistrate's court, but escape prosecution.

Rosemary Molefi, 21, is one of the women who have suffered from such neglect by her partner, who has paid only 10 months maintenance in the last two years. Molefi has been trying in vain to collect payment for the past three months, but says she has been getting no help from the court.

What makes it worse, she says, is that many fathers take no interest in their children. "They never bother to visit them or find out how they are," she says.

SOURCE: Excerpt from article by Lekopanye Mooketsi, *Africa Information Africa (AIA)*, 25 July 1997.

Married women are also disadvantaged in their rights to their children since it is the father who is their legal custodian under both the cus-

Family law treats women like children

Box 7

Botswana's family laws reflect cultural attitudes. "What strikes me about the law of marriage," says Dr. Athaliah Molokomme "is that it treats women like children."

"When a woman marries according to Botswana laws, she loses the capacity to make final decisions affecting the home."

"The law says the head of the family is the man. It says the husband is the legal guardian of the children," says Molokomme.

She cites the customary law which gives the estate to the first son when a man dies, not to the widow. "I find that discriminatory," she says. "Women are denied access to their parent's property."

Valencia Mogegeh, Coordinator of the Women's Affairs Division in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, has announced plans for a consultancy to review all laws that affect the status of women. Their recommendations will be forwarded to the Attorney General for appropriate action.

Mogegeh says, "We are striving towards gender neutrality."

Some Batswana men do not want to hear anything about gender equity. Shadrack Madina, a government employee in Serowe village, says he does not support women being treated as equal to men. "Traditionally, a man has always been the head of the family. I do not know what these women are up to. Do they want to marry us?"

He sees no need to review the laws. But Choma Mogobe, a traditional leader in Kanye village, welcomes legislation to improve the status of women.

The government has taken one step forward. This year it amended the Citizenship Act to allow citizenship for children of Batswana women married to foreigners.

SOURCE: *Africa Information Africa (AIA), Southern Africa Chronicle*, 4 November 1996.

tomary and common law. The father can decide all children's affairs, including marriage, without the mother's consent. Both legal regimes prefer to grant unwed mothers custody of her children.⁸¹ This too may account for the growing rate of single mothers, as most women wish to have and keep their children.

Self-Image

Although the 'traditional' woman who was raised simply to provide services to men has changed, the pace of this change is not fast enough to equalise socio-economic gender status. Educated and professional women definitely have a better image of themselves than the under-educated, cash-and resource-

starved rural and urban women. However, the emergence of three generations single women raising their grandchildren without much assistance, psychological or material, from men especially the biological fathers, does not augur well for the future of any society. It is true that the self-image of men is also changing but at a much slower rate than required to remove all gender gaps. The reluctance of Batswana men in general to share power and position with women is all the more galling in view of the material growth the country has seen and will no doubt continue to achieve. This changing gender image has to be constantly guarded and nurtured if it is to make any meaning in the foreseeable future.

Culture and Religion

The culture of patriarchy still determines gender roles in the family and the society at large. If school text books and curricula change rapidly enough to reflect the changing economic and social roles of women and men at the end of the 20th century, this culture will be modified.

Religion has an important role to play, whether it consists of ancestor-worship, or Christianity, which are the two dominant expressions of Batswana spirituality. Religion is male-dominated to the almost total exclusion of women and is one of the ways men use to keep women oppressed. Abortion and family-planning are depicted as defying God's dictates and it is men who have decided what the dictates are. As long as women do not understand this subtle male strategy they will continue to be their own oppressors.

In the day-to-day affairs of the state, religion is not very important in Botswana, but it is suddenly articulated to defend male prerogatives whenever these are threatened. For example, when the issue of abortion was debated by parlia-

ment in 1992 religion became very important. Religion also helps men create myths and traditions of male supremacy which are easily subscribed to by women whose material and psychological weakness makes them seek sustenance from religion. There has been a great proliferation of syncretic churches, under the name of Zionist church, in Botswana in the last 30 years, the majority of whose members are women but whose leadership is male

EDUCATION

Botswana's record in expanding its educational facilities is most impressive. Since education is essential for human resource development, the government has given serious attention to the expansion of this sector. Between 1983 and 1993 there was 5.6 percent growth in the enrolment at the primary level and 27 percent at the secondary school level per annum.

University education has increased by 27.4 percent annually. The goal of universal primary education has been nearly achieved with more than 90 percent of school-age children below the age of 13 in school. Literacy rates have doubled during this period due to the extension of adult literacy programmes. Enrolment at teacher training institutions grew by 33 percent and more than tripled at the vocational training institutions. In addition, since 1988 education is free for everyone up to the secondary levels, although not yet compulsory.

To make it all possible, the government has allocated a high proportion of its annual budget to education -- ranging from 20-22 percent of the recurrent, and about 10 percent of the development expenditure annually -- to install the necessary infrastructure for achieving universal primary education which is close to basic education for all. The number of primary schools has grown from 502 to 657 and that of

Universal Primary Education and Literacy in Botswana 1981-93 Table 49

	7-13yrs pop	Total Enrolment	GER	NER
1981	181,000	178,107	93.4	83.2
1993	267,000	305,479	119.8	89.3
Literacy Rates	1981	GG	1993	GG
M	32.0		66.9	
F	36.0	+4.0	70.3	+3.4

GER - Gross Enrolment Ratio=(Total Enrolment/Population Aged 7-13yrs)%
NER - Net Enrolment Ratio=(Enrolment Aged 7-13/Population Aged 7-13)%
Source: Literacy Report 1993; Education Statistics, 1988 to 1993.

Enrolment at Primary and Secondary Levels, 1983-1993 Table 50

Primary	No.	1983		No.	1993		Growth pa
		%	GG		%	GG	
M	92,593	46.7		150,751	49.2		6.3
F	105,735	53.3	+6.6	154,728	50.7	+1.4	4.6
JUNIOR CERTIFICATE LEVEL							
Secondary							
M	8,242	43.4		28,251	45.3		24.2
F	10,745	56.6	+13.2	33,983	54.7	+9.4	21.6
SENIOR SECONDARY LEVEL							
M	2,169	56.8		11,629	49.5		43.6
F	1,647	43.2	-13.6	11,824	50.5	+1.0	61.7

Source: Education Statistics, 1983, 1993.

secondary schools from 42 to 186 between 1983 and 1993. There has been corresponding growth of the trained teaching staff at both levels. All this is no mean achievement for a country which at independence had little educational infrastructure beyond lower primary level and which has its population thinly spread over a large area.

However, the fruits of these achievements have not been shared equally by all. Considerable disparities exist between men and women in terms of access to sciences and technology; between urban and rural residents, the most disadvantaged being the remote area dwellers most of whom are from the ethnic minorities such as San-speakers; and the still-less-cared-for, disabled children. The 1994 education policy has focused on the issue of vocational training for

	1983	%	GG	1993	%	GG	1995	%	GG
M	698	58.4		2,238	50.1		2,600	47.3	
F	497	41.6	-16.8	2,228	49.9	-1.2	2,900	52.7	+4.0

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1988-1993; Computer Department, University of Botswana, 1995.

Junior Certificate leavers and pre-school education for under-five children. Other recommendations of the Commission Report on which this policy is based have yet to be implemented. The question of quality and relevance of education has to be tackled carefully. The content and quality of education at present is relevant to national needs.

The demographic profile of the education institutions is rapidly being transformed in Botswana. The student population had always been skewed in favour of girls at junior levels and boys at the senior secondary level. However, with decreasing cattle-rearing more boys are enrolling in schools instead of going to the cattle posts; and as more girls continue their secondary education, students taking the Cambridge School Certificate examination since 1992 are evenly divided. Until 1992, after junior certificate examination (JCE) gender imbalance against girls used to appear

in senior secondary schools (SSS). From 1993, that change ceased, leaving more girls than boys in SSS (Table 52).

What is more striking is the absence of gender disparity among the university students since 1993. Change is so fast that the student gender profile differs each year. In fact, since 1993, the first year university intake has more females, while women account for 52.7 per cent of the total 1995-96 university enrolment. Rapid expansion of education opportunities, as well as changing attitudes among parents is the main reason for this.

Primary Education Non-Completers

Problem areas are now slightly different with retention being a greater issue than enrolment. Socio-economic realities do not allow many first-year students to complete their education. While the progression rate has risen for both boys and girls from Standard One to Form Five and then to the university level, there is still large gaps at each level between those who enrol in standard one, enter SSS and then university intakes. There are still 77 percent of JCE leavers who fail to enter any tertiary institution and are forced to join the growing ranks of the unemployed.

Many (about 7,000 between 12 and 19 years) fail to complete even primary education, boys forming the majority of dropouts. The number of those above 12 years who did not complete standard five was over 66,000 in 1993, an overwhelming majority of whom were women.

Table 53 indicates that economic constraints and pregnancies account for half of those who drop out before completing Standard Five. Pregnancy is now more of an issue at the secondary level. Parents and pupils lack of interest also account for primary education dropouts.

	Standard 1	Form 5	University % of STD 1	University % of Form 5
Year	1977>	1988>	1989	
Total	25,556	3,399	1,272	
Prog Rate		13.3	4.9	37.4
Year	1981>	1992>	1993	
Total	29,759	6,522	1,657	
Prog		21.9	5.1	25.4
Year	1982>	1993>	1994	
Total	31,072	7,128	na	na
Prog Rate		22.9	na	na

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1988-1993; Computer Department, University of Botswana, 1995.

Dropouts and Teenage Pregnancies

Table 54 shows a reversed gender profile of the dropouts at the secondary level. While boys are more at primary school, at the secondary level girls form the bulk of dropouts. In the recent past, as children entered school when they were more than seven years old, pregnancies occurred from Standard Five onwards. With a lower school entry age, the problem of teenage pregnancy has shifted to the JCE level.

The problem is two-fold and relates to the quality of education. The nine-year basic education now available to all children does not give them the relevant skills to make them employable and trainable. This education has to be made more relevant to sustain pupil interest. Secondly, mechanisms must be built into education which enable girls to protect themselves against unwanted pregnancies. Table 54 shows a rise in pregnancy rate nationally which is much higher in the remote areas.⁵²

Pregnancies do not simply interrupt, they terminate, girls' education and all hopes for their socio-economic mobility since the existing re-entry regulations make it almost impossible for teenage mothers to re-join mainstream education. Those responsible for the pregnancies, whether boys or adult men, should also be targeted in combatting the problem. Despite a rule that boys responsible for the pregnancy of a school girl should also be expelled, very few boys are penalised. Actually, Table 54 only tells half the story, since there are also many teenage girls (an estimated 23 percent) outside the school system becoming mothers.⁵³ Although fully aware of the issue, the government has not taken action to handle this problem which, coupled with the rapid spread of AIDS, threatens the future of the nation.

Tot pop 12+yrs	Tot Non-completers	Rate	M	F	GG
909,515	66,167	7.3	38.8	61.2	+22.4
Reasons for Leaving School					
Lack of money		20.2			
Parents lack of interest		8.1			
Cattle caring		14.0			
Pregnancy		3.6			
No interest		16.8			
Others		27.5			
Family work		9.8			

SOURCE: Education Statistics 1991-1993; Human Development Index 1996, Draft.

Year	Tot	% of	Preg	Preg %	Tot	% of	Pregn	Tot
						Enrolled		Preg
1984	146	1.2	na	na	619	4.2	394	63.6
1992	647	1.8	13	2.0	2,091	3.1	1,262	60.4

SOURCE: Education Statistics 1993; L Nyati-Ramahobo The Girl-Child in Botswana, UNICEF, Gaborone, 1992.

1991	7-13yrs		1993		1993	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Never enrolled						
Ngamiland North		39	29	40	57	65.1
Kweneng West	42	27	48	41	55.7	66.9
Ghanzi	34	24	38	38	59.1	54.0
Kgalagadi	20	13	31	27	61.0	55.5
Gaborone	9	8	6	1	74.0	81.6
National	20	14	21	17	66.9	70.3

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1991, 1993; 1991 Population and Housing Census Report; Information from CSO; Literacy Report, 1993.

Remote Area Dwellers

Further educational inequities exist between urban and remote areas such as Kaglagadi, Ghanzi and Ngamiland and parts of Kweneng and the Central Region. These regions are inhabited by ethnic minorities such as the San-speakers, Bakgalagadi, Bayeyi and Hambukushu whose children probably account for the missing 10 percent in the universal primary education figures. While the national literacy rate now stands at 80 percent, about 43 percent of the Ghanzi and Kgalagadi and 40 percent of the Ngamiland residents have never

Form 5 1992	M	F	M	F	F% of 1st year intake
Total	3,533	2,989	777	880	
Progression			21.9	29.4	53.1

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1993.

1980	22.3	-55.4	48.0	-4	48.0	-4	39.6	-20.8
1993	22.5	-55.0	57.3	+14.6	54.4	+8.8	38.9	-22.2
1995	27.2	-44.6	na		na		na	

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1989-1993; computer Department, University of Botswana, 1996.

been to school.⁸⁴ Their enrolment figures are well below the national rates. Although the government has established schools in these areas, the sprawling nature of the settlements, often means that schools are not within walking distance.

The national language policy does not allow for education in the mother tongues of these minorities which dissuades many parents from sending their children to school and those who do, perform badly. Most of these communities are too poor to bear the cost of uniforms and other necessities of schooling not covered by the government.⁸⁵ The rate of teenage pregnancy is also much higher. A 1990 study found 10.3 percent of girls were pregnant in a Gomare school, compared with four percent in a Ramotswa school.⁸⁶

Science and Technology

The progression rate from Form Five to the tertiary level has improved considerably since the early 1980s, but there was a marked decline in the university intake in 1993 compared with 1987 due to

the fact that university expansion had not kept pace with that of secondary schools.

The first-year intake of university students after 1993 corrected the gender imbalances of the past, when 53 percent of the 1,657 new entrants were women. The recent information suggests that women constituted a majority of the total university enrolment in 1995-96.⁸⁷

However, the number of women in positions of responsibility in Botswana has not risen proportionately. The main reason is the socialisation of girls and boys into stereotyped gender roles. Children choose separate careers — girls as primary school teachers, homemakers and nurses while boys go into technical and science-related occupations. Most girls shy away from science and technology courses and neither parents nor teachers make any active efforts to encourage girls to enter science streams at university.

While students in humanities and education faculties are predominantly female, natural sciences is only 25 percent female. But, even those who do enrol in science usually opt for such courses as environmental science, rather than biology and chemistry; maths, geology and physics are generally shunned by women (Table 58).

The absolute number of students in the subjects is too small to be meaningful. Although not precise, due to the difficulty of reducing course enrolment into that of students, these figures indicate an unwelcome trend.

Staff development at the University of Botswana has not addressed the problem at the teaching level. Of the 56 Staff Development Fellows who were undergoing training in 1993 less than half, 25, were in science-related subjects, including computer sciences and statistics. Of these, only five were women and

	Biology	Chemistry	Mathematics	Geology	Physics
F% of total	41.0	24	20	20	5.4
Total	na	70	75	4	60

SOURCE: Computer Department, through the Faculty of Science, University of Botswana, 1993.

only three in hard core science subjects.⁸⁸

The new education policy of 1994 has addressed this issue by deciding to make science and technological courses more attractive to girls in schools and other tertiary institutions. The upgrading of the Polytechnic to degree training level and its incorporation into the University of Botswana as the Faculty of Engineering in 1995 was one step in that direction.

For professional training in medicine, mining, architecture, accountancy and journalism there is still either none or insufficient scope for training. Students must try to attend foreign universities, but very few women do. Better career guidance and counselling for female students, and a more equitable allocation of bursaries to take science and technical courses both outside and within the country are required. The problem lies more in the male perception of women, since decisions regarding students to be sent for studies abroad are made by men who think it is a waste to send women as they may not complete their studies because of marriage or pregnancy.⁸⁹

Women's marginalisation from science and technology is often justified on their poor performance in these areas.⁹⁰ However, studies show girls performing at only slightly lower rates in maths and science than other subjects (Table 59). This suggests lack of sensitisation rather than inability. It is a socio-political issue. Science and technology are the power levers over which men, who are also the decision-makers, are reluctant to give up control. Often biological factors, tradition and culture are invoked to keep women in such 'safe' areas as language, literature, history, sociology and, religious studies. Women themselves get duped by these traditions, without realising who made the traditions and whose interests are being promoted.

Pass Rates for Junior Certificate Examination										
	Setsa	Engl	Math	Inte Scie	Soc Stud	Agr	Rel Edu	Hom Econ	Desig Techn	Art
Boys	69	75	74	80	80	80	76	66	81	80
Girls	79	78	70	68	71	70	72	76	52	66
Pass Rates for Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination										
	Maths+Maths	Stats	Agric	Physc	Biol	Chem	Biolo	Hum Bio	Pro Acc	W/ Work
Boys	67	76	74	80	90	91	93	77	97	97
Girls	55	70	70	68	92	90	87	69	92	82

Source: W. Uiterwijk 1990, 1991 JC and 1991 COSC Results: Analysis by Gender, Cited in L. Nyati-Ramahobo, *The Girl-Child in Botswana*, UNICEF, Gaborone, 1992.

	Total	%	GG	Total	%	GG	Growth pa
M	126	13.3	195		15.5		5.5
F	822	86.7	+73.4	1,066	84.5	+69.0	3.0

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1988-1993.

Secondary School		2,515	1,876	-639
Primary TTCs		45	90	+45
Secondary TTCs		95	24	-71
				42.7
				66.7
				20.1

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1993.

Teacher Training

Table 60 indicates the growth in the numbers of teachers being trained at primary Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) and Colleges of Education (COE) for secondary school. The gender composition of students was always skewed towards women and has become even more so. This can also be seen in the gender gap among primary school teachers, about 80 percent of whom are women. In the senior secondary schools gender balance tilts towards men.

Even more interesting is the set-up of the TTCs which are mainly residential institutions with four-fifths of the student population being female. Many of these are single parents. Yet hostel accommodation is not suitable

Enrolment in Vocational and Technical Training Centres, 1983-93

Table 62

	1983			1993			Growth pa
	Total	%	GG	Total	%	GG	
M	1,116	76.3		3,263	69.8		19.2
F	347	23.7	-52.6	1,412	30.2	-39.2	30.7

SOURCE: Education Statistics, 1988, 1993.

Education Level of Household Heads, 1985-86, 1993-94

Table 63

	NO SCHOOLING		PRIMARY		SECONDARY		HIGHER	
	1986	1994	1986	1994	1986	1994	1986	1994
M	54.7	37.2	31.6	38.0	10.3	18.7	3.4	5.3
F	39.7	27.2	49.3	50.3	10.5	20.0	0.5	1.7
GG	-15.0	-10.0	+7.7	+12.3	+0.2	+1.3	-2.9	-3.6

SOURCE: HIES 1985/86, 88; HIES 1993/94, p 44.

Plight of women with disabilities

Box 8

"...men do not want to be associated with a disabled woman. If they are, the whole community turns in surprise — if you have so much choice, why do you stay with this one?"

"Women with disabilities on the other hand, see themselves as segregated, not full women, people who can only perform less than other women, not marriageable, not expected to have children, not expected to have sexual feelings. Men with disabilities are expected to have sexual feelings. It is not strange for them to get married. People would even say, look at that disabled man, it is good he has got someone who will help him through life. With a disabled woman it doesn't seem to work that way. A man would be berated for marrying a disabled woman — she may not be able to have children, or her child might be disabled."

SOURCE: Dikoti Morewane, national coordinator for Botswana, Improved Livelihood for Disabled Women, published in "Challenging Disability, a Guide for Frontline Social Workers in Africa" ILO, Harare, School of Social Work, Zimbabwe, 1993.

for female needs, least of all for single mothers with children.

Vocational Training

Despite a long history of vocational training in Botswana, which started in 1965 through the formation of the Brigades by Patrick van Rensburg, achievements have fallen short of needs. Every year nearly 20,000 junior secondary school leavers are left out of the tertiary institutions. The number of those who enter the Vocational Training Colleges (VTCs), Brigades, the Polytechnic, the Roads Training Centre, and Autotrade Training School has not significantly increased and are mostly male. The Institute of Health which trains nurses and paramedics, and the Botswana Institute of Administration and Commerce, which offers office and book-keeping training to secretaries and typ-

ists are over-subscribed by women. A substantial proportion of the 30 percent women in the VTCs and Brigades still take such traditionally female courses as textile-designing, book-keeping and office skills.

If gender gaps have been levelled in some areas, this is because more women have ventured into new areas of learning. But there is less evidence of men doing the reverse.

Gender gaps have dropped in terms of the education level of household heads but not at the same pace as for the younger students.

While tremendous progress has been made in making educational facilities available to most of the school-age children in government schools, private education is increasingly taking responsibility for education in the country. Institutions have mushroomed, even at tertiary levels, which cater for technical, management and computer education. Obviously, it is only the better off who can benefit from these facilities.

Education for the Disabled

Despite the presence of a special education unit in the Department of Primary Education since 1984, the disabled have remained the most disadvantaged. No national survey of the disabled has yet been undertaken. A survey in 1989 of the North Eastern region revealed that of an estimated population of 35,000, only 736 are in institutions, the remainder are taken care of by the society at large.⁹¹ The total number of known disabled children is about 5,500. A

Disabled Children by School Attendance, 1991

Table 64

5-17yrs	Never Attended		%	Left Total	Still at School		Total %
	Total	%			Total	%	
M	1,046	35.8	277	7.6	1,5595	56.6	2,918
F	793	33.9	198	8.6	1,345	57.5	2,336
GG		-2.0		+1.0		+1.1	-58.2

SOURCE: 1991 Population and Housing Census Report.

third of these children have never attended school; another 85 did so for a short time; and half are in school. Disabled girls are slightly more disadvantaged than boys.

Little has been done for the education of the disabled. Even those who are in school attend regular classes. NGOs are assisted by government to attend to the education of the disabled, with the latter preferring not to run its own schools.

Non-formal Education

Botswana's settlement patterns which spread among the towns, villages, farmlands and cattle posts make the country ideal for distance education. Since 1978 a Department of Non-Formal Education (DNFE) has existed to offer educational opportunities for the dispersed population. DNFE has two units; the National Literacy Unit which aims at imparting literacy and numeracy skills to adults; and the Distance Education Unit (DEU) which offers correspondence courses for junior certificate and a Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC).

DNFE operates under considerable human and material resource constraints, but its DEU is popular with those who fail to enter formal schools after primary or junior certificate levels, although it was actually designed for the over-age students who missed out on formal education. Table 65 shows the DEU intake growing 10 times between 1980 and 1991, followed by a drastic drop in 1993.

The DEU clientele consists mainly of young people from the towns, although it, too, was designed for rural adults. Now more than half come from the six towns taking JCE courses and less for COSC. The majority of these candidates are female, but the DNU does not take that into account in its operations.⁹² Students are allowed to take up to five years to finish the JCE course by taking parts of the examination at

	JC	GCE	TOTAL	F	%	RURAL	URBAN
1980	645	246	891	NA	NA	NA	NA
1991	6,137	3,159	9,476	6	8.2	45.0	55.0
1993	NA	NA	1,624	6	7.6	NA	NA

SOURCE: Evaluation of Distance Education Unit, Department of Non-formal Education, 1991, p 23-24; DNFE JCE and GCE Results, 1993.

different times. JCE pass rates are higher than those for the COSC. Unfortunately, only a small proportion of those who register actually take the examination.

The National Literacy Unit (NLU) has improved the literacy rate.

Here too, the majority are women. However, the adults' enthusiasm to enrol is not matched by their capacity to persevere, probably because of heavy family responsibilities they carry.⁹³

	Sat Exam	Total	Passed Total	Pass Rate
1991	JC	1,936	1,409	72.7
	GCE	24	11	46.0
1995	JC	842	592	70.3
	GCE	112	47	41.9

SOURCE: Evaluation of Distance Education Unit DNFE 1991, pp. 23-24; DNFE JCE & GCE Results 1991-1995.

	Total	M	%	F	%	GG	Graduates
1981	23,630		na	na	na	na	
1986	38,660		43.0	57.0	+14.0		
1995	20,956		34.3	65.7	+31.4	2,298	10.9%

SOURCE: National Literacy Programme Statistics, 1981-91, DNFE.

The DNFE is said to face financial management problems and difficulties recruiting qualified teachers without competitive salaries. Its capacity to cope with the surging demand for non-formal education needs to be enhanced and strengthened as it offers the only means of educating the remote area dwellers.

The Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Botswana has existed for many years, but it has yet to mount distance education for university programmes for the rural and remote areas.

Adult Education

The University of Botswana trains adult educators at different levels

from certificate to degree. The graduates are absorbed by various ministries for planning and implementation of distance and non-formal education, community development and social mobilisation purposes. Enrolment figures are not available.

Socialisation Processes

The gender-determining of sex roles starts with the birth of a child as girls and boys are moulded by a socialisation process which takes place in all aspects of their life within and outside the family. Like all patriarchal societies the Batswana look on a son as someone who will uphold the family name and inherit family property. A girl is looked upon as a potential care giver, first in her parents house and then at her husband's.⁴⁴

The domestic division of labour teaches a girl to be docile, submissive, and a good obedient daughter, wife and mother always sacrificing her own interests for those of the men, including her own male siblings. On the other hand, a boy is encouraged to be bold, assertive, domineering and demanding towards women. A girl's life centres around her mother and other older women in the family, helping them in sewing, knitting, cooking, cleaning, fetching water, laundering and nursing the younger siblings. A boy, as soon as he is old enough will follow his father to the cattle post and other outside chores of cattle management. Family duties are clearly demarcated along gender lines and any deviation from these norms is quickly corrected. Even peer pressure works in the same direction.

The same process continues at school. Girls help female teachers in arranging and cleaning the teacher's table or in sweeping and cleaning the school premises. Boys fix desks, windows and other small gadgets. Girls see women employees of the school sweeping, cooking and doing other menial jobs and

men doing such work as office administration and driving the school vehicle. Most school rules and regulations reinforce the subordinate position of girls by labelling those who step out of line. Only a tiny minority of girls and boys manage to follow non-stereotyped careers.

Textbooks also reinforce gender roles. Both the contents and illustrations of these books depict girls as nice, timid, soft, obedient and caring, performing such tasks as nursing, cooking and looking after babies. Boys and men in these books are always adventurous, outgoing, clever, inventive and in charge of whatever situation they are in.

Naturally, boys and girls grow up following two different paths. Boys aspire to become soldiers, (traditionally warriors and hunters) important men, supervisors, managers, veterinary surgeons and doctors. Girls must be content to be mothers, cooks teachers and, at best, nurses. Most important of all this socialisation drives home the point that boys will decide and girls will obey. In later life adult women find it difficult to accept leadership positions while adult men refuse to accept that women can be decision-makers and leaders.

One 1992 study suggests that even the socio-economic differences do not seriously affect the socialisation of children, particularly in rural areas.⁴⁵ There is a slight variation of roles in the urban setting due to exposure to the outside world through the media. Instead of looking after cattle, urban boys look after cars and electrical gadgets and soon aspire to be TV stars, and fast drivers while girls dream of fashion-designing and modelling. Although girls and boys watch the same television, the preferred programmes are along traditional role lines. Girls often see their mothers quietly accepting battering by their half-drunken fathers, receiving

contradictory messages from this experience. Girls from such families often assert they will never marry.

The socially prescribed roles of girls and boys are engrained in the subconscious which erodes the self-confidence of girls and emboldens the boys. Similar socialisation takes place in society-at-large creating problems for adult women and men in changing their mind-set to cope with the changing social reality.

Access to and Control over Media Botswana has about half a dozen private weekly papers and one government paper which comes out five days-a-week. One of the private weekly newspapers is run by women. Most of these papers are available only in urban centres. The government-owned Daily News is sent to district headquarters but arrives late. There is a great demand for news everywhere, but most rural areas are deprived of easy access except through radio. As battery cells are expensive it is uncertain how many rural people can regularly listen to radio meaning that access to media is almost non-existent in rural areas. Most journalists are men who are not gender-sensitised. There is a monthly women's magazine which occasionally focuses on gender concerns.

Health and Gender

At Independence, Botswana inherited a largely curative, urban-based health care system. Since then, Botswana has adopted the Primary Health Care Strategy (PICS) to make health accessible to all and affordable by both the people and the nation. The objective of PICS is to integrate prevention, promotion, rehabilitation and treatment services through participation of community groups at all levels of national health care system.

The main causes of ill-health in Botswana are infections and dis-

Demographic Indicators			Table 68
INDICATOR	1971	1981	1991
Crude Birth Rate (Per 1,000 pop)	45.3	47.7	39.3
Crude Death Rate (Per 1,000 pop)	13.7	13.9	11.5
Growth Rate %		3.6	3.5
Total Fertility Rate	6.0	6.6	5.2
Life Expectancy at Birth	55.5	56.2	65.2

SOURCE: Population and Housing Census 1971, 1981 & 1991, CSO.

Child Health Indicators					Table 69
INDICATOR	1971	1981	1991		
Infant Mortality Rate	100	71	48		
Under 5 Mortality Rate	147	09	64		
Prenatal Mortality Rate	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
	27.5	26.5	26.2	27.7	25.9

SOURCE: Population and Housing Census 1971, 1981, 1991, CSO Family Health Survey II 1988.

eases linked to poor socio-economic conditions. In view of this, the major PICS thrust has been intersectoral improvement of living conditions leading to better access to adequate food and nutrition, safe water and sanitation and information.

In addition emphasis on other aspects of health such as human resource development, improvement of health information systems, sound planning and management contribute to the overall impact on the health of the population.

Tables 68 and 69 illustrates Botswana's success in the health sector.

To achieve this record, Botswana has invested in the health sector by allocating an average of six percent of total recurrent expenditure and two percent of total development expenditure to health. In expanding services and providing more specialised care, links have been formed with NGO and private sectors which provide rehabilitative and promotive health services and

curative care respectively. In recent years, health services have been decentralised through the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to deliver according to the local needs of the various districts. Attempts are also being made at cost recovery through medical aid schemes, including those for public officers, to enable utilisation of private health facilities. This will redistribute, to some extent, the responsibility for provision of health care to the private sector and make health care more sustainable. However, the national system will continue to provide basic health services to all, in particular preventive services. Despite these achievements, growing areas of concern are the increasing incidence of diseases associated with more affluent lifestyles, higher life-expectancy, the explosive HIV/AIDS epidemic and increasing deaths and injuries due to traffic accidents. Another concern is the deterioration in some

previously successful programmes. An example is the 10 percent decline of the proportion of fully immunised children largely due to health service delivery factors.

The challenge is to reduce major causes of disease and death from acute respiratory tract infection and the incidence of diarrhoea in children and to maintain achievements gained in the past.

Nutrition

Food security and nutrition has been a topic of much debate, especially following the severe periods of drought from 1981 to 1988 and again from 1992-95, given that Botswana is a drought endemic country. Food security is defined as permanent access to enough food (through production or purchase) for a productive and healthy life. This concept of national food security has replaced the policy of national self-sufficiency in food

Prevalance of Malnutrition among Under 5 year old Children

Table 70

NATIONAL NUTRITION SURVEILLANCE DATA: 1982 - 1994

YEAR	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94
Botswana	28	30	30	19	15.7	14.5	14.2	15.1	15.4	15.9			12.9
Ngami	28	27	27	15		11.8	10.6	7.6	7.6	7	6.5	6.1	14.2
North						14.4	15.1	27.7	17.9	17	14	15	12.6
East													
Serowe/Palapye	29	31	29	18	13.2	12.7	12.6	13.4	14.8	16.8	16.7	15.4	11.5
Bobirwa											11.7	17	17
Kweneng East	31	39	38	26	17.5	17	16.3	19.5	18.8	17.8	15	17	17.8
South'n Gatsi	36	33	36	22	21	22.7	26.3		17.2	15	16.7	20.3	14.2
Mahalapye	28	32	30	22	15.9	14.5	13.9	25.7	22	21.5	22	17	13.4
Kgatleg					12.3	13.1	13.5	15.6	13.6	14.9	12.5	15	11.1
Chobe	24	28	29	21	26.9	28	25.9	15.8	14.9	16	16	18.5	16.8
Kgala'di	29	32	32	26	23.3	22.3	23.6	24.8	24.5	22	21.3	19.2	21
Tutume		29	30	13	12.9	12.5	13.3	21.5	24	21.5	22.9	22.5	15
Boteti					8	10.1	9.7	15.1	16.4	18	17.5	16	11.7
Okavango					12.1	12.1	11.7	9.1	9	8.8	8.9	11.8	6.5
Gaborone	28	27	28	18	10.2	8.6	8	11.8	13.3	13	13	13.9	9.9
F'Town	30	31	27	16	17.9	13.2	13.1	6.8	7.8	6.5			
South								25.3	16.8	12	10.6	9.6	11.2
East								15	14.3	14	14.4	12.3	6.5
Lobatse	30	31	34	23	18.4	16.8	15.9	16.6	16.4	14.9		7.7	8.3
Selebi-Phikwe	25	25	24	15	16.9	12.5	12.4	13.7	12.1	11			14.9
Kweneng West								23	21.5	18			12.9

SOURCE: National Nutritional Surveillance Data.

production, the contribution of which to GDP has declined from 40 percent to three percent in 1989.⁹⁶

However, national food security does not necessarily mean household food security which is dependent on individual family socio-economic status. This is particularly relevant to single female-headed households. Though women are the main producers of food at subsistence level, they have little or no access to adequate land, draught power and appropriate technologies necessary for production of food on a larger scale.

Poverty causes increased vulnerability to drought leading to reduced food production, affecting livestock and income. The drought relief and recovery programme prevented increasing malnutrition by providing supplementary feeding for vulnerable groups such as pregnant and lactating mothers, children and destitutes. Though the programmes were terminated in 1990, supplementary feeding is still provided to medically selected groups and school children.

Prevalence of malnutrition among children under five has decreased from 27 percent in 1980 to 14 percent in 1995, largely as a result of supplementary feeding. However, there are variations with some districts such as Kweneng-East, Kgalegadi and Chobe having higher malnutrition. Poor arable land, remoteness and poor socio-economic status are contributory factors.

Though household food security is the most important factor associated with nutrition, it does not always ensure food security and nutrition of all its members. Nutrition of an individual in a given household is dependent on many factors such as household expenditure, intra-household food distribution, sanitation, level of disease prevention and control, quality of care and cultural beliefs about feeding practices.

To address the gap in terms of stunting and wasting and to determine factors associated with malnutrition, a national study was conducted in 1993. A total of 980 households in urban areas, semi-urban areas, big villages, small villages and scattered settlements were surveyed.

Prevalence of moderate to severe stunting, underweight and wasting

Strata	Stunting (HA)			Underweight (WA)			Wasting (WH)		
	N	%MM	%SM	N	%MM	%SM	N	%MM	%SM
Big Towns	137	22.6	7.3	152	9.2	2.0	134	5.2	0
Small Towns	140	20.0	6.4	155	9.7	3.9	138	4.3	0
Big Vill.	116	25.0	7.8	127	11.7	2.4	115	6.1	2.6
Small Vill.	85	23.5	4.7	96	11.5	4.2	86	7.0	0
Settl.	194	34.0	11.9	222	22.5	4.1	191	7.3	1.6
All Areas	672	25.9	8.2	752	14.6	3.3	664	6.0	0.9

HA = height-for-age; WA = weight-for-age; WH = weight-for-height.
MM = moderate malnourished; SM = severely malnourished.

SOURCE: Determinants of Child Nutritional Status in Botswana: A National Study. Draft, February 1996.

Characteristics	Stunting (HA)		Underweight (WA)		Wasting (WH)	
	No of Children	% Mal	No of Children	% Mal	No of Children	% Mal
Mother's Education						
No Education	87	39.1	97	21.6	87	5.7
Some Education	497	21.4	539	13.0	484	6.0
Primary Caretaker						
Mother	466	25.1	509	16.5		
Other Persons	136	23.5	151	9.3		
Headship						
Male	371	20.8	412	12.9	367	5.2
Female	217	20.0	231	17.7	214	6.5
Economic Status						
Low	378	28.3	418	18.9	373	5.9
High	246	20.3	280	8.2	242	5.4
Frequency of Meals a day						
One or two times	195	32.3	234	15.4	194	7.2
Three times	450	22.7	551	13.4	439	5.0

% includes both moderately and severely malnourished.

SOURCE: Determinants of Child's Nutritional Status in Botswana: A National Study, a National Study, Draft, February 1996.

Nutritional Status of Mothers		Table 73	
Variable	BMI %		
	High	Low	
Age			
15-19	9.8	15.7	
20-24	24.7	63.0	
25-29	42.0	51.1	
30-34	53.3	33.8	
35-39	57.4	36.8	
40-44	47.6	42.9	
45-49	42.1	42.1	
Household Income			
<P300/month	35.0	12.9	
P300-599/month	44.8	1.7	
P600+/month	61.2		
Waste Disposal			
Flush	61.8	5.9	
Pit	45.7	9.5	
Other	26.4	12.8	
None	30.8	15.4	
Refuse Disposal			
Pit	43.9	8.9	
Bin	47.7	9.4	
Other	25.0	12.5	
None	17.5	17.5	

SOURCE: National Nutritional Survey, draft 1996.

Annual Reported AIDS Cases 1987 September, 1996		
YEAR	NEW CASES	CUMULATIVE CASES
1987	3	3
1988	18	21
1989	14	35
1990	133	168
1991	320	488
1992	590	1078
1993	870	1948
1994	968	2916
1995	334	3450
1996		
1st quarter	170	3620

SOURCE: AIDS/STD Unit (MoH) IDS Update, 1996.

Estimated Number of HIV Infections 1991-1995					
	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Estimate No. of HIV infections	35,000	60,000	92,000	125,000	180,000

SOURCE: ASU, 24-25 July 1994.

was 25.9 percent, 14.6 percent and six percent respectively. Though underweight, at least 70 per cent of children were neither stunted nor wasted. Prevalence rates for stunting, underweight and wasting was generally higher in rural than urban areas.

The most important determinant of the child's nutritional status was the socio-economic status of the household. This is further confirmed by the frequency of meals afforded by household and the relationship to stunting. The education of the mother also had significant association with stunting. Interestingly, although children from female-headed households had poor nutritional status, it was not significantly different from male-headed households.

There is a high proportion of undernourished mothers from households with no refuse and waste disposal and whose income is less than P300-a-month. As in other nutritional indicators, mothers from Gantsi, Kweneng-West and Kgatleng were undernourished.⁹⁷

Clearly, women's nutritional status depends on socio-economic status allowing access to adequate food and nutrition as well as better living conditions.

Micronutrients

It is only in the last decade that the magnitude and seriousness of micronutrient deficiency has become an issue of major concern resulting in prevention programmes. An adequate intake of vitamins and minerals is essential for the proper growth of children

and maintenance of good health for adults. The main micronutrient deficiencies in Botswana are iodine, vitamin A and iron in children and women of reproductive age.⁹⁸

Botswana is estimated to have mild to moderate prevalence of iodine deficiency (18 percent), vitamin A (32 percent) and iron (38 percent in children and 31 percent in women).⁹⁹ These micronutrient deficiencies are addressed through salt iodation, *tsabana*, a locally produced weaning food fortified with vitamins and minerals and 120mg of elemented iron with 0.5mg of folic acid for pregnant women with iron deficiency anaemia.

HIV/AIDS

Since the first AIDS case was recorded in September 1985, the total number of reported cases had grown to 3,620 by February 1996 and the cumulative total number of reported HIV positive persons were 11,153.

Reported AIDS cases and HIV rates underestimate the actual number proven by surveillance of pregnant women which indicates the prevalence rate was approximately 25 percent in 1994. Using such figures, estimates for HIV rates in the total population show an alarming trend.

1995 figures imply an HIV rate of 12.8 percent of the general population and 23 percent of the sexually active age group (15-49 years).¹⁰⁰

Desegregated data for age and sex reveal the first peak in age group 0-4 years with equal prevalence in males and females, largely due to perinatal transmission.

More women (15-19 years) are infected earlier than men (20-24 years), implying that younger women have sex with older men. This trend continues even in the older age groups and has serious implications for young women as it

HIV by Age and Sex Reported 1986-1996 Table 76

AGE	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
0-4	502	550	1052
5-9	33	26	54
10-14	17	2	19
15-19	492	53	545
20-24	1556	570	2126
25-29	1296	943	2239
30-34	850	902	1752
35-39	455	622	1077
40-44	235	389	624
45-49	85	208	293
50+	92	93	285
No. Age Child	91	91	182
No. Age Adult	269	253	522
Total	5973	4802	10775

Source: (ASU, 24,25 July 1994)

can lead to pregnancy and infection with sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) including HIV. STDs in young women can lead to a marked increase in the number of obstetric and neo-natal complications. A UNICEF-supported study in Zambia revealed that syphilis in the mother accounted for 25 percent of the country perinatal deaths. Like other sub-Saharan countries, the male:female ratio for HIV infection is 0:83, suggesting a predominant sexual transmission. Women are not only biologically more vulnerable to HIV infection but also socially and economically. Women are more dependent on men, and therefore more vulnerable to male sexual demands while lacking negotiation powers to secure abstinence or protected sex.

Botswana is now well into the visible AIDS epidemic with serious, long-term health and socio-economic implications at the national, community and family levels.

At the national level, morbidity and mortality will lead to increased demands on the health sector in terms of bed occupancy rates, medications and health staff. AIDS will also reverse gains made in the past

AIDS Cases by Age and Sex 1986-1995 Table 77

AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
0-4	114	107	221
5-14	8	4	12
15-19	10	139	149
20-29	397	963	1360
30-39	484	575	1059
40-49	235	134	369
50-59	54	33	87
55+	37	26	63
Age not specified	59	72	131
Total	1398	2053	3451

Source: (ASU, 24,25 July 1994)

in child survival programmes and tuberculosis. As the population most affected in the economically productive age group, this will have a serious effect on the national economy. At the community level, more dependant groups — the elderly and children orphaned by the AIDS epidemic — will have to be catered for.

At the family level, women in particular will bear the brunt of the AIDS epidemic, given that 47 percent of households are female-headed. A survey of families living with AIDS in the north of Botswana found that all the caretakers of persons living with HIV/AIDS were women, often under distressing economic and psycho-social conditions.¹⁰¹

Access to Health Services

Access to health services implies not only physical access but availability of affordable, quality, appropriate and acceptable services. Access to basic necessities such as clean water, sanitation, nutritious food, shelter and clothing is essential if access to health services is to be meaningful. Women are not only recipients of health services but the majority are health providers and are largely responsible for the health of their families. Yet, women lack powers in decision-making which impact on the health and quality of their lives and that of their children.

Projected AIDS Cases 1994-1999 Table 78

YEAR	AIDS NEW	AIDS CURRENT	AIDS CUMULATIVE
1994	5,049	2,525	14,470
1995	6,558	3,279	21,027
1996	8,150	4,075	29,177
1997	9,762	4,881	38,939
1998	11,340	5,670	50,279
1999	12,840	6,420	63,119

SOURCE: Updated July 1994, NACP 25

Estimated Number of HIV Infections in 1999* Table 79

New infections	26,000
Cumulative infections	273,000
Current infections	210,000
Table: Estimated number of AIDS cases in 1999*	
New AIDS cases	13,000
Cumulative number of AIDS cases	63,000
Current number of AIDS cases	6,000
Table 5: Estimated number of AIDS deaths in 1999*	
New deaths	12,000
Cumulative number of deaths	57,000

SOURCE: Current and Future Dimensions, NACP 25, 1994.

Access to Health Services Table 80

	1989	1991
Within 15km of Health Facility	86.0	85.4
Within 8km of Health Facility	73.0	76.0

SOURCE: CSO Population estimates for 1989 figures.

Expansion of health infrastructure, coupled with improvements in transport and communications have improved access to health services in Botswana. Remote areas are catered for by mobile health clinics.

However, access to appropriate and quality services by women in particular is still a big problem in Botswana. A study on maternal mortality found that despite 85 percent antenatal care attendance rate only 22.2 percent had pelvic assessment, 29.6 percent had blood groups determined and pregnancy complications were noted in only 25.9 percent of cases. Lack of essential equipment such as resuscitation apparatus and reliable oxygen cylinders also contributed to poor quality of services. Lack of clear channels in the referral system and unavailability of transport were identified as major constraints in terms of timely

access to appropriate services, especially in emergency cases.¹⁰⁰

Reproductive Health

Women account for 52 percent of the total population and head 40 percent of households. The health of women is generally affected by their role as reproducers, producers, caretakers of their homes and families. However, most health programmes perceive women as reproducers of health services, linked to child survival. In Botswana the reproductive health of women is being targeted through the Maternal and Child Health and Family Planning Programme (MCH/FP) since 1973. However, these services were only integrated in 1984 and may account for greater use since then.

Impressive strides have been made (Table 81), however, the population growth rate of 3.5 is among the highest in Africa and is largely due to a declining death rate of 13.5 (1981) to 11.5 (1991) and a high crude birth rate of 39.3 (1991). This has resulted in a young population with 29 percent under the age of 15 years with their dependency ratio of 83:100 and the total dependency ratio of 93:100. Women account for 52 percent of the total population with a gender ratio (males:100 females) of 92 (1991).

Though the total fertility rate has declined from 6.5 to 5.0, it is still very high, due partly to the low contraceptive usage rate of 32 percent this is in spite of the fact that 95 percent of women know of at least one method of family planning and where to obtain it. This may in part be due to lack of involvement of men in family planning programmes. Although, male approval of family planning had increased from 38.5 percent in 1984 to 50 percent in 1988, it was still much lower than female approval of 95 percent.¹⁰⁰ Knowledge of family planning methods was also high among men but their use of condoms was much lower.

Utilisation of Maternal and Child Health Programmes		Table 81
Utilization of MCH Services	1984	1988
Percentage of births receiving antenatal care	90	92
Percentage of births having medically supervised deliveries	66	77
Percentage of births receiving postnatal care	54	71
Percentage of births visited at home by health worker immediately after delivery	26	35

SOURCE: BFHS I + II, 1984, 1988.

Knowledge and Use of Family Planning Methods		Table 82
	1988	1988
Total Fertility Rate	6.5	5.0
Percentage of Teenagers who are mothers		
Percentage of all women knowing a method	75	95
Percentage of all women knowing a source	69	95
Percentage of all women currently using any modern method	16	29
Percentage of all women in union using any modern method	19	32

SOURCE: BFHS I + II, 1984, 1988

The responsibility for protection against pregnancy, determining family size and child-spacing rests largely on women because that is to whom family planning programmes are mainly directed.¹⁰⁴ Although, with the AIDS epidemic, the use of condoms has increased among young men but mainly for protection against STDs. As many as 75 percent of male youth use condoms with casual partners, but significantly less with serious partners.¹⁰⁵

Though the use of contraceptives has increased overall, it is much lower in rural areas and among women with little or no education. These disparities and male involvement need to be addressed in order to have well-spaced and smaller families.

Maternal Mortality

Lack of concrete data has led to population-based estimates of maternal mortality (MMR): 200 per 100,000 (UN Population Division), a total MMR of 326 per 100,000 with urban MMR of 254 per 100,000 and rural MMR of 348 per 100,000.¹⁰⁶ Earlier studies estimate a regional MMR of 380 per 100,000¹⁰⁷ and an institutional MMR of 68 per 100,000.¹⁰⁸

A more detailed study to establish determinants of maternal mortality looks at deaths between 1990-1992 in six hospitals (two referral and four primary). Of 81 cases studied, 45 were followed up at the household level. The main causes of maternal deaths was largely due to direct obstetric causes (67 percent) such as haemorrhage, sepsis, toxæmia and dystocia and indirect causes (22 percent) such as cardiac complications, anaemia and hepato-renal failure.

Other significant findings were poor quality of maternity and post-operative care, lack of personnel especially at night, poor assessment of high risk cases during antenatal visits and high parity. Lack of equipment, blood and transport for

referral were also cited as contributory factors.¹⁰⁹

It is unlikely that maternal mortality is as high as the population based estimates, given that institutional mortality rates are much lower: 92 percent of women attend antenatal clinics at least once, 77.4 percent of women have medically supervised deliveries and 71 percent receive post natal care.¹¹⁰ However, maternal deaths which can be avoided, need to be researched to establish the exact magnitude and appropriate interventions.

Although, total national figures are not available for cancers in women, the annual in-patient discharge register for 1993 documented 218 cases of cervical, 14 cases of uterine and 20 cases of ovarian cancers. Cervical cancer accounts for 95 percent of gynaecological malignancies in Princess Marina Hospital, the main referral hospital for the south of Botswana. Since the beginning of 1996, seven out of 36 women suffering from cervical cancer have died. Although both cervical and breast cancers can be prevented through regular screening, most women suffer and die from these conditions as they are seen only when diseases are advanced or terminal. A screening centre along with information, education and counselling is soon to be in operation.¹¹¹

Despite the high utilisation rate of maternal health services, many aspects of women's health such as nutrition, breast and cervical cancer screening are not emphasised in these programmes. As most services are directed to women of child-bearing ages, post-menopausal and elderly women are totally neglected in that there are no specific programmes in place for them.

The Girl Child

The socialisation process, educational aspects, child labour and abuse are dealt with in other rele-

Use of Family Planning by Residence and Education Table 83

	1984	1988
Residence		
Urban	25.4	38.2
Rural	13.2	24.9
Education		
No Education	7.5	17.4
Incomplete Primary	14.9	25.8
Complete Primary	20.9	31.1
Secondary or Higher	27.6	40.3

SOURCE: BHFS I + II, 1984, 1988

vant sections. These are inter-linked and contribute to the overall outcome of the girl child as she develops into a woman.

The high, and increasing rate of early sex can have serious consequences for the girl child. In a single sexual encounter, she can become pregnant or infected with STDs including HIV, leading to shorter life expectancy.

Teenage pregnancies are a high risk both for mother and child. According to the Daily News of 26 August 1996, about 18.5 percent of deaths were among teenage mothers.¹¹² Teenage mothers were 1.4 times more likely to have stillborns than older women.¹¹³ About 85 percent of all teenage pregnancies are unplanned and most are with men in the girls' communities.¹¹⁴ Two-thirds of teenagers had their first sexual encounter without contraceptives because they were unaware of family planning.¹¹⁵ This is, in part, due to lack of implementation in primary schools, of Family Life Education (FLE) which is an optional subject.¹¹⁶

One-third of pregnant teenagers (nine percent all teenage girls) left school because of pregnancy, most of them 18-19-year-old secondary school students. Only a fifth of those who left school were re-admitted.¹¹⁷

Although FLE is now an examination subject, many teachers were uncomfortable teaching it, especially in terms of parental approval. To address their problem, the Association of Teachers Against Aids have taken it upon themselves to become better equipped in such essential topics as reproductive health, STDs and the socio-economic consequences of irresponsible sexual behaviour.

NGOs such as the Botswana Family Welfare Association (BOFWA) and the Young Women's

Christian Association (YWCA) have been involved in dealing with the developmental issues of youth. The YWCA Teen Mothers' Project provides training for teenage mothers, while taking care of their babies so that they can be incorporated back into the mainstream of society. Another YWCA programme, the Peer Approach to Counselling by Teens (PACT), empowers youth to make informed decisions about sexual behaviour, habit-forming drugs and other aspects of youth life.

Despite these efforts, teenage pregnancy remains a serious problem and can severely curtail educational and employment opportunities leading to long-term adverse effects on the quality of the lives of girl children and the lives of their children.

Ageing

The number of elderly Botswanans (65 and above) has more than doubled in the past 20 years from 25,487 in 1971 to 62,531 in 1991. The increase is largely due to a decline in mortality rates — infant mortality down from 71 in 1981 to 45 in 1991 and under-five mortality from 109 in 1981 to 56 in 1991. This is largely due to medical intervention, especially the decline in mortality due to immunisation from childhood diseases.

Although, the absolute number of elderly has increased dramatically, the proportion of elderly people within the total population has risen only slightly from 4.4 percent in 1971 to 4.7 in 1991, reaffirming the notion that fertility rates have only recently started to decline. As a result, the total population including the elderly, will continue to increase. With the projected decrease in total fertility rate and a further decline in mortality rates, the elderly will increase both in proportion and numbers. These trends may be altered somewhat by the increasing problem of AIDS and

traffic accidents, though only in the next few decades.

Though the elderly depicted above are 65, the age at which a person is defined as elderly is arbitrary. In many developing countries, because of heavy physical work and lack of medical care, people become dependent or disabled at a much earlier age. If the elderly are considered those 50 or older, the population was 11 percent of the total in 1991.¹¹⁸

Apart from 0-5-age group, there are more women than men in all age groups. This unequal distribution is more apparent in the other age groups. Women live longer than men, by as much as seven years in Botswana and are, in general, more vulnerable and likely to depend on men for their income. This vulnerability is even more pronounced among elderly women who are more likely to be widowed or living alone. Survival generally decreases in the older age groups, but a large proportion of those over 50 will survive into their 60s and even 70s and 80s. Life expectancy increases for those who make it to middle age because women who pass the child-bearing years will have better survival rates in later life.

Since independence, Botswana has experienced impressive economic and social transformation which has led to rapid urbanisation. Though Botswana's population is largely rural, 45.7 percent of the people now live in urban areas.¹¹⁹ In more recent years, further urbanisation has taken place as a result of prolonged drought and the resultant decline in rural agricultural production and lack of employment opportunities.

This process of rural to urban migration has altered the rural age structure of the population towards a more dependent profile.

The dependency ratio, the number of dependents that every working

	1971	1981	1991
Population Size			
Total Population	574094	941027	1327638
Population Age 65+	25487	43193	62531
Males 65+	10749	18577	27844
Females 65+	14738	24616	34647
Proportion of Elderly			
Total Age 65+	4.44	4.59	4.371
Males Age 65+	1.87	1.97	2.10
Females Age 65+	2.57	2.62	2.61
Life Expectancy at Birth			
Total	53.4	56.2	61.7
Males	52.5	52.3	59.4
Females	58.6	59.7	65.9

SOURCE: 1991, 1981 and 1971 Botswana Population and Housing Census.

AGE	MALES			FEMALES			1971	1981	1991
	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991			
0-4							97	100	99
5-9	106	103	105	104	101	105	99	100	98
10-14	106	100	105	100	98	105	97	95	95
15-19	97	94	101	98	93	102	79	87	91
20-24	73	94	91	97	107	93	55	72	86
25-29	98	10	100	97	100	102	61	72	83
30-34	99	94	9	93	91	97	69	77	83
35-39	100	94	102	105	94	104	70	80	85
40-44	96	103	95	91	100	89	79	84	92
45-49	105	10	94	115	101	96	82	85	90
50-54	99	97	100	89	93	99	94	89	92
55-59	97	101	96	100	110	100	88	85	85
60-64	95	101	98	96	89	94	97	97	84
65-69	106	105	100	108	112	110	86	89	77
70-74	-	-	103	-	-	94	-	-	86
75-79	-	-	96	-	-	98	-	-	81
80-84	-	-	63	-	-	84	-	-	76

SOURCE: 1971, 1981, 1991 Botswana Population Census

AGE	WOMEN	CHILDREN	HOME	E'WHERE	DEAD	MEAN #
50-54	16927	106686	38%	47%	15%	6.3
55-59	14457	92022	31%	52%	17%	6.37
60-64	11855	72849	24%	55%	21%	6.11
65+	34657	185738	20%	53%	27%	5.36

SOURCE: 1991 Botswana Population and Housing Census.

person has to support, (children 0-14 and the elderly 65 and above by aged 15-64) is quite high 93:100 in Botswana. The dependency ratio is

high because of large number of children and the increasing elderly population. In rural area, 28.5 percent of households are headed by those aged 60 years and over, compared to 15 percent in urban areas.

Women share a greater burden even in their old age as traditionally they take care of the home and young children as well as contribute to food production. The traditional methods of social support such as the *mafisa* system and the extended family have broken down as a result of rapid social change in society. This may strain the resources of the individual households especially those headed by single females. Nationally, this can create conflict on allocation of resources for the specific and differing needs of the two dependent groups – the young and the old. Both are likely to become more vulnerable as the AIDS epidemic erodes the economically productive population.

Along with the demographic transition, there is a gradual epidemiological shift from communicable to non-communicable diseases, especially among the elderly. Presently, the Primary Health Care Strategy has targeted children and women as the main recipients of health services. The elderly suffer from multiple pathology in particular eye, circulatory and musculoskeletal problems. Often, these conditions lead to partial or total

disability, thereby decreasing further their access to health facilities. Their demand for health services is already high and will grow with corresponding increase in the elderly population. Specific needs will have to be met by change in policy to address these needs.

Social security in the form of the destitute allowance is insufficient to address the needs of the elderly. A monthly pension of P100 for those over 65 years implemented in 1996 is a small step in the right direction.

ENVIRONMENT

The environment within which people live and work has a direct bearing on their health and quality of life. Though no gender-specific data is available, women as manual labourers in the road and construction sector are exposed to dust from earth and cement. Women working in the textiles and printing industries and as domestic workers and cooks often work in poorly ventilated, unhygienic conditions and are exposed to chemicals. Such unsafe and stressful conditions lead to chronic ill-health, especially chronic respiratory diseases.

Recent environmental measures include recycling of paper, tins and bottles through community participation efforts, and introduction of unleaded petrol. Recently, the governments of Botswana and Norway signed an agreement to jointly finance a project of Air Pollution Monitoring and Surveillance System in Botswana.¹²⁰

Housing

Families living in cramped and overcrowded conditions are much more likely to suffer health problems, especially communicable diseases. This is particularly relevant in Botswana which has experienced rapid urbanisation in the last decade. According to the 1991 Population and Housing Census,

REGION	NUMBER OF ROOMS	1	2	3	4	5
Urban		35,542	14,797	19,424	11,625	4,298
%		40.7	16.9	22.2	13.3	4.9
Urban Villages		16,079	19,768	15,457	8,722	3,730
%		23.9	29.4	23.0	13.0	5.5
Rural		29,684	39,046	34,999	17,198	8,863
%		21.7	28.5	25.6	12.6	6.5

SOURCE: HIES 1993/94

45.7 percent (606,239) of Botswana live in urban areas compared with 17.7 percent (166,268) in 1981. This has led to considerably more people per room in many households, especially in urban areas.

About 60 percent of town households live in one or two rooms compared to 53.3 percent in urban villages and 50.2 percent in rural areas.

Access to Basic Services

Access to piped water has increased from 97 to 100 percent for urban town households and from 45 percent to 65 percent for rural households in the last decade. At the national level about 17 percent of households have no access to piped water. Although 65 percent of rural households have access to piped water, 55 percent of these are outside individual plots. Women and girls carry heavy buckets of water over long distances detracting from time they could spend on their self-development. Storage of water over some days leads to an increase in the incidence of water-borne diseases such as diarrhoea.

Compared with access to safe water, sanitary toilet facilities are poor. Access to private flush toilets has actually declined in urban town households from 33.4 percent in 1981 to 23 percent in 1991, probably due to reclassification of major villages as urban areas. Access to pit latrines, both privately and communally, has increased marginally from 48.3 to 67 percent and from eight to 12.6 percent respectively. It is alarming to note that 18 percent of urban households and 74 percent of rural households have no access to sanitary toilet facilities. This has serious consequences for ill health and diarrhoea, adding to the burden of women who have to take care of their families.

Gas used for cooking has almost doubled in urban households and increased from 1.9 percent to 6.6 percent in rural households in the

Main Sources of Water by Region

Table 88

	1988/86		1993/94		
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	URBAN VILLAGES	RURAL
Piped Water % Inside Building	35.4	4.2	34.6	11.3	2.8
Piped Water % Within Plot	6.3	3.5	17.5	33.6	6.3
Piped Water % Outside Plot	57.2	48.3	47.9	54.9	55.3
Well or Borehole %	0.0	31.9	0.0	0.0	24.1
River or Stream %	1.1	9.5	0.0	0.0	7.0
Other %	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.2	4.5

SOURCE: Household Income and Expenditure Survey: 1985/86; 1993/94, CSO.

Access to Sanitary Toilet Facilities by Region

Table 89

TYPE OF TOILET FACILITIES	1981		1991	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
% Private/Flush Toilets	33.4	2.2	23.0	2.6
% Private/Pit Latrines	36.7	11.6	51.0	17.0
Communal Flush Toilets			0.6	0.7
Communal Pit Latrines	5.2	2.8	6.7	4.6
Pail/Bucket Latrines (Movable) and not stated	4.1	8.1	1.3	1.2
None	20.7	75.3	18.0	74.0

SOURCE: Population and Housing Census 1981, CSO

Access to Fuel for Cooking by Region

Table 90

TYPE OF FUEL	1981		1991	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
Electricity	7.7	0.2	5.0	0.3
Gas	18.9	1.9	36.0	6.6
Paraffin	23.2	2.1	19.0	2.6
Wood/Charcoal	48.7	95.4	40.0	90.0
Coal/Other	1.4	0.3	0.5	0

SOURCE: Population and Housing Census, 1981, 1991

Main Source of Fuel Used for Lighting

Table 91

TYPE OF FUEL	1981		1991	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
Electricity	21.7	1.2	18.0	2.1
Gas	1.4	0.2	1.2	0.4
Paraffin	34.5	58.8	66.0	63.0
Wood	1.4	30.5	0.8	22.0
Candle	40.5	8.1	14.0	10.0
Other	0.5	0.9	0.5	2.0

SOURCE: Population and Housing Census 1981, 1991 CSO.

last decade. The main fuel for cooking is wood and charcoal in urban and rural households, which leads to environmental degradation. As

wood gathering is traditionally a female task, this also has serious implications on the workload of women.

Transport

At independence, Botswana's transport infrastructure was limited to the north-south rail system which was then owned and operated by foreign concerns. Following independence, the development of transport and communication infrastructure was initially concentrated in the more populated eastern part of the country. In the mid 1980's these efforts were directed to service rural areas. By the end of 1990, there were 16,000km of publicly maintained roads of which 8,328km are national roads. By 1990, 2,664km of national roads were tarred, 957km were gravelled and 4,709km were either earth or sand tracks. Most urban roads are tarred.

However, only 1,200km out of 7,000km of regularly used rural roads (up to 20 vehicles-a-day) are engineered. The rest are unimproved earth roads and sand tracks, negotiated safely only by four-wheel-drive vehicles. The Trans-Kgalagadi Road will add another 597km to link the remote western part of the country to the eastern and provide a major transit route to Namibia. In addition, passenger rail service is available from north to south along the eastern border.

Daily shuttle service is also available for commuters between neighbouring towns and the capital, Gaborone.

The total number of vehicles registered increased from 31,700 in 1980 to 101,226 in 1994.¹²¹ The major increase was in registration of cars and vans which are largely privately owned. Buses and minibuses used for public transport were much lower.

Most urban towns and major urban villages have minibuses and taxis for commuting with the centres and immediate outlying areas. However, minibus routes do not favour commuters who may have to use at least two minibuses to reach their destination, resulting in extra time and money spent on travel.

Many rural villages now have access to buses but these are not reliable in terms of time and frequency schedules. Government provides a subsidy to encourage operators to provide bus services to remote rural areas. However, traditional means of transport such as walking, riding donkeys, using animal-drawn carts and sledges and dugout canoes or *mekoro* is still largely and often the only accessible and affordable means of travel by poorer remote rural communities.

This has serious implications for poor people, in particular women, as much of their activities involve considerable travel to gather fuel, fetch water, work on their fields, purchase food as well as take family members to health facilities.

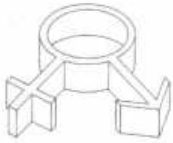
Lack of timely access to, and affordability of transport can result in serious consequences. For example, in case of obstructive labour, delays in referral to an appropriate health facility can lead to serious morbidity and mortality of the mother.¹²²

INDICATOR	1985/86		1993/94		
	URBAN	RURAL	U/TOWN	U/VILL	RURAL
Bicycle	18.7	23.1	16.8	22.8	17.4
Donkey Cart	3.9	17.6	1.8	12.9	23.3
Sledge			0.3	1.7	7.3
Canoe			0.6	1.2	1.6
Motor Cycle			1.1	0.8	0.4
Van, bakkie			12.3	12.3	5.4
Car	20.8	5.9	16.1	4.8	3.2
Truck			0.8	0.5	0.6
Tractor			0.8	1.7	1.8

SOURCE: HIES 1985/86, 1993/94.

PART II

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES



The people of Botswana have generally benefited from the remarkable economic growth the country has experienced since independence, especially in relation to the development of the social sector. Increased access to education, health, employment, water and infrastructure services has improved the quality of life of a substantial portion of Botswana.

Unfortunately the benefits have been unequal as gender and regional disparities are prevalent as PART I has indicated. Women's participation in the various sectors is much lower than that of men for numerous reasons despite the fact that they make up half of the total population in Botswana. Research makes it clear that women play a crucial role in the economy of Botswana, in all sectors, but their contribution remains unrecognised and unrewarded.

The government has not had a clear policy position on the development and empowerment of women. In 1981, as part of the activities of the UN Decade for Women, the government established a Women's Affairs Unit, in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. In the last 10 years the now Women's Affairs Department has been making concerted efforts to develop a women's policy but, due to a lack of political commitment and other obstacles it took a long time to be approved. A draft policy document on women has been further developed and revised in the last two years and in July 1996 was approved by cabinet and Parliament. It is a positive step in the right direction of a blueprint

which should enhance the development of gender sensitive policies and programmes.

The government's position is that all policies and programmes should benefit all members of the population equally. Access to economic opportunities of all Botswana citizens in all sectors of development is an overall goal clearly stated in the past and current development plans. The current plan (NDP VII) acknowledges that income is distributed unevenly between women and men and notes that the aim of the plan should be to ensure that women are fully involved as equal partners in the social and economic development process. Unfortunately, this aim has not been translated into clear policies and programmes, due primarily to the recent adoption of a Women in Development (WID) policy and a weak and marginalised institutional structure to promote gender sensitive planning. Prevailing stereotypes place women in subordinate positions, making it difficult to adopt clear gender-sensitive strategies and limit women's ability to fully participate in development programmes.

However, the current plan has taken a positive step in highlighting some of the gender disparities and concerns in certain sectors which lays a base to develop strategies to address the gender gaps in future plans.

The distribution of the nation's wealth has been unequal between rural and urban areas, between rich and poor and between women and men. Recent research has shown a disturbing disparity in the distribution of national assets and income. For instance the top 20 percent of the population earns 24 times that



of the bottom 20 percent.¹²³ The gap widens further with 20 percent of low income earners getting 10 percent of the national income while 20 percent of the wealthy earn over 60 percent of the national income.¹²⁴ Poverty and wide income disparities are the biggest challenge for the government in this decade as the current situation is a threat to social justice, national unity and the principles of democracy and basic human rights. The government is aware of these inequalities and is making some efforts to address the situation. The government recently commissioned a nation-wide study on the extent and nature of poverty with the view to revising its policies accordingly.

The gender disparities are illustrated by the statistics in the different sectors of the economy. This is mainly due to the fact that the general planning and policy approaches have not adequately taken into account the gender, regional or ethnic differences that prevail in the country. Therefore, despite the fact that sectoral policies and programmes have positively impacted on the overall population, the impact has not been on an equal basis. As a result, it is estimated that well over 40 percent of the population live below the poverty datum line.¹²⁵ In 1991, two-thirds of those unemployed were living in rural areas and a the majority of Botswana's unemployed are women.¹²⁶ Inequalities between women and men are also pronounced as far as access to income and resources are concerned varying in degrees between rural and urban areas.

Since the early 1970's government's intervention has concentrated on rural development policies and programmes to alleviate inequalities and decrease the urban-rural disparities. The strategy has emphasised the development of rural productive resources to create income opportunities that will increase self-

reliance and economic independence for the majority of rural households. Given the gender insensitive nature of rural development, the impact has not affected women and men equally. Research has shown that gender, class and ethnic inequalities have increased over the years even-though the data is not conclusive.¹²⁷

The government's policies have not produced any significant results in terms of creating employment or income opportunities.

This section of the Profile will provide an analytical overview of the key sectoral programmes and policies of government and NGOs from a gender perspective. The focus is on four sectors: agriculture, education, commerce and industry, health and population.

Agriculture

Agriculture is still an important sector since two-thirds of the population live in rural areas and depend on agriculture survival. The sector is the main source of employment, income, and food for the majority of rural households and 47 percent of these households are headed by females.¹²⁸ The contribution of agriculture to the economy of Botswana, however, has declined since independence, from 40 percent to just three percent in 1989 creating a negative impact on a substantial proportion of households that depend on agriculture for a livelihood. Hardest hit are small-scale arable farmers, most of whom are women.

Government's major policy objectives are to:

- ◆ improve food security both at household and national level; -
- diversify the agricultural base to increase income and employment;
- ◆ increase agricultural output and productivity.

Traditional and commercial farming exist side by side and each is

composed of crop and livestock farming. Livestock has grown faster than the arable sector as a result of higher investment due to its export value. The arable sector is also a higher-risk activity due to unfavourable climatic and environmental conditions but remains important for the survival of a large proportion of rural households. Women are the main labour force and depend on it for food and employment opportunities.

Cattle farming

With beef as Botswana's second largest foreign exchange earner, commercial cattle farming has become increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few big farmers. Research indicates that cattle farming is unequally distributed: 48 percent of households own less than 40 cattle, 44-54 percent of rural households have no cattle and five percent own more than 100 cattle. Thirty-five percent of farming households are female-headed, who have none or few cattle. They depend to a large extent on traditional reciprocal arrangements, especially for draught power. The latter arrangements has been eroded by the changes in the land tenure system to enhance productivity in the cattle industry.

Cattle-rearing is a traditional male activity, as a result of which policies geared towards the cattle industry have not directly benefited female farmers. The Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), for example is gender-biased as the bulk of the cattle are owned by men. TGLP, introduced in 1975, was to commercialise the cattle industry, increase productivity and promote environmentally friendly range management practices. Research has shown that TGLP served to benefit the big male farmers, at the expense of smaller farmers, because they had access to huge tracts of land, exclusive water rights and input benefits to increase productivity. As explained above,

the big farmers have dual grazing rights on their cattle ranches and in communal areas, marginalising the small farmer as the communal land is over-grazed and over-stocked leading to environmental degradation.

The TGLP policy has not helped small farmers who remain on traditional farms with limited access to land, water-rights, credit and other resources necessary to increased production and benefits. Indeed, researchers have detailed how TGLP has marginalised small farmers and resource-poor groups such as the women and the Basarwa who depend on traditional and reciprocal arrangements such as the *mafisa* system (using borrowed cattle) which TGLP did not consider. TGLP policy has also been blamed for increasing the gap between rich and poor farmers because the former are able to take advantage of the facilities provided by the policy.

Arable agriculture

Little growth in the arable agriculture sector has been experienced since independence due to numerous factors, including drought and limited investment. Traditionally crop farming is predominantly women's activity with 60-80 percent of the labour being female. This sector is the major producer of food at the household level. Research shows that women play a major role in weeding, threshing, bird-scaring, harvesting, transporting and storage.¹²⁹ They also assist the men in land-clearing, ploughing and planting.

Unlike the cattle industry, arable agriculture received little serious attention until 1982 when the Arable Lands Development Policy (ALDEP) was introduced. The majority of farmers still grow crops for subsistence purposes. Commercial arable agriculture is mainly done on a few freehold farms that are male and foreign-owned.

Frequent drought and harsh unpredictable climatic conditions have contributed to low domestic food production impacting on the majority of rural households. Botswana must import a large proportion of its food grains due to low productivity in this sector. One contributing factor is the gender-insensitive nature of agricultural policies that assume small farmers have equal access to resources needed for increased productivity.

ALDEP is a loan subsidy scheme to assist small-scale arable farming. The main objective of the policy is to increase production, income and employment of 11,000 resource-poor arable farmers, who own less than 40 cattle, cultivate less than 10 hectares and earn less than P3,600-a-year. The programme operated on a credit-subsidy plan which was replaced with a grant-down payment scheme to meet the needs of resource-poor farmers.

In 1988 further changes were introduced and the 15 percent down payment was eliminated to meet the needs of female farmers who constitute a substantial proportion of poor farmers. From its inception, however, the various components of ALDEP did not address specific gender needs of women and men. Fewer female farmers made use of the programme than male farmers.¹³⁰

Even though 54 percent of farmers with no cattle were women, the policy did not outline any comprehensive strategy to reach them.¹³¹ Ten years after it came into being, almost half the female farmers did not know anything about the different types of assistance provided by ALDEP. A 1991 survey of female-headed households showed that extension workers considered these unproductive and by-passed them in the dissemination of information and technical advice.¹³²

The policy did not adequately reflect gender differences or recog-

nise that households are not homogeneous which proves that programmes must be target-designed, taking into account gender and regional needs and circumstances. In the second phase of ALDEP in 1993, an attempt was made to take into account the specific needs and problems of female farmers and the provisions under the scheme were changed to increase the access of resource-poor farmers. Research has shown that although ALDEP was meant to assist small-scale productivity, it actually helped farmers who already had access to some resources such as cattle and land more. ALDEP did not impact positively on the resource-poor farmer, especially female farmers.

All this shows that the socio-economic and gender differences between farmers was not understood at the policy-formulation stages. There was no systemic framework to address the status of the resource-poor female households heads who are the poorest of the poor.

Clearly both ALDEP and TGLP did not make a big difference to the lives of women as farmers or employees. Research has found that the situation of de jure female-headed households worsened in the 1980s in the rural areas due to poor access to productive resources. This was also partly due to policies and planning of programmes developed from a non-perspective. If data is collected and disaggregated by gender, which enables the policy-maker or planner to understand gender roles, needs and constraints, it will inform planners about the disparities between women and men in terms of access to land, credit, labour and the different roles that women and men play in agriculture.

Commerce and Industry
Industrial and commercial development has always been a priority area for the Botswana government

to promote diversified economic growth. The emphasis is on economic diversification, promotion of non-traditional exports and creation of an enabling environment to facilitate the growth of the private sector. Development of this sector is urban-biased, resulting in creation of industries and employment at the expense of the rural areas, where the majority of the population resides.¹³³

Urban areas have been the main beneficiaries of economic growth leading to increased formal sector employment that is urban and male-biased. According to the 1991 census, 70 percent of formal jobs were occupied by men compared with 30 percent by women and most were employment opportunities urban-based. Manufacturing has grown over the years to a point where 45 percent of all formal sector jobs are in this sector. Women have also benefitted since they occupy 47 percent of these jobs, largely because the main manufacturing activities are related to the traditional roles of women, such as textiles and leather products.

The informal sector, however, has not developed as much as the formal. It provides income and job opportunities for a substantial number of low-income rural and urban households. Research indicates that 75 percent of informal sector enterprises are in rural areas and provide approximately 50 percent of rural households' income.¹³⁴ More than 50 percent of these enterprises are owned by women.¹³⁵ This is an area where government policy is weak and unclear in terms of providing adequate investment and support, nor is the sector considered in national accounts statistics. Work that is predominantly female is unrecognised and undervalued.

Botswana follows a liberal market approach to investment and ownership of industries but has a prefer-

Women are pillars of the nation

Box 9

Botswana women were pillars of the nation who have contributed towards the development of the country and engaged in activities within the homestead and in the community.

These observations were made by the principal of the Institute of Health Sciences, Mrs. Ogoni Mogano, when delivering the 1997 International Women's Day celebrations speech at Bangwato main kgotla in Serowe.

Mogano said women had tasks, including fetching water, wood, bearing and raising children, growing and harvesting crops and other activities. Those activities, she said, provided the base on which society functioned.

She stated that the value of women's contribution to development had not gone entirely unnoticed. There were several women's voluntary organisations such as the Botswana Council of Women, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Christian Women's Fellowship and the Business and Professional Women.

The principal advised women not to shy away from accepting accountability and responsibility just because they were women, they should continue to strive for equality, development and peace.

She says that women still tended to find difficulty penetrating some technical occupations because of the cultural barriers that discouraged them, Magano noted that the socio-economic changes that occurred in the last 30 years drastically changed the situation and role of women.

Earlier, when welcoming guests, the Senior Subordinate Tribal Authority, Moipolai Martin said, the nation valued the Women's Day as an important occasion, which women in the country should utilise to achieve their constitutional rights.

Mr Martin said that many men were much worried that women were threatening their lives. He noted that women merely wanted empowerment by taking away cultural barriers.

SOURCE: BOPA, March 1997.

ence for locally owned and managed business. For instance, the government has an Industrial Reservation policy to promote Botswana participation in industrial development to the extent that 85 percent of retail business is owned by Botswana. Due to numerous constraints, such as limited access to credit, limited capital to invest, lack of technical and managerial skills, lack of business culture and limited support facilities it is difficult for Botswana to participate effectively in industrial development. As a result, major and large industries are foreign-owned and, to a large extent, the private sector is dominated by expatriates.

In 1982, the government introduced the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) as an employment-creation measure and to stimulate diversification of the economy. FAP is implemented by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the main aim of the policy is to provide financial incentives and skills-training for small, medium and large-scale enterprise, especially in the rural areas. FAP is a 95 percent-grant scheme, matched by a five percent contribution by the entrepreneur, over a period of five years. Positive discrimination is permitted by FAP in favour of women.

Businesses located in rural areas are also favourably considered.

Since it was introduced FAP has been evaluated three times and these evaluations have shown that even though there are numerous, social, economic and political problems that negatively affect the implementation of the policy, it has created employment and assisted and facilitated the entry of Batswana into the business sector. Batswana are concentrated in small scale sector and over 50 percent of the small scale enterprises are owned by women.¹³⁶

The evaluations also indicated a substantial proportion of workers in this sector are women.¹³⁷ However it is also evident that few women entrepreneurs are in the medium-scale sector and none in the large-scale sector. Women are concentrated in the small-scale sector where activities are marginal. The 1993 evaluation noted that most small business people do not market properly, lack business management skills, have little access to land, labour and credit and are further constrained by multiple household responsibilities.¹³⁸

However FAP has also had some positive impacts on women in small-scale business, mostly in the

traditional female stereotyped areas such as, sewing, knitting and the textile area in general. Given tight competition from South African chain stores, the limited domestic market and poor quality of their goods, women entrepreneurs activities remain marginal except for a few individual success stories. FAP has not effectively taken on board the gender needs and roles of women and men that must be addressed if its programmes are to succeed.

The FAP package is limited because small-scale business needs more than finance to make its enterprises economically viable. Programmes are needed such as appropriate business and management training, access to marketing facilities business infrastructure and services. There is room for a great deal of improvement in all economic sectors in terms of employment creation and participation and business ownership of Batswana. Strengthening intersectoral linkages, export-oriented industries, upgrading existing laws and regulations to attract foreign and local investors and developing a deliberate bias in favour of rural areas will go a long way towards helping growth of the industrial sector.

Education and Human Resource Development

Botswana recognises education as a basic human right. Government's policy is based on a strategy of universal access to nine years of basic education. Policy recognises that education plays an important role in developing the individual to take advantage of economic opportunities. Government has always emphasised education and training to prepare Batswana for productive lives and to enable them to hold key positions in the public and private sector. Objectives also includes increasing equal education opportunities for all citizens to reduce inequalities.

Since independence, Botswana has made remarkable progress in education. The expansion of educational opportunities and facilities, has built capacity into the education system to increase enrolment of girls and boys at all levels. According to education statistics, more than 85 percent of primary school children are enrolled in school and more than 50 percent of these are girls who have always outnumbered boys at primary level. However, recent statistics indicate that the proportions are becoming equal. An expansion of the Junior Secondary school level has contributed to almost 95 percent of primary school leavers entering Form One, compared to 35 percent in 1977.¹³⁹

At Junior Secondary school level, statistics indicate that more girls (55 percent) than boys (45 percent) attend school.¹⁴⁰ However, the situation is different at senior secondary and tertiary level where more boys (45 percent) advance than girls (10-20 percent).¹⁴¹ There are various reasons for this principal among them being a higher drop-out of girls at junior secondary school as a result of pregnancy and shortage of school places. Senior secondary schools can only accept 30 percent of the junior school leavers.¹⁴²

The situation is also similar at vocational and technical training schools where opportunities are limited due to inadequate facilities. Few girls enter vocational schools because of stereotyped and gender-biased attitudes. Less than 10 percent of enrolments are girls at vocational and technical schools and less than 50 percent of the enrolments in the faculty of science are girls at the University of Botswana.¹⁴³

Vocational and technical training has not been properly recognised by the Ministry of Education in the past which has emphasised formal education as predominantly acade-

mic with few practical components. As a result the 1992 education commission noted that the education system was not relevant to the economy and did not adequately prepare students for the workplace. One of the major recommendations of the commission was that the curriculum be reviewed to make it more relevant. Presently there are few qualified Botswana technicians, engineers and scientists, leaving government and the private sector dominated by expatriates. The new education policy took up this recommendation and went on to propose special measures to facilitate the entry of girls into science and technical careers. The draft includes a specific sector on gender equality to address the imbalance at different levels of the formal and informal education system.

The Department of Vocational and Technical Education commissioned a study to identify the major problems that contribute to the low enrolment levels of girls at vocational and technical schools. The study was to develop a gender policy that will devise strategies to increase the number of girls at this level. The Ministry of Education has also made efforts to review their educational materials and programmes from a gender perspective. The curriculum development and counselling division has developed career guidance booklets that are gender-sensitive to encourage both girls and boys to take up technical careers. The gender and education committee at the University of Botswana, assists the Ministry of Education with various studies to improve the education system from a gender perspective.

Most importantly a review of alternative education programmes, such as distance non-formal education to enhance the capacity to accommodate those girls and boys that did not make their way in the formal system.

Health and Population

The government's overall policy is to achieve health for all by the year 2000 and its major aim is to increase the population's access to essential health services so that "they can lead an economic and socially productive life". The health policy is based on the primary health care system (PHC) as an appropriate strategy to attain health for all. The policy also emphasises equity, intersectoral collaboration and community participation as crucial elements of the strategy to achieve health for all by 2000.

This is another sector where Botswana has made remarkable progress since independence. In terms of basic health indicators, Botswana has done well, comparatively, within the continent and internationally. This is a result of the government's commitment to put in place facilities and human resources at national and district levels to provide reasonable and access to quality and affordable health care services to the people. National statistics indicate that more than 85 percent of the population is within 15km and 73 percent within eight km of a health facility. The current national development plan also indicates progress has been made between 1980 and 1991 in the following areas:

- ◆ crude death rate dropped from 14.4 per 1,000 in 1980 to 9.7 per 1,000 in 1991;
- ◆ crude birth rate dropped from 49 per 1,000 to 40.4 per 1,000;
- ◆ total fertility rate decreased from 7.1 live birth per woman to 5.0;
- ◆ life expectancy increased from 55.9 to 60.2 years.¹⁴⁴

The health strategy in Botswana could be described as biased in favour of women and children to such an extent that recent health research emphasises the necessity to involve men more in programmes such as family planning, education and HIV/AIDS. The

health of women and children has been given particular attention as they are the most high-risk group of the population. The Maternal and Child Health and Family Planning Programme (MCHFPP) is the core programme strategy to reach women and children. Its objectives are to:

- ◆ increase the proportion of women of reproductive age who use modern methods of contraceptives; 32 percent of women used family planning methods in 1991 and the target is to obtain 40 percent by the end of the current national development plan;
- ◆ increase the rate of attendance at ante-natal and postnatal clinic by pregnant and lactating women; 92 percent and 71 percent of women attended ante-natal and post-natal clinics respectively in 1991. The target for the current plan is to increase the rate of attendance to 98 percent and 80 percent;
- ◆ increase the proportion of supervised deliveries; 1991 figures indicated that 77 percent of deliveries were supervised by qualified health personnel and the target is to improve that to 80 percent under the current NDP.

The above statistics indicate the positive impact of the MCHFPP in the last two decades. There is now need to strengthen the management and sustainability of the programmes.

Despite good progress there are still numerous problem areas that seriously need to be addressed. The dominant causes of ill-health are infections and diseases related to poor socio-economic conditions, such as inadequate food, illiteracy and inadequate water supply and sanitation. Poverty levels remain high with female-headed households being the poorest of all which plays a major part in the poor health status of women and their children.

Respiratory and gastro-intestinal infections predominate while diseases related to affluent lifestyles are becoming more common for a minority. One of the major concerns is maternal mortality which remains high. HIV/AIDS is another concern as women are the highest risk group and there are more women infected with the HIV virus than men as indicated by current statistics.

The emphasis in the current PHC strategy is to improve access to health services for the most needy groups — the rural poor, disadvantaged women, children, youth and the aged. Thus issues of equity, quality health care, adequate facilities and equipment and trained human resources are all major concerns which the Ministry of Health needs to seriously address.

Legal System

The Constitution of Botswana guarantees women and men equality before the law. It promotes basic human rights such as freedom of speech and association, the right to life regardless of race, political affiliation, gender and religious belief. The Constitution does not permit gender-based discrimination. Human rights is fundamental to human development, the achievement of social justice and good governance.

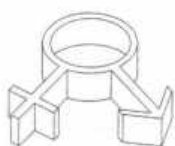
However, there are more than 20 different laws that discriminate against women. Both modern and customary law promote the subordinate legal position of women which marginalises their role in the development process. The existence of discriminatory laws hampers the capacity of women to contribute meaningfully to all sectors of development. The courts have ruled on the Constitution as regarding gender discrimination so the laws which discriminate must be modified. This was a milestone achievement for the women of Botswana but much more needs to be done to enhance the legal situation of women.

Violence Against Women

The incidence of violence against women and girls has been increasing at an alarming rate. Unfortunately the extent and nature of the problem is poorly documented, making planning and development of policies, laws and programmes difficult. Violence is a disturbing violation of the human rights guaranteed women and girl children because of the degradation and negative affects it has on their self-esteem. Urgent attention should be given to this area by the relevant NGO's and government.

PART III

THE WAY FORWARD



Botswana has made remarkable progress and achievements in the last 30 years which has heightened the quality of life and increased the economic wellbeing of the people of Botswana. However, serious regional and gender disparities exist that must be redressed if Botswana is to achieve its objectives of sustained economic development and social justice.

The Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs is the government's focal point responsible for women's development. The Women's NGO Coalition identified priority areas of concern as part of the preparations for the regional women's conference held in Dakar in 1994 and the UN International Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The reports, workshops and strategies that were developed after the conferences form the basis for this section of the Profile.

The following critical areas of concern were selected: -

- ◆ The political empowerment of women
- ◆ Women's legal and human rights
- ◆ Women's economic empowerment and poverty status
- ◆ Access to education and training
- ◆ Improvement in women's health and reproductive rights, and
- ◆ The girl child.

These are also areas that PART II highlights as gaps and disparities that must be reviewed from a gender perspective in order to develop future action strategies. The situation analysis clearly demonstrates that the gender disparities that exist are due to numerous legal, political, economic, and socio-cultural factors that must be given urgent attention if Botswana is to translate the Beijing Platform for Action into reality.

Political Empowerment

Democracy and good governance are key components of sustained economic development and are closely linked to the principles of human rights. Women form a majority in the population but their absence from positions of power and decision-making has denied them opportunity to participate effectively in the democratisation process in Botswana. More than half the voters are women, but less than 10 percent of policy decision-makers are women, meaning women have not had the opportunity to determine the destiny of the political, economic and social development of Botswana.

This is an unacceptable situation because it is crucial for women, men and youth to be full participants and beneficiaries of development processes to sustain Botswana's international reputation as a workable democracy in Africa. The impediments that limit women's participation in politics basically stem from the patriarchal nature of society and the low economic and educational status of women. There is a need to engender and strengthen mechanisms to promote the full participation of women in political and economic power structures and decision-making at all levels.



Strategies

- ◆ promote a stronger political education campaign in all the regions to raise awareness among women and men regarding the importance of increasing the participation of women in the political decision-making process;
- ◆ advocate and lobby for positive action to increase the proportion of women in politics and other decision-making areas through targeting political parties, the private sector and government structures to commit them to establish a gender balance;
- ◆ support and strengthen NGOs and women's organisations in particular to educate women on their political rights, as well as educate the communities about voting and provide confidence and assertiveness-training for women interested in politics;
- ◆ undertake research and examine the party structures and procedures that hinder the full participation of women in politics;
- ◆ mainstream gender issues in party policies and programmes through providing gender training to key policy makers and programme officers;
- ◆ critically analyse organisations training and promotion criteria, procedures, policies to identify obstacles to women's advancement to higher levels of decision-making;
- ◆ Create or strengthen the monitoring mechanism to evaluate progress of women to decision making levels.

Economic Empowerment and Poverty

The situation analysis clearly indicates that poverty is the main challenge facing the Botswana government in the 1990s. A significant proportion of the population (40-50 percent) live below the poverty line. The burden of poverty falls squarely on women as the main providers in half of the urban households and just under half of the rural households. Poverty manifests itself in various forms and has its origin in the lack, or limited access and control of, productive resources, distribution of wealth and income.

Research has shown that existing policies and programmes designed to assist women and men increase their income and resources are not gender-sensitive and thus are not addressing the root causes of the problems and the practical and strategic needs of women and men.

Strategies

- ◆ undertake research to identify the underlying discriminatory employment practices that affect the advancement of women in the formal sector and take positive measures to eliminate these barriers;
- ◆ Find concrete ways to ensure that women participate in decisions and the formulation of macroeconomic policies and in the economic commissions, committees and other structures that determine the direction of the economy;
- ◆ undertake research in all regions of Botswana to determine the nature and extent of the informal sector, to find alternative strategies to develop it into viable employment opportunity and support women's enterprises by increasing their skills and access to resources;

- ◆ review and reform administrative procedures and legislation that treat women and men unequally to provide women with equal rights and access to and control of productive resources, such as, credit, land, capital etc;
- ◆ review the conditions of service of domestic and agricultural workers to incorporate them under existing employment policies to improve their economic situation;
- ◆ review economic policies to assess their impact on women and men from a gender perspective to make them more gender-sensitive and target-oriented;
- ◆ improve women's role in food production by engendering policies and programmes that provide support to farmers in order to redress the resource imbalances between female and male farmers;
- ◆ take measures to increase women employees and entrepreneurs and the relevant NGOs' participation in advisory boards and committees to contribute to the review and formulation of economic policies and programmes;
- ◆ strengthen the capacity of NGOs that are providing assistance to women entrepreneurs to increase the production and management of their economic activities;
- ◆ strengthen the support services of FAP in the small- scale sector and diversify the business activities of women by assisting them to engage in viable economic activities;
- ◆ provide appropriate management, marketing training and the development of technology to strengthen women's economic activities;
- ◆ undertake ongoing research to effectively monitor and evaluate the progress of women's economic activities in the informal and small-scale sector to provide relevant support and assistance.

Legal and Human Rights

The principles of human rights are fundamental to all aspects of human development. There have been numerous international human rights instruments and resolutions that have been proclaimed in favour of equal rights for women and girls, including CEDAW, The Convention on the Rights of the Child and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. The 1994 Vienna International Conference on Human Rights reaffirmed that women's rights are an integral and indivisible component of human rights. Botswana has participated in the development of these conventions and resolutions and as a member of the UN and the OAU has an obligation to prohibit gender-based discrimination.

Botswana in August 1996 acceded to CEDAW and the government also signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1995. However, gender-based discrimination is still prevalent in Botswana despite the fact that the Constitution promotes equality before the law of all citizens.

The Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, women's affairs division, has commissioned a consultancy to review all the laws that promote gender-

based discrimination with a view to amending them and introduce new laws to promote and protect women's rights.

Strategies

- ♦ review, evaluate and reform national laws against the background of CEDAW, the Children's Convention, Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. The consultancy was commissioned by the Women's Affairs Department to review all the laws should be implemented to assist this process;
- ♦ NGO's should be strengthened to continue to advocate, promote and protect equal enjoyment by women and men of all human rights and fundamental freedoms including the minority ethnic groups in the remote rural areas;
- ♦ take urgent action to combat violence against women as a priority area to promote the basic rights of women;
- ♦ provide gender-sensitive training and education to the administrators and enforcement officers at all levels to ensure that they exercise their public duties in a gender-sensitive manner;
- ♦ establish a monitoring mechanism that will have capacity to investigate human rights violations to protect the human rights of women;
- ♦ advocate for the participation of women as judges, senior magistrates, senior police officers and advocates;
- ♦ establish and strengthen free and affordable legal aid services to assist disadvantaged women seeking redress for violations of their rights. Increase the capacity of NGO's that are already providing these services;
- ♦ review laws to promote the human rights of women with disabilities and run legal education programmes to create awareness of their rights;
- ♦ develop, simplify and design appropriate legal education fliers, booklets and pamphlets in local languages to increase the level of legal literacy and awareness;
- ♦ inform women and the public in general about the national, regional and international instruments and laws that protect and promote the human rights of women and men;
- ♦ promote education of human rights in school curricula at all levels of the school system to sensitise girls and boys to the equal rights of women and men in public and private life.

Education and Training

Education is a basic human right and it has major implications for the individual as well as the economic and social development of the nation. Despite remarkable progress in the education sector, women and girls participation in development is still hampered by low levels of education and inappropriate skills. The low representation of girls at higher education levels and in the science and technology area limits their chances to take advantage of employment and other economic opportunities. Their education status also contributes to their inadequate participation at decision-making levels. Access to relevant and high level education and training is essential for women and girls to take advantage of economic opportunities.

Strategies

- ◆ take measures to eliminate all forms of gender-based discrimination and biases at all levels of the education system, especially, at the tertiary level;
- ◆ improve the education system and environment to make it more gender-sensitive through creating awareness and by providing gender-training to all the actors at the policy and implementation levels to ensure that gender issues are mainstreamed at all levels of the education system;
- ◆ strengthen review of the curricula, education materials and policies to make education policies and programmes gender-sensitive in order to ensure equal education and training opportunities for girls and boys, women and men;
- ◆ in collaboration with NGOs, CBOs, and the private sector provide alternative education programmes for girls in particular, and boys who drop out of the education system to increase their level of knowledge and skills so that they can participate equally in the economy;
- ◆ evaluate the YWCA Teen Mothers alternative education programmes, non-formal education programmes and study groups to assess their effectiveness as alternative education opportunities for dropouts with a view to reorient the programmes and strengthen the capacity of these organisations;
- ◆ provide adequate resources to improve the quality and relevance of the education system at all levels as suggested by the education policy of 1994 to give women and men skills needed by the economy;
- ◆ strengthen career guidance and counselling at schools at all levels by using the PACT approach which has made a positive impact at the schools where it was implemented. Government and donors should provide resources for its replication nationally;
- ◆ improve and strengthen the functional aspect of literacy programmes to give women and men life skills, scientific and technological knowledge to utilise in economic activities;
- ◆ improve access to, and retention of girls in vocational and technical training by ensuring a gender sensitive curricula and environment at vocational and technical colleges;
- ◆ provide practical training to unemployed young women and men to provide them with skills to meet the needs of a changing social and economic environment and facilitate their entry into the labour market;
- ◆ improve access to, retention and performance of girls at senior secondary school and facilitate their participation in science and mathematics subjects to enable them to take up careers in science and technical fields;
- ◆ sensitise girls and women to enter non-traditional areas of education and training to widen their career and job opportunities as well as participate in science based professions;

- ◆ increase the numbers of women as policy decision makers and senior administrators in the education system to promote their participation in education review and monitoring commissions, such as the commission to monitor the implementation of the 1994 education policy;
- ◆ incorporate human rights education in the school curricula to sensitise girls and boys to basic human rights principles and issues of gender equity;

Health and Reproductive Health

The International Conference on Population and Development recognised that human beings are at the centre of sustained development. Effective contribution and participation in development programmes depends on the health status of women and men. Health and population policies must strive to improve the health status of women by addressing the key gender concerns in the health sector, such as, the high rates of maternal mortality, the incidence of cervical and breast cancer and HIV/AIDS.

Strategies

- ◆ incorporate the recommendations of the programme of action of the ICPD and other international health-related agreements and conventions into national health and population policies to improve the health status of girls and women;
- ◆ sustain the present high levels of health indicators, strengthen and improve the quality of PHC services and facilities, especially in the rural areas;
- ◆ strengthen IEC and advocacy programmes to adopt a holistic approach in order to change traditional attitudes, values and behaviour regarding women's reproductive health and rights and translate the high level of awareness into practice;
- ◆ review health policies and programmes to ensure that health facilities and services are youth and male-friendly so as to increase their participation in reproductive health in particular and health programmes in general;
- ◆ train health workers at all levels in gender planning and analysis approaches so that they can plan and design gender sensitive programmes and health education materials;
- ◆ take positive steps to reduce the high rate of maternal mortality, and the major causes of morbidity and mortality in children such as acute respiratory tract infection and diarrhoea, by improving the delivery, quality of services and facilities in rural areas;
- ◆ undertake qualitative in-depth research to identify the main factors that lead to abortions and assess and recognise the risk implications of unsafe abortions as a major health concern;
- ◆ NGO's should develop materials on the abortion law, risks and implications of unsafe abortions and advocate for the increase of family planning services in alternative locations;

- ◆ NGOs that are already involved in population and family life education, health and other population programmes should be strengthened by increasing their human and financial resources;
- ◆ increase the availability of safe water supplies and proper sanitation facilities in the remote rural areas;
- ◆ strengthen the education programmes and materials on HIV/AIDS and adopt a holistic perspective recognising the existing unequal power relations between women and men; education programmes should empower women to negotiate with their partners for safer sexual practices;
- ◆ increase the participation of people infected with the HIV/AIDS virus in policy and decision-making structures to ensure need based and gender-sensitive programmes, policies and procedures;
- ◆ promote and undertake gender sensitive research on the effects of traditional and modern health practices on women and men and identify key social-cultural factors that influence sexual behaviour and use of family planning methods;
- ◆ provide adequate resources to improve community-based participation in health services and care and ensure that programmes are gender sensitive and recognise the reproductive and productive roles of women and men; for instance home based care for AIDS patients should target the involvement of both women and men;
- ◆ improve health services and facilities to detect early symptoms of breast and cervical cancer; the establishment of a screening and information centre is a step in the right direction;

Girl Child

The situation analysis indicates that the girl child is disadvantaged in several sectors. The girl child is a cross-cutting gender issue which means the needs of the girl child should be fully integrated. The improvement in the status of the girl child is important since it contributes to the future status of the woman. The major barriers relate to the social and cultural factors that operate in Tswana communities which negatively affect the ability of the girl child to take advantage of available opportunities. Girls are treated differently from boys and socialised to be inferior, thus undermining their abilities and self-esteem.

Strategies

- ◆ take steps to incorporate the principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in the areas where Botswana is lagging behind to promote the full enjoyment of the human rights of girls;
- ◆ review and reform laws that discriminate against girls, such as the minimum age of marriage, minimum legal age of consent and inheritance laws;
- ◆ provide education and counselling for girls to increase their level of confidence and assertiveness to deal with the peer pressure and empower them to make wise and informed decisions;

- ◆ develop comprehensive education programmes and material to educate parents and the community about the ability and potential of the girl child in order to change negative traditional attitudes and practices;
- ◆ create a gender-sensitive school environment that will encourage girls to complete their education and give them confidence to take science and maths subjects;
- ◆ ensure access to appropriate training and education for girls away from the traditional areas of training to assist them to enter the labour market; NGO's providing skills programmes for girls should review and reform their curricula to make it more relevant to the job market;
- ◆ improve the quality and access to sexual and reproductive health services for youth to meet their mental and physical health needs;
- ◆ protect girls from economic exploitation, sexual abuse, incest and sexual violence by improving the laws that protect them and the enforcement procedures;
- ◆ undertake in-depth research on the nature and extent of violence against girls to develop appropriate laws, policies and programmes to respond to the problem;

These are the main areas of priority concern for the government and NGOs in Botswana. A long-term gender comprehensive programme has been developed by government in collaboration with UNDP and the Women's NGO Coalition as a followup plan of action based on the Beijing Platform for Action. A detailed five-year National Plan will be developed that will focus on and address the immediate short-term gender gaps and disparities in the different sectors

PART IV

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Appendix 3

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

A Declaration by Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

PREAMBLE

WE, the Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community,

A. NOTING THAT:

- i) Member States undertook in the SADC Treaty and in the Declaration to the Treaty, and in the Protocol on Immunities and Privileges, SADC not to discriminate against any person on the grounds of gender, among others;
- ii) All SADC member states have signed and ratified or acceded to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), or are in the final stages of doing so.

B. CONVINCED THAT:

- i) Gender equality is a fundamental human right;
- ii) Gender is an area in which considerable agreement already exists and where there are substantial benefits to be gained from closer regional co-operation and collective action;
- iii) The integration and mainstreaming of gender issues into the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative is key to the sustainable development of the SADC region.

C. DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT:

- i) While some SADC member states have made some progress towards gender equality and gender mainstreaming, disparities between women and men still exist in the areas of legal rights, power-sharing and decision-making, access to and control over productive resources, education and health among others;
- ii) Women constitute the majority of the poor;
- iii) Efforts to integrate gender considerations in SADC sectoral programmes and projects have not sufficiently mainstreamed gender in a co-ordinated and comprehensive manner.

D. RECOGNISING THAT:

- i) The SADC Council of Ministers in 1990 mandated the SADC Secretariat to explore the best ways to incorporate gender issues in the SADC Programme of Work, and approved in 1996 gender issues at the regional level to be co-ordinated by the Secretariat;
- ii) In execution of this mandate, the SADC Secretariat has developed and maintained working relations with key stakeholders in the area of gender, which resulted in the approval and adoption of the SADC Gender Programme by the SADC Council of Ministers in February 1997.

WE THEREFORE:

E. REAFFIRM our commitment to the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, the Africa Platform of Action and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

F. ENDORSE the decision of Council on:

- i) The establishment of a policy framework for mainstreaming gender in all SADC activities, and in strengthening the efforts by member countries to achieve gender equality;

- ii) Putting into place an institutional framework for advancing gender equality consistent with that established for other areas of co-operation, but which ensures that gender is routinely taken into account in all sectors;
- iii) The establishment of a Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Gender Affairs in the region;
- iv) The adoption of the existing Advisory Committee consisting of one representative from Government and one member from the Non-Governmental Organisations in each member state whose task is to advise the Standing Committee of Ministers and other Sectoral Committees of Ministers on gender issues;
- v) The establishment of Gender Focal points whose task would be to ensure that gender is taken into account in all sectoral initiatives, and is placed on the agenda of all ministerial meetings;
- vi) The establishment of a Gender Unit in the SADC Secretariat consisting of at least two officers at a senior level.

G. RESOLVE THAT:

As leaders, we should spearhead the implementation of these undertakings and ensure the eradication of all gender inequalities in the region;

AND

H. COMMIT ourselves and our respective countries to, inter alia,

- i) Placing gender firmly on the agenda of the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative;
- ii) Ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision-making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least 30 percent target of women in political and decision-making structures by year 2005;
- iii) Promoting women's full access to, and control over productive resources such as land, livestock, markets, credit, modern technology, formal employment, and a good quality of life in order to reduce the level of poverty among women;
- iv) Repealing and reforming all laws, amending constitutions and changing social practices which still subject women to discrimination, and enacting empowering gender-sensitive laws;
- v) Enhancing access to quality education by women and men, and removing gender stereotyping in the curriculum, career choices and professions;
- vi) Making quality reproductive and other health services more accessible to women and men;
- vii) Protecting and promoting the human rights of women and children;
- viii) Recognising, protecting and promoting the reproductive and sexual rights of women and the girl child;
- ix) Taking urgent measures to prevent and deal with the increasing levels of violence against women and children;
- x) Encouraging the mass media to disseminate information and materials in respect of the human rights of women and children.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, We, the Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community, HAVE SIGNED THIS DECLARATION.

DONE at Blantyre on this 8th day of September 1997, in two original texts, in the English and Portuguese languages, both texts being equality authentic.

Republic of Angola
 Republic of Botswana
 Kingdom of Lesotho
 Republic of Malawi
 Republic of Mauritius
 Republic of Mozambique
 Republic of Namibia
 Republic of South Africa
 Kingdom of Swaziland
 United Republic of Tanzania
 Republic of Zambia
 Republic of Zimbabwe

Appendix 4

Fourth World Conference on Women
Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995

BEIJING DECLARATION

1. We, the Governments participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women,
2. Gathered here in Beijing in September 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations,
3. Determined to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity,
4. Acknowledging the voices of all women everywhere and taking note of the diversity of women and their roles and circumstances, honouring the women who paved the way and inspired by the hope present in the world's youth,
5. Recognize that the status of women has advanced in some important respects in the past decade but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain, with serious consequences for the well-being of all people,
6. Also recognise that this situation is exacerbated by the increasing poverty that is affecting the lives of the majority of the world's people, in particular women and children, with origins in both the national and international domains,
7. Dedicate ourselves unreservedly to addressing these constraints and obstacles and thus enhancing further the advancement and empowerment of women all over the world, and agree that this requires urgent action in the spirit of determination, hope, cooperation and solidarity, now and carry us forward into the next century.

We reaffirm our commitment to:

8. The equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men and other purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments, in particular the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Declaration on the Right to Development;
9. Ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;
10. Build on consensus and progress made at previous United Nations conferences and summits — on women in Nairobi in 1985, on children in New York in 1990, on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, on human rights in Vienna in 1993, on population and development in Cairo in 1994 and on social development in Copenhagen in 1995 with the objective of achieving equality, development and peace;
11. Achieve the full and effective implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women;
12. The empowerment and advancement of

women, including the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, thus contributing to the moral, ethical, spiritual and intellectual needs of women and men, individually or in community with others and thereby guaranteeing them the possibility of realizing their full potential in society and shaping their lives in accordance with their own aspirations.

We are convinced that:

13. Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace;
14. Women's rights are human rights;
15. Equal rights, opportunities and access to resources, equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women, and a harmonious partnership between them are critical to their well-being and that of their families as well as to the consolidation of democracy;
16. Eradication of poverty based on sustained economic growth, social development, environmental protection and social justice requires the involvement of women in economic and social development, equal opportunities and full and equal participation of women and men as agents and beneficiaries of people-centred sustainable development;
17. The explicit recognition and reaffirmation of the right of all women to control all aspects of their health, in particular their own fertility, is basic to their empowerment;
18. Local, national, regional and global peace is attainable and is inextricably linked with the advancement of women, who are a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels;
19. It is essential to design, implement and monitor, with the full participation of women, effective, efficient and mutually reinforcing gender sensitive policies and programmes, including development policies and programmes, at all levels that will foster the empowerment and advancement of women;
20. The participation and contribution of all actors of civil society, particularly women's groups and networks and other non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations, with full respect for their autonomy, in cooperation with Governments, are important to the effective implementation and follow-up of the Platform for Action;
21. The implementation of the Platform for Action requires commitment from Governments and the international community. By making national and international commitments for action, including those made at the Conference, Governments and the international community recognize the need to take priority action for the empowerment and advancement of women.

We are determined to:

22. Intensify efforts and actions to achieve the goals of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women by the end of this century;
23. Ensure the full enjoyment by women and the girl child of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and take effective action against violations of these rights and freedoms;
24. Take all necessary measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and the girl child and remove all obstacles to gender equality and the advancement and empowerment of women;
25. Encourage men to participate fully in all actions towards equality;
26. Promote women's economic independence, including employment, and eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women by addressing the structural causes of poverty through changes in economic structures, ensuring equal access for all women, including those in rural areas, as vital development agents, to productive resources, opportunities and public services;
27. Promote people-centred sustainable development, including sustained economic growth, through the provision of basic education, lifelong education, literacy and training, and primary health care for girls and women;
28. Take positive steps to ensure peace for the advancement of women and, recognizing the leading role that women have played in the peace movement, work actively towards general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and support negotiations on the conclusion, without delay, of a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty which contributes to nuclear disarmament and the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all its aspects;
29. Prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls;
30. Ensure equal access to and equal treatment of women and men in education and health care and enhance women's sexual and reproductive health as well as education;
31. Promote and protect all human rights of women and girls;
32. Intensify efforts to ensure equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all women and girls who face multiple barriers to their empowerment and advancement because of such factors as their race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, or disability, or because they are indigenous people;
33. Ensure respect for interactional law, including humanitarian law, in order to protect women and girls in particular;
34. Develop the fullest potential of girls and women of all ages, ensure their full and equal participation in building a better world for all and enhance their role in the development process.

We are determined to:

35. Ensure women's equal access to economic resources, including land, credit, science and technology, vocational training, information, communication and markets, as a means to further the advancement and empowerment of women and girls, including through the enhancement of their capacities to enjoy the benefits of equal access to these resources, *inter alia*, by means of international cooperation;
36. Ensure the success of the Platform for Action, which will require a strong commitment on the part of Governments, international organisations and institutions at all levels. We are deeply convinced that economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development, which is the framework for our efforts to achieve a higher quality of life for all people. Equitable social development that recognises empowering the poor, particularly women living in poverty, to utilize environmental resources sustainably is a necessary foundation for sustainable development. We also recognize that broad-based and sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development is necessary to sustain social development and social justice. The success of the Platform for Action will also require adequate mobilization of resources at the national and international levels as well as new and additional resources to the developing countries from all available funding mechanisms, including multilateral, bilateral and private sources for the advancement of women; financial resources to strengthen the capacity of national, subregional, regional and international institutions, a commitment to equal rights, equal responsibilities and equal opportunities and to the equal participation of women and men in all national, regional and international bodies and policy making processes; and the establishment or strengthening of mechanisms at all levels for accountability to the world's women;
37. Ensure also the success of the Platform for Action in countries with economies in transition, which will require continued international cooperation and assistance;
38. We hereby adopt and commit ourselves as Governments to implement the following Platform for Action, ensuring that a gender perspective is reflected in all our policies and programmes. We urge the United Nations system, regional and international financial institutions, other relevant regional and international institutions and all women and men, as well as non-governmental organisations, with full respect for their autonomy, and all sectors of civil society, in cooperation with Governments, to fully commit themselves and contribute to the implementation of this Platform for Action.

SOURCE: United Nations, *Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration*, UN Department of Public Information, New York, 1996

Appendix 5

Fourth World Conference on Women
Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995

PLATFORM FOR ACTION: MISSION STATEMENT

1. The Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment. It aims at accelerating the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women and at removing all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. This means that the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities. Equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people-centred sustainable development. A sustained and long-term commitment is essential, so that women and men can work together for themselves, for their children and for society to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

2. The Platform for Action reaffirms the fundamental principle set forth in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights, that the human rights of women and of the girl child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. As an agenda for action, the Platform seeks to promote and protect the full enjoyment of all human rights and the fundamental freedoms of all women throughout their life cycle.

3. The Platform for Action emphasizes that women share common concerns that can be

addressed only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender equality around the world. It respects and values the full diversity of women's situations and conditions and recognises that some women face particular barriers to their empowerment.

4. The Platform for Action requires immediate and concerted action by all to create a peaceful, just and humane world based on human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the principle of equality for all people of all ages and from all walks of life, and to this end, recognizes that broad-based and sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development is necessary to sustain social development and social justice.

5. The success of the Platform for Action will require a strong commitment on the part of Governments, international organisations and institutions at all levels. It will also require adequate mobilization of resources at the national and international levels as well as new and additional resources to the developing countries from all available funding mechanisms, including multilateral, bilateral and private sources for the advancement of women; financial resources to strengthen the capacity of national, subregional, regional and international institutions; a commitment to equal rights, equal responsibilities and equal opportunities and to the equal participation of women and men in all national, regional and international bodies and policy-making processes; and the establishment or strengthening of mechanisms at all levels of accountability to the world's women.

SOURCE: United Nations, *Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration*, UN Department of Public Information, New York, 1996



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