EISA ELECTION
OBSERVER MISSION REPORT

BOTSWANA

PARLIAMENTARY AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS
30 OCTOBER 2004

EISA ELECTION OBSERVER MISSION REPORT No 16

EISA
REGIONAL OBSERVER MISSION

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EISA is a non-partisan organisation which seeks to promote democratic
principles, free and fair elections, a strong civil society and good governance at all
levels of Southern African society.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the invitation of the Botswana Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and the Independent Electoral Commission of Botswana (IEC), EISA deployed a regional observer mission to the Botswana parliamentary and local government elections, held on Saturday, 30 October 2004. This report is the EISA observer mission's assessment of the elections, based on its observations, findings and analysis of events in the pre-election phase, the polling phase and the counting and post-election phases, including the announcement of results.

The EISA mission was led by the Honourable Madame Ntlhoi Motsamai, Speaker of the National Assembly of Lesotho. The deputy mission leader was EISA Executive Director Denis Kadima. The 22 members of the mission were nationals of various African countries, namely Angola, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. They were drawn from electoral commissions, civil society organisations (CSOs), academic institutions, parliaments and political parties.

The mission used the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation in the SADC region (PEMMO) as its instrument to assess the Botswana elections. PEMMO was developed by EISA and the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries as guidelines for the conduct and assessment of elections in the region. The 2004 Botswana elections were the third national elections to be assessed on the basis of PEMMO, after the South African and Malawian elections held in April and May 2004 respectively.

The elections were held against the backdrop of Botswana's reputation and standing as one of Africa's oldest and most stable democracies. The Botswana Democratic Party's long-running monopoly on political power was challenged in 1994 and to a lesser extent in 1999. Thus in 2004 there was interest in whether the opposition could build on its showing of 1999 and offer a real challenge to the ruling party. In addition the number of contested seats in the Botswana National Assembly was increased from 40 in 1999 to 57 in 2004. The election was also a test of the popularity of Festus Mogae's presidency and the policies of his party.

During its deployment in Botswana, the EISA mission attended various meetings and briefing sessions, met with local officials and domestic observer groups, and observed the last stages of campaigning, the voting and counting, as well as the preliminary tabulation. This report summarises the main findings of the EISA mission and makes appropriate recommendations to the relevant election stakeholders in Botswana, with a view to improving the electoral process and informing the subsequent reform process.

EISA found that, in general, the electoral and political environment in Botswana is conducive to the holding of democratic elections. In addition the various election-related processes provided for by legislation, such as voter registration and the compilation of the voters' roll, were all accessible to citizens and conducted in a transparent manner. The elections were held in an atmosphere free from political violence and intimidation. The voting process in the areas visited by the EISA teams was smooth and the staff showed professionalism in the execution of their duties.

However the mission also noted that there are several areas where improvements can be made in the Botswana electoral process. There is a need to improve access to and use of public resources, including the public media, for election purposes. In addition, and most critical, is the need to increase the representation of women and other disadvantaged groups. Botswana has failed to meet the 30% minimum for women's representation in decision-making positions that was set by the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. In fact after the 2004 elections, the proportion of women in parliament decreased. A concerted effort must be made to raise this figure, as well as to reach the 30% quota.

EISA will disseminate the findings in this report to the IEC, government authorities, political parties and CSOs in Botswana, across the SADC region and beyond, so that lessons can be drawn from the process.

On the basis of the guidelines enshrined in PEMMO and the findings of its observations, the mission concluded that the 2004 Botswana parliamentary and local government elections were free and to a large extent fair, with room for improvement to further enhance the fairness. The mission has made a number of recommendations for improvement of certain aspects of the electoral process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TERMS OF REFERENCE

Following an invitation on 24 September 2004 extended by the Botswana Government through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, EISA established a mission to observe the 2004 parliamentary and local government elections in Botswana.

These terms of reference describe the role and responsibilities of an EISA observer during these elections. They essentially provide a summary of the mission's objectives and outline the activities of observers who were part of the EISA regional election observer mission.

It is worth noting that all international observers were invited guests of the Botswana Government, and that the election and related processes were for the people of Botswana to conduct. As observers, EISA mission members were expected to support and assess these processes, but not to interfere.

EISA believes that international observers can play a critically important supportive role by helping to enhance the credibility of the elections, reinforce the work of domestic observer groups and eventually increase popular confidence in the entire electoral process. The overall objective of this mission was in line with EISA's vision of promoting credible elections and democratic governance in Africa.

Specific objectives for the mission included the following:

- To assess whether conditions existed for the conduct of elections that would reflect the will of the people of Botswana;
- To assess whether the elections were conducted in accordance with the electoral legislative framework of Botswana;
- To assess whether the elections met the benchmarks set out in PEMMO, developed under the auspices of EISA and the ECF of SADC countries.

In order to achieve the above, the mission sought to undertake the following activities:

- Obtain information on the electoral process from the Botswana IEC;
- Meet with political parties, CSOs and other relevant stakeholders to acquaint itself with the electoral environment;
- Report accurately on its observations and refer any irregularities to the relevant authorities;
- Observe all aspects of the election in the areas it visited;
- Assess if all registered voters had easy access to voting stations and whether or not they were able to exercise their vote in freedom and secrecy;
- Assess the logistical arrangements to confirm if all necessary materials were available for voting and counting to take place efficiently;
- Find out if all the competing parties and candidates were given an equal opportunity to participate in the elections.

THE EISA APPROACH TO ELECTION OBSERVATION

EISA seeks to realise effective and sustainable democratic governance in Africa through strengthening electoral processes, good governance, human rights and democratic values. In this regard, EISA undertakes applied research, capacity building, advocacy and other targeted interventions. It is within this broad context that EISA fields observer missions to assess the context and the conduct of elections in the SADC region.

In order to assess the parliamentary and local elections of 30 October 2004 in Botswana, EISA established a regional observer mission whose members were drawn from electoral management bodies, various CSOs, political parties, parliaments and academic institutions in the SADC region. The mission conducted a range of activities covering the pre-election, election and post-election phases. In the main, these activities included:

❑ **Publication of Election Update**
As a result of limited access to financial resources, EISA was not able to field a long-term observer mission in Botswana. To palliate this situation, EISA developed an innovative method of gathering and sharing information that would ensure that members of the mission and other interested parties were fully informed of major events which occurred during the electoral process. In this regard, EISA contracted Botswana-based researchers to gather information and analyse significant election-related issues. This information was published fortnightly in the *Election Update* series, which was extensively disseminated electronically and in print. Much of the pre-election background information contained in this report is drawn from these fortnightly publications.

❑ **Stakeholder meetings and political party rallies**
The EISA observer mission arrived in Gaborone on 23 October 2004, a week before polling day, with the main aim of assessing the pre-election phase and testing the state of preparedness for elections. During this period, members of the mission held meetings with various electoral stakeholders, including officials of the Botswana IEC, representatives of political parties

and CSOs, counterpart observer missions and the media in both Gaborone and selected areas where EISA teams were deployed. All these meetings provided first-hand information and valuable insight on the different stakeholders' assessment of the process as well as their preparedness for the elections. In addition, EISA teams attended election-related press conferences and political party rallies.

❑ **Observation of voting and counting**
The EISA regional observer mission was split into seven teams, which were deployed throughout Botswana, namely in Gaborone, Francistown, Maun, Jwaneng, Lobatse and Selebi-Phikwe, from 27 to 31 October 2004. Besides holding further meetings with election stakeholders in these areas, EISA teams observed the voting process on 30 October 2004 and the counting of ballots that followed, up until the next day.

Based on its observations during the pre-election phase as well as the voting and counting stages, the mission released a provisional statement on 1 November 2004 containing its preliminary conclusions and recommendations. EISA continued to scrutinise all political and social developments in the post-election phase, including the proclamation of final results as well as the swearing in of the elected members of parliament and the inauguration of the president.

Resulting from the above-mentioned activities, this report depicts the findings of the EISA regional observer mission deployed in Botswana for the 2004 parliamentary and local government elections.

1 | Historical Overview

- Political and electoral background

- The 1994 elections

- The October 1999 general elections

1.1. POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL BACKGROUND

Botswana covers 581 730 km, with a population estimated in 1999 at 1.6 million. Widely seen as one of the most stable democracies on the African continent and in the Third World, Botswana is often hailed as the exception in a conflict-ridden region. Formerly Bechuanaland, the country attained self-government in 1965 after 80 years as a British protectorate and became the independent Republic of Botswana on 6 September 1966.

Botswana was spared the violent struggles for independence from colonial rule that bedevilled its immediate neighbours. Regarded as one of the most impoverished countries in the world at the time of its independence, Botswana has become an economic success story, thanks to the discovery of large deposits of commercially exploitable diamonds in the early 1970s. Its sound economic expansion has bolstered political stability, allowing for the regular holding of elections.

Universal suffrage was available to the people of Botswana for the first time in March 1965, when voters went to the polls to elect delegates to the National Assembly. Four years later, independent Botswana held its first general elections. From that date, elections have been held at regular five-year intervals. These elections have been largely incident-free and characterised by open competition amongst the contesting parties.

As leader of the majority party, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Seretse Khama became prime minister following the 1965 election. When Botswana attained full independence in September 1966, Khama was elected president by the National Assembly. Under his presidency, the BDP consolidated its electoral support, never winning less than 77% of the National Assembly seats in every election, from 1969 to 1979. As a consequence, a typical one party-dominant system has developed and become a feature of the political system in Botswana.

This situation continued in the 1980s under President Ketumile Masire, former vice-president and finance minister, who succeeded Khama to the presidency upon Khama's death in July 1980. President Masire voluntarily retired from office in 1998 and was succeeded by his vice-president, Festus Gontebanye Mogae, who was re-elected president by the National Assembly following a BDP victory in the 1999 elections.

1.2   THE 1994 ELECTIONS

Up until 1994, the opposition had not been a key participant in the democratic structures of Botswana. In all elections prior to that year, the ruling BDP had succeeded in maintaining its virtual monopoly of parliament. This could be attributed to the fact that the opposition was fragmented and that the political system in use, that of first-past-the-post, did not allow for a significant representation of the opposition. In 1994, however, the Botswana National Front (BNF), regarded as the main opposition party, caused a major upset in the country's politics by winning 33% (13 out of 40 seats) of the contested seats of the National Assembly. These unexpected results, an obvious blow to the BDP, opened the debate on Botswana's electoral and political system.

A growing pressure for political reforms was given further impetus by the most serious unrest that independent Botswana had ever experienced. A march against the ritual killing of a young girl turned into a protest march by university students on the parliament buildings in Gaborone; it degenerated into a violent political demonstration. A special police unit was called in and used excessive force to restore peace and order. These incidents shocked the country and highlighted the pressing need to debate major issues of national interest.

In the wake of these disturbances, President Masire announced that the voting age was to be lowered and an independent electoral commission established. At the same time, a special congress of the BDP resolved to limit the tenure of the party leader, and consequently the country's president, to a maximum of two five-year terms. All these changes were accepted at a conference attended by the ruling party and opposition parties. Furthermore, the BDP agreed that National Assembly and local council elections be separated and that the practice of the government nominating a certain number of councillors, in addition to the elected ones, be abolished. Proposed reforms were put to a referendum on 4 October 1997 in which only 16.6% of the electorate participated.[1] Two reforms, not subject to a referendum, were included in the Constitutional Amendment Bill, namely the restriction of the presidential tenure to two five-year terms and the provision for automatic succession of the vice-president to the presidency upon the death or resignation of the president.

1.3   THE OCTOBER 1999 GENERAL ELECTIONS

The 1999 elections were the first to be conducted by the newly established Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), following the amendment of the Electoral Act in 1998. Previous elections had been administered by the Botswana civil service and directly supervised by the Office of the President. The 1999 elections were also momentous for the fact that the voting age was lowered from 21 to 18 and the constitutional right to vote extended to citizens residing abroad. Furthermore the BNF, which had posed a serious challenge, was weakened by a split which had resulted in the formation of a new party, the Botswana Congress Party (BCP)

Of the estimated 800 000 to 900 000 eligible voters, 459 662 registered to vote. Of these, 354 466, corresponding to 77.11% of all registered voters, turned out to vote. The BDP overpowered all other contesting political parties as it secured 192 598 of votes cast in the parliamentary elections. Although this represented 54.34% of total votes cast,[2] it allowed the BDP to win 33 of the 40 contested seats in the National Assembly, or 83%. This highlights the dramatic parliamentary misrepresentation attributable to the electoral system in force

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[1] Botswana Office of the President, *National Referendum Report,* 1997.
[2] Botswana IEC, *Report on the General Elections of 1999,* pp. 11-12

in Botswana, the first-past-the-post. In addition to the 33 elected seats, the president, who is a member of the National Assembly, had a very strong influence on the nomination and appointment of four 'specially elected MPs'. These members of Parliament are not directly elected but are appointed by parliament. This is a measure often used to increase the representation of marginalised groups in Parliament, particularly women and youth.

The BNF came second with 87 457 votes, which corresponded to six parliamentary seats, while the BCP received 40 096 votes, which translated into one seat. The Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM), the Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin (MELS) Movement of Botswana and independent candidates failed to win any seats.

Following internal divisions and intra-party rivalry within the BNF, the BDP recaptured six of the seats it had lost in the 1994 elections. The split in the BNF prompted the creation of a range of political parties that constitutes the current opposition in Botswana.[3]

Table 1
Results 1999 Botswana Parliamentary Elections

Party	Popular Votes	% Votes	Seats	% Seats
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	192 598	54.34	33	82.5
Botswana National Front (BNF)	87 457	24.67	6	15
MELS	22	0.01	0	0
Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM)	15 806	4.46	0	0
Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	40 096	11.31	1	2.5
Independents	1 004	0.28	0	0
Rejected Ballots	17483	4.93	–	–
Total	**354 466**	100	40	

Source: Botswana IEC, *Report on the General Elections of 1999.*

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[3] Keineetse, K.D.M., *"EISA - Election Update Botswana 2004*, N° 1, 14 October 2004, p. 7.

The results of the local government elections were as follows:

Table 2
Party Total Seats per District Council

Councils	BDP	BNF	BCP	BAM	MELS	BPU	SDP	Inde-pendents
North West	30	0	6	4	–	–	–	–
North East	14	0	0	2	0	–	–	–
Central	104	0	1	1	–	0	0	0
Kgatleng	12	6	3	–	–	–	–	–
South East	13	5	0	–	–	–	–	–
Kweneng	42	7	1	–	–	–	–	–
Southern	26	18	0	0	0	–	–	–
Kgalagadi	13	7	0	0	–	–	–	–
Ghanzi	15	3	0	–	–	–	–	–
Francistown	14	0	0	2	–	–	–	–
Selebi-Phikwe	11	0	2	0	–	–	–	–
Gaborone	7	18	0	0	0	–	–	–
Lobatse	2	9	0	0	–	–	–	–
Jwaneng	0	7	0	–	–	–	–	–
Total	**303**	**80**	**13**	**9**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
%	**74.81**	**19.75**	**3.21**	**2.22**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**

Source: Botswana IEC, *Report on the General Elections of 1999.*

2 | Electoral Framework

- Constitutional and legal framework

- The Botswana Independent Electoral Commission

2.1. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The legal framework governing elections in Botswana consists of various laws – starting with the Constitution of 1966 and all its subsequent amendments – which relate to the franchise, the establishment of the IEC and the election of members of the National Assembly and of the president. The Electoral Act and all its subsequent amendments explicitly detail how elections are conducted and who is entitled to contest and vote.

The current Constitution provides for a president elected by the National Assembly immediately after general elections. The five-year terms of the president and members of the National Assembly run concurrently. The Cabinet consists of the president, the vice-president and ministers. Constitutional amendments introduced in 1997 limit the presidential tenure to a maximum of two five-year terms and provide for the vice-president to be elected by the National Assembly. The vice-president, a key figure in Botswana politics as he is generally meant to succeed to the presidency whenever it becomes vacant, was previously appointed by the incumbent president.

Parliament consists of a National Assembly, whose members are elected through the majoritarian first-past-the-post electoral system, and a House of Chiefs. The latter is an advisory body without real legislative or veto powers. It comprises 15 members, including eight chiefs from the main ethnic

groups of the majority Tswana, four indirectly elected from the ranks of the other chiefs representing smaller ethnic groups (Bakalanga, Balozi, Hambukushu and Bakgalagadi) and three members specially elected by both the *ex-officio* and the elected members of the House of Chiefs. Legislative power is shared between the National Assembly and the president.

The Constitution provides for and safeguards basic civil and political rights, including freedom of association, assembly, movement and conscience and a prohibition against arbitrary arrest. It also provides for a multiparty democracy based on an election every five years. It is worth noting that, unlike most of the SADC countries where election dates are, if not determined in advance, announced in reasonable time before the election, Botswana's election date remains a secret until it is announced by the president. In 2004, the election date was announced a month before the poll was held. This creates problems for election stakeholders, such as the electoral management body, political parties and observers, as it makes planning for the election difficult.

An independent judiciary, with the High Court at its summit, interprets the Constitution and all other laws. Chiefs are empowered to hear customary law cases, in cooperation with other tribal leaders. An ombudsman was provided for in the 1997 constitutional reforms. The Judicial Service Commission (JSC), chaired by the chief justice, selects judges for appointment and other office bearers for whom legal qualifications are required, such as the IEC chairperson.

For administrative purposes, Botswana is divided into ten districts, and further subdivided into sub-districts and wards. The local government system in the rural areas is rather complex, with elected district councils, nominated district development committees and chieftaincies existing side by side. Elections for district councils are held every five years, at the same time as national elections.

2.2.   THE BOTSWANA INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION
Background
Until 1989, elections in Botswana were conducted and managed by the permanent secretary in the Office of the President. However election

stakeholders then began calling for electoral reform. Most vocal was the opposition, which gained momentum as growing numbers of ordinary citizens joined its ranks. As a result of this pressure and allegations of vote rigging in favour of the BDP, the task of managing elections shifted to the Office of the Supervisor of Elections. But given that he was appointed by the president and reported solely to the Office of the President, the opposition rejected the supervisor, arguing that he was a card-carrying member of the ruling party.

The strong showing by opposition parties in the 1994 elections and their growing influence ultimately forced the government to make further concessions and consider certain electoral reforms. Following the 1997 national referendum, major electoral reforms were instituted. These were realised in the 1997 Constitution Amendment Act whose section 65A provided for, among other things, the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission, with a clear mandate of 'ensuring that elections are conducted efficiently, properly, freely and fairly'.[4]

Functions
The Botswana IEC came into existence in 1998 when Statutory Instrument Number Seven, which amended the Electoral Act, was passed. In the main, the IEC has to ensure that elected members of the National Assembly and members of local councils are voted for in a proper, free and fair manner, in compliance with the provisions of the Electoral Act of 1966 and all subsequent amendments.

According to the relevant terms of the above-mentioned regulations, the IEC is responsible for, among other things, the conduct and supervision of elections of the elected members of the National Assembly and members of local authorities; the conduct of referenda; as well as giving instructions and directions to the secretary of the commission in regard to the exercise of his functions, in compliance with the Constitution and relevant electoral laws. The IEC has the duty, at the completion of any election conducted by it, to compile a report to be submitted to the minister responsible for elections, for transmission to the National Assembly.

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[4] *Constitution Amendment Act of 1997,* Section 65A.

Composition and appointment of the IEC

The IEC consists of seven members, all appointed by the JSC. The Constitution stipulates that the chairperson must be a judge of the High Court and the deputy, a legal practitioner. The five other members are drawn from a list of persons recommended by an all-party conference, which is a loose structure that occasionally brings all registered political parties together to promote inter-party dialogue.

The Constitution establishes the office of the secretary of the IEC. Although the secretary performs his or her duties under the direction and supervision of the IEC, the appointment of the secretary is the discretionary prerogative of the president, according to the relevant provisions of the Constitution. This raises concerns of perception about the independence and impartiality of the IEC *vis-à-vis* the president and the ruling party.

All operational election work is entrusted to the secretary, while the commissioners concentrate on formulating the commission's policies. Relevant provisions of both the Constitution and the Electoral Act stipulate that the JSC appoint commissioners on the recommendation of the all-party conference.

It is, however, worth pointing out that subsection 2 of section 65A of the Constitution empowers the JSC to proceed with the appointment of commissioners at its own discretion, whether or not all political parties participate in the all-party conference or if the conference fails to reach an agreement on all or any number of proposed members.

This is what happened in 2004 when the opposition walked out of an all-party conference that was convened to propose potential candidates for appointment as commissioners. The rationale behind the boycott was the contention that the BDP-dominated government was not taking into account opposition parties' concerns. These included, among other things, the public funding of political parties, the introduction of proportional representation and the IEC's independence. Only the ruling BDP and two parties from the opposition, namely the Botswana Labour Party (BLP) and the Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin Movement of Botswana (MELS), participated in the conference. The JSC ignored the boycott by opposition parties and went ahead to appoint the IEC.

3 | The Pre-Election Phase

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- Delimination of constituencies and polling districts

- Voter registration

- Party registration and nomination of candidates

- Women and political representation

- Civic and voter education

- The electoral campaign

- Media coverage and the electoral process

3.1.   DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES AND POLLING DISTRICTS

The delimitation of constituencies is provided for in section 63 of the Constitution. This section states that the country 'shall be divided into as many constituencies as there are elected members of the National Assembly' and each of those constituencies shall elect one member of the National Assembly. In terms of section 64 of the Constitution, the authority to delimit constituencies is vested in a Delimitation Commission appointed by the JSC. The powers and functions of the Delimitation Commission are provided for in section 65 of the Constitution.

In July 2002, a Delimitation Commission was appointed following the conduct of a comprehensive housing and population census and a resolution by the Botswana parliament to increase the number of elected members of the National Assembly from 40 to 57.[5] During the delimitation exercise, the commission toured the entire country to hold consultative meetings with members of the public, representatives of political parties and local authorities. The commission used the information collected in conjunction

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[5] *Constitution Amendment Act N° 12 of 2002.*

with the population quota to decide on the limits of constituencies. The decisions of the Delimitation Commission are final. As soon as it submits its report to parliament, the president issues a proclamation in the *Government Gazette* declaring the boundaries of the constituencies as delimited by the commission. Once the constituencies have been delimited, the law stipulates that the secretary of the IEC must divide each constituency into polling districts. This is provided for in section 5 of the Electoral Act.

At the completion of the delimitation exercise, the IEC began the process of demarcating polling districts and identifying polling stations, with the assistance of committees set up at local constituency level. The result of this exercise was an increase in the number of polling districts from 406 to 490 and an increase in the number of polling stations from 1 760 to 2 179.

In addition, the IEC established 44 polling stations abroad, in countries where Botswana has diplomatic missions. The purpose of increasing the number of polling stations was to bring voting facilities as close as possible to the electorate and to address the low turnout observed in the 1999 elections.

3.2.   VOTER REGISTRATION

Both the delimitation and demarcation exercises significantly changed existing constituency and polling station boundaries. These changes and the establishment of new polling stations rendered the existing voters' rolls obsolete. It was therefore imperative to update the general registration. Voters register in polling districts and near polling stations where they normally reside. One cannot vote in a polling station where one is not registered. This is because a voter's name appears in the roll at the place where she/he has registered to vote and nowhere else. In the case of a change of residence, voters must transfer their registration to a station near their new place of residence.

The Electoral Act provides for continuous registration, or the updating of existing voters' rolls, instead of creating new rolls every time there are general elections. However, the registration cards are permanent so that one can register once and be able to vote in subsequent elections. A national identity card (the Omang in Setswana) is necessary to register as a voter and those whose identity documents have expired or been lost are barred from

registration. On the day of the election, voters are required to produce both the election registration card and the identity card.

Section 67 of the Constitution and part III of the Electoral Act define the requirements for electoral franchise and voter registration in Botswana. Every citizen of Botswana who is 18 years old and above is entitled to register and participate in the electoral process. Registration for elections is a voluntary exercise and those willing to register must be in possession of a valid identity card.

For the October 2004 elections, registration took place in the month of November 2003. During this period, 425 824 voters were registered, according to figures released by the IEC.[6] A voters' roll was thereafter prepared and published for inspection by the general public as stipulated by the relevant regulations. At the expiration of the inspection period, the rolls were accordingly certified. For the compilation of a supplementary roll, registration continued from December 2003 up to mid-March 2004. Some 81 000 potential voters registered during this period. This roll was further certified.

In preparation for the 2004 parliamentary and local elections, the IEC prepared a list of voters who registered through the continuous registration process. In early July 2004, 46 407 voters were recorded on a certified roll that was published just before the dissolution of parliament. The results of the 2004 general elections released by the IEC suggested a total of 552 849 voters had been duly registered.[7]

3.3.   PARTY REGISTRATION AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

Section 61 of the Constitution provides for qualifications that a person must possess in order to be nominated to stand in an election for membership of the National Assembly. A person shall not be qualified to be elected as a member of the National Assembly unless:

– He/she is a citizen of Botswana;

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[6] Seeletso, T.G.G.G., *Fact Sheet – Botswana 2004 General Elections,* 25 October 2004.
[7] *Botswana 2004 Parliamentary Elections Results*, see www.gov.bw/elections04/index.html .

- He/she has attained the age of 21 years;
- He/she is qualified as a voter for the purpose of the election of members of the National Assembly and is so registered; and
- He/she is able to speak, and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read English well enough to take an active part in the proceedings of the National Assembly.

To nominate its candidates, each political party intending to contest the elections is generally expected to hold primary elections to allow its membership to choose their potential representatives in the National Assembly and at council levels.

For the 2004 elections, the nomination process was held on 25 September 2004 in all 57 constituencies and 490 polling districts throughout Botswana. There were 176 candidates whose nomination papers were accepted for the legislative elections. Of these, 174 represented 12 established political parties. In addition there were two independent parliamentary contenders. Only the BDP fielded parliamentary candidates in all the constituencies and council wards.

Sections 32 and 33 of the Constitution lay down the conditions and the procedures for the nomination of presidential candidates. To be considered

Table 4
List of political parties contesting the 2004 elections

Party	Abb	Party	Abb
Botswana Alliance Movement	BAM	Botswana Congress Party	BCP
Botswana Democratic Party	BDP	Botswana Labour Party	BLP
Botswana National Front	BNF	Botswana People's Party	BPP
Botswana Progressive Union	BPU	Botswana Workers Front	BWF
MELS Movement of Botswana	MELS	New Democratic Front	NDF
Social Democratic Party	SDP	United Socialist Party	PUSO

Source: Botswana IEC

for the presidential elections, a candidate must be a citizen of Botswana by birth or descent and must be qualified to be elected as a member of the National Assembly.

For the presidential nomination, four out of the five candidates filing nomination papers submitted were successful. Themba Joina from MELS was unsuccessful in his application for the presidential nomination. The following applicants were selected and validly declared as candidates for election to the presidency.

Table 5
Candidates for the 2004 presidential elections

Candidates	Party
Dick Bayford	NDF
Otlaadisa Koosaletse	BCP
Festus Mogae	BDP
Otsweletse Moupo	BNF

Source: Botswana IEC

There is no mention in either the Constitution or the Electoral Law of the method to be used by political parties to select their candidates for an election. Yet, in practice, intra-party primary elections have become the norm for political parties. But because of the lack of transparency in the conduct of primary elections at the party level, there is persistent suspicion that they are simply used to eliminate people who are regarded as contentious by the party leadership.[8] It would seem as if primary elections are to blame for major dissension within political parties. This has resulted in the fragmentation of main parties, especially those from the opposition – a phenomenon that has cast serious doubt on the commitment of Botswana's political parties to internal democracy.

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[8] Independent Electoral Commission, *Voter Apathy Report*, Gaborone: Government Printer, p. 83.

3.4.   WOMEN AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Even though women enjoy the same civil rights as men in Botswana on a legal level, in practice, political and societal prejudice persisted. None of the political parties contesting the 2004 elections in Botswana made provisions in their manifestos or other relevant policies to achieve the minimum quota for women's representation in the National Assembly. The quota was not even met at nomination stage. Even if every woman candidate had won her seat in the election, the final total of women would have constituted just 21% of the members of the National Assembly.

It is disturbing to observe that Botswana, one of the signatories of the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) 1997 Declaration on Gender and Development and a country generally regarded as a showcase of democracy in the region, is still behind other SADC countries in gender representation and would have failed to achieve its 2005 goal of 30% of the seats in parliament being held by women.

Besides the party leadership's lack of political will, another reason advanced for this failure is the nature of the electoral system currently used in Botswana. The justification is that the system of first-past-the-post, as opposed to either proportional representation or a mixture of proportional representation and first-past-the-post, does not ensure equitable representation of women or other disadvantaged groups

3.5.   CIVIC AND VOTER EDUCATION

One of the features of the 1999 elections was the low participation of citizens in the entire electoral process, particularly the voting. To tackle the problem, the IEC commissioned a voter apathy study in 2001 and following recommendations in the report embarked on massive voter education campaigns, with the cooperation and participation of CSOs, political parties, church organisations, community leaders, and eventually the media. The IEC made public announcements through the media to promote voter registration and produced a public awareness pamphlet outlining the registration process. This pamphlet was widely disseminated.

Broadly speaking, civic and voter education campaigns were insufficient and sporadic. There were no popular literacy programmes around the theme

and activity of elections. However in its efforts to popularise voting, the IEC produced an election song, which became quite popular and was broadcast on TV and radio before and during the elections. The other most visible methods of disseminating voter education and voter information were radio talk shows, television programmes, flyers distributed in public places and kgotla, or local area community meetings. In addition, the IEC undertook several initiatives, including nationwide tours by the secretary and various staff of the commission.

3.6.   THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

There appear to be no clear laws governing conduct in the campaign period. The Electoral Law is silent on the subject and the uncertainty surrounding the determination of the election date makes the matter complex. The law needs to clarify these areas and perhaps reinforce them with appropriate references in a code of conduct governing the behaviour of the political parties participating in the election.

The mission noted that the campaign was peaceful and the parties showed tolerance towards each other. Overall, the BDP dominated the political landscape and was present in all areas where EISA teams were deployed. No other party matched the campaign carried out by the BDP.

The most widely employed method of campaigning used posters, motorcades and vehicle convoys moving from one area to another with loudspeakers blaring. EISA teams were able to attend political rallies in the last days of campaigning in Gaborone and respective areas of deployment. They noted, among other things, that all rallies were conducted in a peaceful manner. There was no obvious sign of intimidation or violence. Political parties were free to campaign in any area of their choice, without any limitation on their movement and actions.

The team deployed in Francistown came across a very isolated case of clashes at a double-booked Freedom Square, but the situation was cordially solved and no incidence of violence was observed. Freedom Squares were public spaces allocated to political parties to use to articulate publicly their visions and programmes, and to rally supporters ahead of the elections. The mission valued this initiative as a manifestation of freedom of expression and

assembly, as provided for in the Constitution, while noting the peaceful cohabitation of the ruling BDP and opposition parties, despite the proximity of their actions.

3.7.   MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

The Constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press, and the government generally respected freedom of speech. However, the government occasionally censored stories or news sources that it deemed undesirable, thus attempting to limit freedom of the press, and continued to dominate domestic broadcasting.

The Botswana Press Agency, owned and operated by the government, provided most of the information found in the media through the *Daily News* newspaper (distributed free-of-charge nationwide), Botswana Television (BTV), and two FM radio stations, Radio Botswana and Radio Botswana 2. News coverage in the state-owned media supported government policies and actions. The *Daily News* also published general coverage of current events and issues and included a second front page in Setswana, the most commonly spoken language. The independent press is small but vigorous and has a long tradition of outspoken discourse. Reporters aggressively cover the political arena and frequently criticise the government and the president without fear of closure. However, the circulation of privately owned print media continues to be limited primarily to the main cities and towns.

It is evident that freedom of expression is protected in the Constitution and that Botswana enjoys a relatively free public media. However notice was taken of the widespread perception from opposition parties that the ruling BDP, because of its incumbency, enjoyed a great deal of coverage in state-owned media. In response, the BDP made reference to the state protocol which requires that official activities of the president, his deputy and members of the Cabinet be covered by the public media.

4 | The Election

- Opening of voting stations and election materials
- Voters' roll
- Polling stations
- Closing of polling stations
- Voting staff, party agents and security personnel
- Observers

Polling day in Botswana is still considered a normal working day, unlike the practice in most countries in the Southern African Development Community region. On election day, Saturday 30 October 2004, EISA teams visited a total of 113 polling stations. Overall, the voting process was smooth and efficiently managed. There was discipline among voters at all times, despite long queues and the high temperature. The mission did not observe any incident that could have disturbed the voting process in a significant way.

4.1.   OPENING OF VOTING STATIONS AND ELECTION MATERIALS
Section 50 of the Electoral Act provides for voting between 6h30 and 19h00, unless otherwise ordered by the secretary of the IEC. EISA teams observed the opening of polling stations and reported that, in most cases, this was carried out in accordance with the electoral regulations provided for in the law. Apart from one polling station which opened at 7h15, all other stations where there was an EISA team opened on time. Otherwise, in most other stations voting proceeded without any significant disturbance.

In terms of polling materials, ballot papers used in the 2004 elections were area specific. Only the parties and/or independent candidates contesting in a particular constituency or polling district appeared on the ballot paper.

There were no major problems in terms of preparation and distribution of polling materials for the elections. In all the polling stations visited, EISA teams established that ballot papers and other election materials were despatched and received in good order by local election officers on the eve of election day.

4.2.   VOTERS' ROLL

As stated earlier, the voters' roll was compiled and presented to the nation in compliance with the relevant provisions of the Electoral Act. All the electoral stakeholders had access to the voters' roll prior to the election at each of the 2 179 polling stations throughout the country. The registration of voters in Botswana is a continuous and accessible process. Reports were that the registration of voters was carried out efficiently in most areas. As a result, in all the areas where EISA teams were deployed, reports of cases of voters failing to vote owing to the state of the voters' roll were isolated.

Some potential voters attempted to register more than once. But the problem was effectively dealt with through the computerised system used to compile the voters' register. The system does not accept any double entries. Attempts to double an entry will delete from the system any entry with matching details.

In Gaborone, it was observed that the distribution of voters per polling station was not even or balanced at the different polling stations visited. The average number of voters per polling station ranged from 70 to more than 1 000. The result was long and crowded queues observed at some polling stations while others in the same area had no queues.

4.3.   POLLING STATIONS

The mission noted that the IEC provided enough polling stations throughout the country to ensure that citizens had access to the vote within a reasonable distance from their homes. For 552 848 registered voters, there were 2 179 polling stations, which translated to an average of 254 voters per polling station.

The increase in the number of polling stations and the efficient distribution of voting materials by the IEC allowed the process to run smoothly in general.

The mission observed that the majority of polling stations visited were adequately equipped and supplied with necessary polling materials. Polling stations' perimeters were clearly marked. However in some sparsely populated areas such as Maun, it was observed that voters had to walk long distances to the polling stations. Whilst this can be attributed to the geographic spread of the country and sparse rural population, the scarcity of polling stations in these areas may have disenfranchised some voters.

4.4   CLOSING OF POLLING STATIONS

EISA teams observed the ending of the voting process at the same polling stations where they had observed the beginning of the voting process. Most polling stations closed at 19h00 as prescribed by the Electoral Act, and verification was undertaken.

No major problems were observed at the closing of polling stations, except for poor lighting in some polling stations. In these instances, gas lamps were used to solve the problem. In one instance witnessed by an EISA team, car headlights were improvised and switched on to illuminate the room where the verification was taking place. After the closing and verification processes, the boxes were taken to the constituency counting centres, where another verification process was undertaken before the actual counting began.

4.5.   VOTING STAFF, PARTY AGENTS AND SECURITY PERSONNEL

According to the IEC, election officers for the 2004 general elections were selected and appointed during the months of June and July 2004. They were basically drawn from among teachers and the public service. Their training followed in the course of August and September 2004. The mission noted with satisfaction that a large proportion of these election officers were women.

In general, the mission was highly impressed with the level of professionalism exhibited by electoral personnel at polling stations and in the conduct of the whole voting process. This was a positive indication that the training provided by the IEC to electoral staff was adequate and well-organised.

As for the security forces, the mission noticed their effective and discreet presence at all polling stations visited. The security measures established at

polling stations seemed to contribute to the peaceful and free atmosphere in which the entire electoral process took place.

The mission noted that there were party agents at all polling stations visited. The agents were free to carry out their activities without impediment.

4.6.   OBSERVERS

Unlike previous elections in Botswana, the 30 October 2004 parliamentary and local government elections were observed by a large number of election observers, both international and local. While in 1999, through EISA, the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) of SADC countries was the sole group which observed Botswana's general elections, in October 2004, regional and domestic groups organised themselves in order to observe and assess the conduct of elections in the oldest democracy in the SADC region.

Secondly, and most importantly, several sets of electoral principles, guidelines and standards developed by African and Southern African inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations have been adopted since the last election in 1999. These include the ECF/EISA Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation in the SADC region (PEMMO), which had already been used to assess elections in South Africa and Malawi earlier in 2004. PEMMO was also used by the Botswana Electoral Support Network (BESNET), an organisation that received financial and technical support from EISA to observe the elections.

During the deployment phase, EISA teams met other international observer groups, including the African Union and the SADC Parliamentary Forum, as well as various diplomatic missions.

The Botswana electoral authorities were transparent and opened their doors to external scrutiny. The mission noted that the active participation of both international and domestic observers was facilitated by the smooth accreditation process put in place by the IEC.

5 The Post-Election Phase

▼ • Counting

▼ • Transmission of results

▼ • The results

5.1. COUNTING

Procedures for the counting of the ballots are outlined in sections 68-77 of the Electoral Law. After the closing of the polling station and a preliminary verification process, the presiding officer of each polling station transmits the sealed ballot boxes in the safe custody of the returning officer to the constituency counting centre. Party agents and observers are allowed to accompany the ballot boxes from the polling station to the counting centre. As the sealed ballot boxes arrive, the returning officer accounts for and verifies the contents vis-à-vis the ballots cast and remaining ballot papers and so on. This is done with the assistance of counting officers. After verification has been done for each polling station in the constituency, all ballot boxes are mixed and the counting begins.

EISA teams observed the verification at polling stations and followed the boxes to the counting centres. They observed that, generally speaking, counting was very slow and tedious. The process was excessively centralised and time-consuming. The mission was particularly concerned that the safety of ballot papers seemed not to be guaranteed during their transportation from polling stations to the counting centres. Given the sensitivity of ballot papers, the mission believes that they should be transported under police escort. It is possible to make counting more efficient and rational by doing it at the polling stations.

As for the counting centres, the mission observed that they were generally crowded, noisy and subject to external disturbances. In some cases, the noisy atmosphere impeded the counting process. On several occasions, teams witnessed cases of miscount due to human error. In many cases the counting officers were showing signs of fatigue and lack of concentration, which led to unnecessary blunders. However these were corrected immediately as the process was being managed and performed in a very transparent and open manner.

Overall, however, the mission did not observe anything that could have negatively affected or compromised the legitimacy of the counting process. Party agents and candidates, in a few cases, were present at the counting centres that the mission visited. This presence, added to the international and domestic observers and other citizens at the counting centres, meant that the process was being scrutinised by many eyes. In the mission's view, this active participation contributed to ensuring the transparency of the process.

5.2.   TRANSMISSION OF RESULTS

The Electoral Act stipulates that after the votes have been counted and the final outcome of the ballot ascertained, the returning officer has the authority to declare the results of the poll by reading loudly the certified endorsement for elected candidates. Then the results are transmitted from the district counting centres to the headquarters of the IEC, where the IT manager enters them into the system, under the supervision of the secretary. The Botswana IEC did not establish distinct result centres as is the case in most countries in the SADC region.

At the conclusion of the counting process, the returning officer had to deliver all documents relating to the conduct of the election to the secretary of the IEC and the registrar of the High Court, who is responsible for their safekeeping.

5.3.   THE RESULTS

Despite unexpected delays caused by the slow counting process, the IEC was able to announce the final result of the 2004 parliamentary and local government elections early on the morning of Monday 1 November 2004,

the eve of the scheduled inauguration of the president. The BDP secured a massive win, as it took 44 out of the 57 elected seats in the National Assembly. The BNF won 12 seats, while the BCP received one seat.

Vote splitting has been blamed for the opposition's weak performance in the 2004 parliamentary elections. The opposition has been constantly plagued by internal power struggles and splits that have prevented it from establishing itself as a credible challenge to the ruling BDP. For example in 2004, the BCP refused to join the coalition formed by the BAM, the BNF and the Botswana People's Party to oppose the BDP.

The final results of the election are contained in Appendix 10 and 11.

6 Conclusions and Recommendations

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The mission acknowledged and applauded the fact that Botswana is one of the most enduring democracies in the SADC region and on the African continent. There were very few reports of political intolerance, violence or intimidation. It is in the interest of electoral stakeholders in Botswana to ensure this is preserved for future elections.

On the basis of guidelines established by PEMMO, the EISA regional election observer mission noted that the 2004 parliamentary and local government elections in Botswana were conducted in a peaceful, professional and transparent manner. There were no major legal or political hindrances that could have adversely affected the constitutional right of the citizens of Botswana to freely choose their leaders. The mission found that the electoral legal framework of Botswana guarantees fundamental freedoms and human rights and is generally conducive to the holding of democratic elections. The campaign process was largely free of political violence and intimidation. The assessment of the EISA mission is that the 2004 Botswana parliamentary and local government elections were free and to a large extent fair, with room for improvement to further enhance the fairness.

After examining the legal framework of elections in Botswana, the EISA mission came to the conclusion that whilst the law provides for the conduct of democratic elections, there are provisions which are inconsistent with universal and regional trends. Botswana should therefore consider some

measures with a view to enhancing political representation, ensuring fair electoral competition and improving political accountability.

Democratic consolidation is spreading at a quick pace in the SADC region and Africa as a whole. This process includes the development of standards for election management and assessment which resulted in the adoption of PEMMO. For example, whilst acknowledging that Botswana is stronger in democratic practice than many of its neighbours, there are still some areas where further improvement is required if democracy is to be consolidated. These include, among other things, monitoring and prohibiting the use of state resources for partisan purposes; ensuring the equitable access of contesting parties and candidates to public media; improving the representation of women in decision-making structures such as parliament and local authorities; and maintaining the independence of the electoral management body.

Following are the specific areas in which the mission felt there should be reforms and improvements

❏ **Affirmative action for women's representation in decision making**
The first-past-the-post electoral system used in Botswana has been found in a number of countries to lead to under-representation of women and other disadvantaged groups. Furthermore, the system of allocating seats on the basis of winner-takes-all and discarding all the other votes means that all the other voters' choices are disregarded. The SADC Declaration on Gender and Development of 1997 provides for a minimum 30% representation of women in decision-making positions by the year 2005. The mission was concerned by the low number of women candidates, which at 21% would not have allowed it to meet the 30% minimum target set by SADC. Even before the election, Botswana was unable to meet the minimum requirement and of course there was no guarantee that all the female candidates would be elected. The adoption of the single member plurality electoral system exacerbates this situation.

After the 30 October 2004 parliamentary elections, the number of women elected to the National Assembly substantially declined to four MPs – all from the BDP. From the 17% achieved in the 1999 parliamentary elections,

Botswana has moved to a situation where women constitute only 7% of elected members of the National Assembly. From position six in the SADC region in terms of women's representation in parliament, Botswana has dropped to position 12, ahead only of Mauritius. It is disappointing to note that the decline of women's representation in decision-making institutions like parliament comes at a time when most of the SADC countries and leaders have committed themselves to achieving a 1:3 ratio of women to men in their parliaments by 2005.

The mission recommends a review of the electoral system or the introduction of a more proportional system in order to accommodate the need for a more balanced gender and political party representation.

❑ **Use of state resources for electoral purposes**

It is acknowledged that incumbency carries certain advantages. Parties in office usually have an unfair advantage as they use state assets to which they have access for campaign purposes or to further their political ends. However, the incumbency should not be unduly exploited to give the ruling party a particular lead over other contesting parties. The mission recommends that the use of public assets and funds for partisan purposes be regulated and enforced in order to level the playing field for political competition.

The ideal would be to avoid the unfair and illegal use of public resources for political campaigns or parties' activities. But if permitted, access to public resources must be equitable and conditions for such access clearly provided for in law.

❑ **Funding of political parties**

It is also acknowledged that the source and amount of funding may have an undue influence on a country's politics. That is why many countries are reviewing their laws to provide for the obligatory disclosure of private funding to political parties and candidates as well as to establish a ceiling on campaign expenses. Most countries in the SADC region provide public funding to political parties for election purposes. This is a way of not only supporting democracy, but also levelling the playing field and minimising the adverse impact of private funding on politics.

To avoid suspicion and tensions observed between the ruling party and opposition parties, the mission encourages the people of Botswana to consider introducing appropriate reforms in a manner that they may deem fit for the consolidation of democratic governance in the country.

❏ **Balanced coverage of parties' activities in the perspective of elections**
The mission was frequently informed that the incumbent president and the ruling BDP were dominating the public media. The mission therefore proposes that the IEC design and develop a code of conduct to regulate the equitable access of all contesting parties and candidates to the public media, as well as to promote fair media reporting. These regulations and the code of conduct should be enforced effectively.

❏ **The announcement of the election day**
Concerns were unanimously raised by all stakeholders, except the BDP, in regard to the determination of the election day. Both the Constitution and the Electoral Law are silent on the subject. The prerogative to decide is entrusted exclusively to the president. The current trend within the SADC region is to make clear constitutional provision for the election date. The mission therefore recommends that the date of election should be provided for in the relevant law. The election day should be also declared as a public holiday in order for every citizen to fulfil, without any restraint, his/her right to vote.

❏ **Counting at central locations and reconciliation of voting material**
The current procedure of counting the ballots at central locations is slow, time-consuming and cumbersome. The mission found that under this system, the reconciliation of voting materials is duplicated, as it is conducted both at the polling station level and at the district counting centres. Besides, the transfer of uncounted ballot papers is hazardous. According to PEMMO, the transportation of ballot papers between voting stations and counting centres is generally a potential source of suspicion and fraud.

The mission recommends therefore that the counting process should take place at each polling station immediately after the close of voting. When the counting process is completed, the results should immediately be announced and posted outside the polling station.

The EISA regional EOM in Botswana hopes that such reforms would assist the Republic of Botswana in further consolidating democracy and harmony as well as continuing to inspire countries that are going through political transition or struggling to entrench democracy.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1
Composition of the EISA Observer Mission

1.	Madame Ntlhoi Motsamai	Lesotho	Speaker, National Assembly of Lesotho
2.	Mr Denis K. Kadima	DRC	Executive Director, EISA
3.	Ms Otilia Aquino	Mozambique	Director, AMODE
4.	Ms Emma Chiseya	Zimbabwe	ZESN
5.	Ms Justina Cumbe	Mozambique	Director, FECIV
6.	Dr Roukaya Kasenally	Mauritius	Lecturer, University of Mauritius
7.	Ms Portia Kobue	South Africa	Journalist, Kaya FM
8.	Mr Mokhele Likate	Lesotho	Commissioner, IEC Lesotho
9.	Mr Hector Lubamba	DRC	Programme Officer, EISA-DRC
10.	Mr Isidoro K. Lueni	Angola	Luanda Electoral Network
11.	Ms Belinda Musanhu	Zimbabwe	Programme Officer, EISA
12.	Ms Lucy Muyoyeta	Zambia	Chairperson, NGOCC
13.	Mr Undule Mwakasungura	Malawi	Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation
14.	Mr Gilberto Neto	Angola	Journalist
15.	Ms Sa Ngidi	South Africa	Manager, EISA
16.	Ms Thuli Ngubane	South Africa	Programme Assistant, EISA
17.	Dr Lloyd Sachikonye	Zimbabwe	Associate Professor, University of Zimbabwe
18.	Mr Armindo Sardinha	Angola	Forum for Democracy
19.	Ms Zahira Seedat	South Africa	Senior Programme Assistant, EISA
20.	Ms Ilona Tip	South Africa	Senior Advisor, EISA
21.	Mr Vincent Tohbi	Ivory Coast	Country Director, EISA-DRC
22.	Mr Dieudonné Tshiyoyo	DRC	Programme Officer, EISA

APPENDIX 2

EISA Mission Arrival Press Statement

EISA OBSERVER MISSION
TO THE 2004 BOTSWANA PARLIAMENTARY AND
LOCAL ELECTIONS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EISA is pleased to announce the official beginning of its regional election observer mission to the Botswana parliamentary and local elections to be held on Saturday 30 October 2004. Leading the mission is the Speaker of the National Assembly of Lesotho, Madame Ntlhoi Motsamai. EISA Executive Director Denis Kadima is the deputy mission leader.

The mission comprises 22 observers. They are nationals of various SADC countries, namely Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The delegates come from electoral commissions, civil society organisations (CSOs), parliaments and political parties.

The overall objective of this mission is in line with EISA's vision of promoting credible elections and democratic governance in Africa. Following an invitation extended by the Botswana Government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation dated 24 September 2004, EISA established a mission to observe the 2004 parliamentary and local elections in Botswana.

Specific objectives for this particular mission include the following:
- To assess whether conditions exist for the conduct of elections that reflect the will of the people of Botswana;
- To assess whether the elections are conducted in accordance with the electoral legislative framework of Botswana;
- To assess whether the elections meet the benchmarks set out in the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and

Observation in the SADC Region (PEMMO), developed under the auspices of EISA and the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) of Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries.

PEMMO is the result of three years of work by the ECF and EISA. This initiative led to the adoption of election principles which are serving as benchmarks in the conduct and assessment of elections in the SADC region. It should be recalled that these principles were adopted on 6 November 2003 in Johannesburg, South Africa, and resulted from a process of consultation with all electoral commissions in the SADC region as well as CSOs who work in the field of elections. PEMMO gives the region an objective basis in terms of which to conduct and assess elections. PEMMO has been applied for the assessment of the South African and Malawian elections held in April and May 2004 respectively.

On 27 October 2004, EISA will deploy seven teams in Gaborone, Francistown, Maun, Jwaneng, Selebi-Phikwe and Lobatse, where they will meet electoral stakeholders, including the Independent Electoral Commission, political parties, CSOs and academics, ahead of the election day. The mission will remain in the country until 2 November 2004 to observe voting and counting processes as well as post-polling activities.

EISA is a regional non-governmental organisation established in 1996 and based in Johannesburg, South Africa. Its mission is to strengthen electoral processes, good governance, human rights and democratic values in the SADC region and beyond through research, capacity building, advocacy and other targeted interventions. EISA services governments, electoral commissions, political parties, civil society organisations and other institutions operating in the democracy and governance fields in Africa.

The mission is based at Cresta Lodge, Gaborone, where EISA has established a field office in Room 401. For further information, please contact Dieudonné Tshiyoyo, the mission coordinator, on +267 7285 7250.

Honourable Ntlhoi Motsamai   **Denis Kadima**
Mission Leader   Deputy Mission Leader

APPENDIX 3

INTERIM STATEMENT BY THE EISA ELECTION
OBSERVATION MISSION:
BOTSWANA PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL ELECTIONS
30 OCTOBER 2004

EISA ELECTION OBSERVER MISSION

THE 2004 BOTSWANA PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

– INTERIM STATEMENT –

Gaborone, Monday 1 November 2004

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

1. INTRODUCTION

EISA was invited by the Government of Botswana to observe the 2004
Botswana parliamentary and local government elections. Accordingly, EISA
deployed an observer mission to the said elections, which has made the
preliminary assessments contained in this statement. The assessment covers
the pre-polling, polling, counting and the early stages of the results tabulation
process. EISA will produce a final report in the next few weeks, which will
provide an in-depth analysis of the whole electoral process. Therefore, EISA
will continue to follow the process to its completion, including the
announcement of results so as to evaluate the overall post-election phase.

1.1. About EISA

EISA was established in 1996. It is an independent non-profit organisation
which seeks to promote credible elections and democratic governance in
Africa through research, capacity building, advocacy and other targeted
interventions. Election observation is a key component of EISA work, as it
allows the collection of data and information on electoral practices. Equally
important for EISA, election observation provides an opportunity for mission
members from countries without a long tradition of multiparty democratic
elections to gain first-hand electoral experience.

The organisation is headquartered in Johannesburg, South Africa, and has field offices in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mozambique.

1.2. Mission composition

The mission is composed of 22 members drawn from electoral commissions, civil society organisations, parliaments, academic institutions and political parties from ten African countries: Angola, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Honourable Madame Ntlhoi Motsamai, Speaker of the National Assembly of Lesotho, led the Mission and EISA Executive Director Denis Kadima was deputy leader.

Members of the EISA mission started arriving in Gaborone on 23 October 2004. The mission met various Botswana election stakeholders and observed events until 31 October 2004.

1.3. Deployment

A total of seven EISA teams were deployed in different parts of Botswana as follows:

(a)   One team in Francistown
(b)   Two teams in Gaborone
(c)   One team in Jwaneng
(d)   One team in Lobatse
(e)   One team in Maun and
(f)   One team in Selebi-Phikwe

The teams covered selected rural and urban areas in their districts. The mission visited a total of 116 voting stations throughout the country.

1.4. Method of work

In order to accommodate the need for a holistic approach to election assessment, EISA conducted various activities covering the pre-election phase, the polling phase and will continue to follow post-election developments. These activities included:

Election Update

Owing to limited financial resources, it was not possible for the mission to undertake long-term observation. EISA used its innovative method of information gathering and sharing to keep members of the mission and other stakeholders up to date with the electoral process as it evolved in the run-up to election day. Botswana-based researchers were contracted to gather information in close consultation with EISA on critical election-related matters. This information was published fortnightly in the *Election Talk* and *Election Update* series, which were widely distributed electronically and in print.

Stakeholder meetings and political party rallies

Members of the mission held meetings with various electoral stakeholders, including representatives of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), political parties, civil society organisations, the media and academics. The mission also met domestic observers from the Botswana Electoral Support Network (BESNET), church groups and other international observer teams. Meetings were held at both national and district levels. These meetings provided useful insight into the different key stakeholders' assessment of the process as well as the general mood in the country as the polls drew near. Our teams also attended political party rallies and witnessed Freedom Square meetings.

Observation of voting and counting

The members of the mission were deployed in the field from 27 October 2004, where they held further meetings with election stakeholders before observing the voting as well as the counting on 30 and 31 October 2004.

1.5   Principles for election management, monitoring and observation in the SADC region

The EISA observer mission's assessment of the Botswana 2004 elections is based on the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation in the SADC Region (PEMMO). PEMMO is a set of benchmarks against which an election can be measured to assess whether it is free and fair. PEMMO was developed by EISA in partnership with the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) of SADC countries, which comprises all the election management bodies in the SADC region. These principles are the

result of extensive research and region-wide consultation with electoral stakeholders, in particular electoral management bodies and civil society organisations who work essentially in the election field. The principles contained in PEMMO are not inconsistent with the legal framework governing elections in Botswana.

The principles cover the whole electoral process, including the period before, during and after the poll. They provide an objective standard against which an election can be measured. Furthermore, they constitute a useful tool in the post-election review and for electoral reforms. For observers, PEMMO also outlines guidelines on expected behaviour for the enhanced credibility of observer groups. After its adoption at a regional conference on 6 November 2003 in Johannesburg, PEMMO has been successfully used to assess the South Africa and Malawi elections held in April and May 2004 respectively.

2.   FINDINGS OF THE MISSION

The EISA election observer mission, basing itself on PEMMO as a guideline, made the following findings:

2.1   Legal framework of elections

The mission found that the electoral legal framework in Botswana is generally conducive to the holding of democratic elections. This framework guarantees fundamental freedoms and human rights.

2.2   Voter registration and voters' roll

The mission is pleased that the registration of voters in Botswana is a continuous and accessible process. In all the areas where the mission teams were deployed, reports of cases of voters failing to vote owing to the state of the voters' roll were minimal, if not negligible.

2.3   Atmosphere of elections

The campaign process was free of political violence and intimidation. The mission congratulates the people of Botswana, security forces and political parties for the peaceful atmosphere maintained throughout the election process.

2.4   Accreditation of observers

The participation of both international and domestic observers was facilitated by the smooth accreditation process put in place by the IEC.

2.5   Logistical arrangements

The voting process in the areas visited by the EISA teams was smooth. The increase in the number of polling stations and the efficient distribution of voting material by the IEC allowed the process to run smoothly.

2.6   The conduct of the poll

The mission notes the professionalism of the polling staff in the conduct of the voting process. This is a reflection of the adequate training that the IEC gave to them.

3. AREAS OF IMPROVEMENT

The mission analysed the legal framework of elections in Botswana and came to the conclusion that although it generally provided for the conduct of democratic elections, there are provisions or a lack thereof which are inconsistent with universal and regional trends. Therefore the Botswana nation should consider undertaking some reforms with a view to enhancing political representation, ensuring fair electoral competition and improving political accountability. The mission therefore recommends the following:

3.1. Access to media and public resources

PEMMO proposes that access to and use of public media and other public resources during an election period should be equitable. It proposes that Botswana abide by these principles.

3.2. Funding of political parties

It is universally recognised that money may have undue influence on a country's politics. Many countries are reviewing their laws to provide for the compulsory disclosure of private funding to political parties and candidates. Regarding public funding of parties, it would be preferable that political parties, in particular those represented in parliament, be funded by the state as a way of supporting democracy. This would have the effect of levelling the playing field and minimising the adverse impact of private funding on politics.

The mission encourages the people of Botswana to consider introducing such reforms in a manner that they may deem fit.

3.3. Electoral system: inclusivity and representation of women

The first-past-the-post electoral system used in Botswana has been found in a number of countries to lead to under-representation of women and losing parties.

The SADC Declaration on Gender and Development of 1997 provides for a minimum 30% representation of women in decision-making positions by the year 2005. The mission is concerned by the low number of women candidates, which presupposes that Botswana will be unable to meet this minimum requirement. The adoption of the single member plurality electoral

system exacerbates this situation. The mission recommends a review of the electoral system to accommodate the need for a more balanced gender and political party representation.

3.4. Date of elections

There is a general move within the SADC region to make constitutional provision for the election date. The mission therefore recommends that Botswana consider this option.

3.5. Appointment of the electoral commission and the secretary of elections

The appointment procedures of the IEC and its secretary raise concerns of perception about the independence and impartiality of the IEC. In the mission's view, the all-party conference mechanism should be strengthened in order to build consensus and promote trust in the commission. In addition, the appointment of the secretary must be the prerogative of the commission. Finally, the appointment of the commission should not be done too close to the election in order to avoid any possible disruption of the electoral process.

3.6. Counting at central locations and reconciliation of polling material

The current counting procedure is long and cumbersome. Under this system, the reconciliation of polling materials is duplicated as it is conducted both at the voting station and the counting station. The transfer of uncounted ballot papers is risky.

The mission recommends that the counting process should take place in the polling station immediately after the close of voting.

4. CONCLUSION

Basing itself on the guidelines enshrined in the ECF/EISA PEMMO, the EISA election observer mission concludes that the 2004 Botswana parliamentary and local government electoral process was free and to a large extent fair, with room for improvement to further enhance the fairness.

The mission urges the Botswana electoral stakeholders to consider the recommendations as outlined in the statement.

Honourable Ntlhoi Motsamai   **Denis Kadima**
Mission Leader   Deputy Mission Leader

APPENDIX 4

Programme for Observers' Briefing

EISA ELECTION OBSERVER MISSION TO BOTSWANA
PROGRAMME

BRIEFING MEETING
Fairground Holdings, Gaborone
Tuesday, 26 October 2004

SESSION 1   WELCOME & INTRODUCTIONS

08:00-08:05   **Welcoming Remarks**
*Mr Denis Kadima: Deputy Mission Leader and Executive
Director, EISA*

08:05-08:20   **Official Opening**
*Ms Ntlhoi Motsamai, Speaker of the National Assembly of
Lesotho and Mission Leader*

08:20-08:35   **Introductions**

SESSION 2   THE OBSERVATION PROCESS
Facilitator: Ms Ntlhoi Motsamai, EISA Mission Leader
08:35-08:50   **Programme Outline**
This session will give a general overview of the observation
process
Ms Sa Ngidi, Manager EPP

08:50-10:30   **Assessing Election in Accordance with PEMMO**
PEMMO, the Principles for Election Management,
Monitoring and Observation in the SADC Region, will
provide a tool against which the election will be assessed.
What are the main features of PEMMO? How have we
adapted our checklist to be in line with PEMMO?
Mr Denis Kadima and Ms Sa Ngidi

10:30-10:50   **EISA Mission Photograph – Coffee/Tea Break**

SESSION 3	**THE POLITICAL CONTEXT**
	Facilitator: Mr Mokhele Likate, Lesotho Electoral Commission
10:50-11:10	**Assessment of the Current Political Situation**
	Mr Patrick Molutsi, Executive Secretary, Botswana Tertiary Education Council
11:10-11:30	**The Role of Civil Society in the Electoral Process:** Assessment of the 2004 Election Environment to Date
	Mr Moemedi Tsimanyane, BESNET
11:30-11:50	**Readiness of the Botswana Electoral Commission:** Preparations thus far
	Mr T.G.G.G. Seeletso, Secretary, IEC Botswana
11:50-12:20	**Discussions**
SESSION 4	**THE PERSPECTIVES OF POLITICAL PARTIES**
	Facilitator: Dr Roukaya Kasenally, University of Mauritius
12:20-12:50	**Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)**
12:50-13:20	**Coalition BNF-BAM-BPP**
	• Botswana National Front (BNF)
	• Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM)
	• Botswana People's Party (BPP)
13:20-14:00	Lunch
14:00-14:30	**Botswana Congress Party** New Democratic Front
SESSION 5	**DEPLOYMENT PLAN**
	Facilitator: Mr Denis Kadima, Deputy Mission Leader
14:30-16:00	**Deployment Plans and Logistical Packages**
16:30-17:15	**Press Conference**
18:00-19:00	**Cocktail with Media**

APPENDIX 5

LIST OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER GROUPS

1. EISA
2. The UK Parliamentary Group
3. The African Union
4. The SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF)
5. The European Union Delegation
6. The British High Commission
7. The Namibian High Commission
8. The South African High Commission
9. The Embassy of China
10. The Embassy of Russia
11. The Canadian Consulate in Gaborone
12. The Zimbabwean High Commission
13. The US Embassy
14. The Embassy of Germany
15. The Embassy of Norway
16. The Embassy of France
17. University of Trent (Canada)

APPENDIX 6

LIST OF DOMESTIC OBSERVER GROUPS

1. Emang Basadi
2. Justice and Peace (Roman Catholic Church)
3. Evangelic Fellowship of Botswana Churches
4. Botswana Christian Council

APPENDIX 7

BOTSWANA CONSTITUENCIES AND THEIR POPULATION SIZES

Constituency	Population
1. Chobe	19 390
2. Maun East	28 125
3. Maun west	29 060
4. Ngami	36 115
5. Okavango	30 280
6. Tati	24 988
7. Tati West	24 311
8. Francistown East	26 271
9. Francistown West	27 503
10. Francistown South	29 211
11. Nata Gweta	29 011
12. Nkange	36 258
13. Tonota North	32 070
14. Tonota South	28 458
15. Bobirwa	36 844
16. Madinare	35 190
17. Selebi-Phikwe East	25 019
18. Selebi-Phikwe West	24 830
19. Tswapong North	33 515
20. Palapye	29 094
21. Tswapong South	29 372
22. Mahalapye East	25 387
23. Mahalapye West	29 743
24. Shoshong	25 366
25. Serowe North East	27 754
26. Serowe North West	25 108
27. Serowe South	29 434
28. Boteti North	24 212
29. Boteti South	26 627
30. Kgatleng East	38 566
31. Kgatleng West	34 910
32. Gaborone Central	35 745
33. Gaborone North	38 741
34. Gaborone South	36 365
35. Gaborone-West North	37 959

36. Gaborone-West South	37 517
37. South-East North	26 471
38. South-East South	32 890
39. Mgoditshane	32 811
40. Kweneng South East	29 640
41. Kweneng South	34 635
42. Molepolole North	29 531
43. Molepolole South	28 512
44. Kweneng East	28 985
45. Letlhakeng East	19 768
46. Letlhakeng West	18 549
47. Lobatse	30 892
48. Borolong	36 539
49. Ngwaketse South	33 546
50. Kanye North	26 977
51. Kanye South	27 177
52. Moshupa	29 313
53. Ngwaketse West	24 709
54. Kgalagadi North	21 245
55. Kgalagadi South	20 841
56. Ghanzi North	17 437
57. Ghanzi South	15 744

Source: Botswana Independent Electoral Commission 2004

APPENDIX 8: RESULTS OF THE 2004 BOTSWANA PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

	CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE'S NAME	PARTY	RESULTS
1		Gibson M.R. Nshimwe	BCP	2,225
		Duncan Mlazie	**BDP**	**2,650**
	Chobe	Albert Sachillemu Chamba	BNF	331
2		Wetsho R. Makgetho	BAM	2,530
		Jack F. Ramsden	**BDP**	**4,261**
	Maun East	Michael Wright	BCP	1,392
		Letlhogile Modumo Sethoko	BAM	1,691
3		Osimilwe Otsile Ditsheko	BCP	969
	Maun West	**Ronald Ronnie Ridge**	**BDP**	**3,371**
		Taolo Goyamang Habano	BAM	3,922
4		Geoffrey Retuura Ketjimambo	BCP	2,361
	Ngami	**Jacob Dickie Nkate**	**BDP**	**5,291**
		Sakuze Otukeseng	BAM	581
5		Joseph P. Kavindama	BCP	3,774
	Okavango	**Vistor M. Moruti**	**BDP**	**4,025**
		Samson Moyo Guma	**BDP**	**3,644**
6		Milidzani Letsholathebe	BCP	225
	Tati East	Motlatsi Mbanga	BPP	1,984
7		Albert Mosojane	BCP	358
		Mbiganyi Charles Tibone	**BDP**	**4,322**
	Tati West	Richard Amos Gudu	BPP	2,829
8		Morgan C. M. Moseki	BCP	1,419
		Phandu T.C. Skelemani	**BDP**	**3,255**
	Francistown East	Kumbulani William	BPP	869
9		Whyte B. Marobela	BCP	1,539
		Tshelang Masisi	**BDP**	**3,526**
	Francistown West	Bernard M. Balikani	BPP	3,526
		Matlhomola Modise	BAM	779
10		**Khumo T. Maoto**	**BDP**	**2,843**
		Vain Mamela	BCP	2,653
	Francistown South	Tosa Budulala	BAM	875
11		**Olifant Mfa**	**BDP**	**2,988**
		Alphons Seisa	BCP	768
	Nata/Gweta	Gideon Kaelo	BAM	1,355
12		Batisani Simon Maswibilili	BCP	3,176

No.	Constituency	Candidate	Party	Votes
13	Nkange	Ambrose Masailia	BDP	4,246
		Habaudi Hobona	BCP	1,394
	Tonota North	Baledzi Gaolathe	BDP	4,444
		Boitshwarelo Chepete	BPP	695
14	Tonota South	Pono Pearson Moatlhodi	BDP	4,417
15		Michael kelebogile Mzwinila	BNF	1,253
		Taolo Boipuso Lucas	BCP	3,756
16	Bobirwa	Shaw Kgathi	BDP	4,258
		Christpher R. Motsholapheko	BCP	1,137
	Mmadinare	Ponatshego H. Kedikilwe	BDP	4,158
17		Nzwaligwa Nzwaligwa	BCP	2,478
		Nonofo Ezekiel Molefhi	BDP	2,629
		Calistus Poela Keotswetse	BNF	1,231
	Selebi-Phikwe East	Boiki Gaseitsewe	IND	59
		Gilson saleshando	BCP	2,802
18		Kavis Kario	BDP	3,100
	Selebi-Phikwe West	Otsweletse Moupo	BNF	1,489
19		Bonang E. Mafoko	BCP	1,298
		Thebe D. Mogami	BDP	5,579
	Tswapong North	Zachariah P. Kgwadi	BNF	956
20		James Mpho Olesitse	BCP	2,303
		Lephimotswe B. Sebetela	BDP	3,863
	Palapye	Lebitsa Gabatsotswe Lere	BNF	724
		Gobotswang Kesitegile	BCP	1,980
21		Menyatso Obonetse	BNF	869
		Oreeditse Sola Molebatsi	BDP	5,005
	Tswapong South	Dr Wame Boitumelo	BNF	1,836
22		Botlogile Tshireletso	BDP	3,979
	Mahalapye East	Thomas Ookeditse	BCP	975
23		Mompati S. Merafhe	BDP	5,429
	Mahalapye West	Abigail M. Mogalakwe	BNF	1,664
		Gobopang Duke Lefhoko	BDP	3,391
24		Patrick Malakaila	BNF	1,850
	Shoshong	Gontlefela Tsogo Mokongwa	BCP	380
		Lesedi Seabelo Tshekane	BCP	600
25	Serowe North East	Dikgakgamatso Seretse	BDP	5,871
		Gothatamang Motubudi	BNF	465
26		Lt. Gen Seretse Khama Ian Khama	BDP	un-opposed

No.	Constituency	Candidate	Party	Votes
27	Serowe North West	Morwadi Adrienne Morwadi	BCP	430
		Moses Mozila	BNF	1,066
		Pelonomi Venson	**BDP**	**6,228**
	Serowe South	Elijah Motsamai	BCP	528
28		**Slumber Tsogwane**	**BDP**	**3,870**
	Boteti North	Lebonetse Bolokang	BNF	2,587
		Tjilinga Letsholo	BCP	885
29		**Lebonamang T. Mokalake**	**BDP**	**2,944**
		Albert K. Mabelanga	BNF	1,204
	Boteti South	Steven S. Makhura	BCP	2,907
30		Isaac Jacob Davids	BDP	3,575
	Kgatleng East	**Isaac Steven Mabiletsa**	**BNF**	**5,066**
31		Motsei Madisa	BCP	2,294
		Rakwadi John Modipane	**BDP**	**3,943**
		Jerry Olefile Rasetshwane	BNF	3,758
	Kgatleng West	Letlotlo Phalane Kopong	NDF	267
		Margaret Nasha	BDP	2,901
32		Kathleen Mosidinyane Letshabo	BNF	1,917
		Dumelang Saleshando	**BCP**	**2,992**
	Gaborone Central	Violet Nkuna Mophuting	NDF	89
33		**Keletso Joseph Rakhudu**	**BDP**	**2,480**
		Patrick Ookeditse Kgwadi	BNF	2,030
		Monch Moncho	BCP	1,567
	Gaborone North	Sekgophi John Bogatsu	NDF	156
		Pelotelele Tlhaodi	BDP	1,981
		Akanyang Magama	**BNF**	**2,414**
34		Rex Ndzinge	BCP	268
		Dick Bayford	NDF	969
		Dithapelo Kgangkenna	MELS	14
	Gaborone South	Limited Quite Nkani	BDP	3,315
		Paul Mmolotsi Rantao	**BNF**	**3,936**
35		Othaile Mabaila	BCP	1,281
		Phillip Monowe	NDF	180
		Motlalepula Joina	MELS	19
	Gaborone West North	**Odirile Motlhale**	**BDP**	**2,153**

No	Constituency	Candidate	Party	Votes
36		**Robert K. Molefhabangwe**	**BNF**	**3,611**
		Abby Buti Chengeta	BCP	712
		Benny Mogodi	NDF	44
	Gaborone West South	John Mokgalagadi	BCP	902
		Shirley Itumeleng Tiny Segogko	BDP	2,470
37		**Olebile M. Gaborone**	**BNF**	**3,243**
		Linus Shaka Dikhudu	BCP	2,723
	South East North South	**Lesego Ethel Motsumi**	**BDP**	**3,769**
38		Ephraim Lepeto Setshwaelo	BNF	2,640
		Mokgweetsi Kgosipula	BCP	1,538
	South East South	**Patrick Masimolole**	**BDP**	**2,375**
39		Keetla Masogo	BNF	2,111
		Themba Joina	MELS	27
	Mogoditshane	**Edward Mmoloki Raletobana**	**BDP**	**3,528**
		Jerry Phale Moremi	BCP	1,133
40		Brendan Rangkomo	BNF	2,032
	Kweneng South East	**Gladys K. Theresa Kokorwe**	**BDP**	**4,658**
		Duke Molelekedi	BCP	1,253
41		Kopano M. Rannatshe	BNF	3,551
	Kweneng South	**Gaotlhaetse U. Matlhabaphiri**	**BDP**	**4,370**
		Mohammed I. Khan	BNF	3,912
42		Ray A.M. Moremong	BCP	159
	Molepolole North	**Daniel K. Kwelagobe**	**BDP**	**3,935**
		Benjamin Modimoothata	BNF	1,594
43		Pretty Sekgweng Molefhe	BNF	1,900
	Molepolole South	Kaone Pebe	MELS	61
44		**Major General Moeng R. Pheto**	**BDP**	**4,686**
		Michael Abelang Seitshiro	BCP	1,337
	Kweneng East	William Motube	BCP	226
		Boometswe Mokgothu	BDP	3,046
45		**Gordon Mokgwathi**	**BNF**	**3,107**
	Letlhakeng East			

#	Constituency	Candidate	Party	Votes
46	Lethakeng West	Maxwell K.G.	BDP	2,759
		Filbert Kebopame Nagafela	**BNF**	**3,122**
47		Otlaadisa Koosaletse	BCP	585
		Moggie M. Mbaakanyi	BDP	3,070
		Nehemia Mmoloki Modubule	**BNF**	**4,173**
	Lobatse	Methaeno Gaseitsiwe	NDF	466
		John Kealeboga Modise	IND	45
48		James I. Mathokgwane	BNF	2,311
		Onkokame Kitso Mokaila	**BDP**	**4,187**
	Barolong	Losikanyana Molema	NDF	188
		Bokae Tlalenyane Mosethi	BCP	896
49		Edwin Tau Raphuti	BCP	706
		Peter L. Siele	**BDP**	**4,994**
	Ngwaketse South	Kebadire Kalake	BNF	4,215
		Mosinki Mpuang	NDF	339
		Kentse Rammidi	BDP	4,602
50		**Calvin M.K. Batsile**	**BNF**	**5,331**
		Daniel Tlhomelang	BCP	229
	Kanye North	Pontius Mokgosana	BCP	512
		Leach K. Tlhomelang	BDP	3,120
51		**Omphithetse O. Maswabi**	**BNF**	**4,505**
		Seitshweneng M. Sebonego	NDF	365
	Kanye South	Rev. Benny Stegling	BCP	1,223
52		**Maitlhoko G. Kabelo Mooka**	**BDP**	**4,594**
		Boikhutso Motshwane Disele	BNF	1,059
	Moshupa	Mathaese Ralekoi	BCP	375
53		Michael Rabeleng Tshipinare	BDP	5,601
		Mephato Reatile	**BNF**	**7,050**
	Ngwaketse West	Mokgolele Z. Moapare	BDP	3,409
54		**Obakeng E. Moumakwa**	**BNF**	**3,486**
		Daniel O.K. Mokgare	NDF	174
	Kgalagadi North	**Daniel Neo Morka**	**BDP**	**4,398**
55		John Kgaboetsile Toto	BNF	3,398
		Brains Kebogile Kwadipane	BCP	362
	Kgalagadi South	**Johnnie Keemenao swartz**	**BDP**	**2,521**
56		Ferninand Tapiso Khosikoma	BNF	1,828
		Ramosidi Keakopa	BCP	571
	Gantsi North	**Christiaan De Graaff**	**BDP**	**3,281**
57		Soblen Mayane	BNF	2,626
	Gantsi South			

Source: Botswana Independent Electoral Commission.

APPENDIX 9: VOTER TURNOUT

Constituency	No. of Voters Registered	No. of Valid Votes Cast	No. of Rejected Votes	Total No. of Votes Cast
Barolong (48)	10,054	7,582	401	7,983
Bobirwa (15)	10,753	8,014	238	8,252
Boteti North (28)	9,321	6,985	212	7,197
Boteti south (29)	7,717	5,033	235	5,268
Chobe (1)	6,894	5,206	60	5,266
Francistown East (8)	7,764	5,543	99	5,642
Francistown South (10)	9,079	6,275	98	6,373
Francistown West (9)	9,471	6,574	113	6,687
Gaborone Central (32)	10,400	7,899	27	7,926
Gaborone North (33)	8,418	6,233	59	6,292
Gaborone South (34)	7,694	5,646	56	5,702
Gaborone West North (35)	11,649	8,731	59	8,790
Gaborone West South (36)	8,467	6,520	26	6,546
Ghanzi North (56)	6,471	4,711	245	4,956
Ghanzi South (57)	7,843	6,478	168	6,646
Kanye North (50)	12,773	10,162	188	10,350
Kanye South (51)	11,137	8,502	151	8,653
Kgalagadi North (54)	8,578	7,069	188	7,257
Kgalagadi South (55)	9,526	7,796	130	7,926
Kgatleng East (30)	15,065	11,548	323	11,871
Kgatleng West (31)	13,158	10,262	221	10,483
Kweneng East (44)	10,621	7,984	61	8,045
Kweneng south (41)	12,449	9,462	214	9,676
Kweneng South East (40)	9,110	6,693	126	6,819
Letlhakeng East (45)	8,241	6,379	231	6,610
Letlhakeng West (46)	7,361	5,881	83	5,964
Lobatse (47)	10,997	8,339	112	8,451
Mahalapye East (22)	7,797	5,815	132	5,947
mahalapye West (23)	10,633	8,068	125	8,193
Maun East (2)	11,271	8,166	137	8,303
Maun West (3)	8,107	6,031	70	6,101
Mmadinare (16)	7,800	5,295	206	5,501
Mogoditshane (39)	8,506	6,051	66	6,117
Molepolole North (42)	10,610	8,282	192	8,474

Molepolole South (43)	7,700	5,688	104	5,792
Moshupa (52)	9,011	6,876	163	7,039
Nata/Gweta (11)	6,684	4,631	118	4,749
Ngami (4)	14,741	11,574	272	11,846
Ngwaketse South (49)	13,110	10,254	256	10,510
Ngwaketse West (53)	16,646	13,026	270	13,296
Nkange (12)	11,452	8,777	210	8,987
Okavango (5)	10,461	8,380	311	8,691
Palapye (20)	9,511	6,890	130	7,020
Selibe Phikwe East (17)	8,099	6,397	61	6,458
Selibe Phikwe West (18)	9,261	7,391	77	7,468
Serowe North East (25)	10,010	6,936	196	7,132
Serowe North West (26)	6,194	0	0	0
Serowe South (27)	10,626	7,724	292	8,016
Shoshong (24)	7,341	5,621	111	5,732
South East North (37)	8,321	6,615	65	6,680
South East South (38)	11,499	9,132	181	9,313
Tati East (6)	8,029	5,853	113	5,966
Tati West (7)	9,798	7,509	149	7,658
Tonota North (13)	9,241	6,533	259	6,792
Tonota South (14)	8,096	5,670	160	5,830
Tswapong North (19)	11,036	7,833	138	7,971
Tswapong South (21)	10,247	7,854	205	8,059
TOTAL	**552,849**	**412,379**	**8,893**	**421,272**

Percentage of valid votes cast   97,89%
Percentage of rejected votes   2,11%
Percentage of total votes cast   76,20%

Source: Botswana Independent Electoral Commission