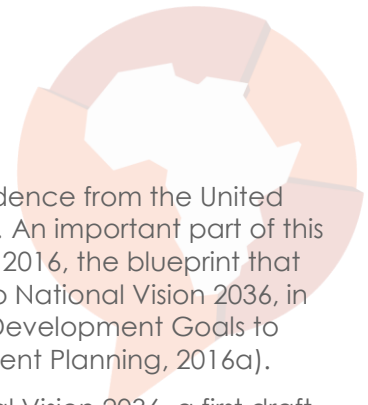




Evaluating Botswana's performance on National Vision 2016

Public opinion on development pillars

By Rorisang Lekalake



Introduction

On 30 September 2016, Botswana will mark its 50th year of independence from the United Kingdom, a significant occasion for both celebration and reflection. An important part of this reflection has focused on Botswana's transition from National Vision 2016, the blueprint that has guided the country's development for the past two decades, to National Vision 2036, in tandem with the global move from the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2016a).

A presidential task force is leading national consultations on National Vision 2036, a first draft of which is due for presentation, debate, and approval during the 2016 parliamentary winter session (Botswana Press Agency, 2016). A final document is expected to replace Vision 2016 in September.

In monitoring progress toward Vision 2016's four long-term goals (sustained development, rapid economic growth, economic independence, and social justice) and seven development "pillars," the Vision 2016 Council has generally relied on a variety of regional and international indicators of objective data, such as per capita gross national income (GNI) or the Human Development Index (HDI) on the economic front and indicators of governance and democracy from the Mo Ibrahim Foundation and Freedom House on the political front (Vision 2016 Council, 2016). In addition, the council conducted a public opinion survey in 2010 to gain an understanding of ordinary citizens' evaluations of the document itself and of the country's progress on its development indicators.¹

This paper aims to complement that study by providing updated analysis from the latest Afrobarometer survey (2014) in Botswana, in addition to longitudinal data and supplementary insights from the Afrobarometer questionnaire's broader focus.

What are Botswana's evaluations of the progress made toward each of the National Vision 2016 development pillars? Which areas should the government prioritize moving forward into a post-2016 development agenda?

The analysis applies the Vision 2016 Council survey's benchmarks to Afrobarometer findings to evaluate success or failure on all seven pillars: an educated, informed nation; a prosperous, productive, and innovative nation; a compassionate and caring nation; a safe and secure nation; an open, democratic, and accountable nation; a moral and tolerant nation; and a united and proud nation.² Positive evaluations by 67% or more of citizens constitute "good" performance, 50%-66% is "average," 34%-49% is "poor," and less than 33% is "critical" (Vision 2016 Council, 2010, p. 6.).

Overall, the results show that the country has done fairly well in a number of areas, particularly in improving access to education and maintaining social cohesion, but continues to struggle to distribute national wealth among all of its citizens. Consequently, political leaders and ordinary Botswana will continue to face many of the same economic challenges identified in 1997 as the country moves into the next phase of national development.

Afrobarometer survey

Afrobarometer is a pan-African, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues across more than 30 countries in Africa. After five rounds of surveys between 1999 and 2013, results of Round 6 surveys (2014/2015) are currently being published. Afrobarometer conducts

¹ Results of the nationally representative household survey of 1,200 citizens across 15 administrative districts were released on 30 August 2010.

² A breakdown of pillars and their indicators and a summary of results are provided in Appendix Table A.1.

face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples of 1,200 or 2,400 respondents.

For its Round 6 survey in Botswana, the national Afrobarometer team, led by Star Awards (Pty) Ltd., interviewed 1,200 adult Batswana in June and July 2014. A sample of this size yields country-level results with a margin of sampling error of +/-3% at a 95% confidence level. Previous surveys were conducted in Botswana in 1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2012.



Key findings

- **Education and information:** Seven in 10 Batswana (70%) believe that the government is doing “very well” or “fairly well” on addressing educational needs, and six in 10 regularly get news from either radio (64%) or television (59%). However, more work is needed to increase access to tertiary education and Internet connectivity.
- **Economic performance and living conditions:** A majority of Batswana believe that the government is doing at least “fairly well” on economic management (63%), electricity provision (61%), and maintaining road infrastructure (54%). Evaluations for job creation and managing inflation are lower, and only 19% report living under “fairly good” or “very good” living conditions.
- **Access to and quality of basic services:** A majority of citizens approve of government efforts to improve basic health services (74%), reduce poverty (66%), provide water and sanitation services (60%), and ensure food security (55%). However, only 45% believe that it is doing “fairly well” or “very well” on reducing inequality. Reported access to basic necessities has improved on most measures.
- **Personal safety and confidence in security forces/courts:** The country is doing well in terms of government performance evaluations (67% positive), citizens' sense of security in their homes and neighbourhoods (70% “never” or “just once or twice” felt unsafe), and infrequent victimisation. Although public confidence in the security forces and courts is relatively high (66%), the proportion of citizens who trust the police “a lot” or “somewhat” has declined by 11 percentage points since 2008.
- **Openness and accountability:** Although Batswana continue to enjoy high levels of political freedoms, the proportion of citizens who feel “completely” or “somewhat” free to say what they think has decreased significantly since 2008 (from 93% to 83%). So has the proportion who say people “never” or “rarely” have to be careful in expressing political opinions (from 67% to 50%). Similarly, although citizens believe that government accountability is fairly strong, the proportions of Batswana who believe that the president regularly ignores laws or that officials go unpunished have increased significantly since 2008.
- **Civic engagement and social tolerance:** Although Batswana are aware of their civic responsibilities, levels of political engagement vary widely. Six in 10 respondents report joining together with others to raise an issue (64%) and being members of a religious organisation (60%), but significantly fewer are members of a voluntary association or community group (24%) or attended a community meeting during the previous year (27%). Tolerance is high (91%, on average) for other ethnicities, religions, and nationalities as well as people living with HIV/AIDS, but not for sexual minorities (42%).
- **Identity and perceived government discrimination:** Nine in 10 Batswana (89%) think of themselves primarily in terms of their national identity or place equal value on their national and ethnic identities. Two-thirds (64%) say the government “never” discriminates against members of their ethnic group. But citizens from smaller, politically marginalized ethnic communities are more likely to prioritize their group identity and report government discrimination.



Pillar 1: An educated, informed nation

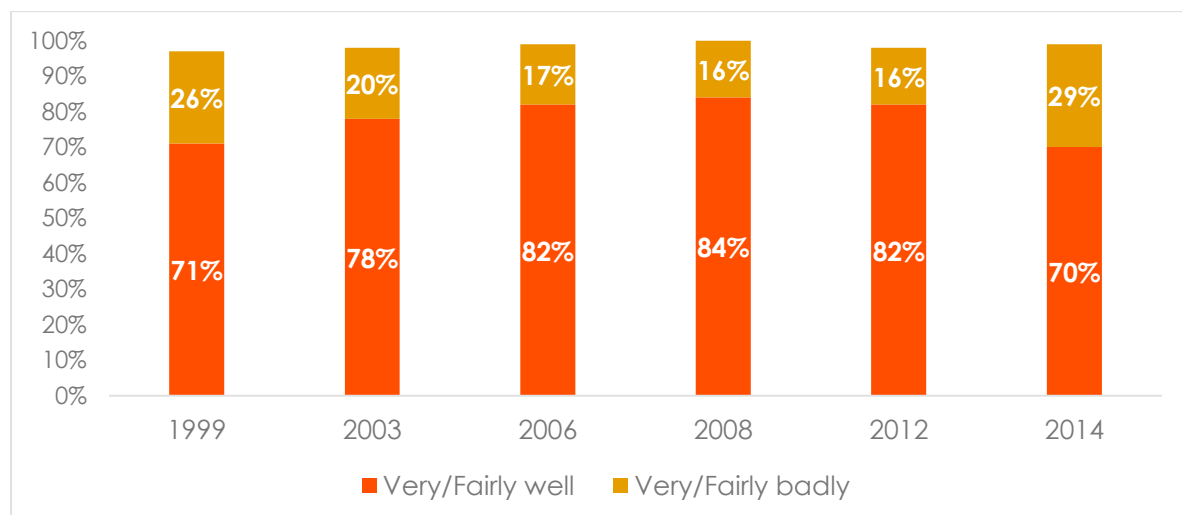
Planning for the 21st century's "information age" and a corresponding rise in demand for highly qualified labour, the Botswana government set out to ensure a high-quality education for all citizens (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997). The Southern African Development Community's (SADC) industrialisation strategy for 2015-2063 reflects National Vision 2016's emphasis on education and information. It identifies the scarcity of skills in technical fields such as information and communications technology (ICT) and engineering as a significant constraint to industrialisation and calls for an increased emphasis on these fields throughout the region (Southern African Development Community, 2015).

In 2010, more than six in 10 respondents in the Vision 2016 Council's household survey gave positive evaluations of government performance on education (66%) and information technology (64%) (Vision 2016 Council, 2010, p. 10). According to the study's performance rating system, this finding would indicate "average" performance in this area. The following section presents Afrobarometer findings on education and media usage to provide broader and longitudinal analysis on this indicator.

Education

Afrobarometer survey results suggest that a majority of citizens believe that the government is making substantial progress toward achieving this goal. On average since 1999, 78% of respondents have said that the government is doing "very well" or "fairly well" on addressing the country's educational needs. However, this rating has declined by 14 percentage points since its peak in 2008, indicating a need for further improvement in this area in the post-2016 agenda (Figure 1). Furthermore, education ranks third among citizens' perceptions of the most important problems facing the country (see Appendix Table A.2 for frequencies on most important problems and Table A.3 for evaluations of government performance across all indicators).

Figure 1: Government performance on education | Botswana | 1999-2014



Respondents were asked: How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Addressing educational needs?

While primary education is almost universally accessible in Botswana, post-secondary attainment will have to increase to support the high level of skills required for the global knowledge economy. Only one in five Afrobarometer respondents (22%) had some form of post-secondary education in 2014, although this was higher among young citizens (30%



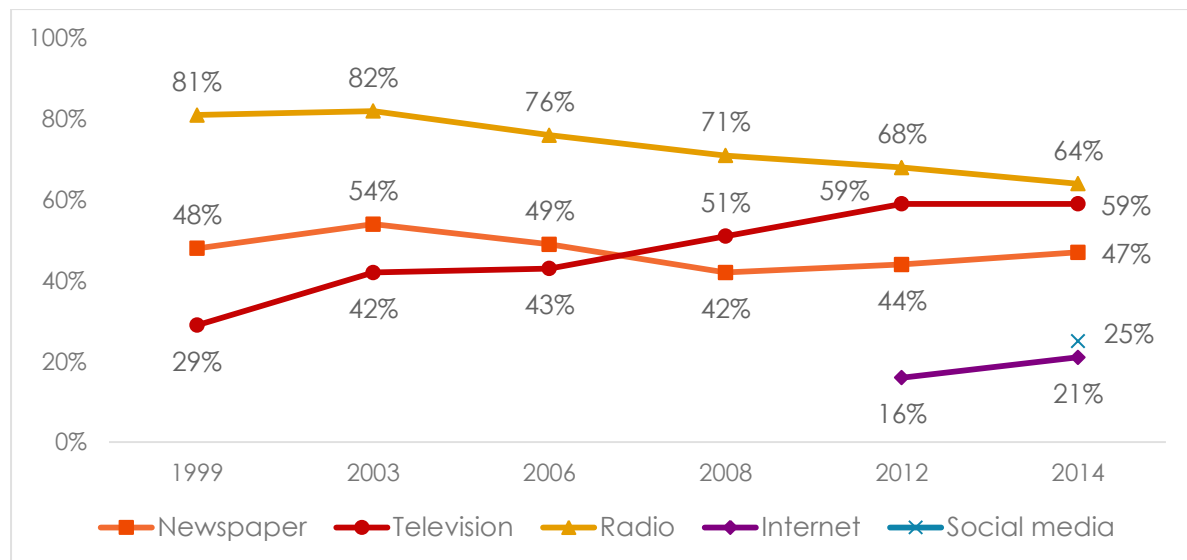
among those aged 18-29) (see Appendix Table A.4). A recent World Bank report on poverty in Botswana emphasises the link between educational attainment levels and better living standards but concludes that significant improvement is needed in the quality of education in the country, which lags behind others with similar per capita income levels (World Bank, 2015, p. 170).

According to the United Nations, Botswana spent 9%-10% of its gross domestic product on education between 2005 and 2009 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2016). In 2015, the government adopted the Education and Training Sector Strategic Plan 2015-2020, designed to broaden access, improve the quality of education overall, and “strengthen the match between qualifications and labour market requirements” (Ministry of Education and Skills Development, 2015). The strategy appears to focus on introducing vocational training in junior secondary schools, however, rather than on increasing the number of senior schools, which are the pathway to university training.³

Information

National Vision 2016 predicted that the 21st century would “usher in an information-driven society throughout the world,” which would require significant public investment in ICT infrastructure in order to benefit all citizens (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997, p. 29). Survey data indicate that Botswana are generally well-informed: A majority of citizens access news regularly (“every day” or “a few times a week”) via radio (64%) and television (59%), while consumption is lower for newspapers (47%) and digital platforms (25% for social media and 21% for the Internet) (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Regular news consumption | Botswana | 1999-2014



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% “every day” or “a few times a week”)

Radio listenership has consistently been the leading news source since 1999 but has gradually declined over time (from 81% in 1999). Conversely, television news consumption has doubled, from 29% in 1999 to 59% in 2014, most likely due to the introduction of a national

³ Public secondary education in Botswana is divided between junior secondary schools (years 8-10 of formal schooling) and senior secondary schools (years 11 and 12). At present there are more than 200 community junior secondary schools and 33 senior secondary schools in the country (Ministry of Education and Skills Development, 2016).

broadcaster, Botswana Television (BTV), in 2000. Television overtook newspapers as the second-most-popular source of news after 2006 and seems poised to overtake radio in the future if current trends persist.

Botswana's low usage of digital platforms reflects a widespread lack of Internet connectivity in the country; although the proportion of Botswana who use the Internet has increased since 2008, only 15% of respondents say they do so on a daily basis (see Appendix Table A.5). This is similar to average daily usage (14%) across the 36 African countries in which Afrobarometer conducted surveys in 2014/2015 (Nkomo & Wafula, 2016). In October 2015, the Ministry of Transport and Communications announced a plan to expand free Internet for both business and individual use in major towns and villages over the next three years (Keetile, 2015).

Furthermore, the government's 2016 draft budget proposes an allocation of P174 million (approximately USD 15.6 million) for ICT development as part of the Ministry of Transport and Communications' development budget (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2016b). This investment provides an important opportunity for all media channels to expand their reach – particularly private sources, as public channels are already widely available via BTV, Radio Botswana (two channels, RB1 and RB2), and the Daily News (free print publication).

Pillar 2: A prosperous, productive, and innovative nation

Botswana's economic transformation from one of the poorest countries in the world into an upper-middle-income economy is often cited as a development success story (e.g. Acemoglu, Johnson, & Robinson, 2001; Easterly & Levine, 1997; Samatar, 1999; and Sebudubudu & Molutsi, 2011). Between 1980 and 2014, Botswana's per-capita GNI almost tripled, and its HDI score increased by 54.1% as access to basic sanitation services, health care, and education improved (United National Development Programme, 2015). Despite this success, the government has struggled to diversify the economy beyond diamond exports and public-sector spending and to overcome persistent unemployment and income inequality (African Development Bank, 2009).

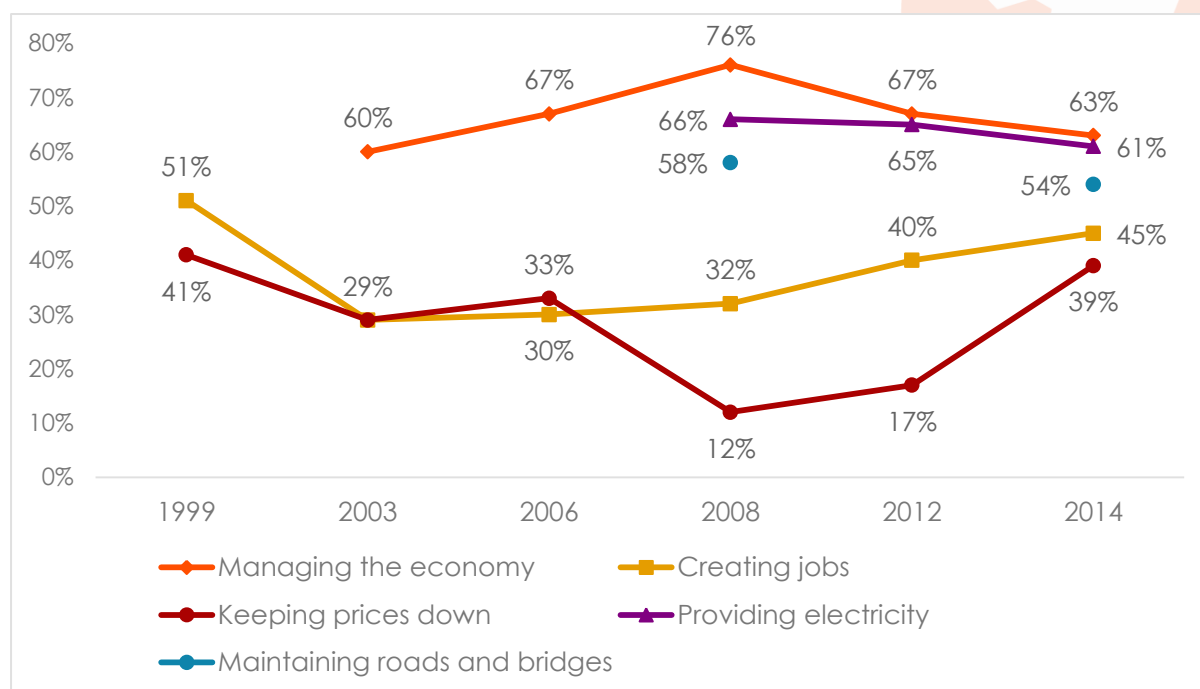
The 2016 Budget Speech highlights weak commodity prices (particularly diamonds) and shortages in supplies of water (due to drought) and electricity as the most pressing impediments to further economic growth (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2016a).

National Vision 2016 emphasises that the country's economic challenges have generally been the result of failure to implement existing policies, rather than a reflection of these policies' merit, and therefore recommends stringent monitoring and evaluation throughout the public sector (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997). The Vision 2016 Council's household survey found that the government's performance on this development pillar was perceived as relatively weak in 2010: While performance ratings were "good" on electricity (76% of respondents said "good"), performance was "poor" on running the economy (only 41% of respondents said "good") and roads (42%), and "critical" on wages (27%) and employment creation (25%) (Vision 2016 Council, 2010).

Economic performance

In every Afrobarometer survey in Botswana since 2003, a majority of respondents have said that the government is doing "very well" or "fairly well" on managing the economy (Figure 3). By the Vision 2016 Council benchmarks, Afrobarometer respondent evaluations are currently "average" for economic management (63% very/fairly well), electricity provision (61%), and maintaining road infrastructure (54%). Although evaluations for job creation (45% very/fairly well) and managing inflation (39%) are "poor" by Vision 2016 Council standards, positive evaluations on managing inflation increased by 27 percentage points between 2008 and 2014, and there was a 13-point improvement on job creation.

Figure 3: Government economic performance ratings | Botswana | 1999-2014



Respondents were asked: How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? (% "fairly well" or "very well")

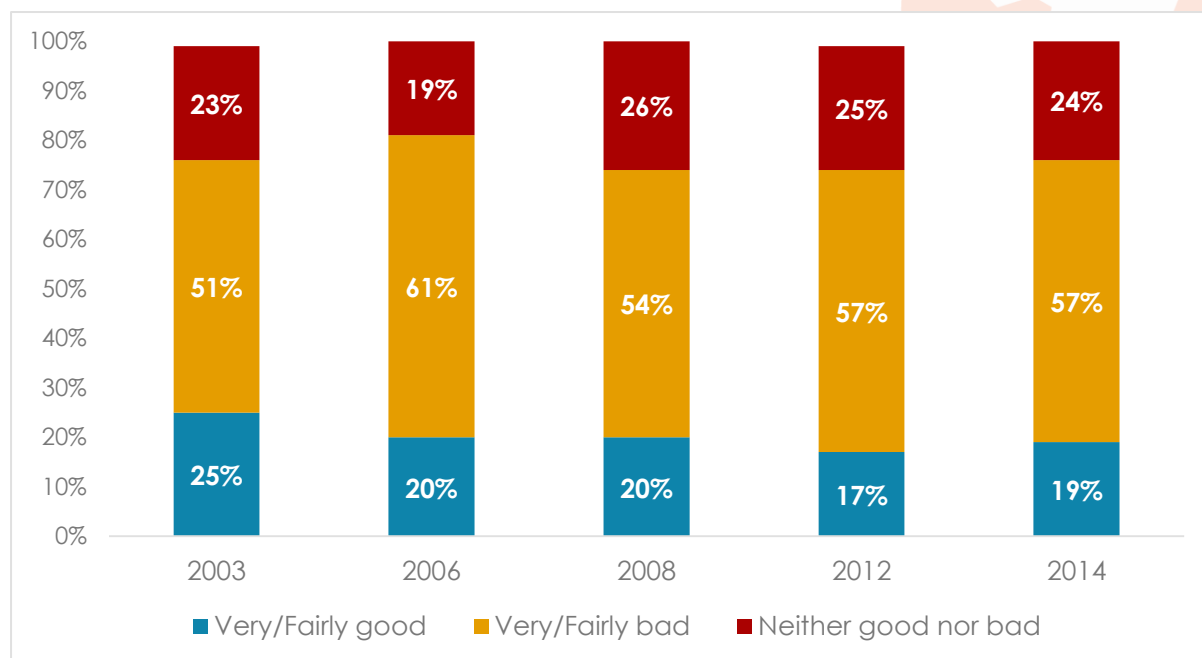
Recent analysis of national priorities across 36 countries surveyed by Afrobarometer in 2014/2015 shows that unemployment is the most frequently cited problem on the continent. Despite an increase in the proportion of citizens who say the government is doing at least "fairly well" on creating jobs, unemployment is the most frequently cited problem facing Botswana by a margin of 28 percentage points (see Appendix Table A.2).

Living conditions

Despite relatively healthy macroeconomic performance and the aforementioned positive rating on general economic management, only one-third (33%) of citizens describe Botswana's economic condition as "very good" or "fairly good" – about the average rating across Afrobarometer surveys in the country since 1999, though 11 percentage points higher than in 2012 (see Appendix Table A.6). Furthermore, a majority of citizens have consistently reported "very bad" or "fairly bad" personal living conditions since 2003 (Figure 4). At present, only 19% describe their living conditions as "very good" or "fairly good," which would be rated as "critical" on the Vision 2016 Council's performance benchmarks. This is a surprising finding given recent objective evidence that, on average, Botswana's living conditions have improved significantly since 2002/2003 and that both the incidence and severity of poverty declined in the same period (World Bank, 2015).

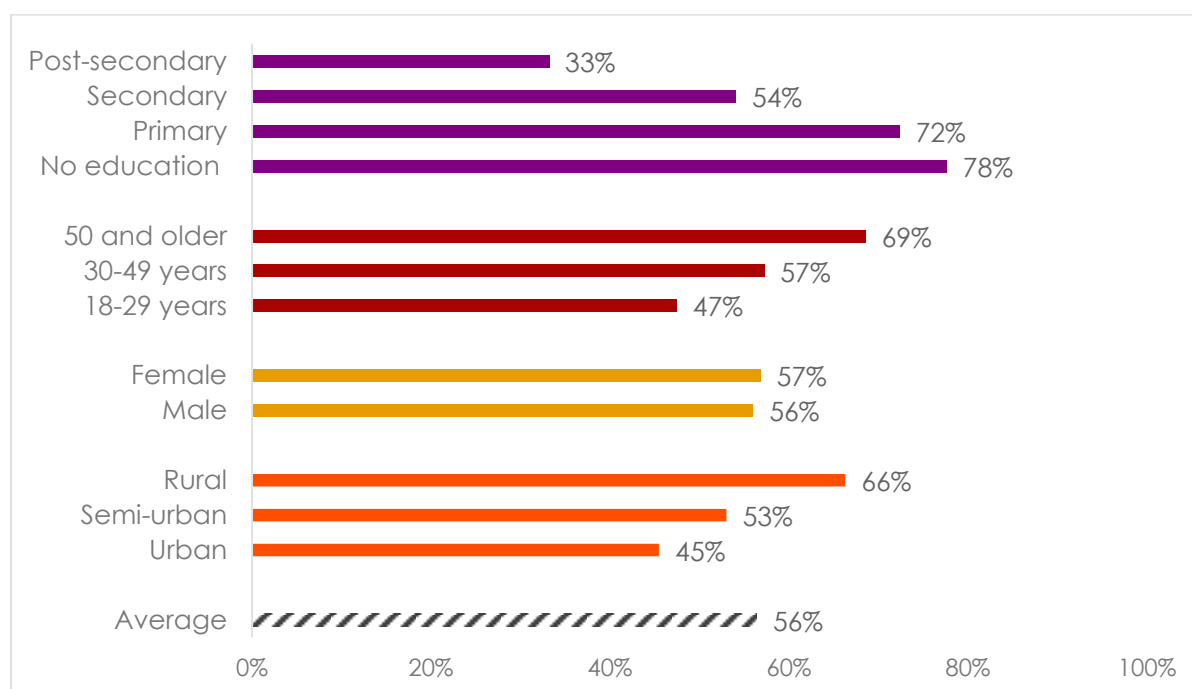
While men and women share the same view of their economic circumstances, evaluations differ by residence location, age, and education level (Figure 5). Rural residents (66%) are more likely to report poor living conditions than their urban counterparts (45%), and negative evaluations increase significantly with age. Analysis by educational attainment confirms the need for further investment in the tertiary level: Only one-third (33%) of respondents with some form of post-secondary education report "very bad" or "fairly bad" living conditions, compared to more than seven in 10 of those with primary or no formal schooling.

Figure 4: Personal living conditions | Botswana | 2003-2014



Respondents were asked: *In general, how would you describe your own present living conditions?*

Figure 5: Poor personal living conditions | by key social indicators | Botswana | 2014



Respondents were asked: *In general, how would you describe your own present living conditions?*
 (% "very bad" or "fairly bad")

Although Botswana is undoubtedly a development success story, these results suggest that there are significant challenges in ensuring that the country's wealth also benefits rural and older citizens. Furthermore, they provide confirmation that education plays a leading role in raising living standards. According to these results, managing unemployment and inflation should be top priorities for promoting prosperity for all citizens beyond 2016.



Pillar 3: A compassionate and caring nation

National Vision 2016 aims to help Botswana navigate a rapidly changing global environment while maintaining the country's traditional communal values – particularly *Botho*, which encompasses “fellowship of mankind, co-operation, selflessness, compassion and a spirit of sharing” (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997, p. 47). The document highlights the promotion of inclusive and sustainable economic outcomes for all Botswana and identifies poverty and inequality as key focus areas for development policy. Despite Botswana's impressive gains in human development, inequality remains a major challenge: The country's HDI score decreases by 38.2% when adjusted for inequality across the national population (United Nations Development Programme, 2015).

To further explore this data, please visit Afrobarometer's online data analysis facility at www.afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis.

Despite some improvement in reducing income inequality, “Botswana remains one of the world's most unequal countries, with a high level of extreme poverty” (World Bank, 2015, p. 4). The 2016 Budget Speech highlights unemployment and poverty among the “persistent development challenges facing this country” and consequently proposes investment in job creation, health services, and social welfare in order to raise citizens' living standards and improve productivity (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2016a, p. 1). Currently, the government prioritizes welfare expenditure on the elderly, orphans, and citizens with disabilities and had 207,385 registered beneficiaries as of August 2015 (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2016a, p. 14).

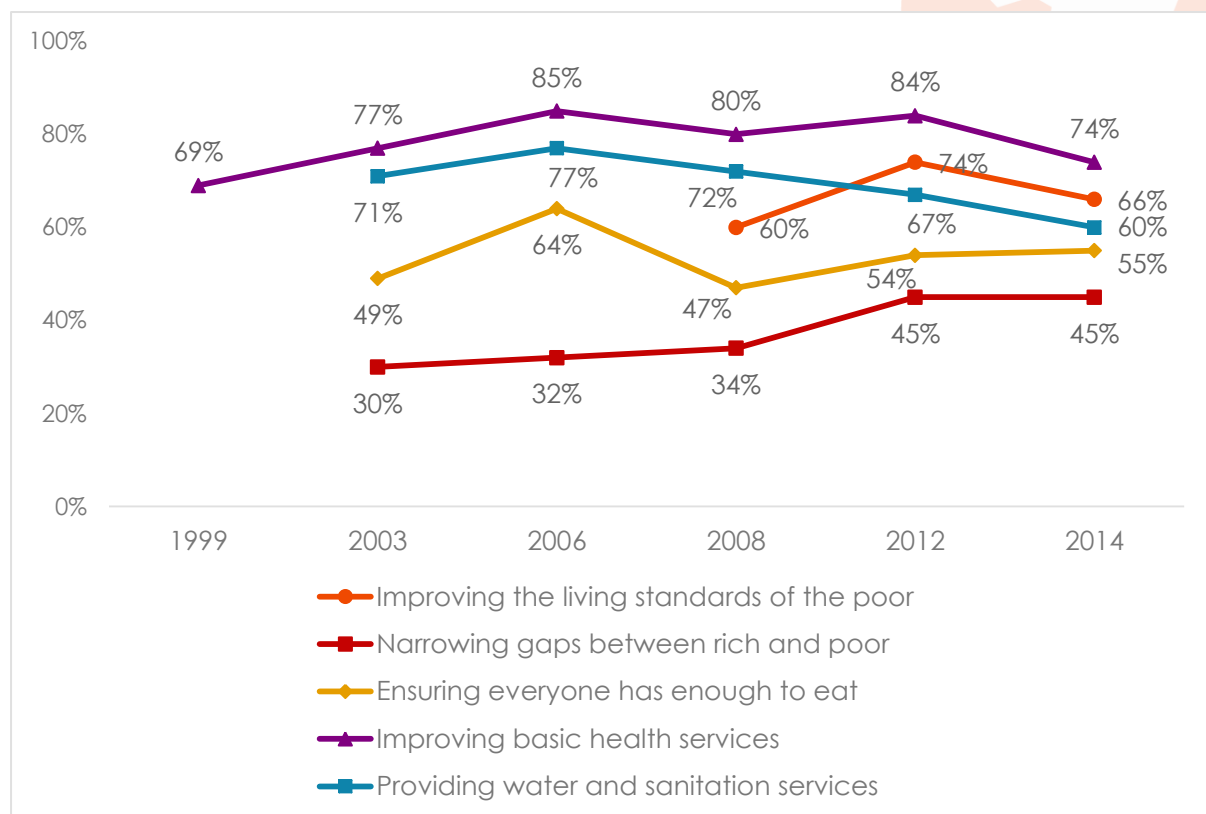
The Vision 2016 Council's household survey found that while eight in 10 Botswana approved of the government's performance on health (80%) and water services (78%), performance was “average” on poverty reduction (55%) and “poor” on food security (49%) (Vision 2016 Council, 2010). The council consequently recommended that stakeholders increase their poverty-alleviation efforts and improve delivery of essential services and old-age pensions.

Government performance on essential services

A recent analysis of available infrastructure in Africa found considerable national variation in service provision (Mitullah, Samson, Wambua, & Balongo, 2015). Botswana is above the 35-country average in terms of availability of piped water (91% vs. 63%), electricity (89% vs. 65%), tarred/paved roads (78% vs. 54%), sewerage (42% vs. 30%), and cell-phone service (99% vs. 93%). Moreover, the study found that service provision in urban and rural areas of Botswana is relatively equitable except for sewerage, where rural residents trail urbanites by 56 - percentage points, compared to a continental average gap of 48 points.

Three-fourths (74%) of Botswana say the government is doing “very well” or “fairly well” on improving basic health services – a “good” rating according to Vision 2016 Council benchmarks. But government performance ratings are “average” on the provision of water and sanitation services (60% very/fairly good), poverty alleviation (66%), and food security (55%) and “poor” on reducing inequality (45%) (Figure 6). Although government performance has improved since 2008 on narrowing the gaps between rich and poor (by 11 percentage points), food security (8 points), and poverty alleviation (6 points), it has declined on provision of water/sanitation (by 12 points) and improving basic health services (6 points).

Figure 6: Positive performance evaluations | Botswana | 1999-2014



Respondents were asked: How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? (% "fairly well" or "very well")

Access to basic necessities

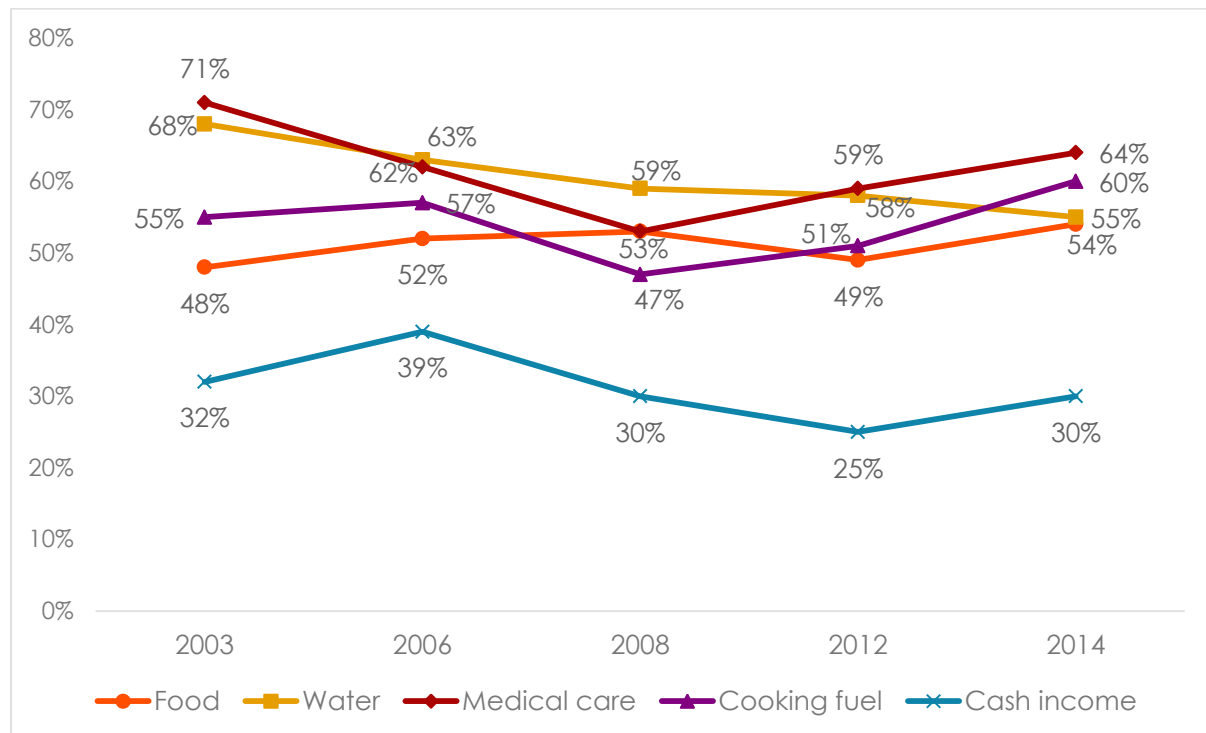
As seen above, Botswana generally give negative evaluations of the country's economic situation and their own personal living conditions. Afrobarometer's Lived Poverty Index (LPI) measures respondents' levels of material deprivation by asking how often they went without basic necessities (enough food, enough water, medical care, enough cooking fuel, and a cash income) during the preceding year. This experiential measure of poverty provides a complement to objective measures such as per-capita GNI and HDI and to purely perceptual data discussed in the previous section.

A majority of Botswana report having "never" gone without needed medical care (64%), cooking fuel (60%), water (55%), and food (54%) (Figure 7). According to the Vision 2016 Council's rating system, performance on these indicators is "average," despite Botswana's standing as an upper-middle-income economy. Unsurprisingly, given both official statistics and public opinion on unemployment, the exception to this general trend is the lack of a cash income, which is at "critical" levels: Only three in 10 survey respondents (30%) report having "never" gone without a cash income in the preceding 12 months.

Recent cross-national analysis of lived poverty in Africa found that Botswana's level was below average but nonetheless "high-moderate" (Mattes, Dulani, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2016, p. 7). Furthermore, while the average level of lived poverty across the continent declined since the 2011/2013 survey, there was no significant improvement in Botswana, and material deprivation is more prevalent in the country than in Southern Africa's other upper-middle income economies (Mauritius, South Africa, and Namibia).

Mattes, Dulani, and Gyimah-Boadi (2016) also show that lived poverty in Africa generally declines as a country becomes wealthier but that beyond a national per-capita income of \$5,000 there is a divergence between countries in which increasing wealth leads to low levels of lived poverty (Algeria, Cape Verde, Egypt, Mauritius) and those in which “poverty remains higher than national income would predict” (Botswana, Namibia, South Africa) (p. 9). The latter three countries have among the highest levels of income inequality in the world,⁴ which could explain why rising average income would have a limited impact on ordinary citizens’ experiences and further highlights the urgent need to address inequality in Botswana.

Figure 7: “Never” going without basic essentials | Botswana | 2003-2014

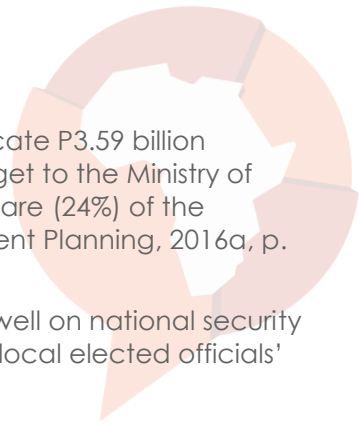


Respondents were asked: Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: Enough food to eat? Enough clean water for home use? Medicines or medical treatment? Enough fuel to cook your food? A cash income? (% “never”)

Pillar 4: A safe and secure nation

National Vision 2016 highlights the importance of creating a safe and secure environment for all citizens: “Greater prosperity, higher welfare levels, open and transparent democratic processes, and a more ethical, caring and accountable society will still fail to meet national aspirations if citizens fear for the safety of their lives, their families, their property or their national security” (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997, p. 21). The original goals of this pillar are largely related to reducing crime (including “anti-social behaviour”) and road accidents, rather than to national security. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, however, Botswana has followed the global trend of greater investment in national security, most notably with the creation of the Directorate on Intelligence and Security Services (DIS) in 2008.

⁴ The most recent available Gini index estimates for these countries suggest that South Africa is the most unequal society of the three, with a score of 63.0 (2011), followed by Namibia at 61.9 (2009) and Botswana at 60.5 (2009) (World Bank, 2016).



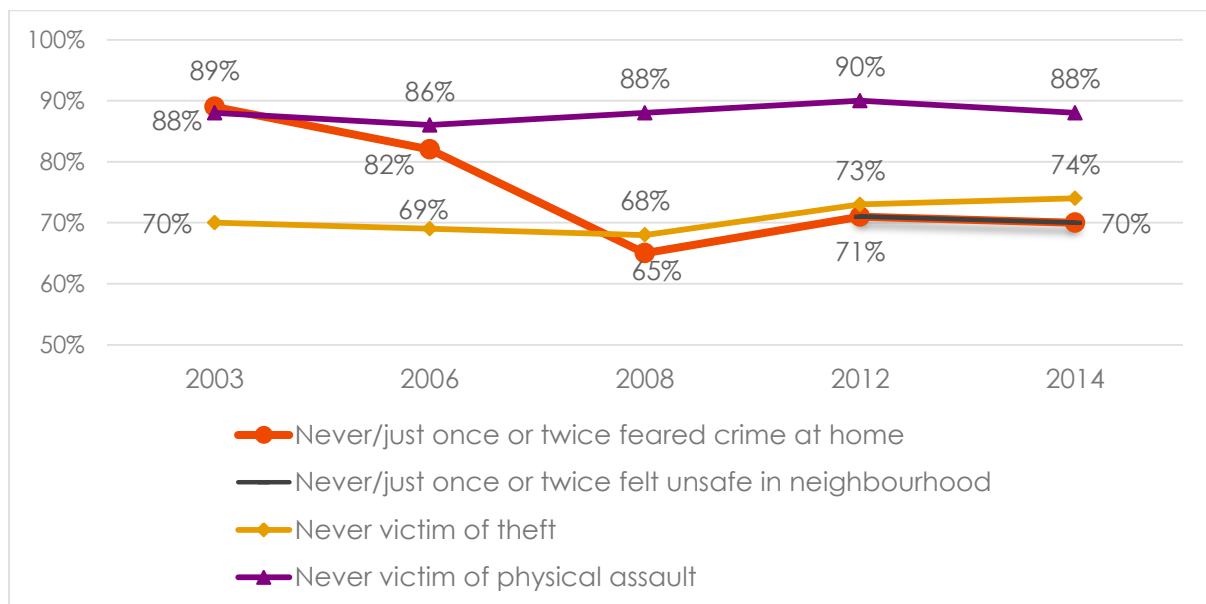
The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning proposes to allocate P3.59 billion (approximately USD 313 million) of the 2016/2017 development budget to the Ministry of Defence, Justice, and Security, which would represent the largest share (24%) of the proposed development budget (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2016a, p. 17).

In 2010, a majority of Batswana felt that the government had done well on national security (71%) and crime reduction (65%) and approved of both police and local elected officials' efforts on this front (Vision 2016 Council, 2010, pp. 19-20).

Personal safety

Afrobarometer data confirm that Batswana continue to say the government is doing “fairly well” or “very well” on reducing crime (67% in 2014) (see Appendix Table A.3). Furthermore, strong majorities of citizens have consistently said, in surveys since 2003, that they feel secure in their homes and neighbourhoods; in 2014, seven in 10 respondents (70%) say they “never” or “just once or twice” felt unsafe during the preceding year (Figure 8). Most also say they did not experience violent assault (88%) or theft in their homes (74%) during the previous year. By Vision 2016 Council benchmarks, these results indicate “good” performance on all of these measures of personal safety.

Figure 8: Personal safety | Botswana | 2003-2014



Respondents were asked:

1. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family:
 - Feared crime in your own home?
 - Felt unsafe walking in your neighbourhood?
2. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family:
 - Had something stolen from your house?
 - Been physically attacked?

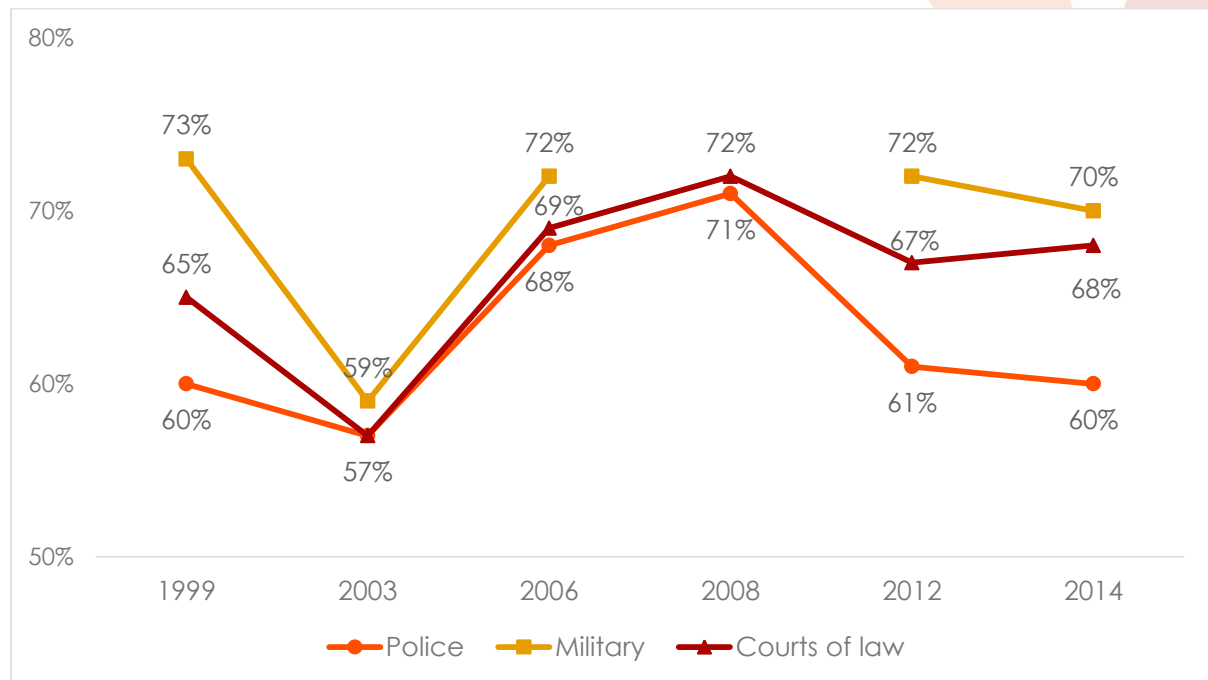
Confidence in public security forces and courts

Batswana generally have high confidence in both public security forces and the courts: In Afrobarometer surveys since 1999, a majority of respondents have consistently reported that they trust the police, military, and courts (Figure 9). Trust is highest in the Botswana Defence Force (70% trust “somewhat” or “a lot”), followed by the courts (68%) and the police (60%). The proportion of citizens who trust the police “a lot” or “somewhat” has declined by 11

percentage points since 2008, while public trust in the courts dropped by 4 points during that time period.



Figure 9: Trust in public security forces and courts | Botswana | 1999-2014



Respondents were asked: How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (% "somewhat" or "a lot")

Compared to results from all 36 countries surveyed in 2014/2015, Botswana's trust in the police and the army is above both the continental average (51% and 64%, respectively) and the Southern African average (54% and 63%) (Buchanan-Clarke & Lekalake, 2016). Furthermore, public perceptions of corruption in the police force and courts are lower in Botswana than in most African countries, confirming public confidence in both institutions (Transparency International, 2015).

These results indicate that the government is doing well on crime reduction, both in terms of performance ratings and the low levels of reported fear and victimisation. However, the proportion of citizens who fear crime in their homes has increased significantly since 2006, and future policy should focus on bolstering public trust in the police force, which has declined since 2008.

Pillar 5: An open, democratic, and accountable nation

Democracy is widely credited as a critical factor in Botswana's post-independence success, particularly in comparison with the experience of most sub-Saharan African countries from the 1960s until the "third wave" of democratisation on the continent in the 1990s. National Vision 2016 encourages free political debate and the formation of national institutions that promote openness and transparency while also calling on political leaders to "behave in a moral fashion, to respond to the needs of those they represent, and not to yield to the temptations of corruption" (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997, p. 46).

Based on its survey of experts, Transparency International currently ranks Botswana as the 28th least corrupt country in the world, which is well ahead of the second-best African country (Cape Verde, ranked 40th) (Transparency International, 2016). Furthermore, Botswana is one



of only 11 countries on the continent that Freedom House currently classifies as “free” (Freedom House, 2016b). Despite this reputation for political freedom and accountability, recent analysis of Botswana’s commitment to democracy and their evaluations of its current implementation indicate that the country is still some distance from achieving democratic consolidation (Lekalake, 2016).

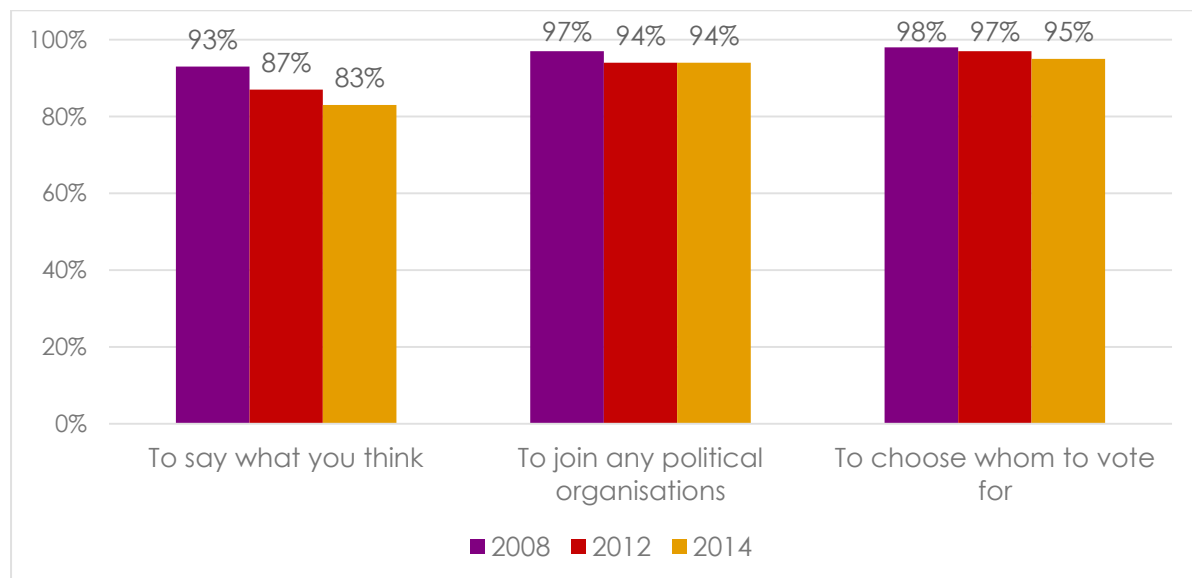
In 2010, the Vision 2016 Council’s household survey found that citizens were divided over whether the current system of government worked relatively well (52%) or needed improvement (48%). Respondents were also divided between those who were satisfied (54%) and dissatisfied (46%) with the way the government was running the country at the time (Vision 2016 Council, 2010, pp. 24-25).

Openness

Freedom House evaluates countries’ levels of political freedom by providing ratings for both “political rights” (electoral processes, political pluralism, participation, and functioning of government) and “civil liberties” (freedom of expression, associational and organisational rights, rule of law, personal autonomy, and individual rights) (Freedom House, 2016a). Based on these criteria, the organisation has classified Botswana as “free” since 1973 (Freedom House, 2016b). However, it has classified Botswana’s media as “partly free” since 2006 due to growing political restrictions on press freedom and access to public information. In September 2014, an editor was charged with sedition for publishing an article on the president shortly before the general elections, and the author of the piece subsequently fled to South Africa (Freedom House, 2015).

Afrobarometer data provide further evidence of relatively strong political freedoms in the country. Strong majorities of citizens believe that their civil liberties are adequately protected: Nine in 10 feel “completely free” or “somewhat free” to vote without feeling pressured (95%) and to join any political organisation of their choosing (94%), and 83% feel somewhat/completely free to say what they think (Figure 10). All three measures indicate “good” scores on the Vision 2016 Council benchmarks.

Figure 10: Political freedoms | Botswana | 2008-2014

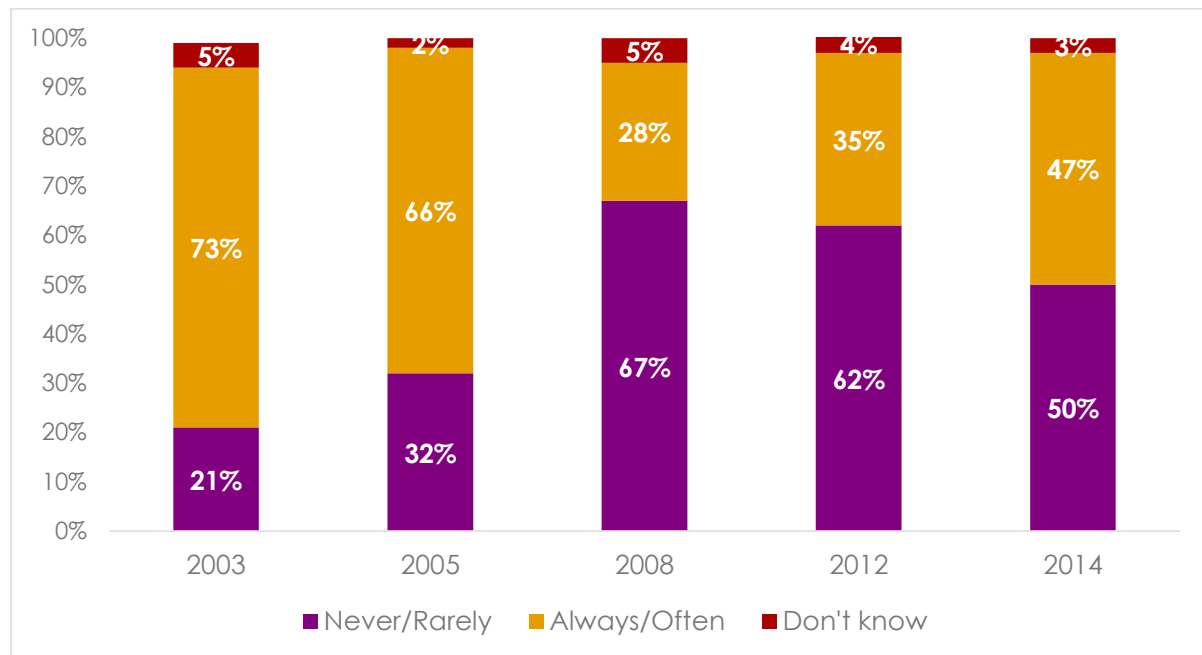


Respondents were asked: *In this country, how free are you:*

- *To say what you think?*
 - *To join any political organisation you want?*
 - *To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?*
- (% “completely free” or “somewhat free”)

However, there has been a significant decrease (10 percentage points) in perceived freedom of expression since 2008. Furthermore, analysis of a related question that has been asked since 2003 also shows a decline in freedom of expression since 2008. In 2008, two-thirds (67%) of Botswana believed that people “never” or “rarely” had to be careful about what they said about politics; this proportion dropped to just half (50%) in 2014 (Figure 11). This reduction in perceived freedom of expression coincides with growth in the proportion of Botswana who equate “democracy” with civil liberties and declining citizen satisfaction, since 2008, with the way Botswana’s democracy is working (Lekalake, 2016).

Figure 11: Restriction on freedom of expression | Botswana | 2003-2014



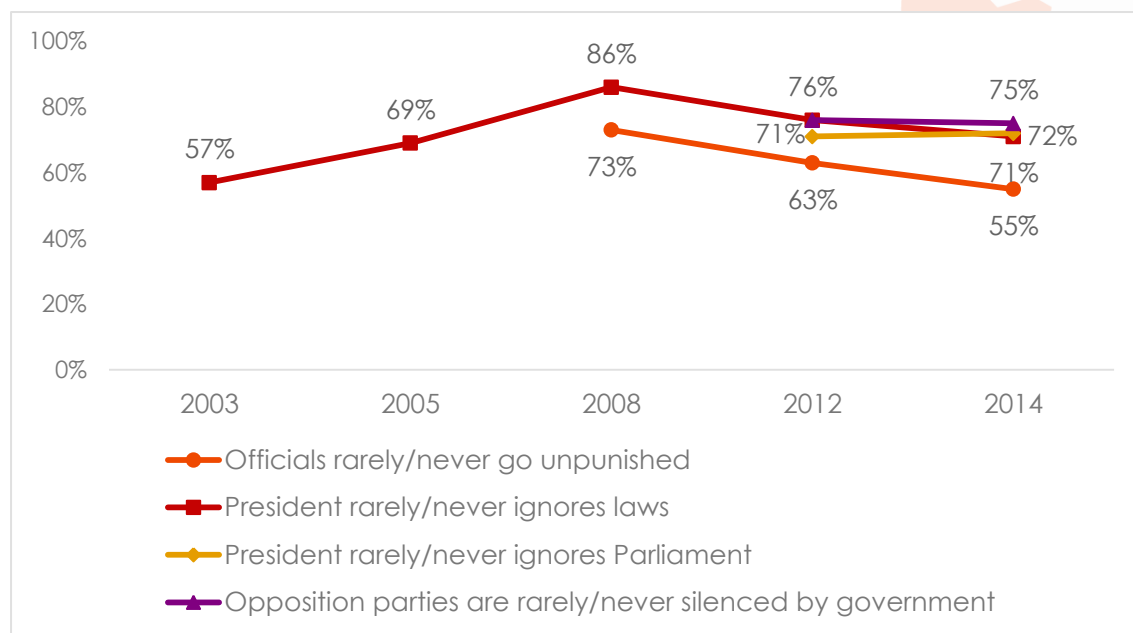
Respondents were asked: *In your opinion, how often, in this country do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?*

The Vision 2016 Council (2010) concluded that the country’s representative institutions needed to build their credibility with ordinary citizens and recommended introducing constitutional amendments aimed at enhancing democracy in the country. At the time, 72% of respondents in the council’s survey were either “strongly in favour” or “generally in favour” of constitutional reform, with the direct election of the president as the top priority (with 50% of responses) (Vision 2016 Council, 2010). Afrobarometer findings show, however, that support for a direct presidential election has fluctuated since 2003 stands at 48% as of 2014 (see Appendix Table A.7).

Accountability

Accountability refers to “the obligation of elected political leaders to answer for their political decisions when asked by voters or constitutional bodies” (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p. 25). Afrobarometer data indicate that Botswana is doing fairly well in this area: Seven in 10 citizens say that the president “never” or “rarely” ignores Parliament (72%) or the law (71%), while 75% say that opposition parties are “never” or “rarely” silenced (Figure 12). However, the proportion of Botswana who believe that the president abides by the law has declined by 15 percentage points since 2008. Furthermore, the proportion of citizens who believe that officials who break the law seldom go unpunished also experienced a significant decline (18 percentage points) during the same time period.

Figure 12: Horizontal accountability | Botswana | 2003-2014



Respondents were asked: *In your opinion, how often, in this country*
Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?
Does the President ignore the courts and laws of this country?
Does the President ignore parliament and just do what he wants?
Are opposition parties or their supporters silenced by the government?
 (% “never” or “rarely”)

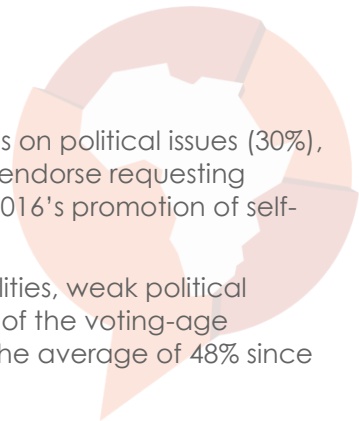
This decline in Botswana's perceptions of political accountability is also reflected in expert opinion: In 2010, Freedom House downgraded the country's political ratings due to “decreased transparency and accountability in the executive branch” during the preceding year (Freedom House, 2010).

Further findings from the 2014 survey show that Botswana are generally supportive of introducing measures to improve government accountability, including legislation requiring the president to regularly appear before Parliament to justify his policies and procedures, and public disclosure of assets (see Molomo, Molefe & Seabo, 2015). Moreover, although significantly fewer Botswana say the media should have the right to publish any views and ideas (55%) than did in 2008 (80%), there is strong support for media oversight over government (71%), and most citizens say the press is effective at revealing government mistakes and corruption (71%) (see Appendix Table A.8).

Pillar 6: A moral and tolerant nation

National Vision 2016 envisages Botswana as a society free of discrimination based on gender, age, and disability, with “citizens who are law abiding, strong in religious and spiritual values, and who possess high ethical standards” (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997, p. 12). It advocates the preservation of traditional values and respect for differences. To achieve these goals, the document highlights the need to reinforce civic duty and self-reliance while promoting *Botho* and tolerance toward minorities, identifying schools as key institutions for imparting these values.

Afrobarometer survey results show that Botswana are generally aware of their duties as democratic citizens: Large majorities believe that citizens should “always” vote in elections (87%), report poor services to government officials (75%), and pay taxes (70%) (see Appendix Table A.9). Furthermore, only three in 10 believe that citizens should always avoid criticising



the government (33%) or should always agree with their communities on political issues (30%), indicating support for individual self-expression. However, half (49%) endorse requesting personal assistance from elected leaders, which contradicts Vision 2016's promotion of self-reliance.

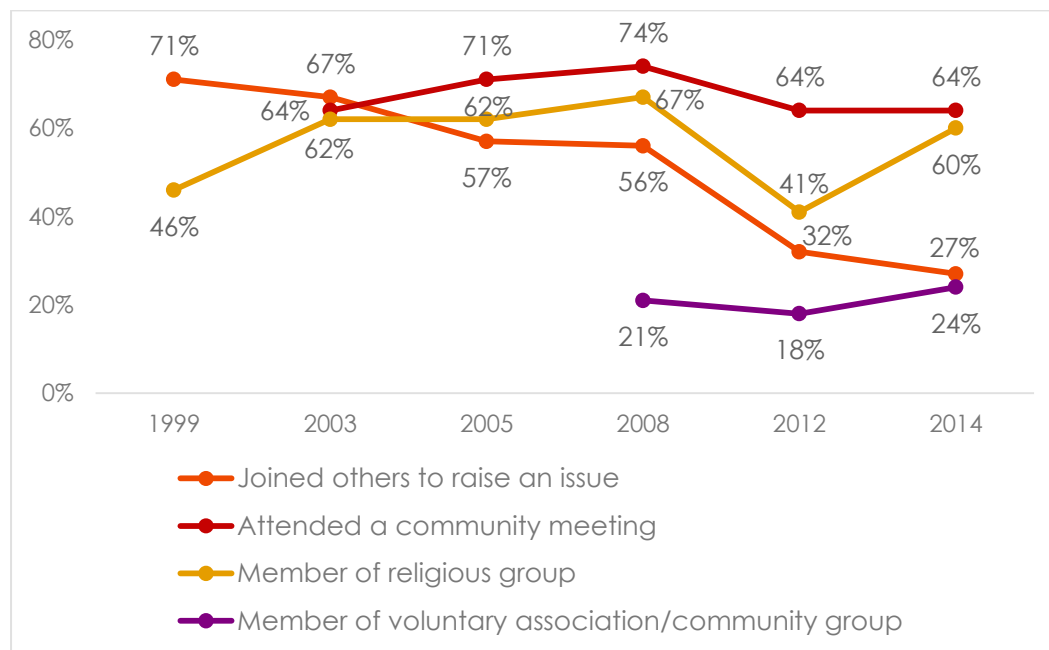
Despite this awareness of and support for civic duties and responsibilities, weak political participation has been a long-standing problem in the country: 55% of the voting-age population voted in the 2014 general election, which is well above the average of 48% since the inaugural elections in 1965 (International IDEA, 2015).

Only minorities of respondents in the Vision 2016 Council's household survey reported being members of community groups. The questionnaire presented seven options, and the average membership rate among these was 17%. The highest membership rate was for groups related to addressing local crime (23%), followed by parent-teacher associations and health-related groups (each 19%) (Vision 2016 Council, 2010, p. 37).

Civic engagement

Two-thirds (64%) of respondents in the 2014 Afrobarometer survey say they attended a community meeting in the previous year, down from a peak of 74% in 2008 (Figure 13). The proportion of citizens who joined together with others to raise an issue also declined in that period, from 56% to only 27%. Membership in religious groups has fluctuated since 1999 and stands at 60% as of 2014. Membership in voluntary associations or community groups is significantly lower, at 24% of citizens.

Figure 13: Civic engagement | Botswana | 1999-2014



Respondents were asked:

1. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year.

Attended a community meeting?

Got together with others to raise an issue?
(% "yes")

2. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member.

A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services?

Some other voluntary association or community group?
(% "leader" or "active member" or "inactive member")

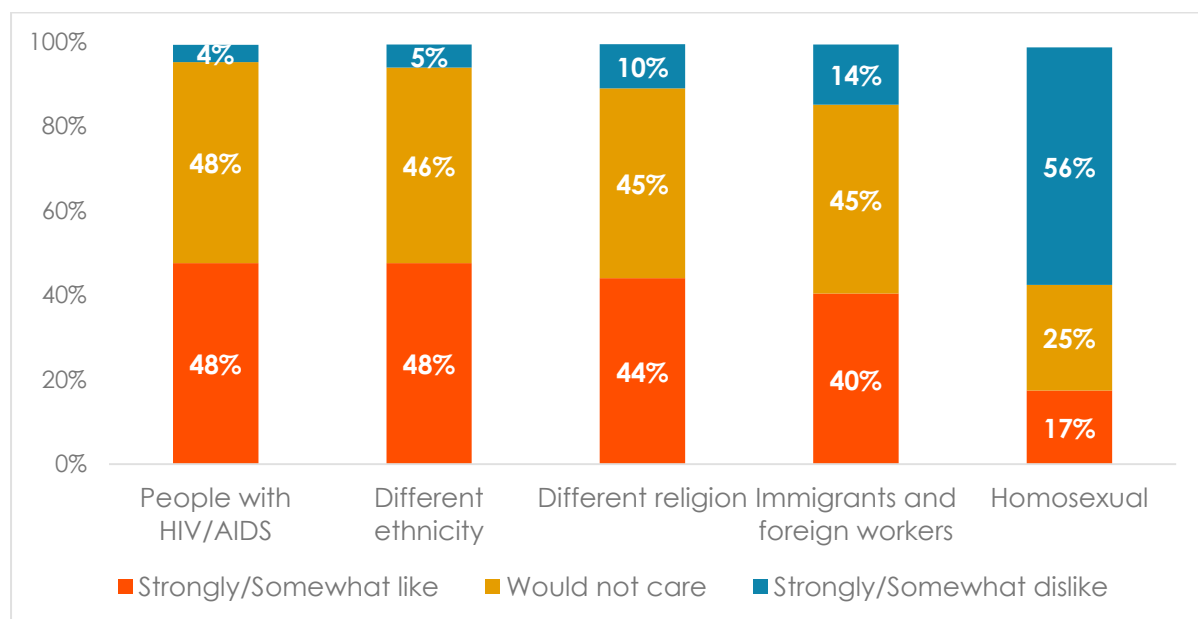


In 2010, the Vision 2016 Council recommended that stakeholders increase volunteerism throughout the country, but these findings show that significantly more work is needed to develop an active citizenry in the country.

Social tolerance

According to Vision 2016, “An atmosphere of tolerance towards minorities or groupings who do not share the attitudes or behaviour of the mainstream is necessary in any well-ordered community” (Presidential Task Group on a Long-Term Vision for Botswana, 1997, p. 47). The document highlights multiculturalism as offering strength via international connections and flexibility in responding to change. Afrobarometer findings show that social tolerance is generally high in Botswana: Only small minorities of citizens would “somewhat dislike” or “strongly dislike” living near people of other ethnicities (5%), religions (10%), or nationalities (14%) or people living with HIV/AIDS (4%). However, more than half (56%) say they would mind having homosexual neighbours (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Social tolerance | Botswana | 2014

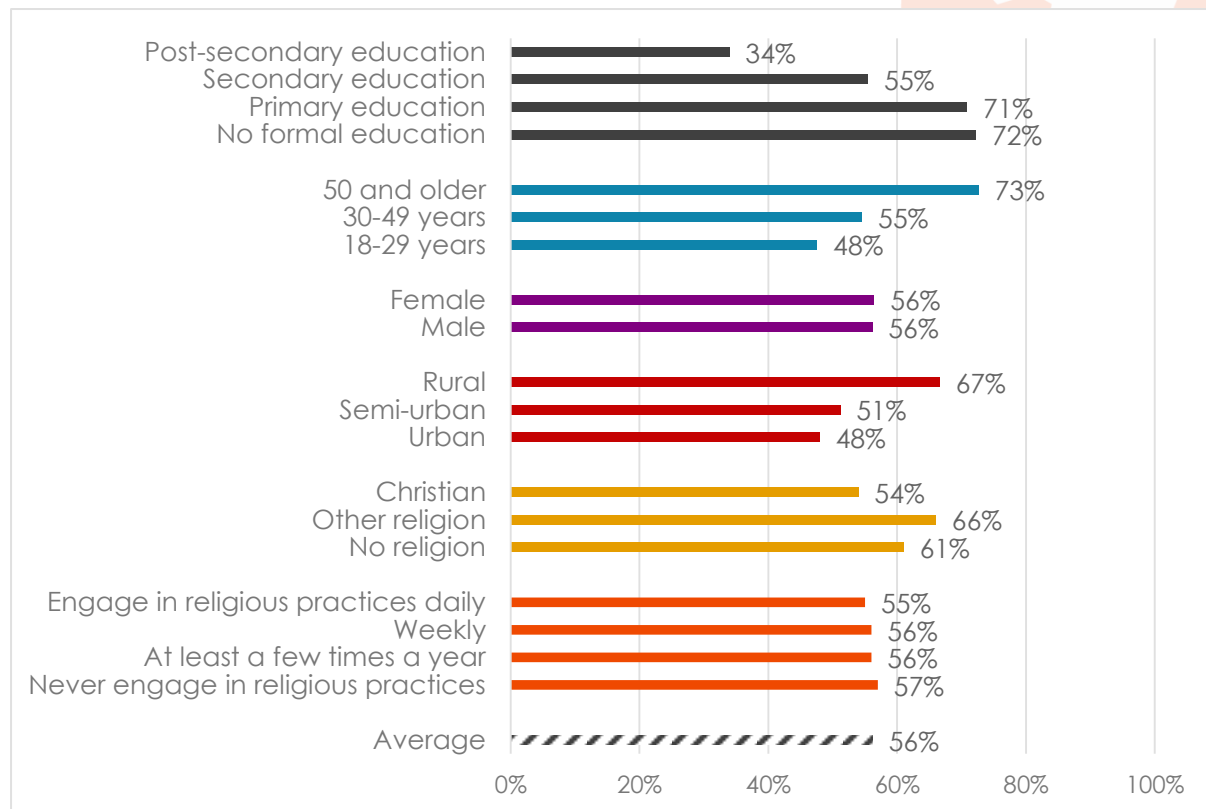


Respondents were asked: For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care.

Comparison with results from the rest of the Afrobarometer data set shows that Botswana is the ninth-most-tolerant country among the 33 countries in which these questions were asked in 2014/2015 and that Botswana’s opposition to having a homosexual neighbour (56%) is significantly lower than average in the Southern Africa region (77%) (Dulani, Sambo, & Dionne, 2016). This comparison to other countries highlights areas for improvement via future education efforts, such as tolerance for immigrants (where Botswana ranks 16th out of 33) and for people of other religions (22nd).

Analysis of public intolerance toward homosexuals by key demographic variables shows that urban, younger, and more educated citizens are significantly less likely to say that they would dislike having a homosexual neighbour than are rural, older, and less educated Botswana (Figure 15). This pattern is also seen generally in the region (Dulani, Sambo, & Dionne, 2016). Interestingly, Botswana who self-identify as Christian express slightly lower rates of disapproval than non-religious respondents or those of other religions, and disapproval rates do not correlate with differences in religiosity (as measured by frequency of religious attendance).

Figure 15: Intolerance toward homosexuals | by social attributes | Botswana | 2014



Respondents were asked: For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care. (% "somewhat dislike" or "strongly dislike")

Lekorwe and Moseki (2015) further demonstrate that younger citizens and urban residents tend to be more accepting of same-sex relationships in the workplace and religious communities, which suggests that attitudes toward homosexuality may change over time. The government's position, however, remains strongly against accepting gay rights.

From 2012 to 2016, Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals of Botswana (LeGaBiBo) fought the Botswana government for official registration as a society, which was rejected on the basis that the group's mission would be against the law as the Constitution does not recognize homosexuals. After losing the case at the High Court in 2014, the government took the case to the Court of Appeal, which also ruled in favour of LeGaBiBo. The judgment states that although societal opposition to homosexuality exists based on religious and other grounds, "It is not ..., and has never been, a crime in Botswana to be gay" and confirms the community's constitutional right to dignity (Court of Appeal of Botswana, 2016, p. 54).

LeGaBiBo (2016) notes that Vision 2016's language on greater social tolerance and greater gender sensitivity excludes sexual minorities. Given the government's resistance to the organisation, it appears likely that Vision 2036 will do the same, but the group's legal victory provides an opportunity to advocate for future change.

Pillar 7: A united and proud nation

Conventional wisdom attributes Botswana's development success to the country's exceptional combination of visionary leadership, significant mineral deposits, and the natural advantages of a small, homogenous population. This perception of ethnic homogeneity is increasingly disputed, however, and Boikhutso (2009) argues that the key to Botswana's

success is the lack of politicization of ethnic differences, rather than outright homogeneity. The study distinguishes between the eight “majority” tribes recognized in the country’s original constitution (Bakgatla, Bakwena, Bamalete, Bamangwato, Bangwaketse, Barolong, Batawana, and Batlokwa) and other, “minority” groups, which tend to be “politically marginalized, peripheral without any political influence” (Boikhutso, 2009, p. 45). It concludes by warning that the government has to adopt more accommodative nation-building policies for citizens of these “minority” groups in order to prevent future ethnic polarization.

The government’s treatment of the indigenous San population (or “bushmen”), one of these marginalized “minority” ethnic groups, led to rare international criticism in 2002 after a decision to evict the San from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, which is the ancestral homeland of numerous groups. Botswana’s High Court ruled in 2006 that the evictions were illegal, but Survival International (2016) contends that the government continues to restrict San access to the area and that a hunting ban threatens the survival of those who continue to live according to their traditional customs.

In the 2014 Afrobarometer survey sample, about half (49%) of respondents self-identify as being from one of the eight “majority” groups, while an almost equal proportion of respondents are from “minority” tribes (46%), 3% are from “other” groups, and 2% say they do not think of themselves in these terms.

Primary identity

Afrobarometer survey findings show that the country does indeed enjoy a high level of social cohesion: On average in surveys since 2005, 87% of respondents have identified primarily as “Motswana” or reported placing equal value on their ethnic and national identities (Figure 16). Furthermore, growth in the latter response (equally Motswana and ethnic group) over time suggests that citizens increasingly feel that ethnic and national identities are mutually supportive, rather than mutually exclusive.

Figure 16: Primary identity⁵ | Botswana | 2005-2014



Respondents were asked: *Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Motswana and being a [respondent’s ethnic group]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings?*

- I feel only Motswana.
- I feel more Motswana than [respondent’s ethnic group].
- I feel equally Motswana and [respondent’s ethnic group].
- I feel more [respondent’s ethnic group] than Motswana.
- I feel only [respondent’s ethnic group].

⁵ Excludes respondents who did not identify with an ethnic group on a previous question.



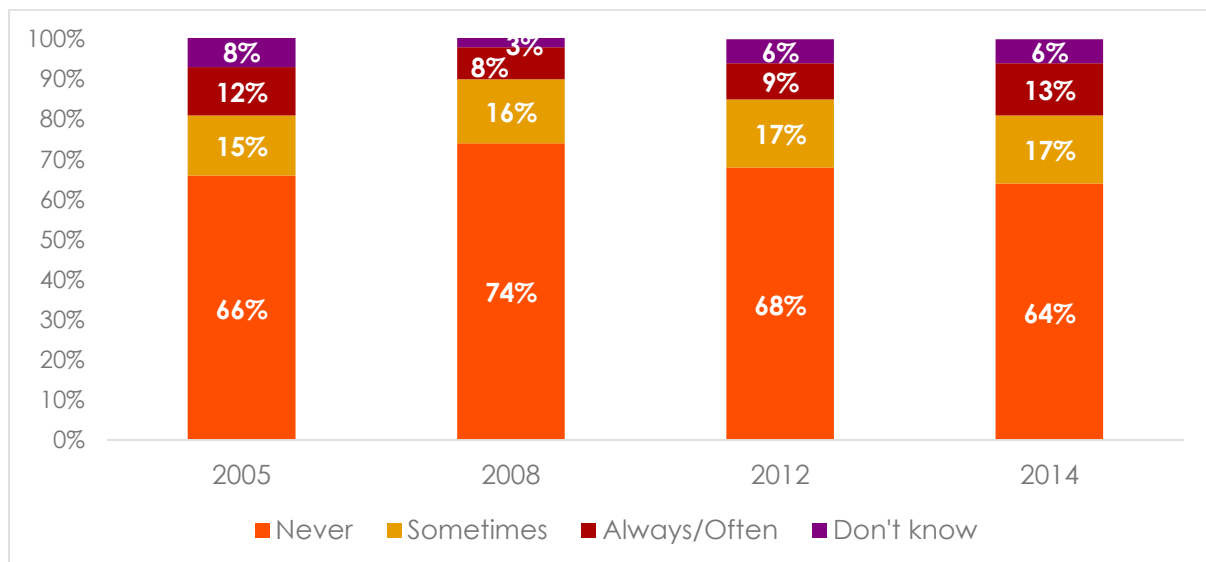
However, analysis by ethnic affiliation shows that citizens from “minority” tribes are less likely than citizens from “majority” tribes to think of themselves equally in terms of national and ethnic identities (63% vs. 68%) and more likely to identify primarily or exclusively with their ethnic identity (14% vs. 8%) (Appendix Table A.10).⁶

Government discrimination

Analysis of perceived government discrimination in Botswana over time shows that a majority of citizens (68%, on average across surveys since 2005) have reported that the government “never” discriminates against their ethnic group. However, the proportion of Botswana who believe that the government “never” treats members of their ethnic group unfairly has decreased since 2008 (from 74% to 64%) (Figure 17).

Despite Boikhutso’s assertion that ethnic identity is largely non-politicized in Botswana, citizens from “minority” tribes are substantially more likely than citizens from “majority” tribes to believe that the government discriminates against members of their ethnic community at least “sometimes” (36% vs. 26%). The extent of perceived discrimination against “minority” groups has increased by 9 percentage points since 2012 (Appendix Table A.11).⁷

Figure 17: Perceived government discrimination⁸ | Botswana | 2014



Respondents were asked: How often, if ever, are [respondent's ethnic group] treated unfairly by the government?

These results on identity and discrimination show that although Botswana increasingly places equal emphasis on their ethnic and national identities, citizens from “minority” communities are almost twice as likely as citizens from “majority” communities to identify primarily with their ethnic or tribal community. Furthermore, survey respondents from “minority” groups are more likely to report government discrimination against members of their communities, and this perception has grown since 2012. This shows that Boikhutso (2009) was correct in arguing that greater effort is required from the government to implement more socially inclusive development policies.

⁶ These differences in self-identification patterns are statistically significant, $\chi(4) = 14.309, p < .01$.

⁷ These results are statistically significant, $\chi(3) = 11.507, p < .01$.

⁸ Excludes respondents who did not identify with an ethnic group on a previous question.




Conclusion

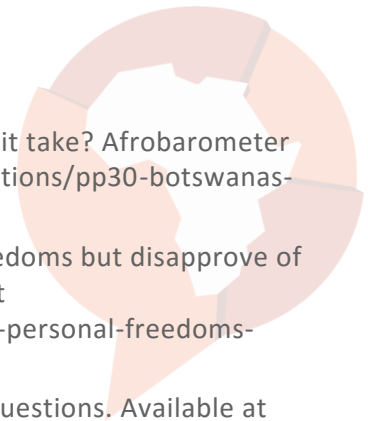
When Vision 2016 Council benchmarks are applied to the latest available public assessments, Botswana is doing well on nine of Vision 2016's 21 indicators, while its performance is "average" on seven indicators, "poor" on three, and "critical" on two (see Appendix Table A.1). Overall performance is strongest on the promotion of a united and proud nation (77%, on average, across the various Afrobarometer questions chosen to represent this pillar), on security (71%), and on openness and accountability (70%). Performance is weakest on the economic pillars, largely due to poor performance on unemployment and wealth distribution and Botswana's highly negative evaluations of their personal living conditions. These weaknesses that citizen perceptions identify in the government's implementation of National Vision 2016 align with objective evaluations in outcomes.

National Vision 2016 argued that past failure to meet national objectives (particularly economic objectives) has generally been the result of failing to implement existing policies, and the document consequently recommended strict monitoring and evaluation of these efforts throughout the public sector. This paper demonstrates that public opinion data can provide an important accountability measure for government efforts, as long as a clear system of evaluation is employed.

Public consultations are an important aspect of policymaking, and the Vision 2016 Council's household survey and its benchmarking system provided good first steps toward incorporating citizen views into the evaluation of government policy. Regular evaluation surveys between 2017 and 2036 and clearer communication of their results will help the country track progress toward the objectives of National Vision 2036.

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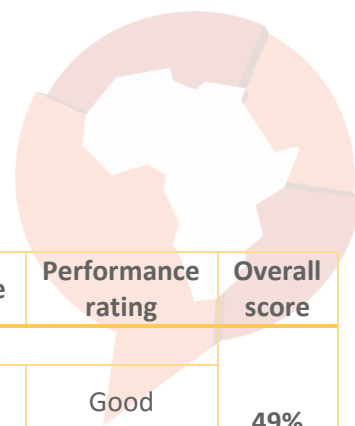
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Appendix

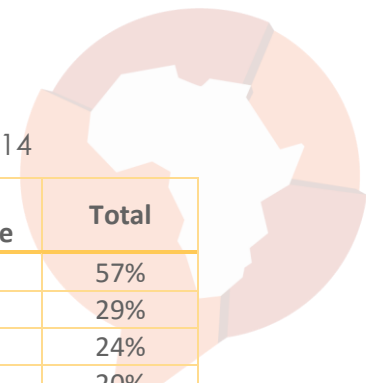
Table A.1: Evaluating National Vision 2016 | Botswana | 2014



Pillar and benchmarks	Afrobarometer indicator	Score	Performance rating	Overall score
Pillar 1: An educated, informed nation				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Universal, continuing, and quality education - An informed society - An IT-literate society 	Government performance on education	70%	Good	49%
	Traditional media usage	56%	Average	
	Digital media usage	22%	Critical	
Pillar 2: A prosperous, productive, and innovative nation				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic growth and diversification - Sustainable development - Employment 	Government economic performance (average, excl. job creation)	54%	Average	39%
	Government performance on job creation	45%	Poor	
	Good/Very good personal living conditions	19%	Critical	
Pillar 3: A compassionate and caring nation				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poverty and income distribution - Quantity and quality of health services - Combating HIV/AIDS 	Gov't performance on poverty reduction, food security and water/sanitation (average)	60%	Average	58%
	Performance on health	74%	Good	
	Performance on inequality	45%	Poor	
	Lack of material deprivation (average)	53%	Average	
Pillar 4: A safe and secure nation				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crime, safety, and security - Professional public security service 	Performance: reducing crime	67%	Good	71%
	Lack of fear of crime (average)	70%	Good	
	Lack of reported crime (average)	81%	Good	
	Trust in security forces/courts (average)	66%	Average	
Pillar 5: An open, democratic, and accountable nation				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsible and accountable leadership - Open and transparent government 	Civil liberties (average)	91%	Good	70%
	Freedom of expression	50%	Average	
	Horizontal accountability (average)	68%	Good	
Pillar 6: A moral and tolerant nation				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discrimination-free society - National moral and cultural values 	Civic engagement (average)	44%	Poor	63%
	Lack of dislike for neighbours with differences (average)	81%	Good	
Pillar 7: A united and proud nation				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National unity - Social stability - The institution of the family 	At least equally Motswana and ethnic ID	89%	Good	77%
	Gov't never discriminates against ethnic group	64%	Average	

Source: National Vision 2016 (2016) for pillars and benchmarks

Table A.2: Most important national problems | Botswana | 2014



	First response	Second response	Third response	Total
Unemployment	37%	13%	7%	57%
Poverty/destitution	11%	12%	6%	29%
Education	5%	11%	8%	24%
Health	4%	7%	9%	20%
Water supply	5%	6%	6%	17%
Corruption	6%	5%	5%	16%
Wages, incomes, and salaries	5%	5%	4%	14%
Crime and security	5%	3%	3%	11%
Infrastructure/roads	3%	4%	4%	10%
Farming/agriculture	2%	2%	3%	8%
Electricity	2%	4%	2%	7%
Land	1%	2%	3%	6%
Management of the economy	3%	1%	2%	6%
AIDS	1%	2%	2%	5%
Sickness/disease	1%	2%	2%	5%
Drought	1%	1%	1%	4%
Housing	0%	1%	1%	3%
Food shortage/famine	1%	1%	1%	3%
Transportation	0%	1%	1%	2%
Services (other)	0%	1%	1%	2%
Rates and taxes	1%	1%	1%	2%
Orphans/street children	0%	1%	1%	2%
Agricultural marketing	0%	1%	1%	2%
Discrimination/inequality	0%	0%	1%	2%
Pol. instability/ethnic tensions	1%	0%	0%	1%
Communications	0%	0%	0%	1%
Gender issues/women's rights	0%	0%	0%	1%
Democracy/political rights	0%	0%	0%	1%
Loans/credit	0%	0%	0%	0%
Political violence	-	-	0%	0%
Other	2%	2%	2%	6%
Don't know	2%	-	-	2%
Nothing/no problems	0%	N/A	N/A	N/A
No further reply	N/A	9%	23%	31%

Respondents were asked: *In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? ("Total" column shows % of respondents who cite each issue as one of their three most important problems.)*

Table A.3: Government performance | Botswana | 2014

	Very/Fairly well	Very/Fairly badly	Don't know
Improving basic health services	73%	26%	1%
Addressing educational needs	70%	29%	1%
Reducing crime	67%	32%	1%
Improving the living standards of the poor	66%	33%	1%
Managing the economy	63%	35%	2%
Providing a reliable electric supply	60%	38%	2%
Providing water and sanitation services	60%	39%	1%
Ensuring people have enough to eat	56%	43%	1%
Fighting corruption	54%	42%	4%
Maintaining roads and bridges	53%	46%	1%
Narrowing income gaps	45%	53%	2%
Creating jobs	45%	54%	1%
Keeping prices down	40%	58%	2%

Respondents were asked: How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say?

Table A.4: Educational attainment | by age | Botswana | 2014

	No formal	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary
18-29 years	2%	6%	62%	30%
30-49 years	7%	22%	49%	23%
50+ years	43%	42%	9%	6%
Average	13%	21%	44%	22%

Respondents were asked: What is your highest level of education?

Table A.5: Internet usage | Botswana | 2008-2014

	Never	Less than once a month	A few times a month	A few times a week	Every day
2008	79%	3%	6%	6%	5%
2012	70%	4%	5%	10%	12%
2014	68%	3%	4%	10%	15%
Average	72%	3%	5%	9%	11%

Respondents were asked: How often do you use the Internet?

Table A.6: National economic conditions | Botswana | 1999-2014

	1999	2003	2006	2008	2012	2014	Average
Very/fairly bad	55%	26%	42%	28%	43%	30%	37%
Neither good nor bad	9%	24%	20%	32%	31%	35%	25%
Very/fairly good	32%	45%	33%	38%	22%	33%	34%

Respondents were asked: In general, how would you describe the present economic condition of this country?

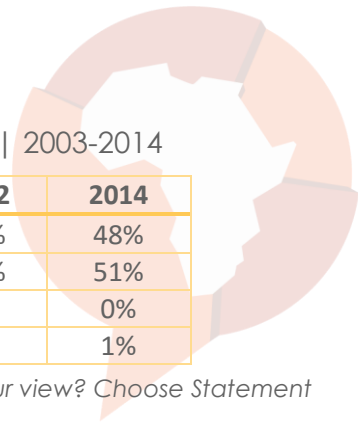


Table A.7: Support for direct presidential election | Botswana | 2003-2014

	2003	2005	2008	2012	2014
Direct elections	48%	63%	41%	59%	48%
Indirect election/Parliament	43%	34%	58%	39%	51%
Agree with neither	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Don't know	8%	2%	0%	2%	1%

Respondents were asked: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: The current system where Parliament chooses the president should be changed to allow for direct election of the president.

Statement 2: The current system where the president of the country is chosen by Parliament has served Botswana well and should be maintained.

Table A.8: Support for media freedom and oversight | Botswana | 2005-2014

	2005	2008	2012	2014
Media should have right to publish any views/ideas	71%	80%	60%	55%
News media never/rarely abuses its freedom	-	-	65%	61%
Media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption	-	75%	76%	71%
News media is very/somewhat effective at revealing government mistakes and corruption	-	-	75%	71%

Respondents were asked:

1. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control. (% "agree" or "agree very strongly")

Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it considers harmful to society.

2. In your opinion, how often, in this country, does the news media abuse its freedoms by printing or saying things it knows are not true? (% "always" or "often")

3. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption. (% "agree" or "agree very strongly")

Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.

4. In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corruption? (% "very effective" or "somewhat effective")

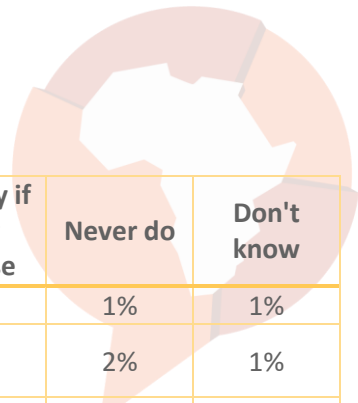


Table A.9: Civic duties and responsibilities | Botswana | 2014

	Always do	Do only if they choose	Never do	Don't know
Vote in elections	87%	12%	1%	1%
Complain to government officials when public services are of poor quality	75%	22%	2%	1%
Pay taxes they owe to government	70%	17%	9%	3%
Request personal assistance like help with school fees or funeral expenses from elected leaders	49%	37%	11%	2%
Avoid criticising the government	33%	41%	24%	3%
Agree with the majority of people in his or her community on political issues	30%	52%	16%	2%

Respondents were asked: For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose.

Table A.10: Primary identity | by ethnic affiliation | Botswana | 2008-2014

	2008		2012		2014	
	"Majority" tribes	"Minority" tribes	"Majority" tribes	"Minority" tribes	"Majority" tribes	"Minority" tribes
Only/More ethnic group	13%	21%	10%	13%	8%	14%
Equally Motswana and ethnic group	42%	41%	64%	68%	68%	63%
Only/More Motswana	44%	36%	26%	19%	23%	22%

Respondents were asked: Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Motswana and being a [respondent's ethnic group]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings?

Table A.11: Perceived government discrimination | by ethnic affiliation | Botswana | 2008-2014

	2008		2012		2014	
	"Majority" tribes	"Minority" tribes	"Majority" tribes	"Minority" tribes	"Majority" tribes	"Minority" tribes
Never	79%	68%	69%	67%	67%	59%
Sometimes	14%	18%	17%	16%	15%	20%
Always/Often	4%	12%	7%	11%	11%	15%
Don't know	3%	2%	6%	5%	6%	5%

Respondents were asked: How often, if ever, are [respondent's ethnic group] treated unfairly by the government?

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LET THE PEOPLE HAVE A SAY



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