

An Overview of Women's Work and Employment in Botswana

Decisions for Life MDG3 Project Country Report No. 5

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Management summary

This report provides information on Botswana on behalf of the implementation of the DECISIONS FOR LIFE project in that country. The DECISIONS FOR LIFE project aims to raise awareness amongst young female workers about their employment opportunities and career possibilities, family building and the work-family balance. This report is part of the Inventories, to be made by the University of Amsterdam, for all 14 countries involved. It focuses on a gender analysis of work and employment.

History (2.1.1). Shortly after impoverished Botswana gained independence in 1966, the discovery of rich deposits of diamonds transformed its prospects radically. A market economy combined with state investment in infrastructure, health and education led between 1966-2000 to an average per capita GDP growth of nearly 7%, followed by fluctuating growth. Yet, income inequality is high and rising.

Governance (2.1.2). Botswana has been praised as a rather unique example of an enduring multi-party democracy with a record of sound economic management. It has voluntarily abandoned foreign aid. The representation of women in politics is remarkably weak, with after the 2009 general elections only four women (6.5%) in parliament. Violence against women seems widespread.

Prospects (2.1.3). Botswana may be able counteract effects of the current economic and financial crisis to some extent through its cautious financial policies and low external debt, but the worldwide slump in the demand for diamonds may have serious consequences.

Communication (2.2). Over four of each five inhabitants are cell phone users. Internet coverage is still low, with in 2007 about 5% of the population as users. TV and radio have considerable coverage.

The sectoral labour market structure (2.3). In 2005-06, 25% of all 257,000 employed women worked in agriculture, against 64% in services, broadly defined. About 39% worked in the informal sector. Female unemployment is higher than male, and stood in 2006 narrowly defined at nearly 20% and broadly defined at 38%. We calculated that narrowly defined 31% and broadly defined 48% of girls and women 15-29 of age living in urban areas were unemployed.

Legislation (2.4.1). Botswana has ratified the core ILO Labour Conventions, but in practice the right of association is quite restricted. Effecting the right to strike is nearly impossible. Many employers still trample workers' rights, and the government is either unable or unwilling to confront them.

Labour relations and wage-setting (2.4.2). The union movement is rather weak, and unions mostly small. 2008 estimates point at a union density of 20% in the formal economy, or 10% of the total labour force. Actually BFTU is the only union confederation, with a separate public sector federation being set up. Collective bargaining coverage is formally 98%, but employers unilaterally decide the content of most collective agreements. Government and employers' policies of wage restraint led to real wage growth during 1980-2003 being on average less than 1.3% yearly, and in the 2000s even negative.

The statutory minimum wage (2.5.1). The current statutory minimum wage (SMW) is, with Pula 2.10 – 3.80 hourly, set in April 2008. It does not provide a decent standard of living for workers and their families, and was only about 20% of the 2008 average wage in the formal sector.

Poverty (2.5.2). By 2002-03, 30% of the population lived below a national poverty line. Nearly two of three poor were rural, and most of them were women. In many ways female-headed households prove to be vulnerable, in rural but also in urban areas.

Population and fertility (2.6.1). Population growth has been falling, most likely to an expected 1.2% yearly in 2005-'15, with even a fall of the rural population. With 3.2 children per woman, the actual total fertility rate is still rather high, but (with 51 per 1,000) the adolescent fertility rate is quite low. Mainly because of the effects of HIV/AIDS life expectancy is continuously decreasing.

HIV/AIDS (2.6.2). Botswana has the second highest HIV/AIDS infection rate in the world. In 2007, 300,000 inhabitants lived with HIV, and the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate for those aged 15-49 was estimated at 23%. Incidence and consequences of HIV/AIDS are biased against women. In recent years, HIV infection levels among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics in Botswana are decreasing.

Women's labour market share (2.6.3). In 2008, women's overall share in paid employment was 41%, and highest in health and social work (65%), followed by other community services and finance (both 62%). 84% of all women in paid employment worked in services, broadly defined.

Agriculture (2.6.4). Long-term productivity growth in agriculture has been less than 2% yearly. Agricultural development programmes have left highly unequal ownership relations intact. Thus, young women living in urban areas and trying to make a career cannot rely on a "fall-back scenario" in which they can go back to their families living from agriculture.

Mining and manufacturing (2.6.5). Besides flourishing mining, manufacturing exports –notably of textiles- encounter large problems, and the perspectives of manufacturing in Botswana remain quite insecure.

Commerce (2.6.6). The wholesale and retail sector turns out to be a stable grower. In the sector at large, 45% of the workforce operated informally, in majority women. Supermarkets seem to remain a limited source of employment for women.

Services (2.6.7). Transport / distribution and tourism (hotels and catering) seems to have the best employment perspectives. Expansion perspectives for the finance sector seem insecure in view of the current crisis.

Government (2.6.8). Government is an attractive employer for (young) women, with comparatively high salaries, quite some high-level jobs, and employment stability. Local government jobs may be of particular interest for women in urban villages and rural areas.

Literacy (2.7.1). The adult literacy rate --those age 15 and over that can read and write-- was in 1995-2005 82%, and for females a fraction higher. Recently the youth literacy rate was 10%points higher, and even over 95% for females aged 15-24 years.

Education of girls and young women (2.7.2). In 2005, the net enrollment rate in primary education was 84%, with girls 3%points higher than boys, while the primary completion rate of girls was over 7%points higher. With notably 69% for girls in 2009, actual enrollment in secondary education is high. In regular tertiary education by 2009 female participation lagged nearly 20% behind that of men.

Female skill levels (2.7.3). In 2006, less than 12% of economically active Botswana women were unskilled, and 60% had completed second level second stage education. About 10,000 or 3.2% had completed tertiary education (high-skilled). We estimate the current size of our target group at about 14,000 girls and young women 15-29 of age, working in urban areas in commercial services in formal employment.

Wages (2.8.1). Earnings vary widely between industries, occupational groups, urban and rural areas, and citizens and non-citizens. In 2005-06, the country's total gender pay gap was 19%, but industries with large shares of females showed gaps of over 30%, also if considerable parts of women were (high-)skilled. Among professionals and technicians / associate professionals women on average had a wage

advantage, as well as in central government. However, in private business women experienced a 37% pay gap.

Working conditions (2.8.2). Working weeks turn out to be quite long in Botswana, judged by the share working usually 45 hours or more. For women, this share was over 60% in restaurants and hotels, wholesale and retail, and private households, in rural areas, among legislators and managers and among service workers.

1. Introduction: The Decisions for Life project

The DECISIONS FOR LIFE project aims to raise awareness amongst young female workers about their employment opportunities and career possibilities, family building and the work-family balance. The lifetime decisions adolescent women face, determine not only their individual future, but also that of society: their choices are key to the demographic and workforce development of the nation.

DECISIONS FOR LIFE is awarded a MDG3 grant from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs as part of its strategy to support the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals no 3 (MDG3): "Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women". DECISIONS FOR LIFE more specifically focuses on MDG3.5: "Promoting formal employment and equal opportunities at the labour market", which is one of the four MDG3 priority areas identified in Ministry's MDG3 Fund. DECISIONS FOR LIFE runs from October 2008 until June 2011 (See <http://www.wageindicator.org/main/projects/decisions-for-life>).

DECISIONS FOR LIFE focuses on 14 developing countries, notably Brazil, India, Indonesia, the CIS countries Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and the southern African countries Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Project partners are International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), Union Network International (UNI), WageIndicator Foundation, and University of Amsterdam/AIAS.

This report is part of the Inventories, to be made by the University of Amsterdam, for all 14 countries involved. These Inventories and the underlying gender analyses are listed in the Table. All reports will be posted at the project website. In this country report on Botswana the sequence of the sections differs from the table. The report covers mainly Activity nr 1.03, the Gender analysis regarding pay and working conditions (or, as Chapter 2 is called here, work and employment). Partly included (in section 2.4.1) is Activity 1.01, Inventories of national legislation; partly the analysis of national legislation has resulted in a separate product, the DecentWorkCheck for Botswana. Activity 1.02, Inventories of companies' regulations, will take place through a company survey. Preparations for Activities 1.03a and 1.03b have resulted in a number of lists, to be used in the WageIndicator web-survey for country-specific questions and their analyses (Chapter 3). References can be found in Chapter 4; Chapter 5 gives more insight in the WageIndicator.

Table 1 **Activities for DECISIONS FOR LIFE by the University of Amsterdam**

Nr	Inventories
1.01	Inventories of national legislation
1.02	Inventories of companies' regulations
1.03	Gender analysis regarding pay and working conditions
1.03a	Gender analysis start-up design of off-line gender analyses inventory
1.03b	Gender analysis data-entry for off-line use inventories

2. Gender analysis regarding work and employment

2.1. Introduction: the general picture

2.1.1. History

Botswana, the former British colony Bechuanaland, became independent in 1966. At independence the country had a population of 540,000 and was one of the most impoverished in Africa, lacking any manufacturing industry and having only about 100 people with secondary school certificates (Harvey and Lewis 1990). Up to 70% of the country is covered by the Kalahari desert. Yet, the discovery of rich deposits of diamonds shortly after independence transformed its prospects radically. In 1971 the Botswana government and the South African De Beers Mining conglomerate started the Debswana joint venture for diamond exploration. Avoiding expenditure on “white elephant” prestige projects, Seretse Khama, the country’s president after independence –re-elected twice-- invested in infrastructure, health and education and built up substantial financial reserves. His administration committed itself to the market economy.¹ And economic policies and good governance matter (cf. Freeman and Lindauer 1999, 18-9): between 1966 and 2000 Botswana’s real per capita economic growth was an average 6.9% per year, one of the highest growth rates in the world and even outpacing the “Asian tigers” – though it has been surrounded by wars of independence and civil unrest in neighbouring countries. Basically, Khama’s successors, Quett Masire and Festus Mogae, continued his policies, as his son Ian Khama, in 2008 taking over from Mogae, seems to be willing too (Meredith 2005, 285; Moyo 2009, 38; wikipedia). The World Bank (2009b) hails the country (actually about 1.9 million inhabitants, of which 97% indigeneous population, *Batswana*) as one of the world’s great development success stories.

Though the Botswana economy, closely tied with that of South Africa, remains one of the most successful in Africa, in the 2000s the economic growth pattern has been fluctuating. The spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, drought alternated with widespread floods (in 2000 notably) and declining demand for diamonds have slowed down growth, also of the public budget. GDP growth per person employed was 4.0% in 2000, followed by a very high growth rate between 2001-2005: 11.4% in 2001, 7.4% in 2002, 8.0% in 2003, 9.8% in 2004, 9.3% in 2005, and then a huge fall of -15.8% in 2006, to end up with 1.1% growth in 2007 and a decrease of -0.7% in 2008. Thus, the GDP growth rate per person for 2001-2006 of Botswana averaged 5.0%, while the average for 2003-2008 fell to 3.1% (*MDG Indicator 1.4*, derived from UN MDG Indicators).

In this development process, large parts of the rural population, especially the job-seeking youths, migrated to the urban areas in the eastern part of the country. Urbanisation² rose with unprecedented speed, from under 10% in 1971, via 18% in 1981 and 46% in 1991 (UNDP 2008c), to nearly 60% in 2006. At the same time the Botswana economy transformed from mainly agricultural into a services-oriented economy, which largely shapes women’s employment and perspectives. Yet, Botswana’s economy still rests on a narrow foundation, diamond production. In many senses its growth was not diversified

¹ Though not always unreservedly. For example, the government plans launched in 2000 to privatise parastatal companies have never been implemented. Botswana chose for state-led growth by investing the diamond revenue, and did not blindly follow policies advocated by the IMF and the World Bank (cf. Siphambe 2007, 12).

² An urban settlement is defined as constituting a minimum population of 5,000 with at least 75% of its economically active population engaged in non-agricultural activities.

(Siphambe 2007, 4). Botswana's government already in 1997 launched the vision that by 2016 the country would have diversified its economy and would have eradicated poverty, with mining, manufacturing, services and tourism all making a sustainable contribution (Kapunda 2003). And though a recent World Bank report (2009c) notes that the country over the past 20 years has begun to reduce dependence upon diamonds (with mineral revenues accounting for over 55 % of total government revenues in the late 1990s, whereas today the figure is under 40 %), Botswana's government seems less convinced of its actual progress in diversification (Bungu 2009). As the capital-intensive mining industry employs only 3% of the labour force, employment creation in the private sector is really needed, Botswana's leading economist recently stated. In his view, employment creation can be achieved through facilitating the creation of service and small-scale industries to support the competitive export sector (Siphambe in Keoreng 2008; cf. also Sentsho 2003).

In 1999, Botswana abolished all exchange controls, and it is now fully open to foreign direct investment (FDI). After the initial investments in mining the FDI net inflow nearly constantly decreased from 1980 to 2001, to revive strongly in 2002-07 and to turn into small disinvestment in 2008 (Siphambe 2007; UNCTAD 2009). As a major reason for hesitating FDI the continuing and critical shortages of high-skilled labour have been mentioned, mostly met by attracting costly foreign staff (Siphambe 2003a; Bennell and Siphambe 2005). Also measured by other yardsticks, foreign business and expatriates play a considerable role in the country's economy. For example, between 2004 and 2006 23% of the companies that were awarded government contracts were foreign-owned; they took 78% of the value of these contracts. According to a consultancy report, by then 53% of top management positions of managing director, chief executive officer (CEO) and general manager were held by foreigners (cited in Mogalakwe 2008, 427). According to a recent survey (CSO 2008d), 16,800 expatriate paid employees (12,800 males and 4,000 females) accounted for about 5% of paid employment.

Botswana is transformed into an upper-middle-income country, and is as such an enclave in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2006 its GDP per capita reached USD (PPP) 12,744, ranking 57th in the world. Based on such figures, the average standard of living of the Botswana population is around that of the population of Mexico or Turkey. But the distribution of wealth in Botswana is highly unequal, and gendered too. In 2006 the country's estimated per capita earned income was USD 15,240 for men and USD 10,275 for women. Thus, the ratio of the average female to male income was 0.68 (UNDP 2008a). Definitely since the mid-1990s, Botswana's economic growth has been far from pro-poor, and actually the living conditions of 30 to 40% of its population are rather similar to those living in poverty in neighbouring countries. The World Bank (2009c) acknowledges: "Botswana's impressive track record of good governance and economic growth, supported by prudent macroeconomic and fiscal management, stands in contrast to the country's still high levels of poverty and inequality and generally low human development indicators. While Botswana's economic progress over the past 40 years has significantly raised living standards for about two-thirds of the population, a third or more of its population has been left behind." In its 2009-2013 Country Strategy Paper (CSP) for Botswana, the African Development Bank uses similar words: "The level of poverty (.....) contradicts Botswana's status as a middle-income country" (Toka 2009).

2.1.2. Governance

Meredith, in his highly critical history of governance in Africa, has sung the praise of Botswana, in his view a rather unique example of an enduring multi-party democracy with a record of sound economic management, that has used its diamond riches for national advancement and maintained an administration free of corruption (2005, 686). Moyo (2009, 34) has stated that Botswana attributes much

of its success to the probity of its political institutions. She emphasizes that it has voluntarily abandoned foreign aid (Moyo 2009, 144³).

Botswana's political framework is that of a representative democratic republic, with its president both head of state and head of government. The country is the only mainland nation in Africa to have maintained free and fair elections since its independence. There is universal suffrage from 18 years of age on. The country's minority groups participate freely in the political process. The Parliament is bicameral, and consists of the House of Chiefs and the National Assembly (63 seats, of which 57 members elected by popular vote), both to serve five-year terms. Elections have been won continuously by the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), in the 2004 elections gathering 52% of the popular vote and winning 44 of 57 contested National Assembly seats (US Dept of State 2009; CIA World Factbook). The country's judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature (World Bank 2009c).

The position of women in politics is remarkably weak. This may in part date back to the very limited participation of women in tribal decision-making (Siphambe 2003b). Between 2004-2009, only four women occupied elected seats; an additional three got seats in parliament as presidential appointees, leading to the very low share of 11.1% (UN MDG website). There were also four women in the expanded 35-seat House of Chiefs (US Dept of State 2009b). In the preparation for the general elections on October 16, 2009, gender activists protested against the lack of female candidates. The ruling BDP and its main opponent, Botswana National Front (BNF), each fielded only three female candidates. Addressing the BDP Women's Wing Congress, president Khama said his greatest concern was "the declining number of women who will be contesting the next general elections", but prominent Women's Wing members regard his words as mere lipservice to gender equality. They point at Khama's postponement of signing the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development, adopted in August 2008 (Remarkable indeed, as Botswana puts a premium on economic and political integration in Southern Africa and is an active member of SADC, while its Gaborone capital hosts the SADC Secretariat's headquarters). The BDP Women's Wing Congress believes that male political heavyweights try to expand their power base by internally lobbying against gender quotas. In their view, this became evident when in April 2009 male BDP members of parliament (MPs) joined forces with opposition parties in arguing –in the end without success– against a motion to include more specially elected female politicians in parliament. Says Maungo Mooki, chairperson of the Botswana Congress of Non-Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO), "In most cases, party leaders create an environment that makes it difficult for women to participate" (Nsingo 2009).

The October 2009 elections resulted in another victory of the BDP, with 53% of the popular winning 45 of 57 district seats (plus 1), whereas BNP won 6 seats (minus 6). These outcomes gave Ian Khama another five years for president. The appointment of the first woman as Speaker of the National Assembly could not conceal a further setback for the women's cause, as only two women won seats; with two more women appointed out of the four special seats, this means the parliamentary representation of only four women, or 6.5%, the lowest in the region. The poor representation of women is reflected in the new cabinet; inevitably, as the President must choose ministers from parliament, but he deployed all four women, two to head ministries and two to be assistant ministers. The number of cabinet ministers totaling 18, two women imply 11% representation (website AfricaFiles).

³ This does neither apply to regular activities of the "UN family" in Botswana nor to those of international donors supporting the fight against HIV/AIDS. Yet, Botswana indeed never borrowed from the IMF, and for that matter did never have a structural adjustment programme (SAP) (Siphambe 2003a).

In 2001 Botswana was the first SADC member to ratify the SADC Protocol Against Corruption. The US State Department perceives corruption in Botswana as present but as not yet an obstacle to investment, also as penalties of acts of corruption are applied proportionately. Botswana ranks 36 out of 180 countries in the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index for 2008, implying it is the least corrupt country in Africa. Though the country's government has an overall good human rights record, on a number of issues trade union rights in law are rather questionable, and violations of existing union rights occur in practice (see section 2.4.1, Legislation). The constitution and law of Botswana prohibit governmental discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, race, nationality, creed, sex, or social status, and the government generally respects these provisions in practice. However, the law does not prohibit discrimination by private persons or entities. Over 2008, the US Dept of State (2009b) notes discrimination against persons with HIV/AIDS as a continuous human rights problem, including in the workplace, as well as societal discrimination against women. Especially family law, though recently partly revised, often works against women. For example, both common and traditional laws grant children the right to inheritance from their parents. By contrast, under most traditional laws wives are not entitled to inherit the bulk of the estate of a deceased husband, and this is particularly true for high-value property. Moreover, Botswana's legal framework grants women only limited ownership rights in relation to land, access to property other than land and access to bank loans (OECD-SIGI website).

The Women's Affairs Department in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs has responsibility for promoting and protecting women's rights and welfare, including the MDG3 goals. The department provides grants to NGO's working on women's issues. The UN in Botswana rates the supportive environment for achieving the MDG3 goals as "strong", stating that one goal (Reduce gender disparity in all education) has already been achieved, and that two other goals (Reduce gender disparity in access to and control productive resources by 2015, and Increase the participation of women in leadership, governance and decision-making by at least 60% by 2016) are likely to be met. Given the very low level of that participation, this last target can be attained relatively easy. According to the UN, the fourth gender equality goal (Reduce violence and discrimination against women, and the incidence of rape by 50%) can potentially be met (UN Botswana website).

In the 1980s and 1990s, violence against women, including domestic violence, grew rapidly in Botswana, and actually seems quite widespread. The law prohibits rape as well as sexual harassment, though not clearly in private employment, and does not recognize the concept of spousal rape. Greater public awareness and improved legal protection have resulted in increased reporting of domestic violence and sexual assault. Though police intervention is said to be "still rare" (OECD-SIGI website), police statistics indicate that rape between 1982 -2002 increased at an annual rate of 5%. Various reports clarify that about 60% of the female victims were between 16 and 30 of age, while those under 16 years constituted 25-30%. The majority of suspects were males between the ages of 18 and 32, often relatives to the victims. Though one major cause of violence cited in many studies is women's poverty and economic dependency, it also has been shown that violence against women cuts across social class and age. Even if, like often in the Botswana context, cohabiting or married women are the primary breadwinners, many among them continue to perceive the headship of households and families as an exclusively male domain. These perceptions are a major source of tensions, not rarely ending up in domestic violence (Mookodi 2004, 60-1). A detailed qualitative study revealed for Botswana a relationship between alcohol abuse and gender-based violence, which in turn makes notably female victims vulnerable to HIV infection (Phorano *et al* 2005).

2.1.3. Prospects

A World Bank research note as of July 2009 clearly states: “The global economic crisis is exposing households in virtually all developing countries to increased risk of poverty and hardship”, adding “While in the short-run, the non-poor may be the most affected by the crisis, experience from past economic and financial crises suggests that the adverse impacts are likely to spread in the medium-term to poor households.” The World Bank note ranks Botswana among the 40 or so developing countries that are highly exposed to the poverty effects of the crisis, though it is the only country in this group with wide fiscal space to counteract such effects (Cord *et al* 2009). Another point in Botswana’s favour is its very low level of public external debt, estimated at about 3 % of GDP. Nevertheless, it is pretty sure than Botswana’s economy in the short run will be severely hit, also because of the worldwide slump in the demand for diamonds. Between February and April 2009, the Debswana diamond joint venture suspended all operations. World Bank (2009c) estimates for 2009-2010 are for a contraction in GDP of over 10%. Austerity in government expenditure seems not far away; already in March 2008 an IMF report concluded that Botswana’s cannot generate enough permanent revenue to sustain high expenditures (Basdevant 2008). Against all odds, international institutions, and notably the US administration, have kept confidence in the country’s economic prospects. The US Dept of State (2009a) in May 2009 maintained that, unless its small market size, landlocked location “and cumbersome bureaucratic processes”, Botswana remained “one of the best investment opportunities in the developing world.” Of course, a major test for the social solidity of the country’s politics is the development of employment in the crisis. Yet, as the most recent employment statistics date from September 2008 (CSO 2009d), it is too early to assess the impact of the crisis in this field.

The social prospects can be more worrisome, especially for women. At a May 2009 Conference, the World Bank vice president for the Africa Region, Obiageli Ezekwesili, gave an alarming, but research-based account of the impact of the current crisis on women and girls in Africa: “Poverty has a female face and the global economic downturn will have a significant impact on women as more of them lose jobs and are forced to manage shrinking household incomes”, she said. Ms Ezekwesili argued that the global crisis is likely to hit African women on two fronts. First, it will arrest capital accumulation by women, and second, it will drastically reduce women’s individual incomes as well as the budgets they manage on behalf of their households. This would have damaging consequences notably on the girl child; in case of a fall in income from agriculture, girls will be the first to be pulled out of schools, as evidence from Uganda and Madagascar already shows (World Bank 2009a). These warnings may closely connect to risks in the situation of girls and (young) women in Botswana.

2.2. Communication

Adequate communication facilities are absolutely essential for the DECISIONS FOR LIFE project. In Botswana, though supported by a modern, fully digital telecom network system with fiber-optic cables linking the major population centres, fixed telephone lines are relatively little in number; their coverage rate even fell in the 2000s, from 79 per 1,000 people to 75 per 1,000 (142,300 people) in 2008 (World Bank 2009d; CIA World Factbook). With USD 14.40 per month on average in 2008 (World Bank 2009d), a residential fixed line is expensive. Yet, like in Africa at large in Botswana the future is on cellular telephone services. These services, actually of three cellular phone providers, have expanded fastly. The UN (UN Data) estimated for 2007 the total number of telephone subscribers on 831 per 1,000 inhabitants. For 2008, the CIA (World Factbook) estimated the incidence of mobile phone users at about 800 for each 1,000 Batswana. Unless the vastness of the country, already in 2007 99% of the population

was covered by the mobile cellular network. With USD 8.30 on average monthly, the price basket for mobile service was about two thirds of the sub-Saharan average (World Bank 2009d).

Internet coverage is low and rather slowly growing. In 2007 Botswana was estimated to have 100,000 Internet users, or 5.3% of the population.⁴ By 2007, the country had 6,374 Internet hosts, and by December 2008 three secure Internet servers (World Bank 2009c, 2009d). With 48 personal computers per 1,000 people, the incidence of PC's remains low (World Bank 2009d). There are no restrictions on access to the Internet or reports that the government monitored e-mail or Internet chatroom. Individuals and group could engage in the peaceful expression of views via the Internet, including by e-mail (US Dept of State 2009b).

TV and radio have considerable coverage. Over two of five households (42%) in 2006 had a television set (CSO 2009a). There are two TV broadcast stations, the state-owned Botswana Television, launched in 2000, and a private station, GBC, broadcasting mostly foreign programs to the capital Gaborone area alone. Also in 2006, 72% of households owned a radio. Like with TV sets, there is no significant difference in ownership of radios between cities and towns, urban villages⁵ and rural areas (CSO 2009a). Additional to government-owned Radio Botswana and Radio Botswana 2, two privately-owned radio stations began operations in 1999, and a third in 2008 (CIA World Factbook; US Dept of State 2009a). Government-owned Botswana Press Agency nationally distributes its free Daily News newspaper, but with 41.5 per 1,000 inhabitants newspaper circulation is low (UN Data). There are no limits to the circulation of foreign publications (US Dept of State 2009a). Yet, there are some disquieting developments. In 2008, the government occasionally censored stories that it deemed undesirable. President Khama in his inaugural speech referred to the need for "discipline" in the media. In December 2008 the parliament passed the Media Practitioners Act, which established a new media regulatory body and mandated the registration of all media workers. Some NGOs, including the Media Institute for Southern Africa, criticized the law, stating that it restricted press freedom (Freedom House website; US Dept of State 2009b).

A very recent audit of women and men in Botswana media houses showed that men dominated in most departments, including in senior management positions, though the female share in those positions was higher than on average in the 14 SADC countries researched. In Botswana media houses, women had almost the same chances as men to be employed on full-time, open-ended contracts. Compared with the other SADC countries, there was a somewhat lower share of women in the editorial departments of media houses: 36% against 42%. The gendered division of labour is still pronounced in reporting, with male journalists dominating in the "hard" beats and females in religion, health and entertainment. Only a small minority of media houses had gender policies, though 60% had sexual harassment policies. None of them offered child-care facilities (Morna *et al* 2009).

2.3. The sectoral labour market structure

Table 2 (next page) presents an overview of trends in employment in large sectors and categories from 1990 on, in shares of the labour force. It shows that after 2000 the share of the formal labour market in

⁴ Source: World Bank 2009d. The website Internetworldstats mentions 5.1% for December 2007, thus slightly lower, as did the CIA World Factbook, with 80,000 users or 4.3% for 2007.

⁵ In Botswana, the term "village" is attached to larger residential areas than in other countries. According to the 2001 Census, the country's four largest villages all had by then over 40,000 inhabitants (CSO 2009e).

employment in Botswana has increased, to 62% in 2005-06. With 37%, the private sector employees and employers made up the largest share among the employed, in the formal sector followed by the government employees (22%). Among the informally employed, with 24% subsistence farmers were the largest category; if we assume, like labour statistics of most other Southern African countries do, that subsistence farmers are self-employed and we include them in the table, the share of self-employed would grow to 31%. Obviously, this latter share has fallen in the 2000s, most likely influenced by the advance of the private sector employees.

Table 2 Labour force participation and type of employment, Botswana, 1990, 2000-01 and 2005-06

	1990	2000-01	2005-06
labour force participation	?	57%*	57%*
Unemployed in % of labour force	34%	33%	31%**)
Employed in % of labour force	66%	67%	69%
formal labour market in % employed	56%	54%	62%
<i>government employee</i>	19%	22%	22%
<i>parastatal cy. employee</i>	3%	3%	3%
<i>private sector employee/employer</i>	34%	29%	37%
informal labour market in % employed	44%	46%	38%
<i>self-employed</i>	6%	7%	7%
<i>unpaid family worker, paid employee</i>	5%	7%	7%
<i>subsistence farmer</i>	33%	32%	24%

Sources: Mogalakwe 2008, 427; CSO 2008b, 2008c, 2009a; for 1990 and 2000 authors' estimates based on these sources and ILO-Laborsta

*) in % of population 15 years and older

***) actively work seeking (14%) and discouraged job seekers (17%)

Table 3A (next page) shows employment in 2005-06 by industry and gender. The 257,000 women constituted 47.7% of the 539,000 employed. The table clarifies that agriculture is no longer dominant in Botswana, definitely not in female employment, where it takes only 25%. Surprisingly, women by that time accounted for only 39% of the total agricultural labour force. As a consequence, the share of agriculture in total female employment in Botswana was even less than one quarter (24.4%).

With a 26% share and in total 68,000 women involved, in 2005-06 community, social and personal services were of more importance for female employment, whereas with 19% and 50,000 women workers wholesale and retail also constituted a major employer. Community and related services, education and finance, insurance and real estate stood out as important employers for (high-)skilled women. Finally, it is remarkable that 8% of the female labour force was engaged in manufacturing, compared to only 6% of all men. Of all women employed, 64% worked in the service sector, broadly defined, against 44% of men (See for female shares more detailed Tables 4 and 5, section 2.6.3).

Table 3A Employment by industry and gender, Botswana, 2005-06, x 1,000 headcount

	all workers		women		men	
	x 1,000	%	x 1,000	%	x 1,000	%
agriculture, forestry, fishing	161	30	63	25	99	35
mining	14	2	2	1	12	4
manufacturing	36	7	20	8	16	6
utilities	4	1	2	1	2	1
construction	28	5	4	2	23	8
transport, storage, comm.	16	3	6	2	10	3
wholesale and retail	77	14	50	19	28	10
restaurants, hotels	15	3	11	4	4	1
finance, insurance, real estate	34	6	15	6	19	7
community, social, personal services	128	24	68	26	60	21
<i>of which</i>						
<i>public administrat.</i>	37	7	15	6	22	8
<i>local government</i>	23	4	11	4	12	4
<i>education</i>	43	8	28	11	15	5
<i>health, social work</i>	14	3	9	4	5	2
<i>other community</i>	11	2	5	2	5	2
private households	25	5	18	7	7	2
Total	539	100.0	257	100.0	282	100.0

Sources: CSO 2008b; CSO 2009a

Note: Totals may not add up to 100% due to rounding

In 2006, the Botswana Central Statistics Office (CSO) counted 77,400 people working in the informal sector, of which 51% self-employed without employees; 22% paid employees, and 16% unpaid family workers. Women made up for 61% (47,200) of these informally employed; among them, 60% were self-employed. Moreover, in subsistence farming another 129,500 people were active, among which 56,000 women, or 45% (CSO 2008b, 5-6). Other than the CSO, we have grouped these farmers in Table 3B (next page) also under 'informal labour market', implying that this part of the economy in 2005-06 included 207,000 people. Half of them were women. By then, according to the official statistics informal workers made up nearly 38% of the employed: 39% of the females and 36% of the males. Besides in agriculture, considerable numbers of informal workers could be traced in wholesale and retail, especially among women. Women constituted nearly 60% of informal sector employment outside agriculture. A majority of them could be found in urban centres (CSO 2008b, 6). Moreover, illegal migrants from neighbouring countries, especially Zimbabwe, fill many low-paid jobs in the informal sector, such as gardeners and domestic workers (Siphambe 2007, 10).

Table 3B Employment by sector, industry and gender, Botswana, 2005-06, x 1,000 headcount

	males			females		
	formal	inform.	total	formal	inform.	total
agriculture, forestry, fishing	25	74	99	7	56	63
mining	12	0	12	2	0	2
manufacturing	12	4	16	12	8	20
utilities	2	0	2	2	0	2
construction	16	7	23	3	1	4
transport, storage, comm.	7	3	10	4	2	6
wholesale and retail	19	9	28	24	26	50
restaurants, hotels	3	1	4	6	5	11
finance, insurance, real estate	18	1	19	14	1	15
education	15	0	15	28	0	28
health, social work	4	1	5	9	0	9
other community services	45	2	48	45	2	47
Total	180	102	282	156	101	257

Source: CSO 2008b

We now turn to unemployment. The last time unemployment was measured in detail in Botswana, was through the 2005-06 Labour Force Survey. If, in conformity of international standards, limited to active work seekers (“persons currently unemployed who were not only available for work but had taken active steps to find work in the last 30 days preceding the interview”), the overall unemployment rate in 2006 was 17.5% (CSO 2008b). This meant a fall compared to the 2003 rate (23.8%), but was still higher than the 16% rate measured in 2000 (ILO Laborsta). If discouraged job seekers were included, total unemployment in 2005-06 rose to nearly one third, or 31.6% of all currently economically active (CSO 2008b, 3). Limiting unemployment again to active job seekers: by 2006 female unemployment according to this narrow definition was 19.6%, over 4%points higher than the male unemployment rate of 15.4%. By 2006 three of five unemployed / active job seekers were more than one year unemployed, with hardly any differences across gender and by urban-rural residence. Using the broad definition and including the discouraged job seekers, the estimated female unemployment rate rose to a quite high 38%, against 25% for men. Women made up 55% of the unemployed / active job seekers, 68% of the unemployed / discouraged job seekers, and 63% of all unemployed (CSO 2008b).

Though unemployment in Botswana is more an urban than a rural phenomenon, spatial differences in unemployment seem smaller than in most sub-Saharan countries. Against 298,000 employed living in cities, towns and urban villages, an estimated 76,000 active job seekers were traced, bringing the urban unemployment rate (narrow definition) at 20%. The corresponding rural unemployment rate was 13%. Important for the DECISIONS FOR LIFE project is that the most affected age groups were the 15-19 and the 20-24, with unemployment rates according to the narrow definition of 27% and 35% respectively. If we include the discouraged job seekers, these rates would raise to 54% among the 15-19 of age and 49% among the 20-24 of age. We computed the unemployment rates, broadly defined, of the full target group of girls and women 15-29 of age in urban areas, for 2005-06 narrowly defined at 31% and broadly defined at 48% (against those of boys and young men aged 15-29 at 24% respectively 40% -- authors’ calculations based at CSO 2008b). There are no signs that in the last few years unemployment among them has decreased substantially.

The 2005-06 division of all unemployed by their previous industry of employment partly followed the industry composition of the employed, but some groups stood out prominently among the unemployed: over 33,000 persons with a background in traditional agriculture, 55% females and half of them living in urban areas; 25,000 persons with a background in wholesale and retail, of which 8,000 (nearly 90% women) in traditional retailing; 24,000 domestic maids and cleaners, of which 96% female, again half of them living in urban areas, and over 12,000 persons with a background in local government. An overwhelming majority of over eight in ten active job seekers sought *paid* employment; this was so for both females and males, and in urban as well as in rural areas – though many are willing to migrate from their places of birth to urban areas in order to find a job. Unemployment was generally low among the high-skilled (administrators and managers; professionals).

Lack of theoretical credentials obviously plays a role, but it is not quite dominant. If we compare with the composition of the employed by highest educational level completed (see Table 6, section 2.6.3), those with junior secondary education were somewhat overrepresented among the unemployed, broadly defined (about 5% points, for both females and males). By contrast, the higher-skilled with senior secondary education were underrepresented (also with 5% points, and again for both females and males). Yet, striking was the high incidence of unemployment among women with a diploma in “Commercial, Control, Business and Personnel Administration”: over 9,000 unemployed, implying a rate of 22%, against 16% among the minority of men with the same diploma. Lack of the desirable practical skills and experience seems crucial (cf. Siphambe 2000). That lack may well have been aggravated by the education system. As trade union reports emphasize, that system is biased towards academic excellence and does not encourage diversity of career opportunities. Also, training facilities for secondary school leavers and business starters are lacking (BFTU 2007a, 10-11; FES 2008, 5). It may be a bad sign that nearly 85% of all unemployed as of 2005-06 had received no training, against about 70% among the employed. This lack of training was highest among the under 20 and among those over 50 of age; among females (88%) it was somewhat higher than among males (82%) (authors’ calculations based at CSO 2008b).

Again according to the Labour Force Survey 2005-06, just over 19% of all employed worked part-time, defined as usually less than 40 hours per week. About 59,000 women worked part-time, 23% of the female labour force, against 13% of the male labour force. Most female part-timers could be found in agriculture (32,000, 52% of the female labour force in this industry), wholesale and retail (13,500, 27%), and education (7,700, also 27%). This mostly regarded jobs of 15-35 hours per week. The incidence of small part-time jobs, of less than 15 hours per week, remained low, covering only 4.9% of the female labour force at large against 4.5% of the male. For both sexes the part-time rates were lowest in towns and cities, and considerably larger in rural villages (authors’ calculations based on CSO 2008b). Based on the LFS 2005-06, the Central Statistics Office (CSO) has used data on the number of hours worked to calculate the size of underemployment, defined as the proportion of employed persons working less than 35 hours per week and also reporting that they were available to work more hours (CSO 2008b, 7). As we think this concept is rather confusing, we refrain from further analysis in this direction.

2.4. National legislation and labour relations

2.4.1. Legislation

Botswana has ratified the eight core ILO Labour Conventions 29, 87, 98, 100, 105, 111, 138 and 182. Workers formally have the right to form and join trade unions, with the exception of police officers, the

Botswana Defence Force and the prison service. Workers may not be fired for union-related activities. The Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs has the legal power to interfere in union affairs. Registration of trade unions, via the Registrar at the Ministry, is compulsory. The Trade Unions and Employers' Organizations Act (Cap 48:01) requires a minimum of one third of the employees of an employer (2004 amendment⁶) to form a union, and the 2004 Trade Disputes Act (Cap 48:02) empowers the Labour Minister to determine the conditions for union membership. In practice the right of association is quite restricted, as each government sector has its own rules. Collective bargaining is allowed, provided the union represents at least 25% of the workforce. Yet, as few unions meet this 25% criterium, collective bargaining remains purely formal and embryonic. According to the Trade Disputes Act the right to strike is recognised, but workers must submit their demands to complex arbitration procedures, and virtually all strikes are ruled illegal, leaving striking workers at risk of dismissal. Sympathy strikes are prohibited. The Act does not protect workers' organisations against acts of interference by employers and their organisations. No wonder that the unions regard the set of labour acts as "employer-favoured" (FES 2008; ITUC 2009; US Dept of State 2009b; wikipedia).

The ITUC (2009) adds that, although Botswana's labour legislation has improved in recent years and the government has ratified the core ILO conventions, many employers still trample workers' rights, and concludes that the government is either unable or unwilling to confront employers. The worldwide union confederation refers to unions criticizing the behaviour of foreign investors who, too often, maximise their profits on their workers' backs, noting that this applies in particular to the many Chinese employers in the retail trade (see also ALRN 2009).

The Employment Act (Cap 47:01) is the basic employment law, setting out a "floor of rights", including the basic minimum terms and conditions of employment for the private sector, parastatal corporations and public employees. It outlines the duties of parties to an employment contract, maximum hours of work, entitlement to various types of leave, minimum wages, and permissible ways of terminating contracts. According to the Employment [Amendment] Act (sections 107-110) no child less than 15 years shall be employed in any capacity whatsoever. However, a child aged 14 years and not attending school may be employed on light work not harmful to his/her health or development. Those under 18 may not be employed in work underground, at night, in work that is harmful to health and development, or that is dangerous or immoral. The Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs is responsible for enforcing these child labour laws; according to the US Dept of State (2009b) in doing so in 2008 it was generally effective, despite limited resources for oversight of remote areas of the country. Nevertheless, the available statistics indicate that child labour is persistent.⁷ In this context it may be curious that -unlike

⁶ A recent union report argues that the 2004 amended law (earlier the law required more than 30 employees to form a union) makes it easier for the proliferation of splinter unions, defeating the spirit of unity of purpose. The report mentions splits between teachers' unions as well as in the retail sector, among wholesale and furniture on the one hand and commercial workers on the other (FES 2008, 10).

⁷ The LFS 2005-06 found 38,400 working children aged 7 to 17, of which about half were younger than 14: 4,100 aged 7-9 (2,300 boys and 1,800 girls) and 15,500 aged 10-13 (9,100 boys and 6,400 girls). About 70% of the boys and 60% of the girls under age 14 worked in agriculture, for a large majority in traditional or subsistence agriculture, and three of four others in retail. Of all 38,400, over 40% usually worked 22 hours per week or more, and 16% even more than 42 hours weekly. Besides this group, 428,000 children were involved in housekeeping in the last 7 days; 15,200 or 3.5% (6,500 boys and 8,700 girls) indicated that housekeeping caused problems for schooling. Activities contributing to the difficulties were notably fetching water (5,400) and collecting firewood (5,300) (CSO 2008b). The US Dept of State (2009b) adds that in 2008 children also worked as domestic labourers, prostitutes, and in

other SADC countries-- the official Botswana statistics continue to include 12- and 13-year-olds in the labour force and among the “currently economically active”.

Of particular relevance for the young female target group of the DECISIONS FOR LIFE project are the following legal articles (in the Employment [Amendment] Act No. 14 of 2003):

- (maternity leave) Provision is made for a maternity leave of 12 weeks (6 weeks before and 6 weeks after confinement) after the employer has been presented with a certificate by a doctor, a medical nurse or a midwife. An additional 2 weeks maternity leave may be granted on account of illness arising from her confinement (section 117)
- (maternity allowance) During maternity leave a maternity allowance of not less than 25% of the employee’s basic pay or 50 thebe (Pula 0.50) for each day of absence, whichever is the greater, is payable (sections 117 and 118)
- (paid annual leave) A minimum of 15 working days of paid leave is given per year. At least 8 leave days must be taken within 6 months of the leave earning period. The remaining days may be accumulated for up to 3 years when they must be taken (section 99)
- (paid sick leave) An employee is entitled to a minimum of 14 working days paid sick leave in any one year of continuous employment. The employee must inform the employer as soon as possible and provide a doctor’s certificate if absent from work for more than 24 hours (section 101)
- (maximum working week) If the working week is more than 5 days, then the working day may be no more than 8 hours or more than 48 hours in a week. Moreover, an employee may not work more than 14 hours in any one week (section 95)
- (overtime payment) For normal days of work overtime is calculated at one and a half times the basic hourly rate. For rest periods or paid public holidays overtime is calculated at double the hourly rate (section 96).

It should be added that the Employment Act, applicable to private companies, does not cover sexual harassment (whereas the Public Service Act deals with sexual harassment of one public officer by another). Nor does it include other regulations relevant for young women workers like concerning school holidays, equal opportunities of parents (parental leave), equal pay, free medical care (in case of pregnancy), and training opportunities.

2.4.2. Labour relations and wage-setting

We combine our story on labour relations and unionism in Botswana with that on wage-setting, the latter in other country reports to be found in section 2.5.1. Till the late 1990s the Botswana government was formally dominant in wage setting. The governmental incomes policy stipulated that companies in the private and parastatal sectors were to pay the same wages as government for similar posts. In order to avoid deviations from the restrained wages policy, the government created the National Employment, Manpower and Incomes Council (NEMIC). Though NEMIC is formally tripartite, it comprises mainly government officials and is government-controlled. Moreover, the government created a Wages Policy Committee (WPC) as to control private sector wages. In addition, for some sectors minimum wage legislation was added, and the Minimum Wages Advisory Board installed. In these forums, the unions have an advisory role, with “the government (...) not bound to accept any of

informal bars; outside of supermarkets they sometimes assisted truck drivers with unloading goods and carried bags for customers.

their views or propositions” (FES 2008, 21). In 1993-94, this Board decided that minimum wages were too high and reduced them by 15-20%. As a result, in real terms the minimum wage for the manufacturing sector fell by 18% between 1990 and 2003. Not surprising, a 2004 official review concluded that “past studies done on the impact of minimum wages in Botswana have shown that the impact of increases in minimum wages is insignificant in most industries” (Bennell and Siphambe 2005, 31-2).

Thus, in the 1980s the labour market was strictly regulated, as were labour relations. Unionism was curtailed, even legally banned in the public sector, and there was a decline in union membership. Strike actions were virtually impossible. From the late 1980s on, companies found wages no longer attractive for skilled labour and offered generous fringe benefits. In the end, the wage restraint – regulation model could no longer be maintained, and flexibility was introduced in the labour market (cf. Siphambe 2007; Mogalakwe 2008). In the early 2000s, it was concluded that “generally, employers do not see labour regulations as an impediment to doing business in the country” (FIAS 2003 report, cited in Bennell and Siphambe 2005, 29).

After Botswana in 1997 finally ratified the two ILO core conventions related to unionization, 87 (Freedom of Association) and 98 (Right to organize and collective bargaining) as well as convention no. 151 (Right to organize in the public sector), it still took till 2005-06 before the amendments necessary to allow public sector workers their rights were taken through parliament. The weakness of trade unionism in Botswana dates in part back to this past, with the continuous existence of structures that were consultative and not negotiating bodies. On top of that, the union movement faces the lack of financial resources, partly because affiliates fail to meet their financial obligations to the BFTU; understaffing; weak education programmes; poor linkages and networking between affiliates; lack of access to and use of IT and the Internet, including the lack of a website for unions, and absence of political alliances with other social movements. Formally, collective bargaining coverage is set at 98%, but in practice employers mostly unilaterally determine the content of collective agreements (FES 2008; Gabonthone 2009). Unless the country’s strong economic growth, with 1.27% over the 1980-2003 period the average real wage growth has been quite limited. Since 2000, average real wages even decreased as nominal wage increases fell short of inflation. However, the expectation among Botswana’s leadership that keeping unions weak would lead to stable labour relations as a basis for attracting FDI, did not come true (cf. Siphambe 2007, 11, 25-6).

In 1977 the current Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU) has been created, at least till quite recently the only union (con)federation in the country and as such replacing the Botswana Trade Union and Education Centre. Actually the BFTU has 31 affiliated trade unions (see section 3.2). BFTU is affiliated with the ITUC. The federation is not allied to any political party. Except the BIFU affiliates, another 19 unions are legally registered, of which about 10 are disfunctional. Actually, union density is low. Though there are no conclusive official statistics, recent reports show about 60,000-70,000 unionized workers. On the most recent (September 2008, according to CSO 2009d) total of the approximately 310,000 formally employed, this represents a trade union density of about 20%. However, it has been argued --also by BFTU (BFTU 2007d; Mhotsha 2008b) -- that the unions should develop policies to support informal workers like food vendors and should undertake (more) efforts to organise all 640,000 economically active from the age of 15 years on. From that perspective, union density would fall to about 10%. Most unions are company-based or “in-house”, and have a membership of only 100 to 500. Larger, sectoral unions can be found in mining, manufacturing, retail, finance, and the public service. Within BFTU, there have been efforts towards the merging of unions into bigger and stronger sectoral entities, but these have not yet been effected. Outside BFTU, two major

public service workers' unions, the Manual Workers Union (MWU) and the Botswana Public Employees Union (BOPEU), have teamed up and are in the process of forming a new sectoral federation, BOFEPUSU, which has been condemned strongly by BIFU and affiliates. In mid-2009, BIFU expressed its dismay with the close connections top public officers obviously maintain with BOFESUTU, accusing the government of showing a negative attitude to the official movement by sponsoring a rival federation (Mhotsha 2009).

The number of female union members as well as the share of women in leading functions in the union movement are not exactly known but they are, according to the BFTU themselves, both very low (general information based on FES 2008; Gabonthone 2009; wikipedia). At relevant occasions, like on 7 October, the World Day for Decent Work under auspices of the ITUC, BFTU growingly calls for attention to women's rights (cf. Mhotsha 2008a).

2.5. Minimum wage and poverty

2.5.1. The statutory minimum wage

By April 2009⁸, the hourly statutory minimum wage (SMW) for full-time labour was set at:

- for manufacturing; hotels and restaurants; garage and road transport; wholesale and retail distributing trades, and security services: Pula 3.80;
- for retail trade (groceries): Pula 3.30;
- for other retail and for wholesale night watchmen: Pula 3.20;
- for the domestic service sector: Pula 2.10.

Moreover, workers in the agricultural sector are entitled to be paid Pula 408 *per month* for the agricultural sector (which, based on 45 working hours per week, is equivalent to Pula 2.10 per hour. However, the cost of feeding a worker living on the employer's premises can be deducted). In mid-2009, these SMW rates are equivalent to respectively USD 0.50 per hour, or USD 98 monthly. We calculated the common SMW rate, at a 45 hours' working week, to be about 20% of the 2008 average wage in the formal sector – very low indeed. The ILO (2008) found for 2007 that the level of the SMW was just over 15% of the GDP per capita. Over 2008, the US Dept of State (2009b) clearly expressed that “The minimum hourly wage (...) did not provide a decent standard of living for a worker and family”. Moreover, in the 2000s the upratings of the SMW have been lagging behind inflation. From July 2000-April 2008, the main SMW rate increased from Pula 2.05 to Pula 3.80 hourly, or by 85%. At the same time, the costs of living index witnessed an increase of 96%, and the index for food prices alone rose by over 107% (ILO Laborsta). This development may notably have hit poor workers, in whose daily expenditure food takes a major part. Whereas statutory minimum wages relevant for urban workers are between Pula 400 and 560 per month, in 2008 the food basket in most urban areas was already well over Pula 2,000 (FES 2008, 14).

⁸ These rates are the same as those for April 2008; by April 2009 no uprating took place (CSO 2009d, Table 6).

2.5.2. Poverty

More detailed and up-to-date information on the impact of Botswana's economic growth on the income distribution and, hopefully, the alleviation of poverty is scarce. Actually, most UN sources still use the figures for 1993-94 indicating that 49% of the Botswana population lived below the common UN yardstick of USD 2 a day (in PPP terms), and that 31% of the population had to make ends meet with an income below USD 1 a day (*MDG Indicator 1.1*, derived from UN MDG Indicators or UNDP 2008a). In 1995 the share of the poorest 20% in the national income was 3.6% -- a comparatively low figure (*MDG Indicator 1.3*, derived from UN MDG Indicators). 2002-03 figures indicate that the overall incidence of poverty has diminished over the years. By then, 30% of the population lived below a national poverty line, defined as a basic needs basket, that seems near-equivalent to USD 2 a day (in PPP terms). Poverty concentrates in rural areas. In 2002-03, 45% of those living in rural areas were under the poverty line, against 25% of those in urban village and 11% of urban dwellers. This means that about 65% of the poor were rural. The rural Northeast accounted for 41% of the total poor in the country (UNDP 2008c).

The decrease of poverty seems to have gone hand in hand with growing inequality. As the World Bank (2009c) notes, "While education expenditure is high at 10% of GDP and significant educational achievements have been attained (...), overall outcomes have not created the skills and workforce Botswana needs. Unemployment has been persistently high at near 20%, household incomes are much lower in rural than in urban areas, and, while rural poverty rates have fallen, they remain significantly higher than in urban areas. As a consequence, Botswana's income inequality is one of the worst in the world." In terms of the Gini coefficient, an income distribution measure that rates 0 as perfect equality and 100 as perfect inequality, inequality among households in Botswana was for 2007 estimated at 0.61, across countries an extremely high score (wikipedia). For 2002-03 a Gini coefficient of 0.57 has been found (UNDP 2008c), whereas for 1993-94 0.54 has been mentioned (Deininger and Squire 1996). Though these coefficients already indicated high degrees of inequality in the income distribution, inequality has even grown over time.

Very little is known about (the causes of) mobility in and out of poverty in Botswana, but it is clear that the rate of destitution or chronic poorness remains high in a number of rural areas. A UNDP overview strongly suggests that in these areas pockets of deep poverty are persistent. In 2005, in seven of the 20 districts, all rural, over 3% of the population was found to be destitute. These people were concentrated in areas of large population settlements. The permanent destitutes group mainly consists of aged and (single) female-headed households with many dependents (UNDP 2008c). It is also quite clear that most of the poor, and even more of the very poor, are women. Various indicators document the concentration of poverty among female-headed households, accounting for nearly half (47%) of all Botswana households (see section 2.6.1). For example, in 2003 51% of all households spent less than 1,500 Pula per month, but among female-headed households this share was, with 64%, considerably larger. On the other hand, 10% of households was able to spend over 8,000 Pula monthly, but among the female-headed households this share of well-to-do was only 4% (ILO Laborsta). The vulnerability of female-headed households (see also section 2.6.4, on agriculture) is not limited to the rural areas. The speed of economic and social change in the cities may also imply many attacks on the capabilities of parents, not least single mothers, to guide and prepare children for life there. Extreme affluence co-existing with abject poverty, a free market economy encouraging high levels of consumerism but failing to enable equitable access to desired goods, they will make the poor more likely to resort to criminal means in finding an income. Rural areas were the first to see a proliferation of youth gangs, but more recently cities and towns have witnessed an increase in notably property crime by groups of young men (Baloghi 2004).

On the human development index (HDI) Botswana ranked in 2006 126th on a total of 179 countries. With a score of 0.664, among its neighbouring countries only South Africa ranked (one place) higher. On a number of indicators, Botswana scores comparatively good. For example, in 2006 96% of the population had no access to a safe (in UN terms improved) water source, and those without access could fully be traced in rural areas (10%). By contrast, access to improved sanitation was comparatively low: 47%, in rural areas 30% but in urban areas not higher than 60% (WHO 2006). Child malnutrition is rather low. UNDP (2008c, 10) notes a marked decline in the percentage of underweight children below 5 years of age, the usual yardstick, from 14% in the early 1990s to 5.2% in 2006.⁹ Many weak points are related to the high HIV/AIDS prevalence. Between 2000-2006 Botswana's HDI score went up 0.045%-points, and the longer term (1980-2006) witnessed an advance of 0.126%-points. The country's relative position has fallen (compare to number 72 of 130 countries in 1990), which largely can be explained by the decline in life expectancy due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Siphambe 2003b; World Bank 2009c). Botswana's GDP index ranking, however, was no less than 69 places higher than its HDI ranking. Its position in the Gender-adjusted Development Index (GDI) was, with a no. 109 ranking among 157 countries, in 2006 about the same. Its GDI value was 99.5% of its HDI value (UNDP 2008a).

For 2008 the Gender Gap Index of the World Economic Forum ranked Botswana 63rd of 130 countries. For the position of women in economic participation and opportunity, Botswana ranked 61st, in educational attainment 26th, in health and survival 120th, and concerning political empowerment again 61st (The last outcome seems questionable considering the weak position of women in Botswana's political arena). In 2008, the country lost 10 places in the rankings because of the relatively more significant achievements of other countries. Relative to its own performance, Botswana showed an overall improvement, including in educational attainment, making Botswana the second highest ranking country in the region in this category, after Lesotho. The editors of this index stress that Botswana's gap on health and survival remains; the country continues to be among the very few in the world where women have lower healthy life expectancies than men (Hausmann *et al* 2008, 21-2) (For a short discussion on government policies on poverty eradication, see under Agriculture, section 2.6.4).

2.6. Demographics and female labour force

2.6.1. Population and fertility

By the end of 2007, the population of Botswana was estimated at 1,840,000, with a growth rate in 2007 of 1.4% (US Dept of State 2009). The UN expects the average population growth rate for 2005-2015 to decrease to 1.2%: 2.5% in the urban areas, against a fall of 0.6% yearly of the rural population (UN Data). In 2006, the countries' statistical bureau (CSO) estimated the population size at 1,773,000,¹⁰ with a sex ratio of 92 males for every 100 females: 852,000 males against 921,000 females. By then, the median age was low: 21.9 years overall, with a considerable gender difference: for females 22.7 and for males 20.7. In 2006, the median age in cities and towns stood at 24.4 years. Over 35% (35.4%) of the population was 0-14 years of age, whereas 5.2% was over the age of 64. Of the 433,000 households counted in 2006, the (in international perspective) very high share of 46.6% was female-headed. The households with 6 to 9 persons were even over 54% female-headed. Botswana is highly urbanised. In 2006 almost three of five

⁹ UNDP in the HDI index still mentions for Botswana 13% (UNDP 2008a).

¹⁰ Among which 59,200 or 3% non-Batswana, including 43% females, and 46,700 (79%) from SADC countries (CSO 2009a).

inhabitants (59.6%) lived in cities, towns and urban villages. The large majority (64%) of the Botswana population in 2006 was 'never married', 18.2% was married, while –unlike other sub-Saharan countries-- a considerable part, 11.4%, was living together without being married (cohabiting) (all data: CSO 2009a). Thus, about six of ten couples were married, and that share is diminishing over time. Women's position may yet weaken as cohabitation is not recognized as a formal union in Botswana, nor are such relationships recognised under the general law or by customary law. Thus, when cohabitating relationships end, whether by disagreement or by death, there are often dire consequences for the female side, including loss of property. Women in such relationships may also be vulnerable to abuse and violence (Mookodi 2004, 59).

Ages of couples at the time of average are rather high: in 2003-06, the mean age at first marriage for men (bachelors) was 37.2, whereas with 31.6 the comparable age for women (spinsters) was over five years less. In the same four years, on average (unweighted) 0.9% of all females that married were under 20 of age, with a trend to diminish (men: 0.0%); 13.0% of all marrying females were 20-24 of age (men: 1.1%), again with a diminishing trend, and 35.2% of all marrying females were 25-29 of age (men: 14.8%), with an upward trend. From age 30 on, one third to half of all women –depending on the age cohort-- do not marry men in the same age group as theirs but in the next five years' age group. In the official statistics divorces hardly show up (CSO 2009b), but many divorces are hidden because spouses fear social stigmatisation (Maundeni 2000, cited by Baloki 2004, 82).

Birth and death rates in Botswana are for African standards rather low. The birth rate estimated for 2009 is 22.9 births per 1,000 population, the death rate 8.5 deaths per 1,000 (CIA World Factbook). Concerning child mortality, after a long-time decrease from 97 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1971 on (UNDP 2008c), in the 2000s an upward trend has to be noted. Whereas in 2000 the infant mortality rate stood at 40 per 1,000 live births, it went up to 44 in 2004 and 51 in 2005, through a quick rise in the male infant mortality rate to 58 in 2005, that was concentrated in rural areas (CSO 2009a). This seems disquieting, though the incidence of small population cohorts requires cautious interpretation of available data. The UN expects for 2005-2020 an average 46.5 per 1,000 live births (UN Data). The under 5 mortality rate in 2005 stood at 63 (CSO 2009a), with time series showing an upward trend since 1997, both in female and male rates, though with the female rates at a constantly higher level (CSO 2009a, 63). The U5 mortality rate is one of the highest rates among Southern African countries (UN MDG Indicators). Comparison between the two rates learns that the childhood mortality rate is quite low, except in 2005 showing a continuous figure under 20 per 1,000 (CSO 2009a).

The total fertility rate (TFR, the number of births per woman) has decreased massively in Botswana, from an average 6.6 in 1981 to 3.2 average births in 2006: rather modest in sub-Saharan perspective. Considerable differentials across population categories remain. In cities and towns, the 2006 TFR was 2.4, contrasting with 4.6 in rural areas. Women with secondary education had on average 3.1 births compared to 5.3 births among women without secondary education. For an indication of the situation of our target group, the adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women 15-19 of age) is of special importance. In Botswana, this rate fell drastically in less than two decades, from 237 in 1988 to 51 in 2001, the latest available figure. If continued, this would be the lowest rate of the seven African countries under study in our project (WHO 2009; UN Data). In 2006, one of seven women aged 15-19 had children (CSO 2009a). One year later, one of six registered first births took place when the mother was younger than 20 of age (authors' calculations based on CSO 2009b).

Mainly because of the effects of HIV/AIDS, life expectancy at birth in the 2000s is continuously decreasing. For 2008 the US Dept of State (2009b) indicates life expectancy at birth to be 50.6: 50.7 for women and 50.5 for men, but other estimates present lower figures. According to the Human

Development Indicators, in 2006 life expectancy at birth was 49.0 years for females and 48.6 for males, bringing women to men parity at 102.2%. For 2005, the probability of not surviving to age 40 was a rather high 44% (UNDP 2008a). This has much to do with the increase of mortality among adults, notably among men. Gender differences are caused by the high number of men not testing for HIV; a high incidence of tuberculosis among men due to HIV infection, and by higher risks for men of being involved in road accidents ending fatally (CSO 2009a, 69).

2.6.2. HIV/AIDS

The demography and economy of Botswana is heavily influenced by the widespread incidence of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. After Swaziland, the country has the second highest infection rate in the world. For 2007, the overall HIV/AIDS adult (15-49 years) prevalence rate was estimated at 23% (22,757 per 100,000); the number of people living with HIV at 300,000, and the number of deaths due to HIV/AIDS at 11,000 (WHO 2009; CIA World Factbook). Gender inequality, alcohol abuse, labour migration, cross-border trade and poverty are identified as underlying factors for the spread of the pandemic (website UN Botswana; IOM 2007). In Botswana, the first case of HIV-related illness was first discovered in 1985. Since then, the virus has spread rapidly throughout the country. For example, data from the 2005 HIV Sentinel Survey carried out among pregnant women reveals that at the national level, the prevalence rate is 33.4%. Data in 2004 collected by the CSO in collaboration with the National AIDS Coordinating Agency (NACA) allow the conclusion that the overall HIV prevalence in the population aged 18 and older stood at 17.1%. With 40.7%, the prevalence rate was highest in the group aged 30-34, followed by age group 35-39 at 36.9%, age group 25-29 at 33.0% and 40-44 at 30.5%. The highest proportion of HIV positive population was found among town dwellers (22.0%), followed by those living in cities (19.9%). The lowest prevalence was found in the rural areas (15.8% -- CSO, cited in BFTU 2007c; website UN Botswana).

The incidence and consequences of the HIV/AIDS pandemic are heavily biased against women, and Botswana is definitely no exception in this. Largely based on Botswana evidence, a trade union report (FBTU 2007b, 33) excellently summarizes along which lines the vulnerability of women to HIV infections can be explained within the context of biological, socio-cultural and economic factors:

- due to their biological make-up, HIV is more easily transmitted from men to women than from women to men;
- the socially reinforced subordination of women makes them vulnerable to HIV infections. For example most women find it difficult to negotiate for safer sex practices. The high prevalence of violence against women also increases the risks of contracting the virus. Violent acts such as rape, incest and defilement contribute significantly to the transmission of HIV. Due to the "sugar daddy" syndrome, young girls have become victims of sexual abuse and exploitation;
- women are constrained by lower earning capacity, lack of assets, lack of skills, unemployment and a greater burden of dependents. Female-headed households in particular tend to be poorer. Rising poverty among women means that they are unable to meet their daily needs and this forces them to adopt high-risk survival strategies such as unprotected commercial sex work. Studies show that women become pushed into prostitution because of a weak economic base.

Although the macro-economic consequences of the HIV/AIDS pandemic are difficult to assess, it can be argued that the country is confronted with a loss of educated and trained people in the most productive years of their lives. The pandemic will most definitely influence the economy's growth rate negatively.

A 2007 update (NACA/UNDP 2007) of a government report from 2000 (cf. BFTU 2007c) has predicted that yearly growth over the period 2001-2021 would fall by 1.5-2.0%, resulting in an economy 25-35% smaller as a result of HIV/AIDS than it would have been otherwise. Due to increased expenditure on health care, training and sick pay, investments as well as savings will be significantly reduced. The report adds that HIV/AIDS will directly affect poverty at household level. Orphanage is already a huge problem in Botswana. For 2005 the UNESCO estimated that there were 150,000 orphans in the country, of which about 120,000 had lost one or both parents due to HIV/AIDS (US Dept of State 2009b). For various reasons the number of 51,600 orphans, in 2006 registered on behalf of the official Orphan Care Program is said to be a serious underestimation (BFTU 2007b, 11-14). As we argued in our DECISIONS FOR LIFE Country Report No. 1 on Mozambique, orphanage will definitely ruin the prospects in life of many girls. As in neighbouring countries, in Botswana many orphans leave (secondary) school to work as caregivers for sick relatives. They are in large majority girls (US Dept of State 2009b).

The response to the HIV/AIDS has been accorded the highest priority at the national and local levels. Beginning in 2002, Botswana was the first African country to provide Anti Retroviral Therapy (ART) for free. By June 2008, ART coverage had expanded to an estimated 93% of the population (World Bank 2009d). And there are signs of hope. The decrease in HIV infection levels among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics in Botswana in recent years, from 36% in 2001 to 32% in 2006, suggests that the pandemic here has reached its peak and could be on the decline (UNAIDS / WHO 2008, 6). However, a union report concludes that there is nothing specified in Botswana's labour legislation which specifically addresses HIV/AIDS issues. The report emphasizes, among other things, that there should be no compulsory workplace testing for HIV. Voluntary testing for HIV on the request of the employee should be done by a suitably qualified person in a health facility with the informed consent of the employee, in accordance with normal medical ethical rules and with pre- and post-test counseling. Persons with HIV/AIDS should have the legal right to confidentiality about their HIV status in any aspect of their employment. An employee should be under no obligation to inform an employer of his or her HIV/AIDS status, and information regarding the HIV status of an employee should not be disclosed without the employee's consent. The union report finally concludes that provision of social protection to affected and infected HIV/AIDS patients is lacking (BFTU 2007c, 32, 36).

2.6.3. Women's labour market share

From 2000-2008, the male population has grown by 10.2%, the female population by only 8.6%. A large part of the population is 0-14 years: in 2008 34.2%, 34.6% of the male population and 33.8% of the female part. On the other hand, a small part of the population was 65 of age and older: 3.5% of the total population, only 2.6% of the males and 4.3% of the females (ILO-Laborsta, EAPEP calculations, and own calculations based on this source).

Of the total population, in the ILO statistics by 2008 701,200 persons were counted as economically active, of which 16,300 in the age of 65 and older. If we leave out this last group in order to comply with the internationally comparable Labour Participation Rate (LPR) or Employment-to-Population ratio (EPOP) that only takes stock of the 15-64 of age, we can calculate the over-all LPR or EPOP at 55.9%: 64.5% for men and 49.7% for women, a quarter lower (*MDG indicator 1.5*). Concerning labour participation, this implies a position at the lower end among the 14 countries in our project.

By 2008, women in between 20 and 44 of age in the five years' age cohorts had a labour participation rate of over 60%, but not exceeding 72%. Among women over 45, the rate fell regularly to end up at 25% for the 60-64 aged. By 2008, the LPR of women aged 15-19 of age was 12%, of those 20-24 of age 56%,

and of those 25-29 70.5% %. We could calculate that the 2008 LPR for 15-29 year old females was 44.6%: by then, 139,000 women of total 312,000 in this age group were economically active. Among their male counterparts of the same age, this rate was, with 49.5%, marginally higher. By 2008, the male five years' cohorts of 15-24 of age and of 40 and older had LPR's higher than those of females of the same cohort, with the gap widening by age, but by then the females in the three cohorts between 25 and 39 of age had higher LPR's than the males of the same age. From 1999 on, the EPOP's (LPR's) of all male 5-years' groups have decreased considerably, by 5%points for most groups to 11%points in the 20-24 age group and even 18%points among the 60-64 of age. The picture over time for the females is more varied: a small decrease among the youngest group, modest increases among the four next cohorts up to 39 of age, modest decreases among the 40-49-aged, and an equally strong decrease among those aged 50 or older (ILO-Laborsta, and authors' calculations based on this source). Most likely HIV/ AIDS has strongly affected the LPR's of those over the age of 40, both males and females, but the growth of unemployment, including discouraged-worker-effects, most likely played its own role.

Table 4 (next page) shows that in March 2008 across industries women's share in paid employment was highest in health and social work (65%), followed by other community services and finance / insurance (both 62%), restaurants and hotels (59%), and education (54%). Women made up for considerable minorities in manufacturing (48%) and wholesale and retail (45%).¹¹ Across large sectors, in the government sector at large women accounted for 44%, and in the private sector for 39%. As a result, the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector was in 2008 41% (UN MDG Indicator, authors' calculation based on CSO 2008d).

Table 5, at the same page, shows that, with a share of over 34%, central government is the largest employer of women / paid employees, followed by other community services (26%), wholesale and retail (15%), manufacturing (13%), and local government (nearly 10%). Five of six of all women in paid employment (84%) in 2008 worked in services, broadly defined and including government. As noted earlier, in 2005-06 this share for all women employed was 64%.

¹¹ Comparison of data from the March 2008 Employment and Employees Survey (EES) shows marked differences with those from the LFS 2005-06, differences that seem difficult to explain by developments over time. The EES counts considerable more paid employees in manufacturing (males: +6,800; females: +6,200) as well as in hotels and restaurants (males: +3,400, females: +2,100), much more males (+8,600) in wholesale and retail, and much less females (-2,900) in real estate. Moreover, the LFS data included 7,200 males and 18,000 females in paid employment in private households. Based on the LFS data, the female shares were largest in private households (72%), hotels and restaurants (71%), health (66%), education (64%), and wholesale and retail (56%).

Table 4 Female employment shares by sector, paid employees, Botswana, March 2008

	x 1,000	%
agriculture, fishing, forestry	2,0	36.3
mining	1,4	12.4
manufacturing	17,1	47.5
utilities	0,6	21.0
construction	2,5	11.6
transport, storage, communication	3,3	36.4
wholesale and retail	20,2	45.1
restaurants, hotels	8,8	59.3
finance, insurance	4,6	62.0
real estate	5,6	31.2
education	5,0	53.7
health, social work	1,4	64.4
other community services	2,0	61.6
central government	45,5	42.7
local government	12,8	47.4
Total	323,4	41.1
<i>of which</i>		
<i>government</i>	58,2	43.7
<i>parastatal companies</i>	5,5	38.6
<i>private companies</i>	69,2	39.4

Source: CSO 2008d

Table 5 Shares of industries in female employment, paid employees, Botswana, March 2008

	%
agriculture	1.5
mining	1.1
manufacturing	12.8
utilities	0.4
construction	1.9
transport, stor., communication	2.5
wholesale and retail	15.2
hotels and restaurants	6.7
finance, insurance	3.4
real estate	4.2
community and social services	26.3
education	3.8
health, social work	1.1
other community services	1.6
central government	34.2
local government	9.6
Total	100.0
<i>of which</i>	
<i>government</i>	43.8
<i>parastatal companies</i>	4.1
<i>private companies</i>	52.0

Source: CSO 2008d

Below, we shortly describe developments in large sectors with special attention to the position of women.

2.6.4. Agriculture

Despite large amounts of money after independence devoted to agriculture, its productivity has remained low, with long-term productivity growth less than 2% yearly. Farming can be divided in commercial farming and subsistence farming. Commercial farming is not very widespread in Botswana, and contributes less than 3% to the current GDP (Acquah 2003). Concerning female employment, it may be an indication that, according to the EES survey, in March 2008 just over 2,000 females were paid employees in agriculture (CSO 2008d).¹² In traditional agriculture, notably cattle ownership is highly skewed, and gendered too. Around the turn of the century, the poorest 71% owned only about 8% of total traditional herds, while the richest 2.5% owned about 40%. Two thirds of female farmers had no cattle at all, compared to 33% of male farmers (Kerapeletswe and Moremi 2001, cited in Osei-Hwedie 2004, 10). Agricultural development programmes, though many in number, have left these ownership relations basically intact and left out real participation of the poor. This may reflect more general obstacles to the eradication of poverty in the country. Various Botswana researchers have criticized the concentration in policies and indicators on income and access to social services, instead of participation in decision-making (cf. Osei-Hwedie 2004; Seleka in Ganetsang 2007). Indeed, recent policy documents (like UNDP 2008d) lay more stress on engaging the poor in for example monitoring the performance of programmes and projects. Anyway, under the current conditions it is quite unlikely that young women living in urban areas and trying to make a career can rely on a “fall-back scenario” in which they can go back to their families living from agriculture.

2.6.5. Mining and manufacturing

We already mentioned Debswana, the largest diamond mining company and since 1975 50% government-owned. In 2007, significant quantities of uranium were discovered, and mining is projected to start up by 2010. Several international mining companies have prospected also for gold, copper and even oil, many coming back with positive results (wikipedia; US Dept of State 2009a). Manufacturing remains relatively underdeveloped, and consists mainly of meat and meat by-products and textile and garment production. However, manufactured products in the 2000s continued to account for less than 10% of total exports. The large exports of beef to the EU have fully collapsed, and the export diversification strategy aiming at textiles exports is threatened by Asian competition; in recent years textiles only covered 4-5% of total export value (Siphambe and Bennell 2005, 39-40; Siphambe 2007, 20; CSO 2009e). Employment in manufacturing grew strongly between 1980 and 1991, but at a much slower rate thereafter. Jointly with the slower expansion of finance and business services, employment growth in these industries has not been large enough to absorb new entrants at the labour market in the course of the 1990s (Siphambe 2007, 8). For the time being the perspectives of manufacturing in Botswana remain rather insecure.

2.6.6. Commerce

In recent years, wholesale and retail in Botswana turns out to be a stable grower. Formal employment in this industry rose from 42,000 in March 2006, via 44,800 in March 2008, to 46,500 in September 2008. Surprisingly, by then wholesale and retail was the major employer of non-citizens employees, of which 5,000 persons were formally employed in this sector. It has to be added that sales and service workers

¹² This outcome seems more realistic than that of the LFS 2005-06, suggesting that about 27,200 people were involved in commercial farming, of which about 3,600 females.

show a rather high labour turnover rate (like worldwide): between September 2007– September 2008, for example, their estimated attrition rate was 20%, the highest across occupational groups. In retail and wholesale the turnover rate was, with 22%, even slightly higher. As for occupation, nearly one of five (19%) of all formally employed in this sector were “manager”, and nearly one of four were sales / service workers respectively clerks (CSO 2009d). Informal labour should not be forgotten, as it continues to be important in wholesale and retail. In 2005-06, about 35,000 persons, 45% of the wholesale and retail workforce at large, operated informally. Of this group, 65% were self-employed. Over 19,000 women made up for 55% of these informally employed (CSO 2008b, 6). By contrast, supermarkets seem to remain a limited source of employment for women (various vacancy websites).

2.6.7. Services

Services, broadly defined, are the large expanding sector in the Botswana economy, both in terms of employment and in terms of contribution to the GDP. The country even became a net exporter of services for the first time in 2005. FDI inflows aiming at services are growing, especially in finance, and to a lesser extent in hospitality (linked to the tourism industry) and to wholesale and retail. At closer scrutiny, tourism, transport and to some extent financial services appear as the only sectors with significant capacity to export. Nevertheless, other service sectors remain crucial through their indirect contribution to GDP, with distributional services as the single most important sector –after government- for employment. In this respect, financial services and tourism have also a large share. For the strengthening of financial services, developing skills and developing an appropriate IT infrastructure are needed, taking into account the relatively poor state of general IT infrastructure (Te Velde and Cali, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c). As noted earlier (fn. 11), statistical problems hamper insight in employment in the services sector at large. It seems that since 2006 formal employment in hotels and restaurants and in transport and communication has grown slightly, whereas it stabilized in finance, insurance and real estate. The above expansion perspectives for the finance sector developed in 2007 may be quite insecure in view of the current financial crisis, as will be the case with employment prospects.

The Botswana government has labeled tourism most outspokenly as a priority sector. Yet, it also seems a field for some window dressing, and its prospects may sometimes be overstated. Whereas UN Data mentions a growing number of incoming tourists since 2000, up to 1,675,000 tourist arrivals at national borders, and the national statistics mention 1,820,000 arrivals in 2006, of which only 254,000 for holidays (CSO 2009e), the Minister of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism in September 2009 stated that over 2 million tourists are received annually (gov't website). In terms of tourism-related employment, a continuous growth with 3-4% annually seems rather likely (various websites).

2.6.8. Government

Government in Botswana is still broadly regarded as an attractive employer. In the 1990s this was beyond dispute. Government expanded and paid on average higher salaries than the private sector at every educational level (Siphambe and Thokweng-Bakwena 2001). For various reasons, the attractive image of government may be still unbroken, notably for (young) women. First, jobs in central government seem to be relatively rewarding for women, indicated by their 9% wage premium found for 2005-06 (Table 8); this in clear contrast with private business, where women experience a 37% wage gap. Second, these jobs are comparatively high-level. With 3% legislators/managers/administrators, 23% professionals and 24% associate professionals and technicians, by September 2008 at least half of the central government labour force was in qualified occupations. Local government jobs may be of

particular interest for (young) women in urban villages and rural areas. By September 2008, 35% of the local government labour force included was made up of employees in the three occupational groups just mentioned (authors' calculations based on CSO 2009d). Third, it may be remarkable that up till September 2008 the governmental labour force continued to grow in line with general employment growth, unless a broadening debate in Botswana about its relative size (various websites).

2.7. Education and skill levels of the female labour force

2.7.1. Literacy

The adult literacy rate –those age 15 and over that can read and write – for Botswana in 1999-2006 was, according to the UNDP Human Development Indicators, 82%: high for sub-Saharan Africa. It is quite remarkable that in this respect there is no gender gap: the male literacy rate was 82.1%, the female with 82.2% a fraction higher (UNDP 2008a). In 2007, the adult literacy rate was with 83% slightly higher, and could be projected against 62% for the sub-Saharan region at large (World Bank 2009b). For 2007 the youth (15-24-year-olds) literacy rate was with 94.1% over 10% points higher, divided in 92.1% for males and 95.3% for females, implying a women to men parity ratio of 103% (*MDG Indicator 2.3*, derived from UN MDG Indicators and based on UNESCO data).

2.7.2. Education of girls

Combined gross enrollment in education in Botswana was in 2006 overall 70.6%: females 71.3%, males 70.0%. Both the overall and the female figures indicate a rather high level of participation of girls and young women in education, also compared to the neighbouring countries (UNDP 2008a).

The main government goal on education is to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE), and the country is well underway to meet this goal. The net enrollment in primary education (grade 1-7) was in 2005 overall 84.1%, divided into 82.7% for boys and 85.6% for girls, bringing girls to boys parity to 104%. It has to be noted that in the early 1990s the combined rate has been higher, up to 95% in 1991 (*MDG Indicator 2.1* and *MDG Indicator 3.1*, derived from UN MDG Indicators). Since 2005, the net enrollment rate (not yet divided by gender) for age 6-12 has fallen by 4% points, a development the CSO (2009c, 4) regards as positive: in order to achieve UPE, the number of under-age and over-age pupils needs to decline to free places in the official primary school age group. The number of primary school drop outs is decreasing, and with just over 1% of the total enrolled was in 2009 rather low. Unlike in most sub-Saharan countries, most primary school drop-outs –about two of three-- are boys (CSO 2009c). The primary completion rate as calculated by the UNESCO confirms this picture: the last available primary completion rate (2005) was in total 94.6%, but only 90.8% for boys and 98.5% for girls – a women to men parity rate of 109% (UN MDG Indicators). A large majority (in 2009 76%) of primary school teachers are females. A positive development has been the decrease of the number of pupils per trained teacher, from 28 in 2005 to 26 in 2009 (CSO 2009c).

In numbers, since 1991 enrollment in secondary education has nearly tripled, and in shares of the relevant age cohort it doubled (CSO website). In 2009, there were 172,000 students in all secondary schools in the country, of which 89,340 or 51.9% girls. This meant an enrollment of 65.8% of all boys aged 13-19, and 69.2% of all girls of the same age, which in turn implied a women to men parity of 105% -- the same parity as in 2005 (UN MDG website). In 2009, 3,570 “learners” were recorded to drop out of

secondary school, or just over 2%. Among these secondary school drop-outs, a majority of 61% were females, bringing the female drop-out rate at 2.5% (authors' calculations, based on CSO 2009a, 2009c).

In 2005, for the first time the participation of women in regular tertiary education women equalled that of men. Earlier in the 2000s, women to men parity in tertiary level enrollment fluctuated between 74% and 90% (UN Data website). In 2008, at the University of Botswana 14,420 students were enrolled, of which 7,880 males and 6,540 females (university website), figures suggesting that female participation in top-level education was not far behind male participation, or at least at 80% parity. However, it has to be noted that in for example 2002-03 this parity was already 99% (Bennell and Siphambe 2005).

2.7.3. Female skill levels

In 2006, over three quarters of the Botswana population (75.6%) possessed an educational attainment of primary or secondary school, 22% had never attended school. Of those who attended school, 43% attained primary and 53% secondary education. Reaching 53.7%, slightly more females than males had attained secondary education. In 2006 22,100 men in the total population turned out to have a university degree or to be a postgraduate (thus tertiary educated), 15% of all males with a certificate or diplom, against 15,600 women, 11% of all females with a certificate or diplom. About 40% of these high-skilled men as well as women lived in Gaborone (authors' calculations, based on CSO 2009a).

Table 6 presents the division of the economically active population by gender and educational attainment, based on the 2005-06 Labour Force Survey and following the ISCED division. These figures include those seeking work, by the time totaling 114,000, but we have left out the "not classified" (24,000, of which 10,000 women). The table shows on average remarkably high educational levels. As for gender, the outcomes are rather unique, showing no clear lagging behind of women in completed education. By contrast, the share of women at the lowest level, with no formal education, was over 8%points lower than that of men. Women only lagged behind at the highest level shown in the table, tertiary level (ISCED levels 5-6), with a women to men parity of 78%. In 2005-06, of those in the Botswana population with top-level education about 10,000 women were in the country's labour force, or 64% -- comparatively more than the 13,000 men employed, 59% of all males at this level of education (authors' calculations, based on CSO 2008b). In comparisons across countries, the shares of the tertiary educated, women and men alike, figure as rather low, but this has much to do with Botswana's quite recent development: in the years to come, these figures may increase rapidly.

Table 6 Total economically active population by highest level of education completed, by gender, Botswana 2005-06 (x1,000 headcount)

	all		women		men	
	x 1,000	%	x 1,000	%	x1,000	%
no education (ISCED X-0)	101	16.1	36	11.6	65	20.4
first level (ISCED 1)	172	27.3	87	28.1	85	26.6
second level, first stage (ISCED 2)	188	29.9	105	33.9	83	26.0
second level, second stage (ISCED 3-4)	145	23.0	82	23.2	73	22.9
tertiary level (ISCED 5-6)	23	3.7	10	3.2	13	4.1
Total	629	100.0	300	100.0	319	100.0

Source: authors' calculations based on CSO 2008b and ILO, Laborsta

As for industries, finance, insurance and real estate in 2005-06 showed the highest educational level, with 51% of their labour force having attained second level – second stage (senior secondary) and

tertiary levels. With 9,500 women or 62%, this share was even higher among the female labour force in finance etcetera. The female finance labour force also included the highest share of legislators and professionals (29%), followed by education (27%) and, at large distance, public administration (10%). Public administration showed the second highest educational level, with 45% of its total labour force and 46% of the female labour force (nearly 7,000 women) having attained senior secondary and tertiary levels, followed by education, with respectively 44% and 46% of the total and female labour forces (another 7,000 women) having attained senior secondary level (authors' calculations, based on CSO 2008b¹³). In absolute numbers, wholesale and retail also accounted for quite a number of senior secondary educated women (9,200) (CSO 2008b).

As for age, the highest share of senior secondary and tertiary educated among the female employed could be found among the 25-29-years-old (42%), closely followed by the 30-34 of age (40%) and the 20-24 of age (39%). The share of senior secondary (and tertiary) educated among 15-19 year old females was 12%. Jointly, the DECISIONS FOR LIFE target category of working females aged 15-29 at large included 30,500 (28%) young women with completed senior secondary and tertiary education and 38,700 (35%) with completed junior secondary education. We estimate (based on CSO 2008b, 2009a) that about 80% of these two groups live in urban areas.

Table 7 Employment by occupational group, gender, and highest level of education completed, Botswana, 2005-06

	total	women		share of women		
	x 1,000	x 1,000	share	senior second.	junior second.	primary, none
Administrative, managerial	30	9	30.5	56	29	15
Professional	27	12	45.6	93	7	0
Technical and ass. professional	35	22	62.7	64	32	4
Clerical and related	40	28	69.7	50	41	9
Service / sales workers	91	59	64.8	18	39	43
Craft and related workers	51	17	33.5	13	38	49
Plant & machine operators	27	3	10.4	16	47	37
Agricultural workers	136	57	42.2	4	16	80
Elementary occupations	103	50	48.5	8	36	56
Total	539	257	47.7	23	28	49

Source: authors' calculations based on CSO 2008b

Table 7 shows the female shares in occupational groups, as well as the division of these groups by attained level of education. The female-dominated occupations stand out clearly: clerical and related (nearly 70%), service and sales workers (65%), and technicians and associate professionals (63%). The high female share in the last group is due to the large number of female nurses and teachers (CSO 2008b, 5). Women made up for nearly half of those in elementary occupations, but also –and that is more remarkable – in the high-level professional occupations.

We are now able to produce a rather accurate estimate of the size of our target group for Botswana, the girls and young women aged 15-29, working in urban areas in commercial services (that is, wholesale and retail as well as commercial services more narrowly defined, like finance, insurance, and tourism --

¹³ We corrected on behalf of calculations for education Table M 12 in CSO 2008b for obvious typing errors, but we were not able to calculate correct shares for health and other community services.

though a number of those working elsewhere, like in community and social services and in government as well as currently unemployed, may also be interested). The total size of the female group aged 15-29 in Botswana was in 2006 285,000, or 31% of the total female population. Of these 285,000, nearly 30% or 84,000 lived in cities and towns, 107,000 (38%) in urban villages, and 93,000 (32%) in rural areas. Of this total group, 82,000 or 29% were employed, and –as indicated– this is a relatively well-educated group, making up (in 2009) jointly about 75,000 girls and young women with at least completed junior secondary education, on which we now focus. Under the assumptions that of this group a. 75% lived in towns, cities and urban villages; b. 70% worked in paid employment in the formal sector, and c. 35% worked in commercial services, we estimate the target group for 2009 at 14,000. If we include those with the same qualifications but working in community / social services and in government that may be interested too, another 16,000 girls and young women may be included. Some 9,000 to 12,000 (depending on the economic conditions) girls and young women will enter into commercial services employment in the next five years.

2.8. Wages and working conditions of the target group

2.8.1. Wages

Earlier research suggests that in Botswana, like in other sub-Saharan countries, education is the most important determinant of wages, among men and women as well as between them (cf. Fafchamps *et al* 2009), but also that notably in the private sector outright discrimination may also be a major determining factor. By decomposing the gender pay gap¹⁴ for 1995-96, Siphambe and Thokweng-Bakwena (2001) found for the public sector wage in Botswana discrimination to be quite small. By contrast, in the private sector more than two thirds of the wage gap was due to discrimination against women or favouritism towards men. There are various explanations for this difference across sectors. First, the public sector wage structure is fairly standardised, leaving little or no room for new workers to negotiate on pay. Second, in the public sector policies are developed first, like those on equality. Third, as mentioned for quite some years the Botswana government was formally dominant in wage setting. These conditions may still work, also as collective bargaining in the private sector remains weakly developed. Though at the top of the distribution wages in the private sector may be set in relation to wages in government, this ‘spillover’ most likely does not spread to the bottom of the labour market. Here, the market governs, and the influence of persistent high unemployment makes itself felt (cf. Siphambe and Thokweng-Bakwena 2001, 132, 139). Especially in years of drought, people are seeking jobs below market wages, as evident, for example, in the participation of unskilled labourers in relief-based public works (UNDP 2008c, 6-7).

Table 8 (p. 36) shows the average monthly earnings in Botswana based on the 2005-06 Labour Force Survey (LFS), by industry and a number of other criteria, as well as by gender. The last column indicates the size of the gender pay gap. The figures show a structural picture, that most unlikely has changed much since. The table reveals widespread earnings inequalities. Even if we exclude the agricultural sector and agricultural occupations, where earnings in kind, lodging etcetera play major roles, the average earnings in the industry with the highest earning level, electricity and water supply (utilities), were over six times as high as those in the industry with the lowest level, restaurants and

¹⁴ We use the international standard formula for the gender pay (or wage) gap: $((\text{wage men} - \text{wage women}) : \text{wage men}) \times 100$.

hotels. The average earnings in administrative and managerial occupations were 3.1 times those in clerical and related occupations, and even 10.4 times those in elementary occupations. The average earnings in parastatal companies had mounted, being 2.7 times those in private companies; average earnings in central government were 2.4 times those in local government. Non-citizens (foreign expatriates) got on average 2.6 times the earnings of citizens.¹⁵

Siphambe and Thokweng-Bakwena (2001), investigating the gender pay gap for 1995-96, found that for women in education- and skill-intensive occupations the outcomes were much more favourable than for women more at the bottom of the labour market. For 2005-06 the picture we present in Table 8 is more mixed. The total gender pay is about 19%. As for industries, industries with large shares of females (manufacturing; trade etc.; finance and insurance; education; health) show gender pay gaps of over 30%, also if considerable parts of the women workers are (high-)skilled. By contrast, agriculture and utilities show minor gaps, and mining even a wage advantage for women. The gender pay gaps by occupational groups also show a mixed picture. Whereas among professionals and technicians and associate professionals women on average have a wage advantage, women legislators and managers experience a gap of more than 20%. At the bottom of the labour market, in elementary occupations and for agricultural workers, the gender gap is quite small or non-existent, but major gaps pop up at somewhat higher level, for service workers (40%) and for skilled workers in manufacturing (over 50%). As for space, women prove to have a wage advantage in rural villages, where most likely they have found more rewarding jobs in wage employment than men, like in local government. In line with the results of Siphambe and Thokweng-Bakwena, jobs in central government seem to be relatively rewarding for women, as indicated by their 9% wage premium; this in clear contrast with private business, where women experience a 37% gap.

¹⁵ We concentrate here on wage differentials and possible discrimination between women and men, though another form of discrimination may be at stake too: between non-citizens (foreign expatriates) and Botswana citizens. Mogalakwe (2008) argues that the latter is broadly the case. For 2005, the author finds large wage differentials between expatriates and citizens, up to a 78% wage gap in finance. Also, expatriate top managers had a 82% wage premium compared to Botswana top managers, and smaller but still striking differences between expatriates and citizens were found at lower managerial levels. Mogalakwe concludes: "This explains why citizen workers are not only paid less than expatriate workers for equal work, but also why Botswana's economic miracle has not worked for most Botswana and Botswana remains a wealthy country of poor people" (2008, 433). Yet, in evaluating the effects of high expatriate wages, one has to take into account that their size is limited to 5% of the total labour force. Combining Mogalakwe's (2008, 431) 2005 wage data based on CSO information and with LFS 2005-06 employment data (CSO 2008b, 142), we computed that the higher (extra) wages paid to expatriates compared to their citizen colleagues in the various industries, would have taken exactly 10% of the country's total monthly wage bill. It may well be that the high salaries of expats are morally objectionable and that their effects may discourage high-skilled Botswana, including ambitious women, but there seems no direct relationship between these salaries and the persistence of poverty in Botswana.

Table 8 Average monthly earnings by industry, occupational group, area, sector, citizenship and gender, Botswana, 2005-06 (in Pula, rounded at Pula 20)

		total	women	men	m/w gap
Agriculture		880	860	900	4%
Mining		8,200	8,620	7,640	-13%
Manufacturing		1,640	1,060	2,200	52%
Electricity, water supply		9,320	9,160	9,360	2%
Construction		2,340	2,060	2,380	13%
Trade, wholesale, retail		2,080	1,600	2,500	36%
Restaurants, hotels		1,540	1,280	1,920	33%
Transport, storage, communication		5,340	4,880	5,540	12%
Finance, insurance		7,980	6,780	9,880	32%
Real estate		6,060	5,500	6,320	13%
Education		5,900	4,700	7,360	36%
Health, social work		4,400	3,780	5,880	36%
Other community services		2,060	1,660	2,420	32%
Total		3,600	3,160	3,900	19%
occup. group *)	<i>Legislators, managerial</i>	6,860	5,800	7,340	21%
	<i>Professionals</i>	6,780	7,060	6,440	-10%
	<i>Technicians, ass. professionals</i>	4,760	4,780	4,700	-2%
	<i>Clerical and related</i>	2,220	2,120	2,420	13%
	<i>Service workers</i>	1,220	1,000	1,680	40%
	<i>Craft and related</i>	1,700	940	2,080	55%
	<i>Plant & machine operators</i>	2,020	1,100	2,120	53%
	<i>Elementary occupations</i>	660	640	660	2%
	<i>Agricultural workers</i>	560	560	540	-3%
area *)	cities and towns	3,280	2,960	3,560	17%
	urban villages	2,320	2,100	2,560	18%
	rural villages	1,400	1,560	1,280	-22%
sector	<i>central government</i>	3,960	4,120	3,800	-9%
	<i>local government</i>	3,360	3,160	3,540	12%
	<i>parastatal companies</i>	8,260	7,140	8,960	21%
	<i>private companies</i>	3,040	2,240	3,560	37%
citizen-ship	citizens	3,280	3,040	3,460	12%
	non-citizens	8,580	6,400	8,860	28%

Sources: authors' calculations based on CSO 2008a, 2008b

*) only for citizens paid in cash

2.8.2. Working conditions

Very little is available in writing on working conditions in Botswana. In this respect, data from the *WageIndicator* survey will be most welcome. The incidence of work accidents up till now is the main indicator of occupational health and safety. The Labour Inspectorate reported in 2005 81 workers being killed in labour accidents, in 2006 30, and both in 2007 and 2008 48 (ILO Laborsta). The US Dept of State (2009b) calls the number of Labour Inspectors "insufficient to allow for inspection of all workplaces". There is a Workmen's Compensation Act intended to provide for compensation of workers for injuries suffered or occupational diseases contracted in the course of their employment or for death resulting from such injuries or diseases. The employer will be found liable if the accident arose out of and in the course of a workers employment and resulting in personal injury (BFTU 2007c).

As Botswana's statistics provide rather good information on the length of working time --a major issue in working conditions--, we concentrate on this issue. Except for public administration, where the normal working week is 40 hours, with maximum 48 hours the legal normal working week in Botswana is already quite long. According to the 2005-06 Labour Force Survey, half of the 539,000-strong labour force usually worked 45 hours or more per week in their main job: 54% of the males and 45% of the females. If secondary jobs are included, these shares increase to 52%, and over 56% (males) and 47% (females) respectively.

Table 9 (next page) gives an overview of the share of those with usual working weeks of 45 hours or more by gender and a number of other criteria. As for industries, except for utilities, public administration, education and health, the share working 45 hours or more per week went mostly over 50% by far. The hotel and restaurant sector was on top, followed by private households, construction, wholesale and retail, and mining. In hotels and restaurants as well as in wholesale and retail the shares of women making very long hours were even higher than those of men. In the other industries the shares of women working long hours were less but still considerable. As for occupational groups, the shares of professionals and technicians / associate professionals with working weeks of 45 hours or more were comparatively low, as were to a certain extent those of clerical workers, but the overall shares of all other groups were again over 50%. The share of female legislators and managers making long hours was even higher than that of their male colleagues! By contrast, in the basic industrial occupations the female shares were 8 to 21 %points lower than the male ones. The available evidence suggests that, unlike in other sub-Saharan countries, in Botswana long working weeks are definitely not restricted to urban areas; in rural areas, over 60% of women and men alike said to usually work 45 hours or more. Though strictly spoken the available statistics do not deliver proof, many working poor in rural areas seem to be in need of working (very) long hours in order to make ends meet. Summarizing, the share of women working 45 hours or more was over 60% in restaurants and hotels, wholesale and retail, and private households, in rural areas, among legislators and managers and among service workers.

Table 9 Share of labour force with usual working week 45 hours or more, by industry, occupational group, area, employment status, sector, and gender, Botswana, 2005-06

		total	women	men
Agriculture, fishing etc.		49.1	41.6	53.8
Mining		64.3	29.4	69.0
Manufacturing		61.3	57.8	65.6
Electricity, water supply		34.2	35.7	33.3
Construction		65.3	55.8	66.9
Trade, wholesale, retail		64.6	65.4	63.0
Restaurants, hotels		71.2	71.8	69.0
Transport, storage, communication		59.4	52.7	63.3
Finance, insurance		45.4	40.7	54.0
Real estate		60.2	50.1	66.9
Public administration		23.8	14.5	30.7
Education		19.8	16.0	26.7
Health		28.9	30.2	27.0
Other community		59.3	51.6	66.5
Private households		67.5	63.8	76.7
Total		52.2	47.4	56.4
<i>main/se cond.</i>	<i>in main job</i>	49.9	45.2	54.2
	<i>in secondary job</i>	9.5	10.7	7.7
occup. group	Legislators, managerial	57.6	61.5	56.0
	Professionals	27.5	23.8	30.0
	Technic.,ass. professionals	21.8	18.7	27.1
	Clerical and related	38.6	35.9	44.8
	Service workers	64.2	63.6	65.6
	Craft and related	55.0	49.2	57.4
	Plant & machine operators	64.2	51.5	65.7
	Elementary occupations	55.5	43.9	64.4
<i>area</i>	<i>urban areas</i>	55.1	52.5	57.7
	<i>rural areas</i>	62.5	62.5	62.6
empl. status	self-employed	52.9	-	-
	employer	58.8	-	-
	paid employee	51.7	-	-
	unpaid family worker	40.9	-	-
	own family	44.4	-	-
<i>sector</i>	<i>central government</i>	25.8	-	-
	<i>local government</i>	16.8	-	-
	<i>parastatal companies</i>	37.0	-	-
	<i>private companies</i>	63.6	-	-
	<i>subsistence farming</i>	44.4	-	-

Source: authors' calculations based on CSO 2008b

3. Basic information for WageIndicator Questionnaire

3.1. Introduction

Preparations for the DECISIONS FOR LIFE Activities 1.03a and 1.03b have resulted in a number of lists, grouped in this Chapter and to be used in the WageIndicator web-survey for country-specific questions and their analyses. This basic information can be used on-line, but if needed also off-line. The lists contain information on Botswana's trade unions (section 3.2), educational categories and ISCED levels (3.3), regions (3.4), and languages (3.5).

3.2. List of trade unions

The country's trade union movement has already been introduced under Labour relations and wage-setting (section 2.4.2). Below, a list can be found of the main trade unions, designed for use in the web-survey.

Table 10 List of trade unions in Botswana (by 1/1/2009)

en_BW	Source label	Translation
72101	BWA BFTU Air Botswana Employees Union	Air Botswana Employees Union
72102	BWA BFTU Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board Workers Union	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board Workers Union
72103	BWA BFTU Botswana Bank Employees Union	Botswana Bank Employees Union
72104	BWA BFTU Botswana Beverages & Allied Workers Union	Botswana Beverages & Allied Workers Union
72105	BWA BFTU Botswana Commercial & General Workers Union	Botswana Commercial & General Workers Union
72106	BWA BFTU Botswana Construction & Wood Workers Union	Botswana Construction & Wood Workers Union
72107	BWA BFTU Botswana Diamond Valuers & Sorters Union	Botswana Diamond Valuers & Sorters Union
72108	BWA BFTU Botswana Government Workers Union	Botswana Government Workers Union
72109	BWA BFTU Botswana Hotel Travel & Tourism Workers Union	Botswana Hotel Travel & Tourism Workers Union
72110	BWA BFTU Botswana Housing Corporation Staff Union	Botswana Housing Corporation Staff Union
72111	BWA BFTU Botswana Land Board and Local Government Workers Union	Botswana Land Board and Local Government Workers Union
72112	BWA BFTU Botswana Manufacturing & Packaging Workers Union	Botswana Manufacturing & Packaging Workers Union
72113	BWA BFTU Botswana Meat Industry Workers Union	Botswana Meat Industry Workers Union
72114	BWA BFTU Botswana Mining Workers Union	Botswana Mining Workers Union
72115	BWA BFTU Botswana Postal Services Workers Union	Botswana Postal Services Workers Union
72116	BWA BFTU Botswana Power Corporation Workers Union	Botswana Power Corporation Workers Union
72117	BWA BFTU Botswana Private Medical & Health Workers Union	Botswana Private Medical & Health Workers Union
72118	BWA BFTU Botswana Railways Amalgamated Workers Union	Botswana Railways Amalgamated Workers Union
72119	BWA BFTU Botswana Savings Bank Employees Union	Botswana Savings Bank Employees Union
72120	BWA BFTU Botswana Secondary Teachers Union	Botswana Secondary Teachers Union
72121	BWA BFTU Botswana Teachers Union	Botswana Teachers Union
72122	BWA BFTU Botswana Telecommunications Employees Union	Botswana Telecommunications Employees Union
72123	BWA BFTU Botswana Vaccine Institute Staff Union	Botswana Vaccine Institute Staff Union
72124	BWA BFTU Botswana Wholesale Furniture & Retail Workers Union	Botswana Wholesale Furniture & Retail Workers Union
72125	BWA BFTU Central Bank Union	Central Bank Union
72126	BWA BFTU Institute of Development & Management Workers Union	Institute of Development & Management Workers Union
72127	BWA BFTU Maranyane Staff Union	Maranyane Staff Union
72128	BWA BFTU National Development Bank Employees Union	National Development Bank Employees Union
72129	BWA BFTU Trainers & Allied Workers Union	Trainers & Allied Workers Union
72130	BWA BFTU University of Botswana Non-Academic Staff Union	University of Botswana Non-Academic Staff Union
72131	BWA BFTU University of Botswana Senior Support Staff Union	University of Botswana Senior Support Staff Union
72201	BWA UNAFFILIATED Botswana Public Employees Union	Botswana Public Employees Union
72301	BWA UNAFFILIATED Manual Workers Union	Manual Workers Union
	BWA Other	Other >>

3.3. List of educational categories and ISCED levels

Below, a full list of the educational categories used in Botswana, designed for use in the web-survey, can be found.

Table 11 List of educational categories in Botswana (by 1/1/2009)

en_BW	en_BW	Translation	ISCED
72001	BWA Primary School	Primary School	1
72002	BWA Junior Secondary School	Junior Secondary School	2
72003	BWA Senior Secondary School	Senior Secondary School	3
72004	BWA Certificate (non-university) (1 year)	Certificate (non-university) (1 year)	3
72005	BWA Diploma (non-university) (3 years)	Diploma (non-university) (3 years)	4
72006	BWA Bachelor degree	Bachelor degree	5
72007	BWA Postgraduate university diploma	Postgraduate university diploma	6
72008	BWA Masters degree	Master's degree	6
72009	BWA PhD (Doctor of Philosophy)	PhD (Doctor of Philosophy)	6

3.4. List of regions

Below, a full list of the regions in Botswana, designed for use in the web-survey, can be found.

Table 12 List of regions in Botswana (by 1/1/2009)

en_BW	en_BW	Source label	Source label	Translation	Translation
720010000	720010132	BWA Central District	BWA Central District Mahalapye	Central District	Mahalapye
720010000	720010232	BWA Central District	BWA Central District Selibe Phikwe	Central District	Selibe Phikwe
720010000	720010332	BWA Central District	BWA Central District Serowe	Central District	Serowe
720010000	720019632	BWA Central District	BWA Central District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	Central District	A city, more than 10,000
720010000	720019704	BWA Central District	BWA Central District A village (less than 10,000)	Central District	A village, less than 10,000
720010000	720019805	BWA Central District	BWA Central District Rural area	Central District	Rural area
720030000	720039632	BWA Ghanzi District	BWA Ghanzi District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	Ghanzi District	A city, more than 10,000
720030000	720039704	BWA Ghanzi District	BWA Ghanzi District A village (less than 10,000)	Ghanzi District	A village, less than 10,000
720030000	720039805	BWA Ghanzi District	BWA Ghanzi District Rural area	Ghanzi District	Rural area
720040000	720049632	BWA Kgalagadi District	BWA Kgalagadi District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	Kgalagadi District	A city, more than 10,000
720040000	720049704	BWA Kgalagadi District	BWA Kgalagadi District A village (less than 10,000)	Kgalagadi District	A village, less than 10,000
720040000	720049805	BWA Kgalagadi District	BWA Kgalagadi District Rural area	Kgalagadi District	Rural area
720050000	720050132	BWA Kgatleng District	BWA Kgatleng District Mochudi	Kgatlang District	Mochudi
720050000	720059632	BWA Kgatleng District	BWA Kgatleng District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	Kgatlang District	A city, more than 10,000
720050000	720059704	BWA Kgatleng District	BWA Kgatleng District A village (less than 10,000)	Kgatlang District	A village, less than 10,000
720050000	720059805	BWA Kgatleng District	BWA Kgatleng District Rural area	Kgatlang District	Rural area
720060000	720010632	BWA Kweneng District	BWA Kweneng District Mogoditshane	Kweneng District	Mogoditshane
720060000	720069632	BWA Kweneng District	BWA Kweneng District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	Kweneng District	A city, more than 10,000
720060000	720069704	BWA Kweneng District	BWA Kweneng District A village (less than 10,000)	Kweneng District	A village, less than 10,000
720060000	720069805	BWA Kweneng District	BWA Kweneng District Rural area	Kweneng District	Rural area
720080000	720080132	BWA North-East District	BWA North-East District Francistown	North-East District	Francistown
720080000	720089632	BWA North-East District	BWA North-East District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	North-East District	A city, more than 10,000
720080000	720089704	BWA North-East District	BWA North-East District A village (less than 10,000)	North-East District	A village, less than 10,000
720080000	720089805	BWA North-East District	BWA North-East District Rural area	North-East District	Rural area
720070000	720070132	BWA North-West District	BWA North-West District Maun	North-West District	Maun
720070000	720079704	BWA North-West District	BWA North-West District A village, less than 10,000	North-West District	A village, less than 10,000
720070000	720079805	BWA North-West District	BWA North-West District Rural area	North-West District	Rural area

720090000	720090131	BWA South-East District	BWA South-East District Gaborone	South-East District	Gaborone
720090000	720099632	BWA South-East District	BWA South-East District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	South-East District	A city, more than 10,000
720090000	720099704	BWA South-East District	BWA South-East District A village (less than 10,000)	South-East District	A village, less than 10,000
720090000	720099805	BWA South-East District	BWA South-East District Rural area	South-East District	Rural area
720100000	720100932	BWA Southern District	BWA Southern District Kanye	Southern District	Kanye
720100000	720109632	BWA Southern District	BWA Southern District A small city (10,000 - 100,000)	Southern District	A city, more than 10,000
720100000	720109704	BWA Southern District	BWA Southern District A village (less than 10,000)	Southern District	A village, less than 10,000
720100000	720109805	BWA Southern District	BWA Southern District Rural area	Southern District	Rural area

3.5. List of languages

The official language of Botswana is English, which is used to conduct official business and is the medium of instruction in schools. However, most spoken at home by the vast majority of the population (73%) is Setswana, followed by Ikalanga with just over 8% (CSO 2009a, 29). Below, a full list of the languages in Botswana, designed for use in the web-survey, can be found

Table 13 List of languages in Botswana (by 1/1/2009)

en_BW	Source label	Translation
72001	BWA Setswana	Setswana
72002	BWA Kalanga	Kalanga
72003	BWA Sekgalagadi	Sekgalagadi
72997	BWA Other African language	Other African language
72004	BWA English	English
72998	BWA Dialect	Dialect
72999	BWA Other language	Other language

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5. What is WageIndicator?

WageIndicator has websites in 50 countries. In every country, a national website has a free Salary Check. This Check provides detailed information about the wages, on average earned in a wide range of occupations, taken into account personal characteristics, such as tenure/age, education, supervisory position, region and alike.

Apart from the Salary Check, the websites in many countries have attractive web-tools, such as Minimum Wage Checks, DecentWorkCheck, Gross-Net Earnings Check, and alike. In addition, most websites have content about wages, working conditions, labor standards and related topics. Each country has at least one website. Multilingual countries have two or more websites. In addition, many countries have websites for target groups, for example women or youth. The project website is www.wageindicator.org.

Worldwide, the national WageIndicator websites attract large numbers of web-visitors; in 2007 in total more than 10 million . The websites are consulted by workers for their job mobility decisions, annual performance talks or wage negotiations. They are consulted by school pupils, students or re-entrant women facing occupational choices, or by employers in small and medium sized companies when recruiting staff or negotiating wages with their employees.

In return for all free information provided, the web-visitors are encouraged to complete a web-survey, which takes 10 to 20 minutes. The survey has detailed questions about earnings, benefits, working conditions, employment contract, training, as well as questions about education, occupation, industry, and household characteristics. This web-survey is comparable across all countries. The web-survey is continuously posted at all WageIndicator websites, of course in the national language(s) and adapted to country-specific issues, where needed. The data from the web-survey are used for the calculations, underlying the Salary Check. For occupations with at least 50 observations in the national database a salary indication can be calculated. The Salary Checks are updated annually.

The project started in 2000 in the Netherlands with a large-scale, paper-based survey to collect data on women's wages. In 2001 the first WageIndicator website with a Salary Check and a web-survey was launched. Since 2004, websites were launched in European countries, in North and South America, in South-Africa, and in countries in Asia. All large economies of the world currently have a WageIndicator website, among which the USA, the Russian Federation, China, India and Brazil. From 2009 onwards, websites will be launched in more African countries, as well as in Indonesia and in a number of post-soviet countries. More information about the WageIndicator Foundation and its activities can be found at www.wageindicator.org.
