

1 INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE IN BOTSWANA



Oranotse M Mpudi the Voice News Papare Photographer presenting on the importance of Media.

Photo: Keletso Serole

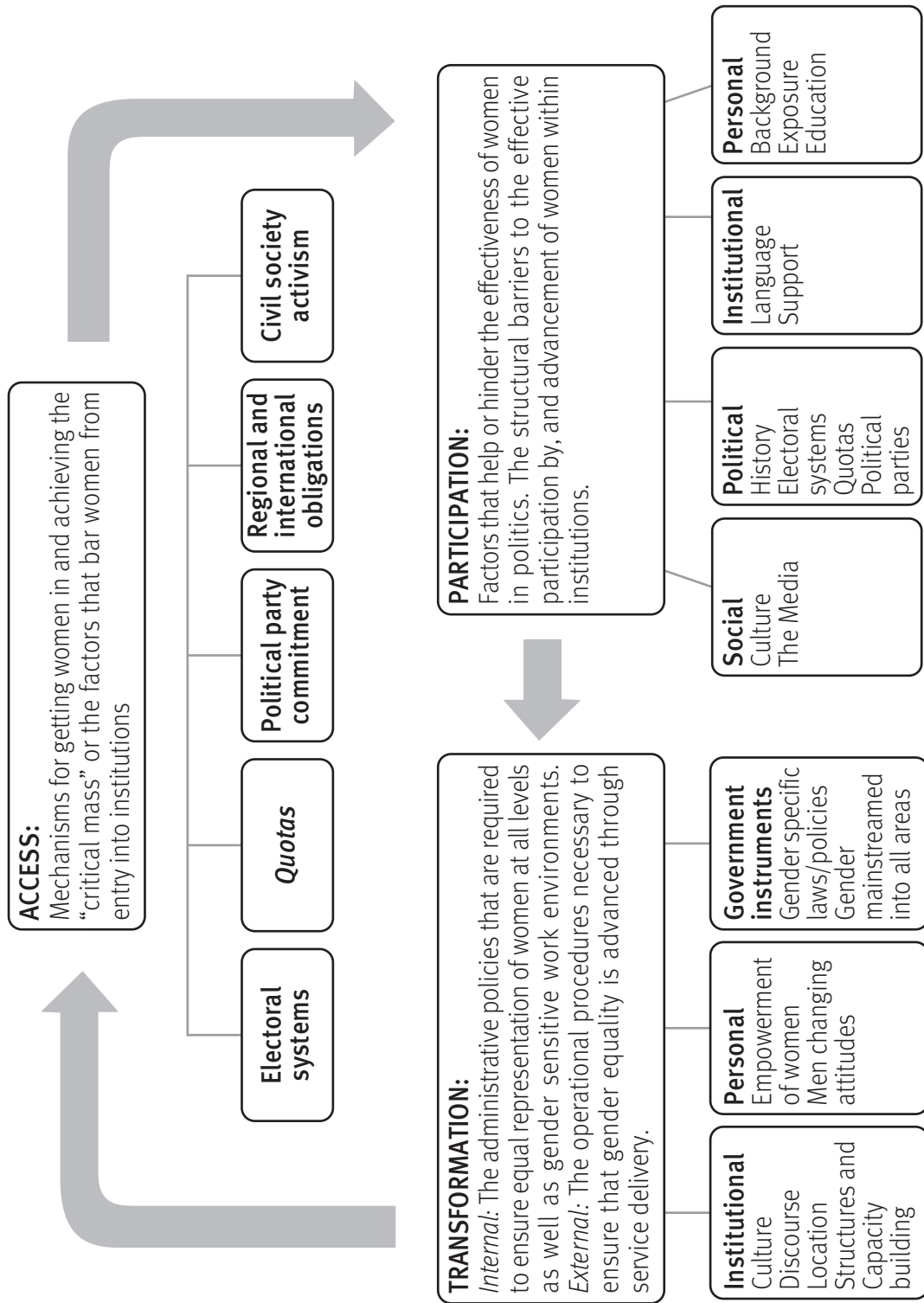
The objectives of this module are to:

1. Understand the global regional and national context of women's political representation.
2. Understand the connections between electoral systems and quotas and women's representation in political decision-making.
3. Discuss the barriers to women representation and effective participation in political decision-making, and identify strategies to overcome these.
4. Debate electoral systems and quotas to and options for Botswana.
5. Discuss and understand the importance of engaging young women in politics.

GENDER AND GOVERNANCE

As illustrated in the framework below developed by Thenjiwe Mtintso, SA ambassador to Cuba, Chair of GL and former Chairperson of the Commission on Gender Equality, there is a close link between how an institution is constituted and defines itself, and its ability to be an agent for transformation in any society:

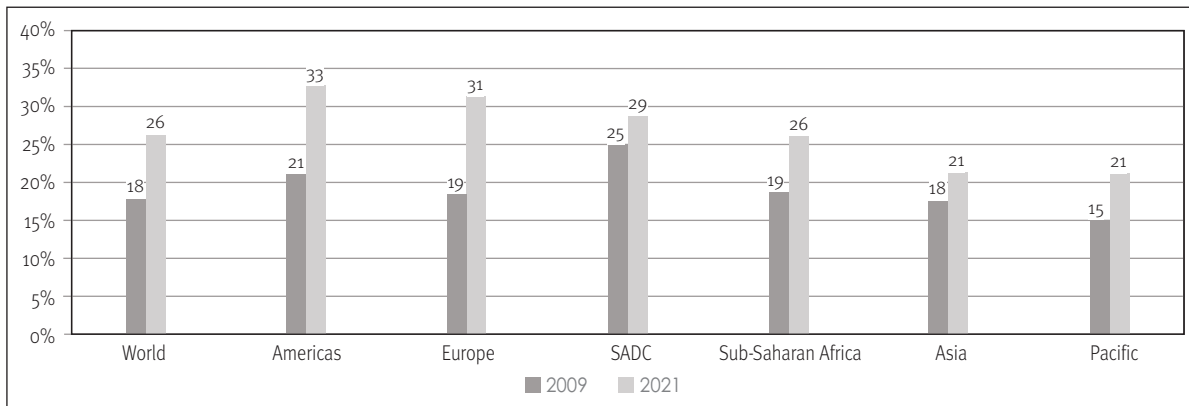
MTINTSO'S ACCESS-PARTICIPATION-TRANSFORMATION FRAMEWORK



WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION - GLOBAL REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXTS

Global context

Women in Parliament (both houses) - Global 2009-2021



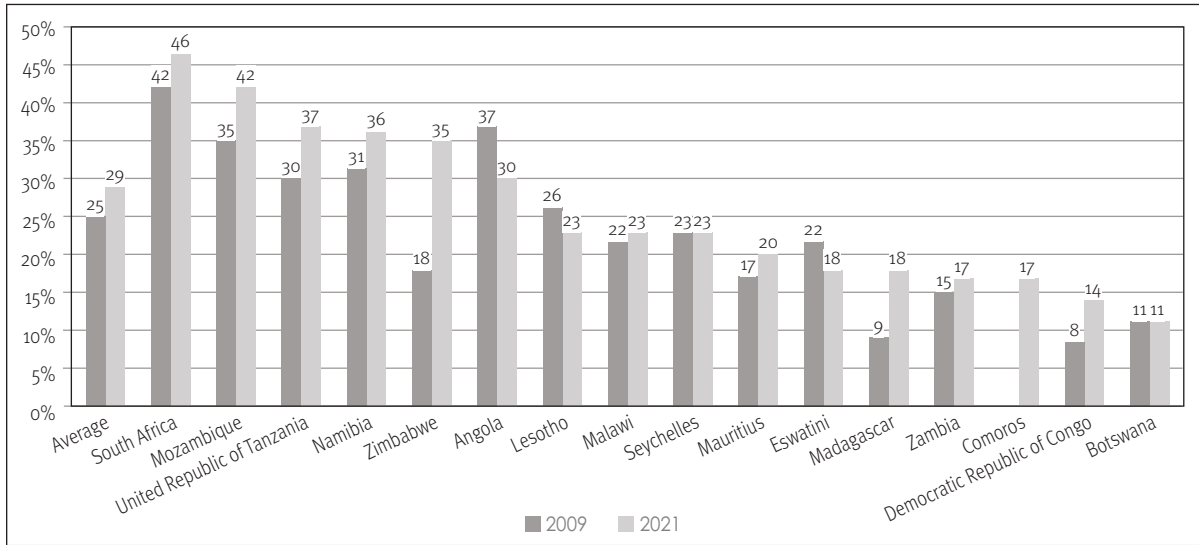
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Open Data, accessed 2 October 2021.



Study the graph above and write down three key observations

SADC Regional context

Women in Parliament (upper and lower house) in SADC 2009-2021



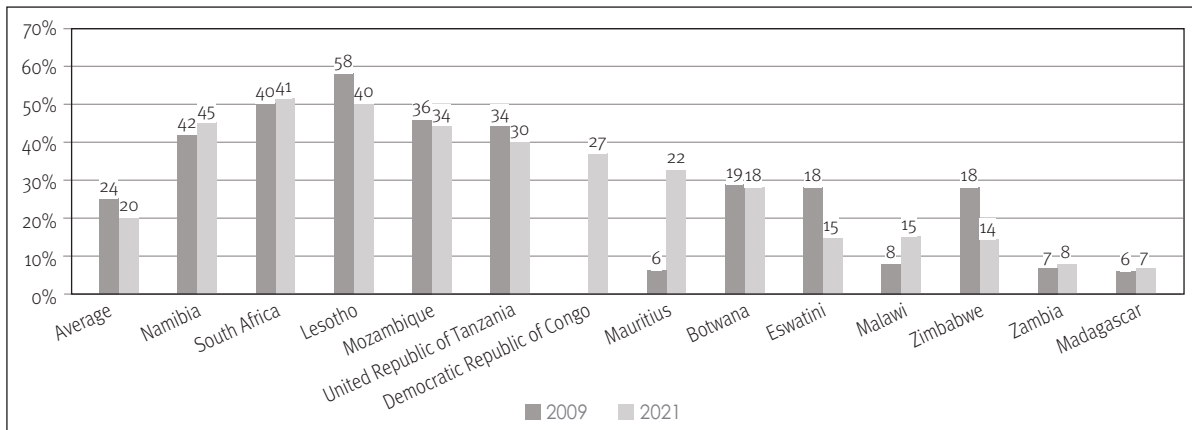
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Open Data, accessed 2 October 2021.

EXERCISE



Study the graph above and write down three key observations. How does Botswana fare?

Women in local government in SADC 2009-2021



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Open Data, accessed 2 October 2021.



Study the graph above and write down three key observations. How does Botswana fare?

Botswana context

Representation of women in Parliament in Botswana (1994 - 2019)

Year	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
No of Men	40	36	55	57	57	57
No of Women	4	8	7	7	6	7
% Women	10%	18%	13%	11%	10%	11%

Source: IEC, 2019 Botswana General Elections Results.

Representation of Women's in Local Government in Botswana (1994 - 2019)

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

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



Study the tables above and write down key observations about women's representation in parliament and local government in Botswana over the past 25 years

QUICK FACTS

- Globally women's representation in parliament has increased by just seven percentage points over the last decade, from 18% in 2009 to 26% in 2021. SADC comes third in the world, after the Americas and Europe.
- At 29% the representation of women in SADC parliaments is higher than the global average but still far from 50%.
- Women's representation in SADC has increased by just four percentage points over the last decade.
- Rwanda has the highest proportion of women in parliament with 61% of parliamentarians being women.
- Women's representation in parliament (upper and lower houses combined) in SADC has increased by just three percentage points over the last decade, from 25% in 2009 to 28% in 2021.
- Women's representation in parliament in SADC is three percentage points higher than the global average.
- With just 11% women MPs, Botswana ranks last in the SADC Region and 192 in the global ranking.
- Women's representation in local government in the SADC region has regressed over the last decade from 24% in 2009 to 20% in 2020.
- In Botswana 18% of local councillors are women.
- Countries with the highest proportion of women in decision use the Proportional Representation (PR) electoral system in conjunction with some form of temporary special measure (TSM).



Why is a woman's place in politics

For women and women's rights

- **Improved public opinion of women's abilities.** Women are increasingly viewed as talented and trusted public leaders.
- **Greater attention to domestic violence.** Female councillors are educating the public about domestic violence laws, essential in post-conflict environments, where domestic abuse tends to worsen.
- **Party support of female candidates expanded.** Secure verbal commitments from political parties to include quotas for women on party lists.

For the nation as a whole

- **Cross-party communication advanced.** Participating in capacity-building programs and the caucus helps forge cross-party alliances among female politicians.
- **Cooperation between government and civil society increased.** Through programs like WPP and partnerships like consortium, women are fostering dialogue among sectors of society and bringing a grassroots perspective to policymaking.
- **Government more accountable.** Female leaders in local government push for budget transparency and oversight, challenging traditional local patronage systems that breed corruption.
- **Policy priorities more closely aligned with Community needs.** Women are more knowledgeable than men counterparts about Community development priorities.



Group discussion and report back to plenary

In small groups discuss the formal and informal barriers women face when entering and participating in political decision-making. What are the strategies to overcome these barriers?

Formal barriers		Informal barriers	
Barrier	Strategy to overcome	Barrier	Strategy to overcome



Strategies for effective political participation

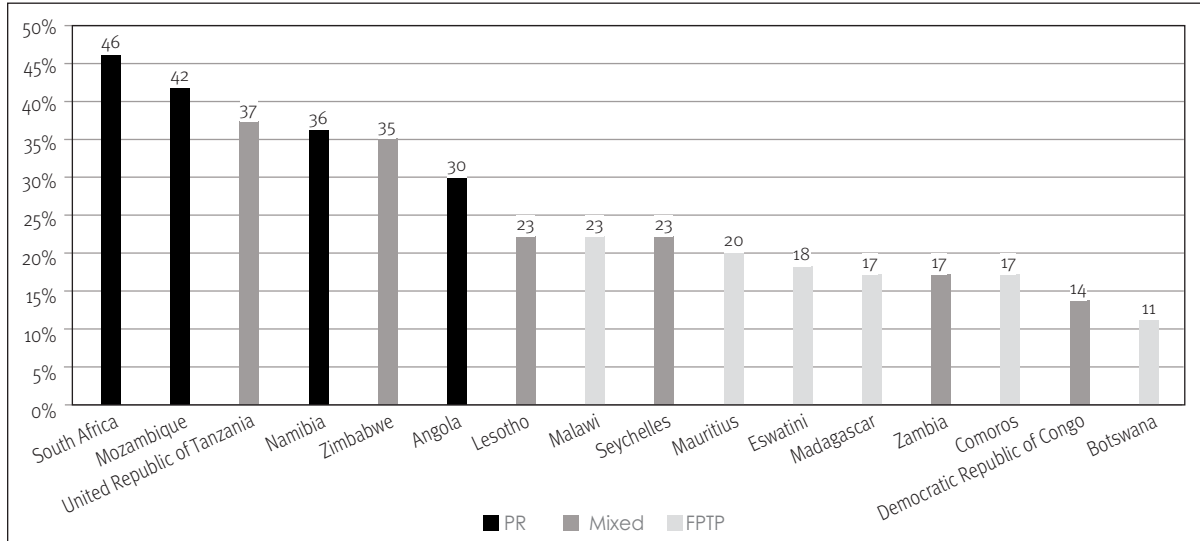
Gender-sensitive parliaments remove the barriers to women's full participation and offer a positive example to society at large. Parliaments can create the enabling environment for women's effective participation. Setting up specific structures dedicated to promoting gender equality in parliament, policies and legislation is a key strategy.

- **Gender equality committees** have proven to be the most successful in the adoption of gender-sensitive and gender-friendly legislative frameworks. These groups are dedicated to promoting gender equality inclusive policies and procedures and have the power to introduce new legislation.
- **Multi-portfolio committees** cannot dedicate their attention solely to gender equality issues, but apply gender-sensitive and gender-mainstreamed approaches to the range of legislative proposals that they consider. Multi-portfolio committees with a specific gender equality mandate contribute to the empowerment of elected women representatives by developing their skills in drafting laws and in oversight and outreach.

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND QUOTAS

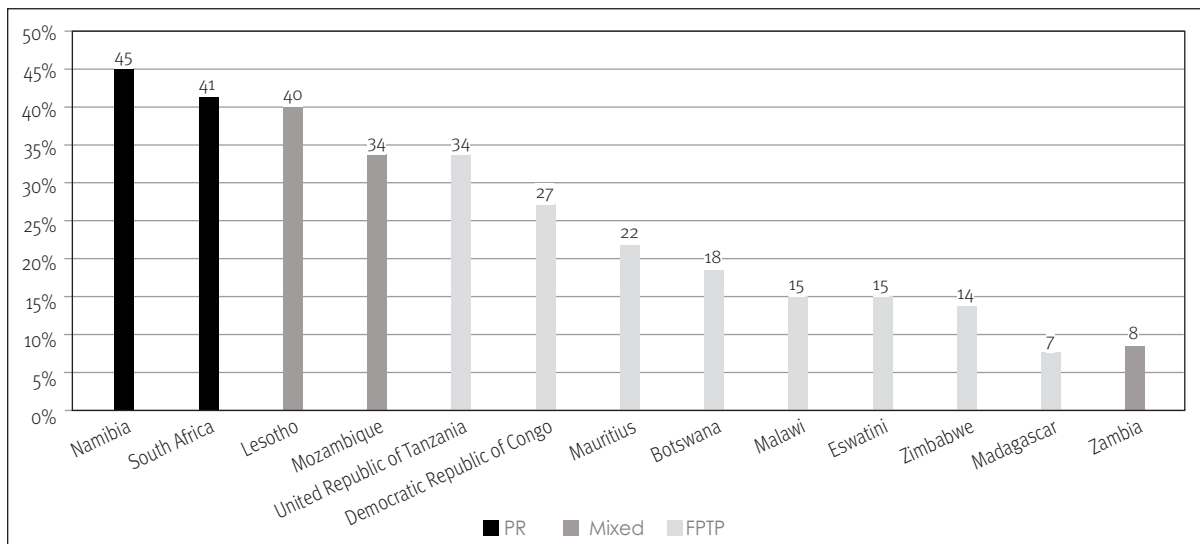
What difference does the electoral system make?

Women in parliament (both houses) in SADC by electoral system 2020



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Open Data, accessed 2 October 2021.

Women in Local government by electoral system



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Open Data, accessed 2 October 2021.

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

Temporary Special Measures (TSM)/ Quotas
TSM are a form of affirmative action or equal

opportunity measure targeted at addressing the slow pace of change in the participation of women and minority groups in areas of society where they are historically underrepresented.¹ There are three main types of TSMs 1) Constitutional - in which the TSM is provided for in the country's constitution; 2) Legislated - in which the TSM is provided for in electoral legislation and 3) Voluntary party - whereby political parties voluntarily adopt a quota. There is no quota in Botswana

Possible combinations of TSM and electoral systems

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

Source: Gender Links 2021.

The table show that it is possible for any type of quota to be combined with any type of electoral system to increase women's political representation, showing that Botswana could

adopt a quota even without changing the electoral system as there are examples of countries using the FPTP electoral system and having a quota.

¹ McCann J. 2013 Electoral Quotas for Women: an International overview at http://www.waph.gov.au/About_Parliament_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/...



Mauritius: Making quotas work in elections and beyond

Strategy and tactics - a gender neutral quota



Mauritius uses the FPTP electoral system. In 2011, following intense lobbying by the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance in Mauritius led by GL, Media Watch Organisation (MWO) and Women in Networking (WIN) Mauritius amended its Local Government Law ahead of elections scheduled for July 2012. The Act requires that political parties field a minimum of one-third of candidates of either sex for the

general municipal and village council elections. Articles 12 -13 of the Southern African Development (SADC) Community Gender Protocol aim to achieve equal representation and participation by women and men in all areas of decision-making including the use of affirmative action measures as provided for in Article Five. The legislation not only advances Articles 12-13 of the SADC Protocol -which calls on member states to ensure 50% women's representation in decision-making positions Mauritian Prime Minister Navin Ramgoolam supported the quota.

Finding women candidates: Gender Links, Women in Networking (WIN) and gender activists took to the streets to find women candidates. Barriers cited by women included financial, family, lack of confidence and multiple roles. Conducting campaigns at night; lack of transport as well as some women being illiterate were also major constraints.

Profile and participation: Ministers and gender activists financed workshops in six localities of Mauritius. GL trained 182 women. Ministers and high-level officials opened the workshops and committed themselves to make space for women, to encourage them to stand as candidates in the local elections. Councillors also helped by engaging with participants on how Councils work. GL partnered with other NGOs such as Women in Politics a branch of Women in Networking to maximise impact.

Delivering results: When elections came in December 2012, women won 36% of the seats in the municipal, and 26% in village elections to give an overall proportion of 26% - four times the previous level.

Zimbabwe: Quota is a significant victory for Women in Local Government Forum and civil society



On 7 May 2021 President Emmerson Mnangagwa signed the Constitutional Amendment bill into law amending section 277 on Elections to Local Authorities to provide for the PR electoral system and 30% at the local government level. This is a significant victory for women and women's rights in Zimbabwe, especially women in local government, and the result of an intensive lobbying strategy.

In 2020 Gender Links in partnership with the Women in Local Government Forum (WiLGF), made a submission to parliament recommending that the Zimbabwe Constitution Amendment No 2 Bill (31 December 2019) extend the quota at the national level to the local level to give effect to Article 17 of the Constitution.

The lobbying has involved constant engagement using various strategies with like-minded organisations and stakeholders including UNWOMEN, the Ministry of Local Government and Public Works, Ministry of Justice, Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), Zimbabwe Local Government Association, Women in Local Government Forum, civil society organizations and the media.

On 10 December 2020 some 400 members of the Women in Local Government Forum (WiLGF) made a submission directly to Zimbabwe President Emmerson Mnangagwa at the “Meet the President Indaba”. The women demanded that quota be extended to local government elections. They also argued that the Constitution be amended to provide that all political parties field equal numbers of male and female candidates whether in PR or FPTP seats at national or local level.

Presenting the WiLGF submission, Councillor Idirashe Dongo, Chairperson the Midlands chapter of the Women in Local Government Forum from Zibagwe Rural District Council, declared that “women's representation at the local level is critical for prioritising women's practical and development needs as well as localising the Sustainable Development Goals through policy decisions on education, primary healthcare, water and sanitation, transport and a host of other services.”

The President supported a 30% quota for women in local government at the Indaba and requested that the Minister of Local Government begin the process. The Cabinet promptly approved the principles for the amending the Constitution and approved the 30% quota for women in local authorities. This was followed very swiftly by the President signed the constitutional amendment bill into law, just five months after the submission was made to the President directly. This also shows what is possible with political will.

Debate on electoral systems and quotas - the role of political parties

Panel of politicians from all political parties will debate electoral reform and quotas.

Debates on WPP and quotas

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

The debate was taken to the general listenership that included a diverse group of people whose contributions made the discussions lively and interactive. The debate showed encouraging public support for a change to the electoral system and adoption of a quota.

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

What do Political Parties say about gender?

Rapid gender analysis of political parties

Name of Party	Ruling/ Opposition	Party leader gender	Quotas	Gender Mainstreaming/ Other References
Alliance for Progressives (AP)	Opposition	Male	Yes	The AP manifesto mainstreams gender; propose to introduce a hybrid electoral system that will enable the introduction of a quota system. ²
Botswana Congress Party (BCP) - member of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Opposition	Male	Yes	BCP has a 30% quota, but is not implemented. As a member of the UDC their manifesto has mainstreamed gender. ³
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	Ruling	Male	No	The BDP manifesto focuses on GBV and how they intend to address that; the manifesto also highlights that they would undertake a comprehensive Constitutional review which will remove all discriminatory provisions in favour of more inclusive ones. ⁴
Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD)	Opposition	Male	No	Nothing on quotas mentioned in their manifesto.
Botswana National Front (BNF) - member of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Opposition	Male	Yes	BNF is a member of the UD, will use special nomination to empower under-represented constituencies: A UDC government will reserve at least two thirds of the positions of specially elected members of parliament and councils for disadvantaged minorities, women, youths and other marginalised groups”. ⁵
Botswana Patriotic Front (BPF)	Opposition	Male	No	Partially recognises gender mainstreaming, but no quotas in the manifesto.
Botswana Peoples Party (BPP) - member of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Opposition	Male	Yes	BPP is a member of the UDC, their manifesto has mainstreamed gender. A UDC government will reserve at least two thirds of the positions of specially elected members of parliament and councils for disadvantaged minorities, women, youths and other marginalised groups.
Real Alternative Party (RAP)	Opposition	Male	Yes	The RAP manifesto partially mainstreamed gender, it goes further to recognise gender beyond men and women and include other groups such as the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI) people. ⁶

Source: Gender Links - Botswana Policy Brief 2019.

¹ McCann J. 2013 Electoral Quotas for Women: an International overview at http://www.waph.gov.au/About_Parliament_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/...

² Alliance for Progressives Manifesto

³ Botswana Congress Party Manifesto

⁴ Botswana Democratic Party Manifesto

⁵ Umbrella for Democratic Change Manifesto

⁶ Real Alternative Party Manifesto



Group discussion and feedback to plenary

Guiding questions

1. What do party Constitutions and Manifestos say about gender and quotas?
2. Do party Constitutions need to be amended? Can you lobby for this?
3. What are the main arguments you come up against in your parties about quotas?
4. How can women across political parties lobby together for a legislated quota?
5. What are the options for a multi-party women's caucus?

Debate on electoral systems and quotas - the role of political parties



Africa is a young population. Children under age 15 account for 41% of the population in 2017 and young persons aged 15 to 24 account for an additional 19% representing 60% of Africa's population, making Africa the world's youngest population.

Four of the ten countries with youngest population are in Southern Africa - Angola, DRC, Mozambique and Zambia. However, it has some of the oldest leaders. The average age of the ten oldest African leaders is 78.5, compared to 52 for the world's ten most-developed economies.

Young people are the future of any democracy. Today's youth are tomorrow's leaders, and they can already bring new ideas to solving the world's problems. There is growing recognition of the role that youth can play in governance and political decision making.

However, with only around 2% of MPs under 30, young people continue to be severely under-represented in parliament, which can compromise the legitimacy and effectiveness of the institution. In Botswana 16% of MPs are under 45 years old.



Discuss

Cross generational dialogue

Guiding questions

1. What is the proportion of young women in parliament or local government in Botswana?
2. Are the formal and informal barriers the same for young women, are there additional barriers because of age?
3. How can these barriers be overcome - lessons from seasoned politicians?
4. What would an enabling environment for young women politicians look like?
5. What is the role that seasoned politicians can play in inspiring and supporting young and aspiring women leaders to advance in the political arena?
6. How can you create an open platform for all women to participate and network together, building solidarity and support structure?
