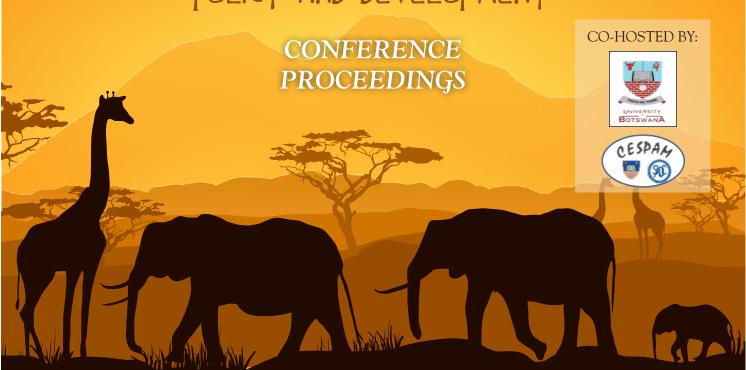


CONSORTIUM FOR INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT, POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT



In Partnership with

University of Botswana, College of Social Sciences | Department of Political and Administrative Studies and Centre of Specialization in Public Administration and Management (CESPAM)

In addition to other organizations and institutions

Eleventh International Conference

June 26 - 28, 2018

Gaborone, Botswana

University of Botswana Conference Centre

CONFERENCE THEME

PRIORITIES FOR THE FUTURE:
GOOD GOVERNANCE, HEALTH AND SAFETY,
SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC EQUITY









Eleventh International Conference on Public Management, Policy and Development

Conference Theme: Priorities for the future: Good Governance, Health and Safety, Social Justice and Economic Equity

CONFERENCE REPORT

26th-28th JUNE 2018 UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA CONFERENCE CENTRE GABORONE, BOTSWANA

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List of Delegates

Names	Institution/Organization
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Harvey White	University of Delaware, United States
Sylvester Murray	Cleveland State University, United States
Karyn N. Onyeneho	Howard University, United States
Esther Langston	University of Las Vegas, United States
David Sebudubudu	University of Botswana, Botswana
Bashi Mothusi	University of Botswana, Botswana
Dorothy Mpabanga	University of Botswana, Botswana
Baakile Motshegwa	University of Botswana, Botswana
Emmanuel Botlhale	University of Botswana, Botswana
Guila B. Cooper	Winston-Salem State University, United States
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Godfrey Themba	University of Botswana, Botswana
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Nthati Rametse	RMIT University, Australia
Oluwatoyin Dare Kolawole	University of Botswana, Botswana
Portia Ngcobo	University of South Africa, South Africa
Reniko Gondo	University of Botswana, Botswana
Robert Molebatsi	University of Botswana, Botswana
Ronald Moseki Motsholapheko	University of Botswana, Botswana
Rose B. Namara	Uganda Management Institute, Uganda
Roy Jones	Transformative Engineering Design, United States
Salphinah Vuloyimuni Ubisi	University of Limpopo, South Africa
Sankaru Clifford Sykes	Pontiac Michigan Public Schools, United States
Segotsi Mabogoane	Gauteng Provincial Legislature, South Africa
Sethunya Mosime	University of Botswana, Botswana
Sherperd R. Malefane	University of South Africa, South Africa
Sinval Kahn	University of South Africa, South Africa
Taderera Hebert Chisi	Midlands State University, Zimbabwe
Tendy Matenge	University of Botswana, Botswana
Thuto Mahlanza	University of Botswana, Botswana
Vanessa Duren-Winfield	Winston-Salem State University, United States
Vincent Chakunda	Midlands State University, Zimbabwe
William Anong	Winston-Salem State University, United States
Kevin Byers	Winston-Salem State University, United States
Herbert L. McNeal, Sr.	Retired Executive, Miller Brewing Company, United States
William Lesitaokana	University of Botswana, Botswana
Zibanani Kahaka	University of Botswana, Botswana

Abbreviations

AU - African Union

BAC - Botswana Accountancy College

BMC - Botswana Meat Commission

BPSC - Botswana Public Service College

BQA - Botswana Qualification Authority

BTO - Botswana Tourism Organization

CIMPAD - Consortium for International Management, Policy, and Development

DPSM - Directorate of Public Service Management

FDI - Foreign Direct Investment

HRDC - Human Resource Development Council-

IDM - Institute for Developmental Management

ISPAAD - Integrated Support Programme for Arable Agriculture

PAS - Political and Administrative Studies

PEEPA - Public Enterprises, Evaluation and Privatization Agency

SADC - South African Development Community

SDGs - Sustainable Development Goals

UB - University of Botswana

UNISA - University of South Africa

Introduction

The 11th Consortium for International Management, Policy, and Development (CIMPAD) conference was co-hosted by the University of Botswana and CIMPAD on the 26th -28th June 2018 at the University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana. The 11th CIMPAD conference was held under the theme; "Priorities for the Future: Good Governance, Health and Safety, Social Justice and Economic Equity." The main sponsor for the Conference was Brand Botswana which has a mandate to promoting Botswana's tourism sector.

The 11th CIMPAD Conference was officially opened by the Acting Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic Affairs for the University of Botswana Professor David Sebudubudu on behalf of the University Vice-Chancellor, Professor David Norris. The closing ceremony of the Conference was officiated by the Acting Head of Department for Political and Administrative Studies Mr. Batlang Seabo.

The Conference attracted scores of participants from across the world. Among the participants of the Conference were academic administrators and deans, government officials, professors for international universities, directors and senior managers from the United States, Botswana, South African, Zimbabwe, Australia, and other countries, parastatals, public sectors and private sector organizations. The delegates also included graduate research students from around the world, including local and regional universities across the United States and African countries. The universities represented at the 11th CIMPAD Conference included Midlands State University (Zimbabwe), RMIT University (Australia), University Limpopo (South Africa), Howard University (United States), Winston-Salem State University (United States), University of South Africa, and the University of Lesotho among others.

Day 1: Tuesday, June 26, 2018

DIRECTORS OF CEREMONIES: Mrs. Keneilwe Mooketsane and Ms. Karyn N. Onyeneho:

The Directors of Ceremonies ensured the conference proceedings were carried out in a precise and dignified manner. Each provided a summary of the speakers and presentations during and at the end of each plenary session during each day of the conference and to this end, organized and advised on all aspects of the conference while elaborating on the significance of conference proceedings. The Directors of Ceremonies welcomed conference participants and ensured conference attendees were engaged in thought provoking discussions. The Directors of Ceremonies formally opened the conference and plenary sessions and delegated duties among speakers and panel moderators to ensure success in conference proceedings.

OFFICIAL OPENING

Introduction of Guests

Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences: Dr. Bashi Mothusi and

CIMPAD Founding Conference General Chair: Professor Harvey White

The Head of Department under Political and Administrative Studies (PAS) in the University of Botswana, Dr. Bashi Mothusi, when officially opening the conference, started by introducing all the guests. He stated that delegation included the Consortium for International Management, Policy and Development (CIMPAD) committee members led by President, Dr. Peggy Valentine, and other senior members of the committee. Dr. Mothusi recognized the presence of the Deputy Dean of Academic Affairs in the University of Botswana who was alongside staff in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Botswana academic staff, presenters from different countries as well as members of the local organizing committee headed by Professor Baakile Motshegwa. Following the introduction of Guests, the acting Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences in the University of Botswana gave the opening remarks. In his address, he welcomed all the conference participants to the university and to the country Botswana. He highlighted that it was through teamwork that the CIMPAD conference took place and that it is only through teamwork that the conference will be a success. He concluded the opening remarks by wishing all participants a fruitful conference.

Dr. Harvey White, Founding Conference General Chair of CIMPAD, thanked the University of Botswana for hosting CIMPAD and pointed out that they are proud to be associated with such an auspicious conference. Dr. White highlighted that the conference is all about networking and therefore participants should make the best of it. Dr. White wished the participants a very successful conference.

WELCOME AND GREETINGS

CIMPAD President: Dr. Peggy Valentine

The President of CIMPAD, Dr. Valentine in her opening address, pointed out that it was an honor to be in Gaborone for the 11th CIMPAD International Conference, which is hosted in different countries every year. Dr. Valentine outlined the aims of the conference which included identifying solutions to issues of governance, gender, trade and many others that affect the daily lives of the citizens around the globe. She pointed out that even though there were fewer participants than expected, this should not in any way limit the quality of conference sessions. Dr. Valentine voiced out her impression with the hospitality CIMPAD organization members had received in Botswana and that the conference provided an opportunity for participants to share knowledge and experiences. In conclusion, Dr. Valentine thanked all colleagues from CIMPAD and the local organizing committee for putting together such an excellent conference and wished all fruitful deliberations.

GREETINGS FROM CIMPAD CONFERENCE CHAIR

Professor Sylvester Murray, MGA

Professor Murray, Conference Chair and General Chair Emeritus, in his address, pointed out that he is proud to be in Botswana and gave special recognition to all those who planned and attended the conference. He gave a background of the conference, in that it started with a visit to Botswana about two years ago and ended with an excellent product due to teamwork between the CIMPAD and Botswana organizing committees. The Professor extended his gratitude to Professor White and the Local Organizing Committee of the conference for the sterling job they had done, in organizing such a superb conference.

WELCOME REMARKS

Acting Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic Affairs, University of Botswana

Professor David Sebudubudu, University of Botswana

Professor Sebudubudu forwarded greetings from the Vice Chancellor of the University of Botswana Professor David Norris. He also extended a warm welcome to all foreign friends and scholars who graced the conference. He recognized the main sponsor of the conference, the Botswana Tourism Organization (BTO) through Brand Botswana. Professor Sebudubudu sent apologies for the Vice Chancellor who had wanted to attend the conference but could not due to other pressing commitments. Professor Sebudubudu pointed out that though the number of participants was not as plentiful this year, the quality of the discussions should be a priority and would overcome any shortcomings in conference attendance. Professor Sebudubudu advised the gathering that academics are defined only by their profile and therefore they should do their best to build their profiles. He motivated participants to invest in their Curriculum Vitae (CVs) or otherwise deprive themselves of being on the radar and lessening their competitive advantage in the global economy.

Professor Sebudubudu stated that the conference being hosted by the University of Botswana, through the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, clearly demonstrates that the University of Botswana is open to partnerships with all stakeholders. Therefore, the University was prepared to reach out to the world and applauded the PAS and CIMPAD for coming into such a valuable partnership. The Professor welcomed participants to the University of Botswana and the great city of Gaborone. He stated that Batswana are known to be a peace-loving, nation and therefore, all should enjoy their stay in the country.

Professor Sebudubudu reminded the conference participants that the University of Botswana is the first and oldest university in the country as it opened its doors in 1982. He explained that the University was found following the Motho le Motho mkgomo campaign, which was a national campaign for contributions, to build the campus. The campaign was an appeal to all Batswana to donate anything they could to build the country's first University to which they responded very positively, and that is how the University of Botswana was founded. He emphasized that the University is, therefore, a national asset and has significantly developed. Professor Sebudubudu reminded the conference participants of the strategic focus areas of the University one of which is reaching out to international partners. He elaborated that the CIMPAD conference speaks particularly of such hence the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, CESPAM as well as CIMPAD deserved special recognition. Professor Sebudubudu concluded his remarks by thanking all the participants and wished them a productive conference.

INTRODUCTION OF CIMPAD

President of CIMPAD: Dr. Peggy Valentine, Winston-Salem State University

Dr. Valentine started by giving the background of CIMPAD in being a non-governmental organization that was founded in 1997 and its aim is on the sustainable development of communities in Africa and the African Diaspora. The CIMPAD mission is to "To inspire and promote collaborative working relationships towards the advancement of knowledge in public administration, public management, public policy and leadership development, among practitioners and academicians in various African countries and the diaspora." Dr. Valentine informed the gathering that CIMPAD has since held various conferences under different themes in Africa. Dr. Valentine expressed her appreciation for the invitation and the warmth sent to CIMPAD by Botswana and the University which is a sign of trust and respect. She appreciated the collaboration between CIMPAD and the University of Botswana as being key to strengthening the relationship with international partners and intensifying research as well as building networks. The speaker explained how CIMPAD, through this conference, seeks to address or seek solutions to challenges of sustainable development in Botswana—echoing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations, and elsewhere in Africa and across the globe. She stated that ideas and solutions are put forward to tackle issues of good governance and sustainable development. Also, advice to policymakers come out of such conferences and it is interesting that the United Nations adopted Millennium Development Goals—an interdependency of SDGs, which are all issues that the conference addresses. Dr. Valentine stated that issues of inclusiveness, equity, and social justice should be put to the fore. She emphasized that the conference, therefore, imparts knowledge and experiences which

will also assist the University to position itself as a leading university in Africa and the world. Dr. Valentine informed the gathering that the proceedings of the conference will be published such that conference proceedings can help scholars build their profiles as they reflect on the conference theme, enriched learning, scholarship, and impactful discussions. She expressed sincerity, that conference organizers should be commended for putting together diverse and controversial issues which will benefit both the Southern African Development Community (SADC) as well as the African Union (African Union). The speaker emphasized that at the end of the conference, participants should emerge as better policy practitioners and researchers. In conclusion, the speaker expressed appreciation to CIMPAD organizational members and program committee members, Faculty of Social Science, the Centre for Strategic Public Administration and Management and those engaged in organizing the conference. The conference was therefore declared officially open.

CLOSING REMARKS

Christiana Care Health System: Dr. Velma Scantlebury

Dr. Scantlebury thanked all the participants of the conference and urged all to heed to the message on building their profiles through the conference and optimizing their marketability in the global economy through building upon the ethos expressed during welcome remarks by Acting Deputy Vice Chancellor Sebudubudu. She further urged the participants to network and build working relationships throughout the conference. The speaker concluded by wishing all the participants a productive conference with satisfactory results.

Plenary Session A

Botswana: A Place to Live, Visit and Invest

Brand Botswana: Executive Director Ms. Bame Moremong

Ms. Moremong of Brand Botswana was the main sponsor of the conference and took the opportunity to sell the country especially to those visiting it for the first time. For her presentation, Ms. Moremong, introduced Botswana as a woman of beauty and elaborated that her main mandate was to sell Botswana—both locally and internationally. She highlighted that traditionally, bad news sells, and this has disadvantaged Botswana because of the country's shining record especially on issues of peace and governance. She noted that for a long time, Botswana had been rated as one of the least corrupt nations in Africa and the world. Moreover, she state that the country is one of the best governed in the region. Ms. Moremong pointed out that Botswana is the 3rd best business destination in the SADC region which represents the country's peace and prosperity. Ms. Moremong highlighted that the country's prudent management of the natural resources, a good labor market and political stability, peaceful political power transfers like the recently witnessed on April 1, 2018. The speaker emphasized that such developments make Botswana shine and stand up as a renowned tourist destination. In her concluding remarks, Ms. Moremong assured the audience that Botswana is working on its impediments to attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) such as immigration laws as outlined in her Vision 2036. She concluded by pointing out her organization supports strategic collaborations such as the one between UB and CIMPAD hence Brand Botswana saw it fit to contribute to the success of hosting the conference with the limited resource that the organization has. The presenter played the audience a short video that exposed them to the culture of Botswana and its different tourist attractions.

CIMPAD Contributions Overtime to Connectiveness

CIMPAD Founding Conference General Chair: Dr. Harvey White

Professor White spoke of the development and contributions that CIMPAD has made over the time since its inception. He said that the organization has held conferences in different parts of the world and mainly in African countries such as Botswana, Ghana, Senegal, Liberia, Ethiopia, South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda Zambia and others. Professor White emphasized CIMPAD's mission—to work with international communities, especially in the African Diaspora, to bring awareness to achieving domestic and global targets aimed to address health, education, poverty, social justice, and other domestic and global strategic goals. Dr. White stated that insofar, CIMPAD had succeeded in its reach towards addressing these aims through conference proceedings and in its success rate in building global partnerships that are needed to forge ahead of these goals.

Graduate Student Poster Presentations

Howard University PhD Graduate Student: Ms. Karyn N. Onyeneho, MS

Ms. Karyn Onyeneho, graduate student at Howard University, Washington, DC, United States, presented her research paper, Globalization and Nutrition in Botswana to Combat Type 2 Diabetes. During her presentation, she shared insights about diabetes, and Type 2 Diabetes (T2D) in particularly, in increasingly becoming a widespread disease across nations around the world and more markedly, in low- and middle-income countries according to the World Health Organization. She described the pathology of T2D being associated with inadequate amounts of insulin produced by the body or when insulin resistance has developed leading to unregulated levels of blood glucose which, in effect, leads to morbidity and mortality if not controlled. She discussed that in the global spectrum, diabetes prevalence rates increased from 104 million in 1980 to 422 million in 2014 and emphasized that diabetes, and T2D, is a global crisis that needs attention. She reported domestic and global T2D prevalence rates and indicated that T2D continues to disproportionately affect Africans and African-Americans worldwide, compared to other ethnic groups. She also discussed the benefit of implementing nutrition interventions in that such interventions can serve as a catalyst to fight the onset and progression of T2D, and other non-communicable diseases and stressed that there is a need for multi-sectorial global partnerships in Africa, and in Botswana in particular, to spur development and implementation efforts in this regard. She highlighted that by and large, multi-component nutrition interventions are necessary, viable solutions that have immense potential to promote health and prevent diseases associated with diet and nutrition in an astronomical way. She said that disease prevention of T2D also requires an individual-level approach for the quickest impact and this this would be achieved through behavior change in adopting healthy diets, healthy dietary patterns, and commencing and sustaining physical activity. She discussed that T2D is linked to malnutrition and this is a global endemic affecting nearly 1.9 billion adults worldwide. She highlighted that in 2016, the United Nations promulgated its stance on combating malnutrition as declared under the United Nations Decade of Action on Nutrition 2016-2025 plan and that the UN aims to catalyze policy commitments that result in measurable actions to address all forms of malnutrition. The aim there, she noted, is to ensure that all persons, irrespective of socioeconomic status, has access to healthier and more sustainable diets to eradicate all forms of malnutrition worldwide. Her discussion also touched on priorities on food and nutrition and the need for capacity building at the country-level to strategically tackle malnutrition and food security issues for better nutrition. She ended her presentation with discussions on strategic, comprehensive, individualized approaches towards preventing and delaying the onset and progression of T2D through precision nutrition interventions. She informed that her travel to Botswana will involve conducting an empirical assessment of findings on dietary patterns in African countries, with an emphasis in Botswana, to supplement her PhD dissertation. Her dissertation will focus on examining gene-expressions in the pathogenesis of T2D in African-Americans and Africans. She aspires to develop sustainable, patient-centered, comprehensive nutrition interventions that prevent or delay the onset of T2DM and empower at-risk diabetics to adopt healthy dietary patterns to combat the disease.

Winston-Salem State University Master's Graduate Student: Ms. Lakisha Crews

Ms. Lakisha Crews, graduate student at Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, United States, presented her research paper, Exploring the Cultural Relevant of Participating in Occupational Therapy through the Lens of Individuals with Sickle Cell Anemia. The impetus of her research paper was to highlight how occupational therapists treat a variety of patients with various impairments. Ms. Crews described that minority groups are often unaware of occupational therapy services, especially among those living with chronic illnesses, and the adverse impacts this poses. Ms. Crews' presentation shared insights about a research study on African-American women, aged 18-50 years of age, who have been diagnosed with sickle cell anemia, highlighting the pathology of the disease while explaining how the condition impacts individuals in disproportionately varying ways from physical to social to cultural; further, she discussed variability in the onset of the condition based on an individual's daily occupation. During her presentation, Ms. Crews also discussed data collection methods employed when seeking to conduct an empirical assessment on persons diagnosed with sickle cell anemia or persons who have genetic risk factors associate the disease, which she described as involving interviews of participants receiving scheduled treatment sessions at an outpatient community care clinic—particularly within the Triad region of North Carolina. She delved into discussing the findings from her research; namely, about how to illuminate how occupational therapists may impact the therapeutic process by providing culturally relevant care to improve the quality of life in culturally diverse settings. Implications of her study were also discussed and included the importance of promoting the occupational therapy profession in communities of color to address health disparities and promote health equity.

Plenary Session B

The Role of Energy in Economic Growth and Development

University of Botswana: Professor Emmanuel Botlhale

The Conference continued with a plenary session by Professor Emmanuel Botlhale, who is a Public Finance expert and a Professor with the University of Botswana. The speaker focused on the role of energy in economic growth and development. He emphasized the importance of finding out whether energy causes economic growth and development or whether energy is associated with economic growth and development. That is the correlation and causal relationship between energy and economic development. The Professor stated that it can be concluded that there is a link between energy and development energy is highly and positively correlated with growth and development. Furthermore, he articulated how energy and water availability and sufficiency are very crucial for a country to be able to compete globally. Therefore, it can be said that energy is the oxygen of the economy, it is very important for a country's economy to survive. The speaker pointed out that it is very important for a country to invest in its power and energy as a lack of investment in the sector leads to economic stagnation and failure. He lamented that the complex problems power and energy have rendered Africa to be considered as a dark continent.

He informed the conference that most of the African countries have faced serious power and energy problems for ten years ago. The Professor elaborated that African energy and power are worst and devastating that children at night study under street lights due to lack of electrical connections in their households. He emphasized that Botswana is not an exception when it comes to power shortages which started, back in 2008. Since then load shedding has become a major problem in the country due to energy inefficiency. Professor Botlhale stated that the country still relies on outside sources for its power and energy, South Africa and Mozambique though it now has local power stations. Energy crisis that is facing Botswana has an impact on the country's economic and human security issues. The Professor concluded his presentation by stating that energy insufficiency in the country poses a threat to human life and there is a need to address the problem.

Procurement of Public Service Goods in Botswana

Divisional Manager for Supplies, Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Board (PPADB): Mr. Lucas Kennekae Mr. Keenekae presented on the roles and objectives of PPADB in Botswana. PPADB is mandated to deal with tenders in Botswana. However, there are exceptions where the procurement of goods has been delegated to departments (e.g., police departments, the Botswana Defense Force, and other security agents) due to the secrecy and sensitivity of their functions. He, however, noted that there has been a problem of overexpenditures in some of these organisations. PPADB also registers and regulates contractors. They have automated their systems and companies can just check if a bidding company is registered online. He noted that as they work with contractors, they experience problems such as their capacity, contract conception, management and contract enforcement. Other problems include: non submission of end of activity report, complaints, retroactive procurements and monoitoring.

Plenary Session C

Public Sector Capacity Building Institutions in Botswana

CESPAM Director CESPAM, University of Botswana: Professor Dorothy Mpabanga

Professor Mpabanga addressed the issue of public sector capacity building in Botswana. She pointed out that the public service is under the leadership of the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM), which manages the human resource, provides a policy framework and manages public service productivity and reforms. Moreover, Professor Mpabanga presented that DPSM is also for training and development of public servants to produce a globally competitive human resource. She also informed the conference that, human resources regulatory bodies in Botswana are the National Qualification Frameworks and the Human Resource Development Council (HRDC). She elaborated that the HRDC seeks to match skills with the labor market requirement and seeks to link all these to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). Professor Mpabanga explained that the National Human Resource Strategy links the National Development Plan and National Vision 2016/2036. She clarified that the aim of the strategy is

to bring sustainable and inclusive development and social justice. Furthermore, she informed the conference that capacity building institutions include CESPAM, Botswana Public Service College, Botswana National Productivity Centre (BNPC), Botswana Accountancy College (BAC), Institute of Development Management (IDM) and all these works closely with the mother ministries, HRDC and Botswana Qualification Authority (BQA). Professor Mpabanga continued her presentation by outlining the responsibilities of the government in human resource development. She stated that the government has the key responsibility to train and build capacity while the private sector uses the already available trained employees. The Professor pointed out that the main challenges for public sector institutions are pieces of training that are not needs driven but rather done haphazardly. She concluded her presentation by stating that limited resources also pose a serious challenge and as a way forward, there is a need to enhance collaboration, utilize skills, audit and use quality control.

Disease Control and Prevention, American Embassy

Center for Disease Control, Botswana Country Director: Dr. Michelle Roland

Dr. Roland presented on disease control and prevention in the country. She gave examples of where the Centre of Disease Control had helped the country to deal some diseases that have been rampant in the country, like HIV/AIDS. She also presented on the partnerships that they have had with the Ministry of Health and Wellness. Dr. Roland also discussed that disease prevention programs designed to combat HIV and tuberculosis are needed to address the alarming disease onset prevalence rates. She stated that developing and implementing National public health institutes in Botswana was done in 2016 and was developed a strategic and operational work plan. She described other organizations, such as Botswana Public Health Institute and CDC Botswana which provide technology support to assist the country in being able to stand up these organizations. Dr. Roland described the Botswana public Health Institute in being able to help shape health service needs of Botswana. She also described during her presentation that there is a great need to improve data quality and data integrity in Botswana to promote strength in developing these programs. She noted that partners such as NIH, HRSA, UMD, Harvard, are all examples of entities that help promote national public service initiatives.

The Legal Landscape in Botswana: Reflection on Recent Case Law University of Botswana: Ms. Tshepho Mogapaesi

Ms. Mogapaesi started by briefing the attendees about Botswana and her international obligations including some international instruments that she has ratified such as the UN, African Union, ILO and SADC. In terms of the recent case laws, she touched on the marriages and adultery (Precious Kgaje V Oreneile Mhotsha Cvhft-000237-17) which caused uproar in the country as it involved adultery, but the Judge ruled that the wife cannot sue the home wrecker as adultery is not a criminal offence in Botswana. She also talked of the customary law, inheritance and gender equality citing the case of Mmusi & Others V Ramantele & Another 2012 2 LBR 590 HC. In this case, the high court held that married women can inherit their parent's property. The last case was that of the Attorney General V. Tapela CACGB-096-14 In this case the Attorney General had appealed against the High Court ruling

instructing the Government to enroll HIV/AIDS positive non-citizen prison inmates into the HAART programme (Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy). The Court of Appeal held that the issue can be solved by using the Prisons Act which does not differentiate between local and non-citizen prisoners. The Government had therefore not complied with this Act when it decided to exclude non-citizen inmates from the HAART.

Day 2: Wednesday, June 27, 2018

Plenary Session D

Botswana's Diplomatic Relations with the Rest of the World

University of Botswana: Dr. Kepabetswe Lotshwao

Dr. Lotshwao presented a brief history of Botswana, particularly what prompted Tswana chiefs and missionaries to seek protection from Britain. He informed the conference that the Tswana tribes needed protection from the Boers of Transvaal. From the mid-1800s, the Tswana tribes faced aggression from the Boers of Transvaal prompting the Tswana chiefs and missionaries to seek protection from Britain. He underlined that the British were reluctant to offer protection as they did not have any interest in Tswana territories as a potential colony, primarily because the territories were of no immediate economic value to Britain. However, at the height of the European scramble for Africa, Germany occupied the neighboring South West Africa (Namibia) in 1884, prompting Britain to declare a protectorate over the southern Tswana tribes in 1885. Dr. Lotshwao stressed that beyond protecting the 'road to the north', the British had little or no interest in the protectorate, culminating in decades of 'benign neglect'. Furthermore, he explained that to minimize administrative costs, the protectorate was even administered from outside its borders in South Africa, initially from Vryburg, and then Mafikeng. He told the conference that because of the neglect by Britain, Botswana was at the time of independence in 1966 one of the ten poorest countries in the world, with an annual per capita income of \$60. Furthermore, he stated that 90% of the population lived in abject poverty. Dr. Lotshwao lamented that there were only 22 university graduates and 13 kilometers of tarred road. Education and health had largely been left to missionaries. Dr. Lotshwao informed the conference that at independence in 1966, the new government faced glaring developmental challenges as discussed earlier. And there were no resources to use to transform or develop the country. He expressed that the country survived through beef exports to Britain and South Africa, as well as remittances from Batswana working in the South African mines and industries. The speaker continued that at the time South Africa was ruled through apartheid, and like many African countries, Botswana was opposed to this policy of racial discrimination. He elaborated that Botswana was so dependent on South Africa for markets, jobs, and transport routes to access beef markets. Dr. Lotshwao presented that at the time of independence, therefore, Botswana had no choice but to adopt a pragmatic foreign policy. He continued by stating that as Seretse Khama, the founding President and chief architect of Botswana's foreign policy

stated in his first address to the National Assembly in 1966, 'the foreign policy of Botswana would be determined by the interests of the people of Botswana and not by sentiment and emotion'. He explained that the pragmatic foreign policy pioneered by Seretse Khama has been followed by all Botswana presidents who ruled after him. The presenter stated that although a democracy, Botswana has an imperial constitution that centralizes all political power on the president. This includes matters of both domestic and foreign policy. Dr. Lotshwao explained why Botswana preferred a pragmatic foreign policy. He elaborated that as a landlocked country, Botswana maintained good diplomatic relations despite opposition to the South African foreign policy. He argued that a pragmatic foreign policy was necessary for two reasons. Firstly, as a landlocked country and economically dependent on apartheid South Africa, the country had to maintain good diplomatic relations with South Africa. He clarified that this, of course, contradicted the fact that Botswana was opposed to South Africa's policy of apartheid, but there was nothing that Botswana could do without risking upsetting South Africa. Secondly, he explained the need to adopt a pragmatic foreign policy was dictated by the need to generate the resources that the country needed for development. In other words, since Botswana was desperately poor at the time of independence, the country had to forge bilateral relations with any country that could help the country realize its developmental aspirations. Dr. Lotshwao stated that initially, support came from the former colonial power, Britain, the United States, and the Nordic countries, which were sympathetic to Botswana's developmental aspirations, and attracted by the fact that the country was committed to democratic politics and the market economy in a continent then characterized by authoritarian rule and various forms of state intervention in the economy. The presenter stated that however, although Botswana was committed to the market economy, making the country a natural ally of the West during the Cold War, the country also forged diplomatic relations with socialist/communist countries such as USSR, and China, in the process receiving vital development assistance to augment what the West provided. He continued that with the resources from all donors, Botswana funded development projects, or established what is often referred to as a developmental state in the literature. He further pointed out that among others, the country constructed infrastructures such as roads and schools, and provided vital social services such as water and health services. Dr. Lotshwao presented that in the late 1970s, diamond revenues significantly increased government revenues, meaning that development assistance was no longer the main source of financial resources for the country. He expressed that nevertheless, even with diamonds exports, which significantly increased state revenues, Botswana continued to maintain good diplomatic relations with the rest of the world. Although Botswana was no longer desperate, the country had to maintain good diplomatic relations to secure markets for its core exports, diamonds and beef. Dr. Lotshwao continued his presentation by informing the gathering that currently, Botswana still practices a pragmatic foreign policy in which national interest takes precedence over everything. The diplomatic actors are highly diversified, and among others include the old bilateral partners (both west and east) and many developments and financial agencies. While the priority after independence was to raise the resources required for development, currently the diplomatic partners are focusing more on assisting Botswana to transform itself into a neoliberal state in which the market plays a leading role in the economy while the state plays a supporting role. Thus, both bilateral partners and many multilateral agencies are working hard to help make Botswana more attractive to Foreign Direct Investment. Assistance is also being provided

to try to enhance the effectiveness of the state in performing the functions required under the globalized economy of today. In recent years, Botswana has also strengthened its relations with China, an emerging economic power. Botswana's increasing diplomatic relations with China is evidenced by the presence of Chinese companies in many sectors of the economy, especially construction. The Chinese also sell various goods, affordable especially to low-income people and households. Dr. Lotshwao presented that the pragmatic foreign policy followed by Botswana since independence has produced the desired goals of development. He, however, stated that such development has not been balanced as evidenced by rural poverty, unemployment, and inequality among others. The lecturer stated that another problem with Botswana's diplomatic relations is that the diplomatic relations are too dependent on the whims of the president. He expressed that how Botswana relates with the rest of the world is largely determined by the president of the day. Thus, if the country is to have a president who is hostile to the outside world, the country's diplomatic relations would suffer a great blow. Dr. Lotshwao cautioned that he was not talking about any country, but Botswana where the president's opinions harmed his country's foreign policy.

Public-Private Partnerships in Botswana: Successes and Failures

Chair, Institute of Botswana Quantity Surveyors: Mr. Tumi Mogwe

Mr. Mogwe presented on the triple Ps in Botswana. He mentioned that some of the projects completed under this model were: Rail Park Mall, SADCC Head Quarters and the Ombudsman Offices. He lamented that there are no skills in the country to carry out projects of such nature. He also mentioned that procurement for these projects is complicated and that as many as 30-40 team members are needed to work on various aspects. Some of the critical people needed are the Transaction Advisors and Financial Controllers who can help to do the whole procurement (which is complicated) and costing of the asset being constructed. He also mentioned that with such big projects, owners need to think ahead (10-30 years) as the asset may become obsolete from its original purpose and new machinery may be needed (e.g. a major Hospital should have been constructed to cater for future expansion). PPPs must prepare for technical challenges that they can encounter during project implementation. Some of the challenges he highlighted were:

- 1. Lack of skill in team management (one must manage different teams)
- 2. In the future people who started the project may not be there and new ones may have to be brought in disrupting the project.
- 3. Setting up a project without allowing for extensions in the contract (agreement).

Plenary Session E

Panel and Discussions (Selected Discussions)

The Importance of Statistical Data in Government Programs Administration

Panelists: Reverend Guila Cooper, Winston-Salem State University, United States; Kimberly Richardson, Kimberly Richardson Consulting, United States; Dr. Wilfred Molefe, Department of Statistics, University of Botswana; Dr. N. Forcheh, University of Botswana

Kimberly Richardson, United States

Ms. Richardson explained the importance of statistics and detailed how statistics is very important in the implementation and evaluation of programmes. She discussed at length the importance of documentation of work and its justification, which include determining the output and outcome of goods and services provided.

Dr. Wilfred Molefe, University of Botswana

Dr. Molefe agreed that indeed statistics can be used as a lie, thus statistical data can be used to tell lies. He clarified that there is political truth and statistical truth. Furthermore, he elaborated on how statistics as a discipline is needed in each field of study. He buttressed that all governments rely on statistical data to convince the citizens of the policies formulated. Dr. Molefe emphasized the importance of the country in having a strong and independent statistical body, which is autonomous in its function of data collection. He also explained how autonomy matters the most as the statistical body must come up with data, which the public can believe, and the statistical body must be trusted by the citizens. Dr. Molefe gave an example of the data collected on the implementation of the Integrated Support Programme for Arable Agricultural Development (ISPAAD), a programme in which farmers are highly subsidized but there is still food insecurity in Botswana. He concluded that this means there is a problem in Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation.

Dr. N. Forcheh, University of Botswana

Dr. Forcheh presented that Statistics is required to make evidence-based decisions. He further stated that it is required to ensure that the policies made respond to the actual and apparent problems. Dr. Forcheh elaborated on how statistical data define the types of problems people are facing, the scale of each problem and how to properly plan and allocate resources to tackle such problems. The presenter cautioned the conference that politicians desire to tell their constituents all the good things that are happening in their communities because of their government but decision or policymakers need to know the facts. Dr. Forcheh gave an example of unemployment, that policymakers must know the true unemployment rates and statistical data is the only thing that can provide the correct answers.

Social Media and Cultural Impacts on the Conduct of Government Business

Panelists: Sankura Clifford Sykes, Pontiac Michigan Public Schools (United States),

Lakisha Crews, Winston-Salem State University, (United States) and

Dr. Sethunya Mosime, Department of Sociology (University of Botswana)

Dr. Sethunya Mosime, University of Botswana

Dr. Mosime argued that Botswana has many social media users and that both the public and private citizens use social media in the country. She emphasized that the government also uses social media especially Facebook. She also stated that different ministries now have Facebook pages, which they use to communicate or inform citizens about the ministries' services. Dr. Mosime pointed out that Facebook has now become very political all over the world. She gave an example of the president of Botswana who has a Facebook and a Twitter account where he posts about his official and unofficial duties. She further discussed how politicians have now adopted the use of social media and it has been observed that many people participate in politics mostly on social networks. Dr. Mosime furthermore, informed the conference that there was a rise in the use of Facebook by politicians during the 2014 general elections in Botswana. She concluded by elaborating on how politicians use Facebook to campaign and teach citizens on the importance of participating in elections.

Ms. Lakisha Crews, United States

Commenting on Dr. Mosime's presentation, Ms. Crews stated that in the United States, the President uses social media especially Twitter to communicate with the American population and he also posts about what is happening around the world. Furthermore, she pointed out how the American population has recently used Facebook to condemn the shootings, which have been occurring in the United States. She gave an example of the shootings in which innocent young schoolchildren are killed and Black innocent people shot by police officers. She elaborated that Facebook has had a key role in the condemnation of the killings and through social media there has been proposed ways to be adopted to stop the school shootings and murder of black innocent people in the United States. Lastly, Ms. Crews pointed out that social media has been a tool through which the citizens have been able to show their discomfort to their government.

Professor Baakile Motshegwa, Botswana

Professor Motshegwa commented that Facebook is a powerful tool of communication that can cause people to rise or revolt against their government. The Professor also commented that Facebook has both the good and bad impacts and she questioned how the dangers posed by social media could be controlled. She cautioned that people tend to copy or imitate what they see on social media and some of the copied behavior is very bad. When responding to the question, Dr. Mosime stated that it is very difficult to control social media. She pointed out that it cannot be simply controlled, and it is impossible to control what is being discussed and what people copy from social media.

Plenary Session F

Session Speakers

Public Enterprise as a Vehicle for Growth in Botswana: Lessons Learned

Public Enterprises, Evaluation and Privatization Agency (PEEPA)

Speaker: Mr. Letshego Moeng, Acting Director, Privatization and Monitoring, Public Enterprises, Evaluation and Privatization Agency, Botswana

The speaker informed the conference that PEEPA is mandated to be a government advisor on the implementation of all approved commercialization transactions, monitor and evaluate the performance of parastatals (public enterprises). Moeng elaborated that PEEPA was established to review the objectives for parastatals to commercialize their operations. It also assists the government in setting performance targets for parastatals and other public entities, monitor the performance of public entities, advise the appointment of board of directors of parastatals and monitor their performance. The PEEPA official also informed the conference that there are 61 parastatals in Botswana which were formed for commercial, socio developmental and regulatory reasons. Parastatals are formulated through a Statutory Corporation Act and they exist across thirteen different government ministries. The government is an overseer and board of directors' delegates control to executive management. They have been a growth in the number of parastatals in the country, the country had 25 parastatals since independence until 2000, and they were a growth from 25 to 34 from 2001 to 2005. This number increased from 2006 until 2010 to 43 then from 2011 until now the number increased to 61. Before 2000 the composition of parastatals in Botswana consisted of an 8% which were regulatory, 24% of social development and 68% of which were commercial. They have been a change in this trend after 2000 and currently, we have 39% of commercial parastatals, 30 of regulatory and 31 which are of social development. The speaker then proceeded to the successes and challenges of parastatals in Botswana. Some of the achievements include the provision of the services to the citizens (education, postal, courier, and finance), provision of utilities (water, electricity, and telecoms), development of infrastructure, social and economic development, facilitation role in businesses and manufacturing industries among others. There cannot be successes without some challenges faced and they have been many challenges experienced in the parastatal sector including poor performance of parastatals, poor coordination in the delivery of services, maladministration weak oversight role exercised by the government and poor resource management, duplication of mandates and functions and lastly the slow adoption of corporate governance practices. Some of the lessons learned were that they should be an adoption of a corporate governance framework, the liberation of markets, creation of a conducive environment for the private sector, the introduction of regulators and privatization of parastatals.

Regulatory and Compliance Challenges in Botswana

Speaker: Ms. Bopelokgale Soko, Director, Retirement Funds, Non-Bank Financial Institutions Regulatory Authority (NBFIRA), Botswana

Ms. Soko described the mandate of NBFIRA. She mentioned that banking and other money lending institutions do not understand their mandate and gave an example of loan sharks who take peoples' bank card to collect money at the end of the month, which is illegal according to the law. She reiterated that financial deregulation still resides in the big institutions lie the G20, IMF and World Bank. These institutions control and tell them what to do in terms of monetary regulations.

Ms. Soko said that there are new products in the money markets such as the following:

- Crypto currencies that are difficult to regulate
- Regulating with technology (ReTech).
- RoboTech
- Bitcoin

Some of these have a high-risk profile. She ended her presentation on a high note with a short film by Gordon Gekko entitled "Greed is good".

Day 2: Wednesday, June 27, 2018

Plenary Session G

How Should Tertiary Education Respond to Calls for Relevance? Some Reflections.

Speaker: Professor R. Tabulawa, University of Botswana

The day started with the presentation of Prof Tabulawa on the above topic. His presentation was premised of the fact that the education landscape has changed, and governments and institutions need to live up to the new expectations. Prof Tabulawa challenged institutions to adopt new and innovative methods of teaching.

CLOSING REMARKS

After different concurrent sessions, the conference was closed by several speakers on the third day.

Speakers: Professor Peggy Valentine and Professor Motshegwa

The speakers thanked all those who were part of the organizing committee, the University of Botswana, the department of Political and Administrative Studies as well as the Faculty of Sciences. Participants were encouraged to take home all the discussions and share with others. The conference was reminded that the conference proceedings will be published in an e-book.

Prof Motshegwa recapped on the journey that culminated in the conference. She thanked the sponsors being Botswana Post for buying water and Botswana Investment Trade Centre through Brand Botswana for sponsoring the cultural dinner. She also thanked CIMPAD and said that they valued the partnership between them and UB. Lastly, she thanked all the organizers both from CIMPAD and Botswana by mentioning their names.

Batlang Seabo, Acting HOD, PAS

The acting head of Department, Mr. Batlang Seabo thanked all those that participated in the conference and pointed out that the deliberations at the conference will go a long way in helping both the scholars and the economy of different countries in the pursuit for good governance. He thanked all those that contributed to making this conference a success and wished all those traveling a pleasant journey.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Keynote Address to CIMPAD

By: Vice Chancellor, Professor David Norris (Read by Professor David Sebudubudu)

University of Botswana, Official Opening of the 11th CIMPAD Conference,

UB Conference Centre, Gaborone, Botswana, June 26-28, 2018

Welcome Ambassador, US Embassy, Senior Government Officials, Chief Executive Officers, Distinguished Guests, CIMPAD Executive Committee, UB Executive Management, Esteemed Conference Participants, and ladies and gentlemen. I am greatly honored to have been invited to come and be part of this 11th conference on "Consortium for International Management, Policy and Development (CIMPAD)" with the theme focusing on "Priorities for the Future: Good Governance, Health and Safety, Social Justice and Economic Equity".

The collaboration between the University of Botswana and CIMPAD marks a very important occasion in terms of realizing the University's vision and strategic objective of strengthening engagement with regional and international partners. The University has strived to engage local and international communities in fostering diversity in teaching, learning and research. This conference helps the University move in the right direction in enhancing engagement and intensifying research. The aim of this 11th conference is to share information and build networks through cutting edge research undertaken by esteemed academic scholars, researchers, practitioners and policy makers to share results and findings to promote diverse methodologies, provide answers and ideas to advance conceptual framework and practice in governance, health, safety, social justice and economic equity in Sub-Sahara Africa and global communities.

CIMPAD is a Non-profit Organization that was established in 1997 to promote public sector leadership and management in the areas of sustainable development of communities. CIMPAD has organized similar conferences in other parts of Africa with varying conference themes to suite the host's context. This collaborative network has been extended to the University of Botswana through the department of PAS and CEPAM in the faculty of Social Sciences.

Governments around the world, including Botswana and Africa are faced with many challenges including challenges relating to sustainable development and management of natural resources, attaining sustained levels of good governance, social justice and economic equity. This conference will give participants and presenters an opportunity to share research results and the diverse research methodologies applied in trying to find ideas, answers and solutions to deal with as well as develop tools to promote and address/resolve issues relating to sustainability and good governance.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, kindly note that sustainable development is also an agenda for global and Africa development designed by the United Nations (UN) after the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). I am glad and delighted that the CIMPAD conference theme takes cognizance of the Sustainable development themes including inclusiveness, development, investment, good governance, equity and social justice.

It shows CIMPAD's responsive approach to such challenges experienced by developing this conference to impart knowledge and share experiences with fellow conference participants from Botswana and internationally, so that they take issues of sustainable development, inclusiveness and equity to greater heights.

Ladies and gentlemen, just to give you a brief background about the University of Botswana which is the first and the longest surviving institute of higher learning in the country. The University of Botswana was established in 1980 by an Act of Parliament and has expanded and grown over the years. The University was built through the "Motho le Motho Kgomo" initiative under which the government appealed to every Motswana to contribute towards the building and development of the University by donating anything ranging from chickens, eggs, cattle and sorghum to help build the national asset to educate the nation.

The University has grown and expanded since then through the direction and guidance of a strategy for excellence which was developed in 2008 to direct the university's expansion up to 2016. The strategy for excellence has guided the university's growth in six strategic areas of excellence in intensifying research, enhancing student experience, providing high quality programs, extending access and participation, strengthening engagement and enhancing human resources for excellence in delivery.

Distinguished guests, Ladies and gentlemen, the faculty of Social Sciences, the department of PAS and CESPAM operate within the structures of the University of Botswana whose mission is to improve economic and social conditions for the nation while advancing itself as a distinctively African university with a regional and international outlook.

Our desire to improve economic and social development by high impact engagement with business, the professions, government and civil society is at the core of our very existence as a University. Collaboration with other renowned institutions and NGO's such as CIMPAD in jointly organizing conferences such as this one just adds to our becoming a 'leading university of academic excellence in Africa and the world'.

As the Vice Chancellor of the University of Botswana, I am mandated to drive the University's strategic objectives which entail extending access and participation, providing relevant and high-quality programs, intensifying research performance, strengthening engagement, improving students experience and enhancing human resources for excellence in delivery.

Distinguished participants, I am very happy to endorse this conference as it is one of the key strategic areas where intensifying research performance and strengthening engagement will be promoted and achieved/enhanced. Distinguished guests, conference participants, Ladies and gentlemen, I am aware that this conference will help the university of Botswana achieve excellence in engagement and collaborations with national, regional and international partners.

It is my great hope that this conference will build competencies in establishing a culture of promoting and enhancing research between academics, students, policy makers local and affected stakeholders, including business and local communities who are expected to be engaged and benefit from public policies and programs through sustainability, inclusiveness, equity and social justice.

On this note Master of Ceremony, distinguished guests, conference presenters and participants, Senior Executives, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to commend the conference organizers in bringing together and delivering this timely topical/thematic conference on sustainability and good governance, where diverse issues will be covered. Indeed, this will go a long way in deepening the integration agenda of SADC, the African Union (AU) and other institutions of higher learning that strive to build capacity through collaborative research and engagement with NGOs, academics, students, practitioners, policy makers in the African continent and globally.

I can assure you that by the end of this conference, you will be better researchers, policy makers and practitioners as the conference will empower you with the knowledge and advanced research techniques and methodologies, as well as in promoting relations and collaborations between universities, researchers, practitioners, students, policy makers at national and local government, as well as between local government, business community and the civil society and learn practical strategies for enhancing all stakeholder engagement in sustainability and good governance.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the faculty of Social Sciences, through PAS and CESPAM for collaborating with CIMPAD and organizing such a meaningful and topical conference.

I hope that this conference will not be the last conference of this nature but will be replicated in other SADC countries and Africa in general to promote sustainability and good governance and empower and inspire others around you.

I thank you all for signing up to participate in such an important conference and I hope that you will all have a great journey, as well as fruitful and empowering three days of intensive sharing of ideas and experience in advancing sustainability in the areas of good governance, inclusiveness, health and safety, social justice and economic equity.

I welcome you all to this greatest institute of higher learning, the University of Botswana and the diverse city of Gaborone.

I thank you.

Appendix 2: Closing Dinner Speech by Dr. Gloria Somolekae

Former Specially Elected Member of the Botswana Parliament

Welcome Vice Chancellor of the University of Botswana, Professor David Norris, Acting Deputy Vice Chancellor, Prof. David Sebudubudu, Acting Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor Keoagile Thaga, CIMPAD President, Dr. Peggy Valentine, CIMPAD Conference Chair, Professor Sylvester Murray, CIMPAD Executive Committee, UB Conference Co-chairs, Professors Baakile Motshegwa and Dorothy Mpabanga, UB Local Organizing Committee, UB Executive Management, Esteemed Conference Participants, and ladies and gentlemen.

Let me start my address by stating that I am greatly honored to have been invited to give a keynote address at this Gala dinner of the 11th conference on Consortium for International Management, Policy and Development (CIMPAD), with the theme, "Priorities for the Future: Good Governance, Health and Safety, Social Justice and Economic Equality."

I have been informed by the organizers that the conference has met its objectives, that discussions were lively and robust, thought provoking and very informative. It is therefore to be expected that they have indicated that they look forward to furthering collaboration with CIMPAD. Here I wish to commend the Faculty of Social Sciences through the department of Public Administration and Political and Science as well as the UB's Centre of Specialization for Public Administration and Management (CESPAM), for collaborating with CIMPAD to organize such an important and timely conference. It is through platforms such as that created by this conference that knowledge is shared, cross fertilization of ideas takes place, and lasting collaborations are initiated.

It is my hope that our colleagues from outside this country will find time to see the beauty of our country, or if their schedules do not currently allow them to, seriously consider coming back some other time as tourists. This is a beautiful country.

You have covered a wide range of topics during this conference ranging from education, procurement, public sector capacity building, public-private partnerships, policy-making and governance, public enterprises, privatization etc. This conference is therefore timely as you may know because many of these issues continue to occupy government's agenda in many countries. Some of these issues are complex, and not easy to solve. But the vision of creating better societies remains the key motivation for holding gatherings of this one. We are all convinced that we can create the societies we want through making certain interventions.

In the African continent, Vision 2063 has clearly articulated this "Africa we want." The Africa that is prosperous, based on "inclusive growth and sustainable development."

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Sustainable Development Goals for Agenda 2030 in 2016. These also paint a future free of poverty, reduced inequality, good health and well-being, quality education, zero hunger, clean water and sanitation, clean energy etc. A set of indicators has been identified to measure whether the goals have been reached. Here in Botswana, our own Vision 2036 is about "Achieving Prosperity for All." The adoption of all these instruments underscores the acceptance that creating the society we want is all within our reach. That there are things we can do to achieve the set goals. This includes interventions by governments, the private sector, civil society and all.

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE

Since many of the items discussed at this conference fall under the functions and duties of the public sector, it is critical as far as I am concerned to focus the discussion tonight on the centrality of Public Management and governance. Public Management is at the center of delivering much of what was discussed at this conference, including the continental Vision 2063, the UN Vision 2030 or our national Visions and development plans.

Ladies and gentlemen, as scholars we know that Public Administration has historically been at the center of driving almost all the development agenda on the African continent. Traditional Public Administration has been concerned simply with how to run a government. Higher institutions of learning such as the University of Botswana have always played a significant role in the development of the human infrastructure. Until only recently, UB was the only institution of higher learning with relevant and robust programs in the country.

Some of you may recall also that traditional Public Administration has its intellectual roots from the writings of the famous Marx Weber's **Principles of Bureaucracy.** Weber (like public administration scholars of the time), focused their work on understanding the modern bureaucracy because this was the key type of institution that mushroomed all over the world especially following the Industrial Revolution. The mushrooming and spread of these largescale institutions both in the private and public sectors, triggered a lot of academic interest as numerous scholars sought to understand how a bureaucracy worked and how to improve its functioning.

In Weber's Principles of Bureaucracy, he emphasized hierarchical control, and reliance on rules and regulations. Under this system, bureaucrats were expected to simply submit to their political bosses. Bureaucracies spread all around the world including here in Africa. They have been the standard through which governments organized the running of their countries.

Those of you who have studied Public Administration will be aware of the famous Woodrow Wilson who came up with the politics-administration dichotomy to drive home the fact that administrative questions are not political questions.

It is based on this thinking that Guy Peters enumerated the principles of this traditional model of Public Administration as follows;

- a) An a-political civil service
- b) Hierarchy of rules
- c) Performance and stability
- d) An institutional civil service
- e) Internal regulation Equality

Over the years, this traditional model was seen to be problematic. Among other problems that were identified with it, was that the very rules and regulations were the major contributor to massive shortcomings in productivity of the public sector. What was a source of stability in the past where there was a notion of a career civil servant, started to be under attack because it allowed many to "sleep on the job", so to speak. Too much bureaucracy was also seen as a breeding ground for corruption. The top down hierarchical structure also meant that those responsible for daily operations were too removed from where the decisions about their work were made.

The traditional bureaucracy was rather too cumbersome particularly in the new era of information technology where institutions had to be innovative, flexible and agile if they were to survive. Even more importantly, the rigidness of the traditional bureaucracy has been seen to be a big barrier to private sector participation through but not exclusive to, increasing business costs due to excessive regulations, and just simply making it hard to do business.

Many countries started to embark on public sector reforms under what has come to be known as the **NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.** The term New Public Management was coined by Christopher Wood in 1991 as "a shorthand name for a set of broadly similar administrative doctrines which dominated the bureaucratic reform in many OECD countries in the late 1970s."

This new paradigm is a set of strategies and tactics, all meant to improve and enhance the performance of the public sector. Born out of a mindset which can best be described as technocratic, the New Public Management "has been driven by the demand for enhanced efficiency and accountability, rather than the need to maximize other values such as fairness, equity, due process and public participation."

In comparing the traditional Public Administration and the New Public Management, Guy Peters asserts that "the New Public Management aims to remedy the pathology of traditional bureaucracy, and has the following characteristics;

- a) Productivity
- b) Marketization
- c) Service orientation

- d) Decentralization
- e) A policy orientation
- f) Accountability for results

As Hood indicated, the common response under the New Public Management has involved; "

- deregulation of line management;
- conversion of civil service departments into free standing agencies or enterprises;
- Performance based accountability particularly through contracts;
- Competitive mechanisms such as contracting out and internal markets.
- Privatization and downsizing as part of the package."

During the height of this onslaught on the traditional Public Administration, especially in the 1980s, many countries in Africa were going through what came to be known as Africa's economic crisis. In some of these countries, governance totally collapsed and there was a glaring democracy deficit. By the late 1990s, public opinion in western countries were pushing for Foreign Aid to be either overhauled or to be discontinued all together. Africa had to find a way out of this situation. Some of you may recall the Lagos Plan of Action through which Africa attempted to put itself on a different tragedy. The Public Administration of many of these countries was also under scrutiny and the field of PA did not escape the attacks.

Today, throughout Africa and beyond, public sector reforms have been embraced or have been rolled out. Hood has summed up these as follows;

- a) Hands-on professional manager in the public sector
- b) Explicit standards and measures of performance
- c) Greater emphasis on output and control
- d) Shift to disaggregation of units in the public sector
- e) Shift to greater competition in the public sector
- f) Stress on private sector styles of management and practice
- g) Stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use.'

Several of these interventions and reforms have been introduced, are being rolled out, or being considered. From adoption of the Performance Management System, Privatization, introduction of performance contracts, contract employment; designing anti-corruption interventions; restructuring of government departments; public-private partnerships; decentralization interventions; strategic management etc. These reforms are on-going, and some of their impacts may take years to be experienced.

It is important to note that the New Public Management has borrowed a lot from the field of Business Administration. The technocratic approach was supposed to usher in a new era of business like administration that has nothing or very little to do with political considerations. To what extent is this possible really?

Taking an example from the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board which I chair, how feasible is it that we can follow strict business imperatives when children at some school need to be supplied with food during some period? Can it be possible that because someone did not process some paper work in time somehow, the Board can refuse to supply a school with food? Indeed, the desire to be business like is there but it is not strictly adhered to like in the private sector.

When a parent brings a child to school in January to start grade 1, the teacher cannot deny admission because he/she already has 40 pupils. There are endless examples in the public sector meaning that this sector operates with different dynamics from the private sector. This is always going to be for a long time. Private sector is motivated by profit all the time, while the public sector must consider that which is in the public interest, and act to provide services to the public.

The notion of an apolitical public service is just not taking root. The top layer of the public service in virtually all administrative jurisdictions cannot be as apolitical as the NPM approach seems to suggest. The reality is that if you are a top bureaucrat, whether they call you Director General or Permanent secretary, you have a lot to understand about the political terrain and how to navigate it. The very reason why political heads can select who can serve them better at that level is due to the realization that this neutrality has its own problems.

I want to commend CESPAM. Professor Mpabanga has been relentless in providing training that is meant to assist pubic officers who work within this political space. I have been one of the trainers at 2 of these workshops. The level of enthusiasm and what has come out of these workshops says a lot about how much we still need to do as institutions of higher learning in this area.

One of the questions which I often ponder over is the issue of hierarchy within the public service. The assumption is that under the New Public Management, the hierarchical arrangement is not paramount. Perhaps it needs to be mentioned that bureaucratic hierarchy and control blended very well with the African traditional values of seniority, and even patriarchy to create a very interesting culture in our organizations across the continent. This is still leading to centralization of decision-making and control, including failure to make decisions in a timely manner. This scenario exists sometimes even as the mission and values and service level chatter and all, are hanging on the wall. These issues need to be interrogated by institutions of higher learning which should evaluate whether the reforms are delivering what was intended as the different administrative jurisdictions on the continent, or just simply expressing hope.

IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS UNIVERSITIES

The interventions have been rapid and far reaching often even leading some to conclude that some of the social science subjects such as Public Administration, Sociology, Political science, Social work are no longer necessary. Even here in Botswana, this discourse has taken place and going into the future, some envisage a time when they will not have to be offered by institutions such as UB. This discussion has been taking place in other countries as well. Including here in Southern Africa. Therefore, the Vice Chancellor of UB Prof. Norris was spot on recently when he advised members of the UB community to "have in place structures and processes that are sufficiently flexible and agile to respond timeously to external forces." (Feb. 2018: UB Newsletter. It is in order that educational institutions such as UB must also be relentless in repositioning themselves to keep pace with the changes that are happening. It is to constantly ask ourselves as institutions of higher learning, and especially disciplines that are under attack, what kind of graduate they need to produce. What should this graduate be able to do once they have completed their degrees? This is the kind of discourse which I know periodically takes place. It must go on and must be accompanied by retooling where necessary. This will ensure growth and survival.

I thank you for your attention.

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CAPACITY BUILDING OF LOCAL COUNCIL COURTS (LCCS) AND TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP FOR POLICY ADVOCACY IN UGANDA

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the Local Council Courts (LCC) capacity building initiative in Uganda. It is based on the authors' engagement with the capacity building initiative and data collected during implementation of the project over a four-year period; it draws on literature on LCCs and transformational leadership. The paper assesses the benefits of the capacity building intervention on end court users and court members. The paper demonstrates the far-reaching benefits to the end users and shows that a well-designed capacity building intervention that addresses knowledge and skills gaps of the LCC leaders might as well lay a foundation for transformational leadership to counter many of the practical challenges that LCCs face. However, this requires a continuous learning process to address challenges that come with policy implementation.

BACKGROUND

Description of Local Council Courts

Established by an Act of Parliament, Local Council Courts (LCCs) exist at every village, parish, town, division and Sub-county geographical divisions in Uganda. At the village and /or parish level all members of the executive committee of the village or parish. At the town, division or sub-county level the LCC consists of five members appointed by the town council, division council or sub-county council and must have at least two female members. Court members elected to the town, division, or sub-county local council court, they must: be resident of the area of jurisdiction for the court being appointed to, be a person of high moral character and proven integrity, know English and the local language of the respective community and must not be a member of a local council, a member of Parliament or a member of a statutory body (Government of Uganda, 2006).

The Local Council Courts Act, was enacted with the aim of providing, a system of "popular justice" that was more accountable and accessible to the public in terms of laws, cost and distance. According to the Local Council Act, LCCs handle simple civil and criminal matters (as well as civil disputes governed by customary law) that arise out of daily activities in their areas of jurisdiction. Appeals from the highest of the Committees, (Sub County executive) lie to the Chief Magistrate and, if the appeal involves a substantial question of law or appears to have caused a substantial miscarriage of justice, then appeals would lie in the High Court, (Government of Uganda 2006). Essentially LLCs respond to the challenge of the inability to address community conflicts adequately through the formal justice structures. While the LCCs are part of the elaborate court system mandated to exercise judicial power in conformity with the values, norms and aspirations of the people and Laws of Uganda as contained in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 2005 Article 126 (1), (Government of Uganda 2005); their administration lies within the Local Government, though the Sub county LCC is supervised by the Chief Magistrate on behalf of the High Court in accordance with Section 40 of the Local Council Courts Act, 2006. LCCs have jurisdiction to handle matters involving youth - particularly at-risk children under 18 years—including those who are neglected in matters of parentage and those who are involved in certain criminal offenses. LCCs by these contexts hold unique positions to bring justice nearer to the people especially the poor and other disadvantaged groups.

LCCs in the above context directly speak to the Sustainable Development Goal 16, on peace, just and strong institutions, specifically focusing the aspect of promoting "peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels". Specifically, LCCs have the potential to:

- ✓ 16.3: Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all
- ✓ 16.6: Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels
- 16.7: Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

For LCCs to fulfil the above, they must have capacity to adjudicate cases in accordance with the law, which implies technical competency based on knowledge and skills. This means capacity to promote access to justice, upholding such values as respect for human rights, observance of ethical conduct, upholding of principles of natural justice and gender sensitivity (Legal Aid Basket Fund and UNDP/UNCDF 2006).

Despite their unique position to increase access to justice, LCC face several capacity challenges including infrastructural challenges, such lack of appropriate infrastructure, such as legal documents, office space and communication equipment. Previous studies on LCCs indicated that about 80% of the country's population utilise the assistance of LCCs to resolve their disputes (Rugadya & Nsamba, 2008), for reasons such as geographical proximity/access (Legal Aid Basket Fund and UNDP/UNCDF 2006) affordability, and availability (Rugadya & Nsamba, 2008) use of simple language and procedures, especially to the ordinary person (Tusasirwe, 2007). Yet LCCs exhibited low capacity to handle cases in accordance with the law (Oloka, 2007), often making errors in their processes as well as judgments (Burke & Omiat Egaru, 2011), including handling cases outside the legally set fee structure, (Land and Equity Movement of Uganda, 2009).

Rudadya & Nsamba (2008) identified challenges of LCCs as bribery, limited/lack of capacity on judicial functions, bias against vulnerable groups, failure to follow procedure, nepotism/cronyism, and ambiguity of remedies provided. A study by ILI/ACLE (2013), established that 50% out of 43 courts studied lacked the relevant legal document and only 43% of them had the LCC Act 2006, and even smaller percentage (25%) had the national Constitution. Most LCCs improvised to meet their stationery needs by using exercise books and did not follow required case filling guidelines, hence putting court records at risk. Further LCCs face institutional challenges such as inadequate human resources and technical ability to hear cases, limited ability limited ability to interpret the law, and a lack of quorum to constitute a court hearing cases (ILI/ACLE, 2013). These challenges lead to LCCs handling case outside of their jurisdiction, e.g., defilement. Structural challenges include societal norms and culture to the extent that they conflict with the rights set forth under the Constitution and LCC procedures while political interference, lack of jurisdiction and inability of court users to meet LCCs costs often mean that fewer people access justice.

Yet LCCs by their context hold a privileged position to advance transformative leadership. This is because they are built on a foundation of integrity and driven by self-awareness and sense of purpose, transformative leadership is about addressing inequity, improving the lives of others and making or influencing positive change

Transformational Leadership

Studies on transformational leadership have concentrated on leadership within organisations, largely because the theory is based within organisational contexts between leaders and followers/employees/staff. Empirical studies have demonstrated the outcomes of transformational leadership which include effectiveness, commitment of followers, job satisfaction, leading to healthy organisations (Gillespie & Mann, 2004; Rowold & Heinitz, 2007). Ngodo (2008) focussed on understanding the ways and methods through which transformational leadership impacts individual attitudes and behaviours in organizations. However, there is need to understand too what other contexts may trigger the motivations for transformational leadership and therefore use them for such an intent, nurturing of transformational leaders.

Developed by Burns (1978) in a descriptive study of political leaders, transformational leadership is defined as that leadership that causes changes in individuals as well as societal systems leading to positive change through leaders and followers. It embodies high motivation, high morale and better performance, with leaders taking keep interest in the followers. Leaders draw followers to a mission, vision and challenge followers to self-improve, own and pride in results of their efforts (Bass, 1985). Transformational leadership is not confined to organisations but to consciousness around "social process" of any community (Barker, 1997).

In period of concerted efforts to contribute to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), there is heightened interest in transformational leadership. Consequently, many institutions are consciously pursuing efforts to achieve transformational leadership in the public sector. The 2018 United Nations Public Service Forum devoted a workshop to transformational leadership the SDGs, (United Nations, 2018) and several organisations such as MasterCard Foundation, Oxfam, United Nationals Development Program offer or support training programmes in transformational leadership with intent to contribute meaningfully to the SDGs. This is not surprising, because

transformational leadership tackles a key ingredient in development-human resource capacity. In a sense the foundational motivations of transformative leaders are purpose driven towards societal advancement.

According to Bass and Riggio, (2006) four behaviours shows how transformational leaders achieve high quality and superior results, namely through

- a) Idealized influence, where leaders display given attributes that are admired by followers,
- b) Intellectual stimulation, whereby leaders challenge their constituency to change with times, innovativeness and constant learning and improvement are drive the direction of an organisation, different perspectives to addressing a challenge
- c) Inspirational motivation where leaders encourage followers to achieve personal and organisational objective thorough positive encouragement and clear communication of expectations, challenging targets for individuals who are then supported to achieve them
- d) Individualized consideration where a leader is a mentor to a follower promoting a two way communication and giving tasks to followers to development them. Each follower treated as an individual.

While there is consensus on the benefits of transformation leadership, there seems to be more focus on leaders and followers relationships. This paper considers other contexts in which transformational leadership may occur, basing on the reflections, feedback and experiences of the beneficiaries of the LCC capacity building project, implemented in Uganda from November 2013-December 2017.

The LCC Capacity Building Project

To develop the capacity of LCCs, a four-year project was implemented by the Ministry of Local Government (MOLG) with funding from the Democratic Government Facility in the period 2013-2017. The project was implemented in partnership with the International Law Institute-African Centre for Legal Excellence (ILI-ACLE) as the fund holder and implemented with MOLG playing a monitoring role. The initial focus of the project was strengthening the capacity of MOLG by implementing a Training of Trainers (TOT) programme, reaching on average 20 trainers across 45 districts countrywide in two years. The trainers who were assessed as competent would in turn build the capacity of other LCCs in the country. By the end of the two years, there was overwhelming need to reach other parts of the country and two extensions for the project were secured through which other districts were reached. By end of December 2017 the project had registered considerable successes including a training 838 MOLG in 45 districts countrywide with capacity to train other LCCs; these trainers have trained all LCC III across 109 districts, representing 90% of the 121 districts in Uganda. The training covered 9 thematic areas all focusing on LCCs and integrated a mock trial to ground the LCC members into procedures for handling cases according to set procedures. After the training all the trainers were tested through practical application of the skills, overseen by an expert trainer. They were tested on pedagogical methods as well as technical knowledge of the topics covered. Table 1 gives an overview of the training content.

Table 1: Overview of the training content for LCC capacity building

Chapters	Area of Law Covered		
Background and Legal Framework of	Introduction to organs of Government (Legislature,		
LCCs	Judiciary and Executive)		
	Role of LCCs in administration of justice		
	Legal framework applicable to LCCs		
Human Rights	Human Rights in Uganda's Constitution		
, and the second	The Bill of Rights		
	Categories of Rights		
	Linking Rights to Access to Justice		
	Human Rights Based Approach		
Judicial Ethics for LCCs	Ethics		
	Standards and Principles of Judicial Conduct		
Administration of LCCs	Levels of LCCs		
	Membership, roles and removal of LCC members		
	Quorum		
	LCC jurisdiction		
	LCCs fee structure		
LCC Procedures	Parties in LCC proceedings		
	Commencement of proceedings		
	Statement of claim / defence and Summons		
	Language of Court		
	Role of witnesses		
	Judgment, remedies and appeal		
Adjudication of Matters under the	Domestic Violence		
Domestic Violence Act	Referrals (police, court)		
	Mediation and Counseling		
Adjudication of Matters under the	Who is a child?		
Children Act	Rights of children		
	Children in LCCs		
	The Children Act		
	Children and crime (age of criminal responsibility)		
	Remedies		
Adjudicating Customary Land	Laws governing land in Uganda (Constitution, Land		
Matters	Act, National Land Policy)		
	Customary tenure		
	Responsibilities of clan members		
	Inheritance		
	Spousal consent		
Mediation	Significance of mediation		
	Principles and procedure of mediation		
Mock LCC Proceedings	Role plays on LCCs		
	Case studies on LCCs		

Source: Ministry of Local Government (2014) Training of Trainers Manual for Strengthening the Capacity of Local Council Courts in Uganda, Kampala.

Throughout the project implementation process, lessons learned led to adaption in several of areas. After initially developing a comprehensive TOT manual and a Participants Manual for LCC end-users, it was established that both the trainers and LCCs members would need relevant laws to fully comprehend what was taught. Thus, the Local Council Courts Act, 2006 and Local Council Court Regulations, 2007 were produced and distributed to the TOT candidates and the LCC members being trained. The LCC Participants Manual contains similar content as the TOT Manual except for the pedagogical sections, initially developed in English, in was translate into 12 local languages to ensure end users, LCCs, would comprehend the topics covered.

It was further realised that these legal documents were not adequate, as the Trainers and LCC members lacked knowledge of essential laws governing the issues handled by the LCCs. Thus, a Compendium of Legal Reference Materials was developed in 2016 and thereafter used during the trainings of the LCCs. The compendium comprises provisions from the LCC Act, the LCC Regulations, the Children's Act, the Domestic Violence Act, the Domestic Violence Regulations and the Land Act, as amended. In addition, the implementation revealed the need to strengthen linkages with other legal structures including the police, Chief Magistrate's courts and Legal Aid Service Providers (LASPs). To a limited extent these were integrated in the design; for every one Sub-county (LCCIII)

court reached, a Police Officer attached to that Sub-County benefited from the training court, and as a pilot intervention some of the trained LCC members were offered a platforms to interact with the office of the Chief Magistrate and LASPs in selected districts.

To strengthen MOLG monitoring and technical backstopping of LCCs, an LCC Desk Officer position was created in every district to strengthen LCC records management and create a central collection point for LCC records within each of the districts and streamline their subsequent reporting to MOLG. The Desk Officer's role is to receive court records from all village/cell, parish/ward and sub-county/division/town council LCCs within the districts on cases reported, handled and appealed, by category, on a quarterly basis and report to the MOLG headquarters. The capacity building program was aimed at enhancing access to justice for vulnerable populations across 104 Districts in Uganda by enabling LCCs to effectively adjudicate disputes within their jurisdiction in accordance with customary law and in adherence to the principles of judicial ethics, human rights and other applicable laws.

THE RESEARCH

To understand the effectiveness of the training we conducted an evaluation research to assess the contribution of the capacity building of the LCCs on access to justice and the implications for the role of LCCs in furthering justice in the country. Further, the study explored the ways in which the outcomes of the capacity building are likely to be sustained and options to integrate the capacity building action into the all-inclusive LCC for access to justice. Specifically, the research aimed to assess the extent to which the intervention achieved the three intermediate outcomes on LCCs by asking the questions:

- Did the capacity building programme strengthen the capacity of LCCs to adjudicate cases in accordance with the law?
- Did the capacity building programme enhance the functionality of LCCs?
- Did the capacity building programme result in LCCs user satisfaction with decisions of LCCs?

METHODS

The study was largely a desk review with additional case stories/interviews from districts where the intervention was implemented, namely Arua, Nakapiripiriti, Mbarara and Moyo. The desk review covered data from several districts representing the different geographical regions of the country. In addition, an observation check list was used to assess changes associated with management of records for 27 LCCs that had sat to hear cases after the training.

Secondary data was obtained from daily training evaluations reports, end of training evaluation reports and LCC court records. Primary data was obtained via interviews conducted using a case story with LCC court users and LCC court members from same courts that had sat to hear cases after the training. Descriptive statistics were generated on the variables against which daily training and final raining evaluations were collected. Qualitative analysis was used for the case stories and open-ended questions integrated in the daily and end of training evaluation forms. For these questions and the case stories, latent thematic content analysis was applied as provided in Flick (2002). The text responses were read several times to get a general picture and then meaningful units were identified, coded, condensed and categorised into general themes.

RESULTS

Strengthened capacity of LCCs to adjudicate cases in accordance with the law

It is evident from the feedback on the training that LCC members' capacity to handle cases in accordance with the law was strengthened through improved knowledge and skills in many areas. Records from 798 LCC members who assessed the content of the training showed a positive appreciation and therefore with the potential to strengthen skill levels of trainees (Figure 1).

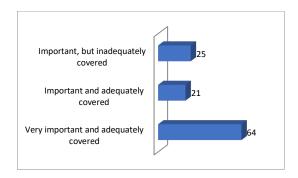


Figure 1: % of trained LLC members rating of the training content

All the trained LCC members considered the training content as important, 85% regarded it as adequately covered while 25% found it inadequately covered. Daily evaluations of the training suggest that the training was appreciated, not only for content, but timeliness, method of training and skills obtained-across different themes including children's rights, children and land Acts, Court procedures and court records (Table 2).

Table 2: Feedback on the training by trained LCC members

How LCC	Data- examples of comments from selected districts						
members	•						
viewed the							
training	(ITT) 3 O 1 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -						
Highly relevant	"[The training] Content opened me up to reality. We need these courts to curb lawlessness in						
and empowering to LCCs	villages" –Moroto "I was impressed by the sessions and if the programme is implemented, Uganda is likely to change						
LCCs	positively." –Sembabule						
	"We LLCs are empowered with this training, this will minimise cases at the police and minimise						
	corruption." –Sembabule						
	"Content was very relevant to administration of justice in LCCs." -Yumbe						
	"We need such seminars to happen at least half yearly even if the money in the government account						
	is not enough." Gulu						
	"The training should be held after every 6 months for the good of smooth running of our Local						
72 1 1	Council Courts," –Iganga						
Knowledge enhancement	"Most of the things I have learnt are things I did not know and mostly the ideas in all parts were useful; I'm be ready to help" –Arua						
emancement	"I have learnt a lot about children's rights and the way to handle them," –Butaleja						
	"The presentation on adjudicating matters using children's Act, land Act and regulation were						
	excellently handled and LCCs now know the matters to handle in their area of jurisdiction," –						
	Butaleja						
	"It will assist us in court procedures only that we need copies of LCC regulations, Acts Children's Act						
	and magistrate Act," –Kabarole						
	"We are getting enlightened to the government laws, how we can settle conflicts that occur out						
	there," – Isingiro						
	"As an LCC member I have learnt the acts to guide us in Land cases, children cases and the rest," – Kabale						
	"The facilitators were very elaborate and to the point of children, land because we have been						
	handling the cases depending on what we see or feel and not facts and law" –Iganga						
Skills	"I have learnt a lot because they have made me know how to begin the court and how to judge						
enhancement	cases"I have really enjoyed this seminar because it has educated me a lot. It has made me discover						
	my mistakes and has given me guidance during my duties while handling cases," –Butaleja						
	"It has made me to understand more about court proceedings" –Arua						
	"It was very important because, we have been not keeping court records and we are going to improve						
Likely to reduce	on all areas including court procedures," Tororo" "It is very good programme that can reduce court backlog of cases" –Gulu "						
cases of appeal	"Appeal session which has been causing headache in our sub counties was fully exhausted,"–Kabarole						
Linkages with	"It used to be difficult for us to consult the magistrates in case of problems but now things are better.						
formal courts	With this short session, the LC3 court can go to the magistrates to advice on case of difficulties faced						
	during their court", - Nebbi						
	"The magistrates linkage with the LCC members has got a very big impact on what we are supposed						
	to do in the field since it streamlined for us our duties," –Nebbi						
Inspiration for	"We have learnt very interesting topics and we have gained a lot of skills about LCCs. It is good						
positive change in	because it will help us in leading people and know the rights of people and how we can uphold justice						
the community	in our areas," –Kabarole "The training is very useful, has opened my mind. I am going to be useful too in my sub-county and						
	community. I'm now motivated to cause change in my community,"-Amuria						
	"With the training, I'm now a different person, I'm ready to be a better team members ad to inspire						
	others especially the under privileged" -Kiboga						
	"The training has helped me to reflect and see which people in the community suffer more and I now						
	have the motivation to question things. With the knowledge on the laws, I will do a better job on the						
	court, -Moyo						
	"The programme is so important, it should be extendedfor change local governments," Kiboga						

Source: Compiled from daily training evaluation forms, LCC Capacity Building Project

Despite evaluating the trainings in a positive way, questions asked during the training suggest the need to change mind-set of LCCs; or rather it will take long for some of the anticipated outcomes on access to justice to be felt. For example, in some of the training events questions asked by LCCs members revealed the need for strategic interventions to address their understanding of gender justice:

"How can I share property given to me by my father with my wife in case of divorce or property I acquired before marriage?" -Isingiro

"In a concubine relationship and instances of separation, do these women have rights on property?"-Isingiro

"When a man buys property, the wife and children have no say but when he is selling, why do they have a say?"-Isingiro

"Where are the rights of men when women, children and persons with disability have all the rights?"-Isingiro

"My question is concerning the widow who dies and leaves a will giving out the land and house when the heir of the late husband is still living."-Kabarole

The above questions asked by LCC members after being sensitized to the Domestic Violence Act 2016 and gender justice as enshrined in the Constitution as well as the Land Act suggest that patrilineal customs and traditions still hinder access to justice. These questions are loaded with patrilineal underpinnings, where customs confer power and decision-making privileges upon men. Under cohabitation, the law does not provide legal rights unless the parties in cohabitation have proof that they contributed to the property in question. The opposite is true in instances of legally recognised marriages.

These data suggest that one off trainings cannot adequately address the influence of centuries of long held traditions that conflict with human rights. Moreover, in every training workshop conducted about 30% of the trainees recommended a longer period of the training as well as refresher courses. This is not surprising as the training was the first of its kind for LCC members on their roles, and most relevant laws related to their work, liking them to Office of the Chief Magistrate and other LASPs. Yet the training was transformative, even at personal level, challenging beliefs, attitudes and practices, and some of these unintended outcomes were noticeable in trainees' reflection of the training as having affected their outlook towards:

- Intra-household spousal relations
- Child parent relationships
- Gender justice; the human instinct of fairness
- Personal desire to improve and do well and
- Good neighborliness due to mediation.

In some cases, hearing about children's rights was new and an eye opener to parental responsibility to provide for education and ensure child protection in every way possible. In other cases, men trainee beneficiaries confessed to being culprits of domestic violence: As noted;

"After this training, I'm a better person, I will be a better husband...I think this applies to many of my colleagues," LCC male beneficiary, Mityana.

Some of the feedback from daily evaluations of the trainings demonstrates that some of the LCC members trained clearly understood customary land tenure, rights to inheritance as equal between men and women and communal ownership of land as belonging to all members of the family, whether male or female. "We have not been trained on how to write a will and yet this causes troubles causer in every bereaved family."-Kabarole

Across districts LCC members were asked what they would do differently after they had received the training. Of the 798 respondents across 45 districts 14 areas of improvement were identified (Table 3).

Table 3: % of trained LCC recommending improvement in given areas

Areas in which LCC III members committed to improve in the management of their courts	% of LCC III court members (N=798)			
1. Pursue mediation as priority through the procedures				
taught	82			
2. Ensure formal summons/recorded	80			
3. Adjust fees based on the LCC Act	78			
4. Handle and conclude a case separately in any single				
session	71			
5. Ensure quorum before handling a case	83			
6. Handle only those cases within the court's jurisdiction	83			
7. Ensure oaths are taken by the relevant persons	83			
8. Guide claimant and plaintiff on appeal and processes for				
appeal	81			
9. Do investigations where necessary to ascertain evidence	79			
10. Refer to relevant laws while passing judgments	81			
11. Record cases and judgments	80			
12. Have more than one person while delivering summons.	75			
13. Handle cases involving children in camera 85				
14. Ensure legal representation of minors where possible	79			

Source: LCC Capacity Building Project Annual Report, 2015

These data suggest that prior to the training LCCs were making many technical errors in handling cases and overall they had a reasonable capability to understand content, articulate need and were therefore capable of improving access to justice by applying right procedures and applying the relevant laws (Tables 3). While a good number of LCC members felt the desire to adjust fees based on the LCC Act (78%), it was voiced as a big challenge and most difficult to adhere.

"Fees are contrary to currency points when it comes to LCCs. This results in poor facilitation and contempt of court."-Kamwenge

Despite these challenges the data suggest that to a considerable extent the training strengthened capacity of LCCs to adjudicate cases in accordance with the law. This is further demonstrated in LCC users' experiences of the LCC following the training.

LCC users' satisfaction with decisions of LCCs

The extent to which LCC were able to apply skills and knowledge gained to increase access to justice was tested through case stories of LCC court users, who shared their experiences of rulings passed after the LCCs had received the training. Case stories 1 and 2 shed light to the findings.

Case story 1: LCC III in Arua affirms women's right to own land

When Beatrice, a female aged 60 years old, from Loko Village, Pajulu Sub county, lost her father some years back, he left her a piece of land. Her paternal uncle, Tom, wanted to take over Beatrice's land, claiming that, according to tradition, women are not supposed to own land. Tom had even gone ahead to look for buyers for Beatrice's land, which he purported to be his own.

Beatrice reported the case to LC I who forwarded the matter to LCC II, which made a ruling against her, stating that Beatrice had no right to the land since she already had land at her husband's home. Unsatisfied with the LCC II decision, Beatrice appealed to the LCC III Court, Pajulu Sub County. The case was recorded and summons to the concerned parties and witness were issued.

The court considered all the evidence and facts presented. It decided that the land belonged to Beatrice's father, and being his only child, Beatrice had the right to inherit the land. The LCC stated that no law bars Beatrice from owning land as a woman. Both parties agreed to the judgment, and Tom ceased harassing Beatrice.

Case story 2: When a court user who lost a case is satisfied with process and ruling

I am Lochaun and I live in Moruita centre in Moruita Sub County. One day, as I was cultivating, some members of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) claimed I had encroached their boundary. PAG claimed that they were given the land by the community leaders in Moruita Sub County during the time of resettlement after the period of Karimojong castle rustlers. I insisted that the land belonged to me and I was not going to leave that portion. The matter was taken to the L C I court of the area, but they failed to resolve the matter. The matter reached the LC III Court of Moruita Sub County.

The court heard my side of the story and PAG's side of the story and decided to carry out an investigation of the land. I was very comfortable with the investigation since I was confident that the land belonged to me. However, the investigations revealed PAG were the rightful owners and that I had encroached on the land. I was told to refrain from using the land and leave the PAG to enjoy their land. The court members were very transparent with the process of taking measurements, and I realized that I was in wrong. Thus, I complied and have refrained from using the said portion of land.

In both case stories 1 and 2 the court uses were satisfied with the final outcomes of the cases, even the one who lost the case. Similar cases of court user satisfaction were recorded in other districts. When asked what aspects court users were satisfied about in LCC rulings, users mentioned the following:

- Clear explanation of LCC procedures
- Ease of access/reporting a case
- Affordability of the fees charged
- Competence of LCCs in handling cases
- Fair judgment, based on facts and applicable law
- Short duration of case from filing to conclusion

Court procedures were not only taught in classroom but further grounded through mock trials during the trainings. In every mock trial the LCC members were able to identify the errors and discuss and agree ways to correct them. Given the above variables against which users expressed their satisfaction, it is clear that in several instances the training increased access to justice. However, in all the trainings, the issue of adherence to fees charged was considered impractical given that they LCCs are only allowed to charge or handle small amounts of money that are unrealistic compared to the costs associated with the expenses they incur. The legally allowed expenses are to:

- a) buy stationery and other operational requirements of the court;
- b) pay for witness transportation where necessary; and
- c) pay allowances of the members of the court [LCC Regulations, 2007, Regulation 31(3) and 65(1)]

In any court sitting, of a Local Council Court of a town, division or Sub County the legally accepted allowances for members and secretary of the court is UGX 10,000 (\$2.7) per sitting (LCC Regulations, 2007, Regulation 31(3) and 65(1)).

Table 4: Overview of costs and fees as per LCC Regulations, 2007

Item	Matter					
1.	For any amount claimed for any debt or breach of contract that is between 0-20,000/=					
2.	For any amount claimed for any debt or breach of contract that is more than 20,000/= but less than 100,000/=					
3.	For any amount claimed for any debt or breach of contract that is more than 100,000/= but less than 500,000/=					
4.	For any amount claimed for any debt or breach of contract that is more than 500,000/= but less than 1,000,000/=					
5.	For any amount claimed for any debt or breach of contact exceeding 1,000,000/= but not more than 2,000,000/=					
6.	For any claim relating to assaults or assault and battery, conversion, damage to property and trespass.					
7.	For any claim relating to damage to crops					
8.	For any claim relating to trespass by animals	1,000/=				
9.	In case of disputes relating to land under customary tenure.					
10.	For disputes concerning marriage, marital status, separation, divorce or the parentage of children.					
11.	In case of disputes relating to identity of a customary heir.					
App	eals					
12.	In case of an appeal in respect of any matter from the village local council court to a parish local council court.					
13.	For an appeal from a parish local council court to a Town. Division, Sub County local council court.	2,500/=				
14.	In case of an appeal from the town, division or sub county local council court to the Chief Magistrate.	3,000/=				
15.	For certified copies of every page of the documents of the proceedings.	200/=				

Source: LCC Regulations, 2007

In addition to limitations of the court fee structure, LCC participants all over the country raised the need for public awareness on their mandate, showing that in some cases the public will overlook ruling of LCCs.

"There is lack of an enforcement mechanism. Often a time, the court members decide cases in favour of different parties but when execution becomes a problem. The people do not heed to their orders and at times they are left tongue tied since the winners of the cases return to them demanding execution of which they have no powers to do. This makes the public doubt their work and lose confidence in the LCC," Isingiro

"Community members do not believe that the courts are functional and so they report most cases to the police. Complainants come straight to LC3 courts and skip LC1 and 2. The community members do no respect the courts and doubt their legality, so they report most cases to the police instead of going to the LCC.," Kabale

There are cases of conflict among Court members and the community, where some LCCIII have having been acting as a Court of first instance. This often leads to loss of trust in the existing courts, Kabale

"Facilitation is still lacking, since the fees charged are not enough,"-Butaleja

"The fees recommended by the Act are too small to run the activities of the court especially where there are more than three sittings of the same case,"-Kaliro

"Our courts lack budgeted allowances to facilitate members,"-Kamuli

"The court fees rate set by government is too low to cover the Shs 10,000 allowance per member,"-Kamuli

"Insufficient allowances to facilitate LCC activities like transportation of court members from their homes to the area of court hearing is a big challenge,'-Mubende

An enhanced level of functionality of LCCs

In this paper, two aspects are used to assess improved functionality of the LCC following the training: improvement in management of LCC records and acceptance of LCC ruling by courts of appeal. In the case of records, in 27 trained LCCs, court records were assessed for compliance to the expected standard practices. Of the 27 LCCs, 92% showed that the relevant records are kept with the required details as taught.

Aspects of Court Records Assessed

- The statement of the claim
- The original written summons to parties and witnesses (where applicable)
- The date that parties and witnesses were summoned
- The scheduled date for the hearing
- The names and addresses of the Plaintiff and his/her witnesses
- The names and address of the Defendant and his/her witnesses
- A brief description of the case
- Evidence presented as exhibits in the case by the parties and their witnesses, if any documentary exhibits,
- The court's final order, specification in fulfilling the order and the date that the order is given
- The court's reasoning for reaching the final judgment
- The date of payment of judgment debt
- The extent to which the judgment is put into action/follow up after court

That 92% of the LCCs complied with expected standards demonstrates that to a big extent the training improved functionality of the courts. Case story three demonstrates confident in LCC by a court of appeal.

Case story 3: Chief Magistrate Upholds LCC III Ruling in a Family Conflict

"My name is Prosy. I live in Kishumuruzo Village in Kitoojo Parish. I am the older wife of my late husband. He married another woman. He was building for both of us separate houses in the same compound before he passed away. When my husband died, my co-wife Anne decided to chase me away from my house, off the property. This was not good because even our children, who were friends before, now started fighting. I was greatly distressed as I had nowhere to go with my children. I reported this to my LC I Chairperson and later won the case. My co-wife then appealed at the LCC II, where she won the case. I was not happy with this and so I reported to the LCC III. The LCC III said I should stay on the land and not leave. This did not please my co wife who then went and reported to the Chief Magistrate. The Chief Magistrate told her to go back to the LCC III and let the case be handled from there. The Chairperson called both of us and spoke to us and through this mediation we resolved our differences and we are now living happily in our homes."

Both the court records and case story 3 demonstrate that the trained LCC functionality had been strengthened. For the LCCs C to make rulings that are upheld up courts of appeal based on facts and law lay ground for increased public faith in the LCC system. The case stories demonstrate that trained LCCs members gain confidence and competence to deliver justice.

DISCUSSION

There are various attempts to define access to justice, but overall international instruments agree to systems that ensure fair trials via affordable costs, fast conclusion of cases, affordable legal representation, in a system of integrity and appropriate enforcement of rulings (UNDP, 2004). This paper addressed the question of improved access to justice because of capacity building of LCCs. In particular it sought to answer questions on the extent to which LCCs capacity was strengthened to adjudicate cases in accordance with the law, whether LCC users' satisfaction with decisions of LCCs and whether it let to enhanced functionality of LCCs.

Addressing technical capacity led to LCCs members' self-appraisal, acknowledging the need to change, committing to help the vulnerable groups, desiring for all LCCs countrywide to have the same knowledge and skills so as to positively and collectively address challenges of access to justice in the country (Table 4). This is consistent with

Rugadya and Nsamba (2008) where various challenges of LCCs were associated with technical capacity especially on judicial functions. While LCCs continue to face other challenges such as lack of physical infrastructure (offices and courtrooms; lack of access to reference materials); the LCC capacity building piloted the interaction of LCC and Office of the Chief Magistrate, Legal Service Providers and the police. This initiative was highly appreciated by all parties; it increased knowledge and access to relevant laws among LCCs addressing several aspects of technical capacity raised by several writers (Burke & Omiat- Egaru, 2011; Legal Aid Basket Fund & UNDP/UNCDF 2006; Oloka 2007; Rugadya & Nsamba, 2008 and Tusasirwe, 2007).

However, challenges associated with personal security; enforcement of rulings, and ability to operate in a politically neutral environment couldn't be directly addressed by the initiative. Neither is the issue of inadequate fee structure where LCCs admitted that the fees they charge on cases they handle essentially substitute their allowances. As noted by the Land and Equity Movement of Uganda (2009) going against legally set fee structure constrains accessibility to just by the very vulnerable that they ought to serve. Nevertheless, their capacity to promote access to justice, upholding such values as respect for human rights, observance of ethical conduct, upholding of principles of natural justice and gender sensitivity has been strengthened as reflected in their feedback on various aspects of the training (Table 2). While the research has demonstrated that technical capacity of LCCs is key to improving the efficacy in helping the population access justice as it fills knowledge and skills gaps of duty bearers, this needs to be a complete package of training as well as provision of the relevant legal documents to facilitate proper interpretation of the laws to make the right judgment.

Yet data shows that customs and traditions play into the minds of the LCC members and in some cases this may interfere with some individual's ability to dispense justice. Some studies have shown that there are cases where there is a tendency to consciously apply customary law which is protected by the Constitution in Article 29 (on the freedoms of conscience, expression and religion), Article 36 (on the rights of minorities) and Article 37 (on the right to culture) where, for example, opponents of the Domestic Violence Act. 2010 that seek to address gender equity fought provisions that would protect women's' rights based on a patriarchal culture (Oloka, 2013). People's consciences are caught between tradition and the law, let alone being compromised through bribery and nepotism. These are matters of conscience and practicality as opposed to technical capacity and will take other initiatives to address.

There are technical areas that LCCs can easily follow and improve access to justice as demonstrated by case stories/ studies in this paper. As indicated, only out of the 27 LCCs whose records were reviewed, only 2 (8%) did not follow all the right procedures. This means with proper training, rulings of LCCs meet the technical standards and can be positively regarded by courts of appeal. This would enhance coordination with other Legal Aids Service Providers including the Police and office of the Chief Magistrate. It would also increase public confidence in the LCCs. One off trainings as the ones done under this project cannot adequately address the technical competency of LCCs. Moreover, the trained LCC members requested for refresher courses, a reflection of the need for a continuous effort to sustain the LCCs capacity to increase access to justice. This is especially true since every five years, new Local Council elections are held and with this the possibility of new members to the LCCs, whose capacity must be built.

THE CASE FOR TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP

Civil courts affect development through their contribution to socio-economic security (Genn, 2012). Indeed, LCCs are civil courts and as seen through the case studies presented in this paper, LCCs do make an important contribution to development. Their efforts to mediate and resolve conflicts provide a peaceful environment for co-existence in communities all over the country. LCCs are uniquely placed to fill information gaps at community level, making them agents of transformation. LCCs are among the first contacts with people; especially the poor who seek information when faced with a legal problem (HiiL, 2016). While the LCC capacity building project was purely set to increase access to justice, especially among the vulnerable, it tackled development issues in real sense. Topics on gender justice helped LCC members to question traditions and customs that bar women from resource access while also motivating individuals to question their own conduct. Training on children's rights and emphasis on the children's act provided essential knowledge and skills to promote child protection and children's rights. This are aspects of transformation leadership where, individuals were keen to commit to change, lead others to question gender injustices, displaced intellectual stimulation to question and reflect the gender biases and inspiration to ensure rights of children are observed (Table 2).

Inspiration leaders emerge to an address issue (s); they do not rise in a vacuum (Bass, 1999). Lack of rights to food, health services, good quality water education, housing, are themselves indicators of child poverty (Beqiraj & McNamara 2016). When LCCs consciously address rights of children, they not only transform children's lives but those of the communities in which they live. The LCCs work within a supportive structure of the Local Councils (Jjemba, 2009) which have Secretaries for children, women, youth, and persons with disabilities. This makes it possible to transfer the knowledge and skills obtained to other parties with responsibility to safeguard the rights of the vulnerable. They have a context where they are likely to influence others-in a leader follower context.

The jurisdiction to handle cases of minor's places LCCs in a unique position to transform communities through access to justice. Child protection is a mandate within the LC structure. Jjemba (2009) noted that LCCs were credited for satisfactorily addressing marital conflicts and protecting children's rights. Jjemba (2009) also found that most cases brought to LCCs were within their mandate and most were resolved through mediation or what he called negotiations, a third called for punishment, while 6% were dismissed. This supports findings of this study where 82% of the respondents felt the need to strengthen their mediation processes using the procedures taught and LCC members' desire to ensure child protection as attested through various comments on the importance of the training. As elsewhere argued, reinforcing legal empowerment through knowledge feeds into development (Mennen, 2012), and as demonstrated by feedback form the LCC members trained, LCCs capacity has been strengthened to lead, they committed to following the right procedures and applying the relevant laws along the rights-based approach. This provides s foundation for transformative leadership where LCCs can advocate addressing other aspects that affect development as shown in Table 2.

Kane at al., (2005) recommended appraising the linkages between LCC and the Higher Courts, such as the Chief Magistrate Court. This study has established that indeed LCCs are poorly coordinated with Magistrate offices and establishing linkages for experience sharing can increase LCCs understanding of process that can enhance access to justice. Feedback from the LCC members on these interactions reflects their appreciation and desire to improve processes and utilize the office of the Chief Magistrate accordingly. Building the capacity of community structures such as LCCs fits well in the Sustainable Development Goal 16 (Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels). Specifically, LCCs work is aligned to the following components of SGDs.

- 16.3: Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all
- 16.6: Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels
- 16.7: Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

This alignment provides a foundation to build the capacity of LCCs at all levels. Being community-based gives opportunity to all, especially the poor to gain easy access to other justice such as courts of appeal and this to some extent addresses the geographical challenge to access and related costs. Being within community they can identify other partial areas of intervention add advocate for relevant policies. After all, they are regarded as a part of the judicial system (Okumu, 2007).

CONCLUSION

In this paper we establish that capacity building of LCCs in Uganda has been long recommended to address the gaps they face in following the given procedures and resolving disputes according to the expected law. However, this training in a classroom environment makes more sense if supported with relevant legal materials, and linkages with relevant structures to reinforce interpretation of laws and other technical support needs. We found that LCCs capacity was strengthened by their improved understanding of the context in which they work, the limits of their jurisdiction, as well as the laws that government their jurisdiction. This allowed them to reflect on the tensions posed by long held traditions and customs that are conflict with the rights based approach. With improved understanding of process and laws, those trained improved courts records, and made judgements that were recognised by courts of appeal and appreciated by affected parties. Yet, it was evident that the fee structure will continue to undermine the integrity of the LCCs and biases of traditional beliefs about property ownership for example will take longer to change. Since the project focused on LCCIII, it is important to train the LCCI and LCCII, this would truly transform the way LCCs work, so that at all levels they understand their roles and apply the relevant laws. Additional strategies include public sensitization to roles of LCCs, strengthening linkages with other legal structures and provision of realistic facilitation that meets costs incurred while doing their roles, and appreciate their services.

LCCs members' motivation to question issues, commit to access justice through righting the process for handling reflects an opportunity to further build their capacity as transformational leaders; where LCC members are conscious of the effects of their work towards transforming society to increase access to justice for all.

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SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF NGOs IN BOTSWANA

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ABSTRACT

The need for accountability in NGOs has become imperative. These organisations generally focus on human rights, poverty alleviation and general ethics. They seek to positively influence policy development as well as good governance. Ironically, there have been concerns about their ethics, values, and organisational competencies. Using Social Network Analysis, we explored the network structure and constitution of the board membership to explore the existence and extent of interlocked board membership, and their potential impact on the NGOs' corporate governance practices and policy development.

We found that board interlocks exist in the NGO sector, however, they are concentrated on a few board members and NGOs. This exposes the sector to potential manipulation by unscrupulous interlocked board members with self-serving interests. It is recommended that NGOs minimise their potential risk by increasing interlocked board membership thus spreading network influence and power over multiple in interlocked board members.

Keywords: NGO accountability, Social network analysis, Interlocked boards

INTRODUCTION

While research on network structures particularly in profit making organisations has received much attention from both developing and developed countries (Baum, Calabrese, & Silverman, 2000; Everard & Henry, 2002; Inkpen & Tsang, 2011), relatively little research interest has focused on NGO network structures (Moore & Stewart, 1998). This is despite the growing concern over NGOs' ethics, values, and organisational competencies (Howard, 2009; Moore & Stewart, 1998; World Association of Non-Governmental Organisations, 2004).

Networks provide organisations and individuals with access to knowledge, resources, and markets (Inkpen & Tsang, 2011). Scholars have acknowledged the dimension of knowledge transfer in networks and its role in competitive success (Baum et al., 2000; Dyer & Nobeoka, 2000). Research has shown that repeated and long-lasting exchange relationships within a network, enhance control over membership.

The control of NGO networks is essential to ensure accountability (Moore & Stewart, 1998). Whether real or perceived, accountability problem needs to be tackled to ensure that NGOs face sanctions if they fail to use donations for purposes intended for by the donor. This is the case because most of the donations are public funds as members of the public made the donations and/or donations are explicitly for issues that directly affect the public. Evaluation ensures effective use of donations by NGOs. NGO objectives are usually vast and difficult to measure as the results are mostly intangible (Moore & Stewart, 1998), making evaluation by the public almost impossible. Networks of Board members and organisations influence effectiveness and efficiency of corporate governance practices. Board members are conduits of information between organisations and thus their position in the network structures reflects their access to and control of information (Everard & Henry, 2002). Therefore, in order to understand NGOs' corporate governance practices, it is important to understand the board networks and positions held by both the NGOs and their board members.

There have been studies seeking to understand networks of board members particularly the interlocked boards (Huse, 2005; Stiles & Taylor, 2001; Zattoni & Cuomo, 2010). Interlocking boards is a situation where board members sit on multiple boards of organisations. This gives rise to some powerful and influential actors, which may prevent other actors from protecting interests of other publics, especially the minority. Boards are spaces of economic and political interests (Salas-Porras, 2006).

This study therefore seeks to establish whether and to what extent board interlocks exist in the Botswana network of NGOs and their potential influence on corporate governance and policy development.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on board interlocks make it possible to trace the social embeddedness of corporate governance (Davis, 1996). Through their experiences on other boards, interlocking board members provide a medium for social influences that create informational and normative context for board decisions. Although board interlocks are created by both inside and outside board members, most are created by outside members leading to an interlock between two or more organisations (Mizruchi & Galaskiewicz, 1993). The interlocks help reduce uncertainty in the environment as board members participate in the strategic decision making process, support management in defining organisational strategy, and provide external legitimacy (Stiles & Taylor, 2001).

Board interlocks are also viewed as indicators of control, and decision-making collusions for the aggregation and advancement of the collective interests by elites in organisations (Kotz, 1978; Pfeffer & Salanick, 1978). Some studies have argued that board interlocks serve as a means of communication, interdependence, political, and ideological coordination for the capitalist elites (Heemskerk, 2012; Scott, 1997). Directors that are members of the social elite are most likely to be on boards and tend to choose one another to sit on their own boards (Conyon & Muldoon, 2006). This has significant implications because organisations get information on their environments through their board members.

Networks by their nature build social capital for the actors either at the individual or organisational level (Inkpen & Tsang, 2011). Social capital represents the ability of actors to secure benefits by being members of social networks or structures (Inkpen & Tsang, 2011; Portes, 1998).

Portes (1998) described two sources of social capital as bounded solidarity and enforceable trust. Bounded solidarity is a belief in the common fate of the network tying members together, and enforceable trust is the expectation that the network social structure will compel members to behave. These sources of social capital are found in interlocked boards. Although research has focused on the positive benefits of social capital such as social control, support, and other network mediated benefits, there are negative outcomes associated with social capital (Portes, 1998). Studies have identified negative consequences of social capital, including exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on network members, restrictions on network member freedoms, and downward levelling norms (Portes, 1998).

Social capital has implications on organisations (Portes, 1998; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Firstly, the same strong ties that bind members of the network are the same that keep the less influential actors at the periphery of the network allowing only the centrally located members to influence network decisions. Similarly, members of a close nit NGO network may conspire against the public. The public are all those excluded from the networks and mutual knowledge linking the colluding actors (Heemskerk, 2012; Kotz, 1978; Pfeffer & Salanick, 1978; Scott, 1997).

The second effect is a complement of the first in the sense that under certain circumstances influential network members may end up using their strong positions to influence other NGOs/board members to behave unethically. Self-serving intergroup relations found in close nit networks can give rise to a free-riding problem as more connected members exert on the less connected members' demands backed by a shared normative structure. The social capital for the more connected members is easy access to donations and market information. In the process, NGOs neglect acceptable corporate governance practices to satisfy other members.

Third, group participation creates demands for conformity. NGOs in a close-nit network know too much about each other, that it is difficult for the less connected to act against the demands of the well connected. Members use information against any member that does not conform. The privacy and autonomy of individual members reduces accordingly. Last, common experiences of hardship reinforce network cohesion. NGOs in developing countries struggle to get the little funding they receive largely because there are concerns about their accountability, ethics, and values (Moore & Stewart, 1998). Thus, in such environments, individual success stories undermine network cohesion because the network is grounded on the belief that access to funding is difficult. The result is downward levelling of corporate governance norms to keep the less connected members of the network in check and the more ethical/ambitious outside the network.

While close-nit networks and the resulting social capital can be a source of public good, it can also be a source of public 'bad' as evidenced above (Portes, 1998; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Thus, social networks need to be

scrutinised and potential public 'bad' established with possible solutions. This study highlights the potential public 'bad' that may arise.

METHODOLOGY

The study uses social network analysis (SNA) technique to investigate the social relationships that link board members of NGOs and corporate donors and gain insight into the NGO board interlock structure. SNA allows the production of spatial maps to visualize the network structure of NGO board interlocks.

Actors and their relations are the main components of any social network. Joint combinations of actors constitute a social network. There are different ways of measuring and understanding social networks (Melamed, Breiger, & West, 2013; Wang, Sharpe, Robins, & Pattison, 2009; Wegman, 2010). This study adopts a three-mode model involving NGOs, Board members, and Sponsors. To understand the underlying social networks, the structural relations of board members and sponsors is analysed.

The use of social network analysis is designed to identify prominent actors at both individual and group levels. Measurements of centrality quantify an actor's prominence in a network by summarising the structural relations of all network connections (Knoke & Yang, 2008). Centrality also provides a measure of embedded social capital (Inkpen & Tsang, 2011; Melamed et al., 2013). In this study, two measures of centrality include degree centrality and between-ness centrality.

In a network, the degree centrality is the number of adjacent links to and from an actor (Freeman, 1979). The measure captures power enhancing behaviours that occur through direct interactions such as favours and exchanges. In this study, the degree centrality describes the number of boards a board member sits on.

The between-ness centrality is an indicator of popularity – it is the node with the highest connections to other nodes, and at the same time connected to other highly connected nodes. These are NGOs, board members, or sponsors with highest social capital and institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. The between-ness centrality identifies the centre of cohesive groups. Actors in the 'middle' are in strategic positions that can increase their importance in the network (Everard & Henry, 2002). Some actors in the 'middle' can act as gatekeepers controlling the flow of information to other actors.

DATA COLLECTION

The sources of data were NGO websites. All NGOs were members of the Botswana Council of NGOs (BOCONGO). The information provided in the NGO websites included names of board members, and sponsors. In some cases, the websites also provided biographical information of board members and other boards on which they sit. Additional data was also collected from websites of sponsors that published NGOs they sponsor and information on board membership of their executives.

Analysis and Results

NodeXL Pro calculated measures of centrality for the entire population of NGO board members, and sponsors. The core of NodeXL is a special excel workbook template that structures data for network analysis and visualisation (Smith et al., 2009). In addition to 'clusters' (cluster vertices), and global overview of the network's metrics (overall metrics) worksheets, there are worksheets for 'edges', 'vertices', and images in NodeXL Pro. There were 183 vertices in total, with 192 unique edges on the data collected (Table I).

Table I: Network data statistics

Metric	Value		
Vertices	183		
Unique edges	192		
Graph density	.012		
Maximum degree centrality	27		
Average degree centrality	2.11		
Maximum between-ness centrality	7514.00		
Average between-ness centrality	270.63		
Maximum closeness centrality	1.00		
Average closeness centrality	.023		

The graph density for the network was .012. This is a measure of overall ties present in the network (Everard & Henry, 2002). This indicates how interconnected the vertices are in the network. The density is measure by a figure between 0 and 1, thus the current network was interconnected.

The network had a maximum connection of 27 while the average degree centrality was 2.11, indicating that the network had a relatively few highly connected actors and many actors with few connections. The between-ness centrality indicates the quality of connections between actors. Actors with high quality connection have high between-ness centrality. The network had a maximum between-ness centrality of 7514 and an average of 270. The closeness centrality indicates how information would flow through the network. It measures the average shortest distance between actors. The maximum closeness for the network is 1 and the average is .023. A lower closeness centrality score indicates an important position in the network.

Figure I displays the 'raw' network of the NGO network. The 'spheres' represent NGOs, while the 'squares' represent Board members, and the 'triangles' represent sponsor organisations. The lines (edges) show associations amongst NGOs, Board members, and sponsors. Although NGOs are generally recipients of donations/sponsorship, Figure I shows that some NGOs also sponsor other NGOs. Figure I also shows that some Board members are associated with more than one NGO and sometimes they are associated with NGO sponsors.

The sizes of the shapes reflect the degree centrality of the actors. It is clear from Figure I that some NGOs, Board members, and sponsors play a central role in the overall network. A sizeable number of NGOs connects to a number of Board members and sponsors. However, few Board members connect to these centrally located NGOs and sponsors.

Created with NodeXL Pro (http://nodexl.codeplex.com) from the Social Media Research Foundation (http://www.smrfoundation.org)

Figure I: Botswana NGO Board members network

Grouping network actors according to their degree centrality (Figure II) reveals nine groups of major players in the NGO network. These are seven NGOs and two Board members. Major NGOs are associated with each other in one or a combination of three ways. The first is directly sponsors, e.g. Lady Khama Charitable Trust sponsoring Botswana

Red Cross Society, Childline, Save Our Souls Children's Village. The second type of association is indirectly by sponsoring the same less influential NGO, e.g. Ditshwanelo and African Comprehensive HIV/AIDS Partnership. The third association type is indirectly through the same sponsor, e.g. Botswana Red Cross Society and Emang Basadi, and African Comprehensive HIV/AIDS Partnership and Lady Khama Charitable Trust.

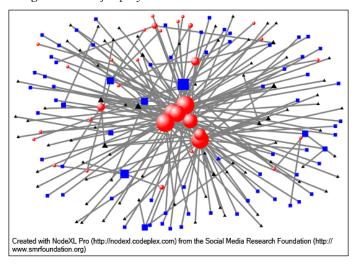


Figure II: Major players in the Botswana NGO Network

The major Board members are associated with major NGOs indirectly. Although each one of them sits on the board of just one major NGO (Seretse Khama Ian Khama sits on the Lady Khama Charitable Trust Board while Uyapo Ndadi sits on the African Comprehensive HIV/AIDS Partnership), they generally sit on Boards of seemingly less influential NGOs. However, it is worth noting that the major NGOs are associated with one another, thus through these major NGOs the Ndadi and Khama have some indirect connection with all the major NGOs. Additionally, Ndadi and Khama sit on a number of seemingly non-influential NGOs whose Boards are made up of individuals who are associated with major NGOs are sponsors. For instance, Khama sits on a Board of a less connected NGO with someone who sits on the Childline Board and another who is associated with Emang Basadi's sponsor. At any given point, these major Board members have access to information on the entire Botswana NGO sector.

 Table II: Centrality of actors in the NGO network

	NGOs							Board Members	
Metric	Childline	Ditshwanelo	Save Our Souls Children's Village	Botswana Red Cross Society	Lady Khama Charitable Trust	African Comprehensive HIV/AIDS Partnership	Emang Basadi	Seretse Khama Ian Khama	Uyapo Ndadi
Vertices	23	29	21	23	18	23	16	16	9
Unique									
edges	22	28	20	22	17	23	16	15	8
Graph									
density	.087	.069	.095	.0087	.111	.091	.133	.125	.222
Degree									
centrality	27	27	25	23	22	17	12	10	6
Betweenness									
centrality	7514.00	4647.00	4203.33	3697.17	6644.67	4130.00	1429.17	1427.67	3725.00
Closeness									
centrality	.002	.002	.002	.002	.002	.002	.002	.002	.001

Table II presents a refined summary of the centrality of major actors in the NGO network. Childline had the highest quality connections in the network with a between-ness centrality of 7514.00 followed by Lady Khama Charitable Trust with a between-ness centrality of 6644.67. However, Lady Khama Charitable Trust connected intensely with a graph density of .111.

Despite the low between-ness centrality of the major Board members, they were more intensely connected than all NGOs (Seretse Khama Ian Khama: graph density = .125; and Uyapo Ndadi: graph density = .222). They positioned themselves more strategically than NGOs in the network. Seretse Khama Ian Khama had a closeness centrality of .002 while Uyapo Ndadi had a closeness centrality of .001. Comparatively, Uyapo Ndadi had a better strategic position than Seretse Khama Ian Khama. This means that Ndadi had easier and faster access to information in the NGO network than anyone else.

DISCUSSION

It is evident from data that Botswana NGO network is close-nit with interlocked boards. Although there are multiple players in the sector (Figure I), seven NGOs are interlocked by two board members (Figure II, and Table II). This means that the two board members can easily collude for the advancement of their personal interests at the expense of the NGOs (Kotz, 1978; Pfeffer & Salanick, 1978). This scenario has the potential to jeopardise NGO corporate governance practices and their policy development advocacy if such put the board members in bad light. The board members may use their influential positions in the network for self-service purposes.

On a positive note, such high-density networks build social capital for the interlocked board members (Mr Ndadi and Lt. General Khama) and the NGOs they are associated with (Inkpen & Tsang, 2011). The board members can easily secure funding for the NGOs and help them make coherent strategic decisions (Inkpen & Tsang, 2011; Portes, 1998).

However, given that there are only two interlocked board members they are more likely to want to maintain such control of the NGO space and keep any upcoming board members on the fringes, exclude from the network any NGOs that do not support them, and withhold information from them (Heemskerk, 2012; Kotz, 1978; Pfeffer & Salanick, 1978; Scott, 1997).

Being such a small, close-nit network means interlocked board members knows too much about each other's activities and such information may be used to create demands for conformity (Moore & Stewart, 1998). Conformity generally leads to mediocrity (Mill, 1972). As a result, such a close-nit network is likely to be made of NGOs that would yield to the demands of the interlocked board members.

As evidenced in literature (Heemskerk, 2012; Portes, 1998; Scott, 1997; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000), a small network of only two influential players can ultimately lead to the downward levelling of advocacy work and corporate governance practices as a way of pleasing the interlocked board members and keeping the less connected network members in their place. NGOs would easily accept the low corporate governance standards as they need the interlocked board members for their own survival. The more ethically upright NGOs and their board members will be kept outside the network.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has established that the NGO sector in Botswana is a close-nit network of seven NGOs and two highly interlocked board members. Although interlocked board membership presents some advantages, it also provides an opportunity for manipulation. Interlocked board members can use NGOs for self-serving purposes as they have easy access to information than everyone else. In the case of Botswana, such interlocked members are more influential within the sector than NGOs themselves. This magnifies the potential risk.

It is thus recommended that the NGO sector should embrace the public good that interlocked board membership may bring such as coordinated advocacy efforts and fund raising. However, the current setup is too fragile. NGOs need to introduce more interlocked board membership to mitigate against being manipulated by a few unscrupulous interlocked board members. Interlocked board membership should ideally be created through additional membership from sponsors. These have vested interests in the NGOs and their organisations and are thus likely to be more objective in decision making and not serve their personal interests.

In addition, some of the smaller, less connected NGOs in the network peripheries can be easily capacitated by interlocked boards. That way, they can also develop a voice within the network. Where NGOs are interlocked through board membership, they are likely to be more independent from their board members and strengthen their policy advocacy role and corporate governance practices.

In conclusion, the study does not claim that NGOs are currently unethical nor are they unaccountable. On the contrary, the study suggests that the NGO sector can be strengthened and further developed by having more influential actors that can guard on each other. However, this does not imply that interlocked boards may not negatively influence the network, but that the current potential risk would be minimised. Corporate governance practices and more active policy development advocacy is likely to be experienced where the influence of interlocked board members is spread across several actors.

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CEDAW's GENERAL RECOMMENDATION No. 35, CULTURE AND HUMAN RIGHTS: A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN BOTSWANA

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ABSTRACT

When the international community adopted the UN Charter, 1945, it, unequivocally, made a decisive break with the flagrant impunity exhibited towards human rights prior to and, especially, during World War II (1939 – 1945). Hence, the UN determined, in the Charter's Preamble, to, inter alia, reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women. However, human rights' violations against individuals and certain groups in society persist. Women, who are usually marginalised in most societies, form one such group. Their human rights are egregiously violated in respect of gender-based violence (GBV), which is predominantly directed at them. This is the context in which this paper aims at undertaking a theoretical analysis of GBV, which is the main human rights' violation in Botswana (Gender Links, 2012, p.1). It does this through General Recommendation No. 35 (GR 35), an authoritative interpretation of the provisions of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) by the Committee set up under CEDAW to superintend its States Parties' compliance with their CEDAW obligations. Of critical importance in the interrogation are cultural attitudes which, in Botswana's patriarchal society, tend to severely curtail women's human right to equality and non-discrimination in family and societal affairs. This interrogation is based on the doctrinal/research, or black-letter research, which asks what the law is in a particular area and seeks to collect and analyses a body of case law with the ultimate aim of demonstrating how the law has developed in terms of judicial reasoning and legislative enactments. Ultimately, the research can be seen as normative or purely theoretical (MacConville and Chui, 2007, 18-19). Based on this research, this paper finds that general agreement on the human right to freedom from discrimination has not transformed the right into reality in respect of GBV in Botswana. It, also, finds that men, generally, and women, to a lesser extent, are apathetic to issues of GBV as a result of cultural indoctrination of Botswana's patriarchal society. Finally, the paper finds that Botswana has not lived up fully to its treaty obligations to stem out GBV in its jurisdiction. The paper recommends that sensitization of society to the menace of GBV should be intensified so as to bring it into the open where it can be dealt with decisively and, thereby, ensure respect for women's dignity.

Keywords: Human, rights, gender, violence, women

INTRODUCTION

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." (UN, 1948, article 1)

This paper interrogates Botswana's history on GBV against women in the context of UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women's (CTEDAW) GR 35 on GBV against women, which updates CTEDAW's General Recommendation No. 19 of 1992 and which CTEDAW adopted on 26 July 2017. The paper's burden is two-fold: firstly, it seeks to establish a human rights' link between GR 35 and the fundamental human rights' principle of equality and non-discrimination; and, secondly, it assesses, theoretically, whether Botswana, as a CEDAW State Party (UN, 1979), has fulfilled its obligations under CEDAW in terms of CTEDAW's binding interpretations of CEDAW as they relate to GBV against women stipulated in GR 35.

In this endeavour, the paper adopts the UN General Assembly's (UNGA) definition of GBV as a template from which to assess Botswana's efforts to tackle this violence. The paper begins with a conceptual analysis of violence against women. The analysis encompasses a definition of this violence and its ambit. Thereafter, the paper discusses the human rights' implications of the violence and the link between these rights and such violence. Then the paper discusses GR 35's imperatives in terms of its genesis, aims and link to violence against women. The penultimate discussion focuses on whether Botswana has met its treaty obligations under CEDAW as related to GR 35. Finally, the paper ends with conclusions and recommendations.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Global Overview of Violence Against Women

On 20 December 1993, UNGA adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW). In laying down its philosophical underpinnings, DEVAW's preamble asserts, *inter alia*, that violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of equality, development and peace, as recognized in the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, in which a set of measures to combat violence against women was recommended (UN, July 1985).

DEVAW's preamble further affirms that violence against women constitutes a violation of women's human rights and impairs or nullifies their enjoyment of those rights. Hence, UNGA defined violence against women in DEVAW, as follows:

"For the purposes of this Declaration, the term 'violence against women' means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (UNGA, 1985, article 1).

This harm or suffering violates women's human dignity and, consequentially, their human rights. This violation, as discussed below, covers women's life in the family and in society at large.

2.2 Ambit of violence against women

DEVAW illustratively expatiates on its definition of violence against women, as follows:

"Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

- (a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;
- (b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;
- (c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs" (UN, 1993a, article 2).

This definition warrants a discussion of states' obligations to respect, protect, and fulfil women's human right to freedom from GBV against them. Paradoxically, one can contend that violence, which is "behaviour that is intended to hurt or kill" (Wehmeier, 2005, p.1642) may, justifiably, be resorted to in democratic societies which, essentially, are constitutive of human rights. A paradigm of this is one's killing of one's fellow human being in self-defence to protect one's basic right to life. However, generally, violence, including those against women, negates all human rights.

HUMAN RIGHTS' IMPLICATIONS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Meaning, Essence and Basis of Human Rights

There is an almost universal belief that on account of one's humanity qua humanity one is entitled to certain rights known as human rights and without which one cannot live one's life fully as a human being. This belief emanates from the concept of human rights, which posits that for human beings to live a dignified life they must have certain rights which, essentially, derive from their very nature as human beings and which are known as human rights. As the UN states, "[h]human rights could be generally defined as those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings" (UN, 1987, p.4). More expansively, the UNDP states:

"Human rights are the rights possessed by all persons by virtue of their common humanity, to live a life of freedom and dignity. They give all people moral claims on the behaviour of individuals and on the design of social arrangements, and are universal, inalienable, and indivisible" (UNDP, 2010).

These moral claims and social arrangements eventuate in respect for human rights, which are "based on mankind's increasing demand for a life in which the inherent dignity and worth of each human being will receive respect and protection" (UN 1987, p.4). This essence of human rights is based upon human dignity, which is the quintessence of human rights. This assertion is anchored in the unanimous affirmation made by all UN Member States at the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna, Austria, in 1993, that "[a]all human rights derive from the dignity and worth inherent in the human person" (UN, 1993b). This dignity, which abhors violence against women, is derivable from generally acclaimed international values such as the following: respect; power, which is generally perceived as the ability to participate in, contribute to and enjoy development (UN, 1986, article 1); enlightenment; skill; health; well-being; affection; and rectitude (Shaw, 2003, p.249).

These values give substantive meaning to all human rights, be they civil and political rights (such as the right to life, the right to freedom of speech and the franchise), economic, social and cultural rights (such as the right to education and the right to participate in the cultural life of one's community), and solidarity or collective rights (such as the right to international peace and security and the right to development). The principle of indivisibility, interrelatedness and interdependence of human rights binds all these rights (UNDP 2010).

All UN instruments are, directly or indirectly, based on the concept of human rights and, hence, affirm human beings' inherent dignity. The pacesetting and bedrock instruments in this regard, i.e., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (UN, 1948), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (UN, 1966a), and its Optional Protocol (UN, 2009), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (UN, 1966b) and its Optional Protocol (UN, 1966c) and Second Optional Protocol, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty (UN, 1989), stress this inextricable linkage of human rights and human dignity. The UDHR states that "[a]all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (UDHR, Preamble, 1948). Likewise, the ICESCR and the ICCPR recognize that "...these rights (human rights) derive from the inherent dignity of the human person" (ICESCR, ICCPR, Preambles, 1966). However, violence against women undermines this dignity and, also, destroys this equality.

Human Rights and Violence against Women

DEVAW, without prioritizing human rights, sets out eight human rights it deems to be most threatened by violence against women (UN, 1993, article 3). The right to life, the first of these rights, is the foundation of all rights as rights are meaningless without life. In both its negative and positive or affirming aspects, which complement each other, the right to life abhors violence against women. In its negative aspect, the right to life mandates that nothing shall be done to subject an individual to the risk of losing her/his life. This underpins the ICCPR's stipulation that even in situations of emergency the right to life shall not be derogated from (UN, 1966b, articles 4, 6). Further, all civilised nations, including Botswana, prohibit murder in their criminal laws. However, women's right to life has been steamrolled by GBV perpetrated against them. The positive or affirming aspect of the right to life, which stipulates that the state should formulate and execute policies and programmes that sustain life, is, also, adversely affected by GBV.

Next, DEVAW mentions the right to equality, which is, also, severely compromised by GBV against women. This is because such violence denies women their right to be treated with dignity and equality as men in contrast to the UN's stipulations that "[a]all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights…" (UDHR, 1948, article 1) and "[t]hat the right to liberty and equality is a man's birthright and cannot be alienated" (UN, 1989, p.6). It is, also, a negation of the UN Charter's reaffirmation of faith in the equal rights of men and women (UN Charter, 1945, Preamble) and the Charter's purpose of achieving international co-operation "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language and religion" (UN, 1945, article 1).

The right to equality does not, necessarily, mandate sameness of treatment of all peoples at all times. Formal or absolute equality, which calls for such treatment, accords with Aristotle's stipulation that "justice considers that

persons who are equal should have assigned to them equal things" (Barker, 1946, p.1282b). However, relative equality, which Aristotle labels as "equality proportional to desert" (Barker, 1946, p.1301a), enjoins differentiation in treatment of persons relative to their concrete individual circumstances. This is because such treatment ensures equality of results and not, necessarily, a straitjacket equality that, for example, treats women as always being equal with men when prejudicial societal practices, especially in patriarchal societies, keep disadvantaging them in the apportionment of societal opportunities and resources. Hence, CTEDAW made the following recommendation in its comment on CEDAW's article 4(1), which provides for temporary special measures aimed at accelerating *de facto* equality between men and women:

"The Convention requires that women be given an equal start and that they be empowered by an enabling environment to achieve equality of results. It is not enough to guarantee women treatment that is equal to that of men. Rather, biological as well as socially and culturally constructed differences between women and men must be taken into account. Under certain circumstances, non-identical treatment of women and men will be required in order to address such differences...." (UN, 2004, GR No. 25, para. 8).

This perception of equality calls for a complete jettisoning of societal institutions and systems that have ingrained in them practices that have pushed women to the periphery of development and, consequently, denied them of their holistic human right to development enshrined in the UN Declaration on the Right to Development (UN, 1986, article 1). This justifies CTEDAW assertion that "[m]measures must be adopted toward a real transformation of opportunities, institutions and systems so that they are no longer grounded in historically determined male paradigms of power and life patterns" (UN, 2004, GR No. 25, para. 10). This transformation will give flesh and viscera to the dry bones of the concept of equality, ensure genuine equality between men and women and, consequently, eliminate GBV against women.

The right to liberty and security of person, which DEVAW also highlights, accords with article 3 of the UDHR, which states: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person" (UDHR, 1948). The ICCPR expatiates on this right by stipulating that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. Further, it gives everyone fair trial guarantees, which include the right to be informed of the reasons for one's arrest at the time of such arrest, the right to be informed of the charge(s) in respect of which one is being arrested, and the right to be brought promptly before a judge for such charge(s) to be proved (UN, 1966a, article 9). Liberty or freedom empowers women to make independent choices in matters affecting them. Consequently, they attain and secure their right to equality with men and cease to be associate or secondary citizens.

The next two human rights DEVAW specifies, viz. the right to equal protection under the law and the right to be free from all forms of discrimination are, symbiotically, linked by the ICCPR, which stipulates that "[a]all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law" and that "the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as ... sex..." (UN, 1966a, article 26). These stipulations justify these rights' attainment of the status of *jus cogens* or peremptory norms in international law. Hence, they cannot, *ipso facto*, be overridden by any other norm(s). This is why the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) asserted that "...the principle of equality before the law, equal protection before the law and non-discrimination belongs to *jus cogens*, because the whole legal structure of national and international public order rests on it and it is a fundamental principle that permeates all laws" (IACHR, 2003). Likewise, the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (AComHPR) commented in the case of *Zimbabwe NGO Human Rights Forum v Zimbabwe:* "Together with equality before the law and equal protection of the law, the principle of non-discrimination provided under article 2 of the Charter (ACHPR) provides the foundation for the enjoyment of all human rights." (AComHPR, 2002)

CEDAW defines the expression 'discrimination against women', which is a direct cause of violence against women, as follows:

"For the purpose of the present Convention, the term 'discrimination against women' shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital

status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (UN, 1979, article 1).

This statement underpins all attempts to ensure respect for all human rights, including the right to the highest standard attainable of physical and mental health, which, DEVAW, also, outlines. This right is unattainable when a woman is, as DEVAW states, inter alia, being battered, sexually abused, raped, subjected to female genital mutilation, and forced into prostitution.

This argument is applicable to the right to just and favourable conditions of work, which DEVAW, also, highlights and which, in international law, is firmly grounded in the UDHR (UN, 1948, article 23), the ICESCR (UN, 1966b, article 7) and CEDAW (UN, 1979, article 11). This right, which mandates that appropriate measures shall be taken by States, such as CEDAW's States Parties, to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment, embodies, *inter alia*, the following rights: the right to same employment opportunities; the right to equal pay for equal work; and the right to remuneration which provides all workers with fair wages and a decent living for their families. These rights enable the worker and her/his family to live a dignified life. This is, especially, the case with women who, by this right, are able to avoid or mitigate their economic dependence on men, which is a major cause of GBV.

The final, and surely not the least, of the human rights listed by DEVAW in relation to violence against women is the right not to be subjected to torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (UN, 1993, article 3). Battery, sexual assault, rape, and female genital mutilation, which are instances of violence against women, constitute torture and inhuman or degrading treatment, which obliterate women's dignity by objectifying them. This justifies UNGA's adoption of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (UN, 1984), which is based on the UDHR (UN, 1948, article 5), and the ICCPR (UN, 1966, article 7).

CEDAW's GENERAL RECOMMENDATION No. 35

Genesis and Aims of CEDAW's General Recommendation No. 35

At the outset, it must be noted that GR 35 stresses that GBV affects women throughout their life cycle; accordingly, its references to women include girls. In its General Recommendation No. 19 on violence against women (UN, 1992), which is the primary source of GR 35 and which it updates, CTEDAW clarified that discrimination against women, as defined in article 1 of CEDAW, quoted above, included GBV, that is "violence which is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately" (UN, 1991, para. 6).

Other primary sources of GR 35 are CEDAW, by which UNGA seeks to eliminate discrimination against women, and its Optional Protocol, which established two mechanisms that enable women to seek redress for CEDAW violations. These mechanisms, the communication procedure and the inquiry procedure, are critical in the fight to eliminate violence against women. The communication procedure enables women to submit communications (complaints) alleging that a CEDAW State party has violated any of their CEDAW rights. On its part, the inquiry procedure empowers CTEDAW to conduct inquiries into reliable information that a CEDAW State Party has committed grave or systematic violations of CEDAW's rights. These procedures strengthen the fight against GBV against women.

There are quite a number of secondary UNGA sources of GR 35. The most prominent of these are the UN Charter and the International Bill of Human Rights, i.e. the UDHR, ICESCR, ICCPR and their Optional Protocols, which form the human rights' template for all UN instruments. The UN Charter, as noted above, reaffirms faith in, *inter alia*, fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women. The ICESCR and the ICCPR, do, also, stress this equality between men and women by stipulating that human rights should be enjoyed by all human beings without discrimination on the basis of, *inter alia*, sex. The UDHR, which preceded these Covenants, also provides a philosophical justification for these equality provisions with its assertion that "[a]all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights..." (UN, 1948, art. 1). It is this dignity that GR 35 aims at entrenching in both international human rights law and national law.

A myriad of general sources of GR 35 exist at the international level. The UN Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages (UN 1962), UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

(UN, 1989), and the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict (UN, 1974), are paradigmatic of these instruments, which prohibit violence against women and, thereby, uphold women's dignity. They, also, evidence the fact that such violence is a matter of human rights' concern in both peacetime and war-time.

There are, also, regional human rights' instruments dealing with violence against women; they predate and are, also, indirect sources of GR 35. They include the following: The Organization of American States' Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women (OAS, 1994); the African Union's Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (AU, 2003); and the European Union's Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (EU, 2011).

The OAS Convention rightly contends that violence against women is an offence against human dignity and a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between women and men (OAS, 1994, Preamble, para. 3). The Convention illustrates the ambit of violence against women by stating that such violence shall be understood to include physical, sexual and psychological violence (OAS, 1994, article 2). Thus, the Convention provides for the right of every woman to be free from violence in both the public and private spheres (OAS, 1994, article 3).

Likewise, the African Union's Protocol provides for upholding women's dignity in times of peace and war and, also, tellingly, emphasizes economic violence against women, which is quite prevalent in patriarchal societies, such as Botswana's, in which women's economic fortunes tend to be dependent on men's wishes and desires. Hence, it defines the expression "violence against women" to include "all acts perpetrated against women which cause or could cause them physical, sexual, psychological, and economic harm" (AU, 2003, article 1(b)).

The Protocol emphasizes this definition by stipulating that "[e]very woman shall have the right to dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition and protection of her human and legal rights" (AU, 2003 article 3). These rights encapsulate the eight rights highlighted by DEVAW (UN, 1993). Hence, the Protocol obligates its States Parties to take appropriate and effective measures to enact and, also, equally important, enforce laws to prohibit all forms of violence against women, including unwanted or forced sex, whether such violence occurs in the public or private domain (AU, 2003, article 4(2)(a)).

The EU Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (EU, 2011) also asserts that it is a fundamental right for everyone to live a life free from violence in the public and private spheres (EU, 2011, article 4). Hence, like the American and African Conventions, the European Convention renders illegal GBV against women.

CEDAW'S GR NO. 35 AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

As just stated above, CEDAW's GR No. 35 seeks to clarify the provisions of CEDAW as related to GBV in order to advance understanding of these provisions as a step to effectively dealing with and eliminating such violence. It complements and updates the guidance outlined in General Recommendation No. 19; hence, CTEDAW stipulates that GR 35 should be read in conjunction with its previous GR 19. In terms of such reading, emphasis is placed on the fact that the concept of "violence against women" is gender-based. Hence, GR 35 uses the term "gender-based violence against women" in a precise manner that explicitly brings out the gendered causes and impacts of such violence.

Secondly, the term highlights the fact that this violence is a social rather than an individual problem as it permeates the whole social fabric. Thus, the responses elicited by it should be comprehensive ones, which go far beyond specific events, individual violence perpetrators and victims or survivors. While such individual acts of violence deserve maximum attention in terms of upholding individual's inherent dignity, the social perspective of such violence brings to the fore the multitudinous dimensions of this violence, which help to place the scourge of violence against women squarely in the public domain. Without such widespread publicity, this socially ingrained violence will not be effectively dealt with as it will be reduced to isolated cases in which individual women seek to vindicate their right to freedom from violence, whatever its nature.

Thirdly, GR 35 "...considers that gender-based violence against women (i.e. violence directed at women by virtue of their sex as women) is one of the fundamental social, political and economic means by which the subordinate position of women with respect to men and their stereotyped roles are perpetuated" (UN, 2017, para 10). This consideration clearly guides CEDAW's States Parties in meeting their CEDAW obligation to take all appropriate measures to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women with a view to eliminating stereotyped roles of men and women arising out of prejudices and customary practices (UN, 1979, article 5). This is because these stereotypes tend to entrench the negative perception that women are not equal to men and should, thus, play second fiddle to men in society. It need not be gainsaid that this perception makes women appendages of men and, thereby, diminishes their dignity.

Fourthly, this negative perception of women, which fuels violence against them, is tied to discrimination perpetrated against women. In order for CEDAW's States Parties to be able to identify such discrimination and deal, decisively, with it, GR 35 notes that this discrimination is inextricably linked to other factors that affect women's lives. As these factors are germane to the purport of this paper, I, hereby, quote them, in extensor:

"... women's ethnicity/race, indigenous or minority status, colour, socio-economic status and/or caste, language, religion or belief, political opinion, national origin, marital status, maternity, parental status, age, urban or rural location, health status, disability, property ownership, being lesbian, bisexual, transgender or intersex, illiteracy, seeking asylum, being a refugee, internally displaced or stateless, widowhood, migration status, heading households, living with HIV/AIDS, being deprived of liberty, and being in prostitution, as well as trafficking in women, situations of armed conflict, geographical remoteness and the stigmatization of women who fight for their rights, including human rights defenders" [GR 35, Para 12].

As GR 35 stresses, these factors are illustrative, not exhaustive. This is justified by the axiomatic fact that society is in a state of flux and the inevitable changes that take place in every society with the passage of time may bring about additional factors on account of which violence against women may still be an issue for society to contend with.

GR 35 makes some recommendations for purposes of the elimination or abatement of violence against women. The first is the withdrawal of reservations made to CEDAW by its States Parties. This is especially the case with reservations which have the effect of defeating the object and purpose of the Convention contrary to international law as stipulated by the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (VCLT) (UN, 1969, article 19). In this respect, GR 35 makes specific reference to CEDAW's articles 2 and 16, which deal, respectively, with the condemnation of discrimination against women in all its forms and the elimination of such discrimination in all matters relating to marriage and family relations.

Secondly, GR 35 recommends that CEDAW's States Parties should ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention as, through such ratification, they sanction individual petitions, which are initiated through the communications procedure, being brought before CTEDAW to vindicate women's right to freedom from violence against them. This procedure prevents the situation where through lack of political will or national capacity complaints respecting this violence are not redressed by some CEDAW States Parties.

Furthermore, GR 35 calls for specific legislation addressing GBV against women as such legislation is non-existent in many states and, even where it exists, is inadequate or poorly implemented. As it laments, there is "[a]n erosion of the legal and policy frameworks that aim to eliminate gender-based discrimination or violence (which is) often justified in the name of tradition, culture, religion or fundamentalist ideology..." (UN, GR 35, Introduction, para. 7). While the enactment of legislation will not, per se, eliminate GBV against women, it will send a clear message to all and sundry that a state is serious about dealing decisively with this violence and will not tolerate it.

In order for the state to strengthen such legislation, it must adopt firm and effective policies by which it will sensitize its population to the dehumanizing effects of GBV against women. Such policies must be rooted in genuine implementation of the obligation of CEDAW States Parties to pursue, by all appropriate means and without delay, a policy of eliminating discrimination against women, including GBV against women (UN, CEDAW, article 2). As GR

35 stresses, this is "...an obligation of an immediate nature (and) delays cannot be justified on any grounds, including economic, cultural or religious grounds" (UN, GR 35, Introduction, para. 7).

While societies, in general, may have specific social policies for dealing with specific instances of violence against women depending on the factors affecting women's lives in these societies, there are policies that cut across all human societies in terms of their general effect on this violence. These policies must critically review "... gender-related factors such as the ideology of men's entitlement and privilege over women, social norms regarding masculinity, and the need to assert male control or power, enforce gender roles or prevent, discourage or punish what is considered to be unacceptable female behaviour" (GR 35, para 19). Education, both formal and informal, is critical in this respect and must be used to disabuse people's minds of the notion of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women (UN, 1979, article 5). This is because such notions, invariably, foster attitudes detrimental to human rights and entrench GBV against women. These recommendations underpin my interrogation of GR 35 in Botswana's context.

BOTSWANA AND GENERAL RECOMMENDATION NO. 35

Botswana and Treaties Linked to GR 35

As noted by GR 35, GBV against women is an obstacle to the achievement of substantive equality between men and women as mandated by CEDAW (UN GR 35, Introduction, para. 10). This is why it is encouraging that Botswana is a State Party to CEDAW, which she acceded to on 13 August 1996. As evidence of its commitment to uphold its CEDAW obligations, Botswana has not made any reservation to CEDAW. Furthermore, Botswana is a State Party to CEDAW's Optional Protocol, which she acceded to on 21 February 2007. By this accession, Botswana has recognized the competence of the CTEDAW, established under CEDAW, to receive and consider communications submitted by or on behalf of individuals, or groups of individuals, alleging to be victims of a violation of any of the CEDAW rights.

Thus, Botswana has heeded the call by GR 35 that CEDAW's States Parties should avoid making reservations to CEDAW, especially those having the effect of defeating the object and purpose of the Convention contrary to the VCLT. She has, also, acceded to CEDAW's Optional Protocol as called for by GR 35. However, in spite of being a State Party to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (AU, ACHPR, 1981), which she ratified on 17 July 1986, Botswana has neither signed nor ratified the Optional Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (AU, 2003). In this respect, she finds herself in the company of only two other State Parties to the ACHPR, viz. Egypt and Tunisia. This undermines the spirit of Botswana's ratification of CEDAW's Optional Protocol. As one of the leading democratic lights in Africa's political landscape, and a member of the continental body the African Union, Botswana must join the overwhelming majority of African states which, in the Optional Protocol to the African Charter, state, in unison, that '[e]very woman shall have the right to dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition and protection of her human and legal rights' (AU, 2003, article 3). To that end, Botswana should, henceforth, ratify the African Protocol protecting the rights of Women in Africa. The dignity of African women and, especially, Batswana women, makes this imperative.

Botswana's Record on GR 35 Imperatives

As the discussion above bears out, Botswana has a chequered history in respect of GR 35's imperatives respecting the elimination of GBV against women. On the positive side of this history, Botswana has ratified CEDAW and not made any reservation to it. She has, also, acceded to the Optional Protocol to CEDAW, by which she has recognized the competence of CTEDAW, established under CEDAW, to receive individual complaints alleging violation of any provision of CEDAW. Furthermore, she is a State Party to the ACHPR, which provides for, inter alia, equality of enjoyment of its rights by all individuals without distinction on grounds such as sex, the right to equality before the law and the equal protection of the law, and the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being (AU, 1981, articles 2, 3, 5).

Botswana has, through national development policies, sought to improve the lot of women by affirming and entrenching the concept of equality of the sexes, which underpins GR 35. In fashioning her National Vision 2036 (NV 2036), a development policy christened "Prosperity for All", Botswana encouraged "Batswana to articulate their aspirations for the kind of society they would like Botswana to be by the year 2036" (Botswana Government, 2016).

NV 2036's second pillar, titled 'Human Social Development', relates to the discussions carried out in this paper though it does not expressly mention GBV against women. It states:

"By 2036, Botswana will be a moral, tolerant and inclusive society that provides opportunities for all. For easy execution, the pillar will be looking into different sectors, which includes spiritual wellbeing, culture, strong family institution, health and wellness, social inclusion and equality, education and skills development, gender equality, the youth and children's wellbeing" (Botswana Government, 2016).

An inclusive society, which upholds gender equality and provides opportunities for all will, *ceteris paribus*, create a culture in which GBV against women will be an anathema and women's human rights, and their concomitant dignity, will prevail.

Another national policy, which is a precursor of NV 2036, is the Eleventh National Development Plan (NDP 11). It is the first medium term plan towards the implementation of the country's second vision, i.e. the NV 2036, and runs from 1st April 2017 to 31st March 2023. Unlike the NV 2036, NDP 11 specifically mentions GBV in setting out the challenges experienced during the National Development Plan 10. In the "Challenges to the health focal area" paragraph of these challenges, NDP 11 states, *inter alia*: "High levels of Gender-Based Violence, particularly, on women, which limits their capacity for self-development and HIV prevention" (Botswana, 2016, NDP 11, para. 9.23). This acknowledgment that GBV impacts adversely on self-development is very critical for human rights in terms of the holistic human right to development. Without respecting, protecting and fulfilling this right, Botswana cannot advance the wellbeing of its people, especially women, through any national development policy, however characterized.

The first major challenge Botswana faces in respect of GR 35's imperatives is that "GBV (gender-based violence) is the most flagrant violation of human rights in Botswana at the present time..." (Gender Links, 2012, page 1). Surveys and police reports indicate that more than "...two-thirds of women in Botswana (67%) have experienced some form of gender violence in their lifetime, including partner and non-partner violence" (Gender Links, 2012, page 1). The following indices, which are merely illustrative and emanate from a 2012 study in Botswana, confirm this negative trend: a fairly high 44% of Batswana men admitted to having perpetrated violence against women; the most common form of GBV experienced by Batswana women was intimate partner violence (IPV) in respect of which 62% women reported lifetime experience and 47% of men disclosed their perpetration of such violence; and the most common form of IPV is emotional followed by physical, economic, and sexual violence (Gender Links, 2012).

Notwithstanding these findings, little national attention was directed at GBV during the study's period. Only 6% of politicians' 188 speeches focused on GBV and 9% made some reference to GBV. The fourth estate, which is generally reputed to inform, educate, and entertain the public, was, also, found wanting by this study as only a paltry 5% of monitored news articles covered during the study period dealt with issues on GBV. Though almost equal numbers of men (81.9%) and women (83.1%) believed in the principle of equality of treatment of men and women, the responses of these sexes to relationship issues leave much to be desired. For example, the study in question elicited the following responses from them in relation to the following issues: Over three quarters (78.5%) of women and almost nine out of ten (88.9%) men agreed that a woman should obey her husband; and 21% of women and 38% of men agree that if a man has paid 'lobola' for his wife, she must have sex when he wants it. Equally disappointing, 7% of women and 18.3% of men agreed that if a woman is raped she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation (Gender Links, 2012).

A major piece of Botswana legislation related to this paper is the Domestic Violence Act (Domestic Violence Act No. 10 of 2008), which defines "domestic violence" as "[a]ny controlling or abusive behaviour that harms the health or safety of the applicant". For purposes of the Act, an applicant is "any person who alleges to have been subjected to an act of domestic violence" (Domestic Violence Act No. 10 of 2008). Though the Act aims at providing protection to survivors of domestic violence, there are concerns that the Act undermines this laudable aim through omission in terms of its provisions. For example, in its oral statement to CTEDAW, the Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organization (BOCONGO), which is made up of 120 NGOs, stated that the Domestic Violence Act does not

consider marital rape a crime and that it "therefore fails to protect women" (BOCONGO, 2010, 1, 3). Another relevant piece of legislation enacted by Botswana is the Abolition of the Marital Powers Act (No. 34 of 2004), which aims at providing for equal powers in community of property for spouses. However, as BOCONGO noted in its representations to CTEDAW, the Act does not apply to customary marriages and religious marriages. Thus, it has limited application as, arguably, a "sizeable number" of Batswana people choose to follow customary law (BOCONGO, 2010, 3) because of cultural inclinations.

The discussions carried out above are reminiscent of the patriarchal society that Botswana is. In such societies, men dominate social affairs in both the public and private domains. Culture, which is the sum total of the way of life of a group of people, is highly influential in shaping societal attitudes and perceptions. As noted by the NGO Gender Links in its latest data on the issue of GBV in Botswana: "Patriarchal attitudes are a significant underlying factor driving the incidence of GBV (gender-based violence) in Botswana. While women and men affirm gender equality in the public domain, this has not translated into their private lives, particularly in their intimate relationships". (Gender Links, 2012, p. 1)

Significantly, Botswana has admitted that cultural practices, such as men's overall domination of societal affairs, have an adverse impact on the efforts to deal decisively with GBV. In its final report on its achievements and challenges respecting the Millennium Development Goals (the precursors of the Sustainable Development Goals), Botswana stated, *inter alia*, that "[g]ender-based violence is yet another area where women have been disadvantaged. While cases are grossly under-reported, police records showed at one stage, gender-based violence increasing by 65% in three years" (UN, 2015, p.13). This statement, which comes under the part of the report titled "MDG 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower women" (UN, 2015, p.13), is intimately tied to the challenge that "gender issues are very strongly linked to economic factors" and that "[w]omen who experience gender-based violence are in most cases dependent on their abusers." This depressing dependence is expatiated upon as follows:

"There is as such a direct link between poverty and gender-based violence. This explains the few reports of gender-based violence incidents. Needless to say, this limits the assembling of robust data sets that can be used for policy programming. Another challenge is that even though effort has been made to improve the situation, counteractive cultural dimensions remain strong and militate against this change (UN, 2015, p.13)"

This link between must be broken permanently in order for Botswana, as should be the case with all countries, to rid itself of GBV for, as CEDAW notes, "...in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs" (UN, CEDAW, Preamble, para. 8). The CTEDAW offers a way out through its concluding observations in its GR 35, which legally bind CEDAW's States Parties and, should, on the moral plane, bind all civilized nations. The conclusions and recommendations below provide some positive perspectives in this regard.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper concludes that there is a clear connection between the fundamental human rights principle of equality and non-discrimination and GR 35, which underpins the paper. The concluding observations made by CTEDAW in GR 35, dealing with GBV, go a long way in directing CEDAW's States Parties as to how to meet their CEDAW obligations and, thereby, uphold women's dignity. Cultural practices in Botswana's patriarchal society form the main grounds for GBV, which is the worst form of human rights' violations in Botswana. Studies clearly point out the fact that men, and to a lesser extent, women, hold on to some of the negative cultural practices, which are based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women in society. Botswana has not, as a State Party of CEDAW, fully met her obligations under that Convention in terms of CTEDAW's binding interpretations of the Convention as they relate to GBV set out in GR 35. Botswana admits that negative cultural practices militate against women's human rights and that GBV is rampant in the country. Hence, she has acceded to some human rights instruments, including CEDAW, aimed at protecting women's human rights and eliminating GBV. However, her non-accession to the Optional Protocol to the ACHPR protecting the rights of women in Africa puts a damper on this progressive trend. Therefore, it is recommended that Botswana should, henceforth, accede to this instrument. Furthermore, Botswana should take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to abolish customary practices which facilitate GBV. These measures include the introduction of

education and public information programmes to help eliminate prejudices which hinder women's equality. Botswana should, also, provide counselling, rehabilitation and support services for women who are GBV victims or are at risk of GBV. In this endeavour, she should, also, sensitize society, in general and, especially, the mass media, about the need to publicize, extensively, information about efforts to eliminate GBV. Finally, Botswana should include in her obligatory treaty reports to the CTEDAW information on the legal, preventive and protective measures that she has taken to overcome GBV, and on the effectiveness of these measures. These and similar measures will help to create an environment in which respect for women's dignity will be enhanced and GBV will be drastically reduced and, eventually, eliminated, as mandated by GR No. 35.

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THE EFFICACY OF LAND REFORM FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBIT

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the land reform programme and its policies with specific reference to wide-spread poverty conditions. Land reform remains subject of contention, despite the concerted and the strides made by the contemporary government, which prioritizes equitable land ownership. It is an undisputed fact that land reform programme unequivocally leads to a decline in poverty in both urban and rural areas. The paper argues that the prevalence of poverty can be dealt with through unfreezing of the people's perceptions regarding the use and the significance of the land. The paper concludes that the land reform programme is pragmatically envisaged to unravel the prevailing structures and alarming conditions of poverty in South Africa for as long as the land regained as part of the land claim or redistribution processes can be translated into meaningful agricultural productivity. Then the alarming issue of poverty can ultimately be addressed.

Keywords: Land reform, Poverty alleviation, Gradualism, Big Push, Transformation South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa experienced unprecedented and long-standing patterns of land fragmentation characterised by upheaval during erstwhile colonization, racial domination and land dispossession (Rugege, 2004). Land dispossession during the colonial era and the decades of apartheid rule produced a highly unequal pattern of land ownership and widespread rural poverty in South African communities. The latter resulted in the bulk of agricultural land being in the hands of the minority, white people in particular. There is compelling evidence that, prior to 1994, the apartheid planning practices die not favour the black inhabitants. Black people were coercively segregated on the basis of race, whereas, on the other hand, white people continued to invade the land, and subjugate and occupy areas of growth potential (Ntsebeza, 2007). The subjugation and the notorious land dispossession started with colonial conquest prior to 1994, when African people were confined to reserve land characterised by poor rainfall patterns, while white people reserved and were entitled to more fertile land for their commercial agriculture (Gumede, 2014; Dlamini, Verschoor & Fraser, 2013; Hall, 2009). It is apparent that the most systematic land dispossession came into effect through the Native Land Act of 1913. The Act demarcated proportion of 8% of the land area of South Africa as reserves for the Africans. Thereafter they experienced an increase of 5% in 1936, bringing the total to 13% of the total area of South Africa, although much of the land remained in the ownership of the state through the South African Development Trust supposedly held in trust for the African people. In summation, this basically means that 80% of the African population was confined to 13% of the land while less than 20% of the white population owned over 80% of the land. With that having been said, this paper applauds the arduous effort of the post-apartheid government in trying all sorts of rehabilitation processes to reinstate the land in order to benefit the dispossessed beneficiaries. However, for as long as people have not yet transformed their perception over the use of land, then poverty will continue to be an alarming issue affecting almost all developing countries.

Therefore, this paper recommends gradualism as one of the methodologies for speeding up the transformation of land. Gradualism refers to a slow pace in the redistribution of land (Ntsebeza, 2007). Gradualism is grounded on the cognitive notion that "ask the poor to be patient", and that is to allow the poor or land beneficiaries through restitution to transform their social perception on the significance and the use of land. It has been argued that social perception is critical in the transformation of the economy and establishing social perceptions which allow the land to become productive (Ntshona, Kraai, Kepe & Saliwa, 2010). This paper concludes that despite the legislation and policies enacted for land reform, rural poverty and unemployment will continue to be pervasive in the absence of the transformation of perceptions on the significance and the use of land for meaningful productivity.

Moreover, the purpose of this paper was to evaluate the land reform programme and the promulgated policies in relation to the proliferation of poverty conditions. The objective of the paper was to assess whether transformation of people's perceptions over the use and the significance of land can lead to a precipitous decline in poverty. The nature of this paper is purely conceptual, making use of document analysis, and as such the study relied pre-dominantly on

literature review from journal articles, books and government reports to draw data regarding land reform and poverty conditions within the South African ambit. Thematic analysis as part of the qualitative research methodology was also used with the aim of examining the patterns of the themes relevant to the study variables.

HISTORY OF LAND REFORM: THE ERSTWHILE COLONIZATION

Over the past two decades and despite the dawn of democracy, developing countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, among others, have dwelled on the tenacity to adopt land reform policies of restitution, redistribution and tenure reform which are widely believed to be the catalyst towards ameliorating poverty and increased social and economic ramifications (Gumede, 2014). Land reform played a very crucial role for the liberation struggle of the nation before independence. Over and above that, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe among others experienced a colonization period where an extensive amount of land was dispossessed on the basis of racially discriminatory policies and legislation. It is thus clear that the liberation struggle sought to transform the imbalances of the political power and attain rightful ownership of land and economic prosperity. In Zimbabwe for example, the previous ruling regime's policies subjugated the people over the whole country. Continually, the regime gave lip service to land issues which remained a subject of contention. Rugege (2004) indicated that land dispossession of the black majority in Southern Africa initially took place through conquest and trickery and, as such, it came to be a major policy of the state supported by an array of laws from the early days of colonization. Land dispossession became prevalent in South Africa after 1913 through the *Native Land Act of 1913*. The systematic land dispossession policy was coercive and created land fragmentation and disparities among the African and the white population (Breytenbach, 2004).

The government of that time resorted to the Group Areas Act of 1950 as a strategy to carry out forced removals of the black people from the land that was declared to be areas for whites and complete the policy of racial segregation by removing African, coloured and Indians people from so-called white areas. Moreover, the notorious dispossession of the black population has been perceived to be one of the salient aspects of colonization in Africa and persisted for an exceptionally long time (Lahiff, 2007; 2014). It is estimated that 3,5 million people were forcibly removed under various apartheid laws between 1960 and 1983 (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014). The indigenous black people were forcefully removed from the land or property they rightfully resided on and moved to confined areas where they had considerably less access to resources such as land and infrastructure. In contrast, the white settlers' communities had privileged access to the vast bulk of land and developed infrastructure. Maake, Manamela & Meso (2016) further indicate that it is an undisputed fact that the unprecedented historical arrangements brought some form of disillusionment to the African population. The latter indeed started precisely with the arrival of colonizers within South Africa. The historical proponents on the other hand have clearly articulated that, by the time the Land Act of 1913 was enacted, South Africa was already moving in the direction of spatial segregation through land dispossession. Generally, the point often overlooked is that the geographical division which was arduously accentuated by the colonial settlers created an immense conundrum to the blacks in particular with regards to the practice of their different livelihoods strategies or practices (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014).

LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA: IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL POVERTY

The inception of land reform in South Africa came as a strategy for addressing the injustices of the past development processes. Furthermore, it aimed to address issues of poverty and inequality in terms of access to economic and social opportunities (Maake, Manamela & Meso, 2016). It is clear that the land reform programme and policies are envisaged to have positive economic ramifications and lead to a precipitous decline in poverty. The conceptual framework on the other hand clearly ascertained that rural livelihood strategies or practices are heavily dependent upon land, and thus, land becomes an indispensable natural resource for the rural people. An ample amount of scholars have explicitly demonstrated that land and other natural resources play an intrinsic and significant role in the alleviation of poverty through the livelihood strategies of rural dwellers (Jacobs, 2012; Shackleton, Shackleton & Cousins, 2001; Kepe, Cousins & Turner, 2001). Land is clearly perceived to be the core ingredient in the essential recipe for rural development, particularly for people who practice livelihood strategies, largely because they are invariably framed in terms of small-holder production (Riggs, 2006). Some scholars iterated that land reform is one of the key instruments in South Africa for addressing rural poverty and it should therefore be used as a vehicle to emancipate farm workers and land owners (Maake, Manamela & Meso, 2016; Gumede, 2014; Ntsebeza, 2007). Others noted that the predicaments faced by farm workers in their living and working conditions are derived from lack of land (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014; Kepe, Cousins & Turner, 2001. Numerous rural development strategies have similarly been unsuccessful and some never even reached the implementation stage, due to lack of land (Kepe, 2012;

Ntshona, Kraai, Kepe & Saliwe, 2010). Therefore, for the successful abolition of structures of rural poverty that are highly prevalent in many rural areas, there is an intricate need to revamp and reform policies and programmes.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF LAND REFORM DIMENSIONS: IDEOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL DIMENSION

It is evident that land issues in developed and developing countries are central to rural livelihoods and development, and that is because a majority of poor people in rural areas are unequivocally earning their living through land (Makhura, 2013). Land in rural areas remains the most critical production factor and, if it is used significantly, it can result in higher production of food that is healthy, safe and supportive to people's lives (that is referred to as food security) (Mwatwara, 2013). Therefore, land reform for rural development starts with the ideological and methodological dimensions for speeding up the transformation of land (Kepe, 2012). For example, the ideological aim of land reform is highly focused on the ideas or conceptions concerning the preferred societal organisations and relations. That in a nutshell, includes the variety of ideas on the use, the practice and the significance of land for rural development. Furthermore, the methodological dimension of land reform on the other hand is more focused on the means for achievement of the preferred ideas of societal organisation and relations (Kepe, 2012). In a nutshell that is to put it into the mainstream of societal assets so that land can be used and treated as capital. The methodological dimension culminates in the valorisation of land through spatial reorganisation. But, the existing contradiction between the traditional and modern conceptions of the land, places the traditional societies at an economic disadvantage (Aliber & Cousins, 2012). The point often overlooked is the consideration of the individualisation of land and appropriate forms of inheritance law. The individualisation of land is more about the holding of land individually, contrary to inheritance law which includes either an individual or a number of individuals having to inherit the land from the forefathers/ancestors. Inheritance of the land is also more related to the conservation of land because it serves to conserve and preserve the land from dispossession of the emerging capitalist farmers.

SPEED OF TRANSFORMATION FOR LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA: BIG PUSH AND/OR GRADUALISM

The conceptual foundation of Big Push

The speed with which land reform is carried out for transformation in South Africa unfolds into two broad categories of strategies which include the following: big push and gradualism. The conceptual foundation of big push includes the willing-seller, willing-buyer principle. According to Dlamini, Verschoor and Fraser (2013), South Africa's land reform policies and procedures are compiled in line with the international standards of protecting land property rights and promoting land reform through the willing-seller, willing-buyer principle. The authors further observed the principle as an accepted model in South Africa to nurture equitable land reform. However, market-led land reform has proven to be controversial and problematic globally (Menager & Valente, 2007). It has been noted that over the past 18 years, there has been a growing body of evidence-based reports about land reform. However, the reports documented little success in terms of land redistribution and land tenure reform, especially in the agricultural sector (South African Survey (SAS), 2010). Furthermore, Hall (2009) contends that the willing-seller, willing-buyer principle has been limited and uneven in its reach. However, on the other hand, some scholars have argued that the willing-seller, willing buyer principle per se is not a problem - but the problem is the extent to which government in the developing countries can afford to pay the market value of the property to the farm owners (Sebola & Tsheola, 2014). The key reason attributed to this may perhaps be the evident heterogeneity in agricultural skills and related competencies between white and black farmers, which is also predominantly a result of the apartheid regime. It is also evident on the other hand that even though the government continues to provide funds for market-led land reform, it has been observed that in practice an enormous amount of the land redistributed for agricultural purposes in most of the instances remains out of production and that could perhaps be attributed to capacity issues, limited resources and the absence of suitable perceptions about land (Aliber & Maluleke, 2010; Anseeuw & Mathebula, 2008). Another disillusionment and matter of concern is that in most of the incidences where land reform has been successful, the majority of black farmers are reported to have sold back the redistributed farms to their previous owners (Aliber & Maluleke, 2010).

Conceptual foundation of gradualism

The integral gist of gradualism for speeding up the transformation of land reform resides in the sphere of social

perception. It is based on the cognitive notion that "ask the poor to be patient" so that they get to transform perceptions on the significance and the use of land for productive purposes and agricultural productivity. Menager and Valente (2007) articulated that social perceptions are found to be the most critical factor in the transformation of the economy and establishing new social perceptions about land, so that the land may become productive. The most compelling evidence is that gradualism requires that enough time be allowed for the farmers or land beneficiaries to allow their social perceptions towards the redistributed land to be modified. Therefore, it is now clear those social perceptions are highly variable factors and they depend upon the following: the functional attributes of the physical environment (referred to as land), familiarity with the material products of the culture which embodies inter alia technology and technical skills and lastly the communication systems employed in the culture which gives pragmatic meaning to the ideas (Hall, 2009). It is very explicit from this paper that gradualism is envisaged to be a strategy that can be able to deal effectively with the evident heterogeneity in agricultural skills and related competencies between black and white farmers; it can also deal with the unsurpassed and unprecedented land fragmentation brought by the apartheid legacy (Aliber & Maluleke, 2010). Dlamini, Verschoor and Fraser (2013) indicated that there is a need to redress the imbalances of the past development exertions, especially land ownership, by allowing for integration into what is predominantly a white sector. That is through the fact that new black farmers need to access the land with full transformation of their perceptions complemented by capital, technology, capacity building as well as market networks.

Gradualism also has been declared as a slow pace for the redistribution of land in order to allow people on the ground an opportunity to transform their perceptions regarding the use and the significance of land (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014). It is clear from this paper that land redistribution without the transformation of people's perceptions could not entirely deal with the unprecedented incidences of poverty in South African communities. According to *Umhlaba Wethu* (2011), less than 10% of the land has been redistributed since 1994 and those who have regained land rights as part of the land claim or redistribution processes have not been able to translate these into meaningful agricultural production.

THE POST-1994 SOUTH AFRICAN LAND POLICIES

Land restitution: Its legal provisions

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996 explicitly elucidates that persons or communities who were dispossessed of their property after 19 June 1913 as a result of the past racially discriminatory law or practices are entitled in terms of an Act of Parliament to restoration of that property or to equitable redress. The Act of Parliament giving effect to the constitutional provision is the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994). The Act entitles a person, or a community dispossessed of rights in land, or a descendant of a person or deceased estate of a person dispossessed of rights in land, to claim restoration of those rights or equitable relief such as alternative land or compensation. In a nutshell, land restitution is a component of agrarian land reform which is chiefly aimed at restoring the so-called 'confiscated land' to the rightful beneficiaries (Gumede, 2014; Ntsebeza, 2007). In the postapartheid regime, there have been several attempts made by government to redress the past injustices, especially the problem of extreme poverty, through land restitution initiatives (Aliber & Maluleke, 2010). The land restitution programmes were instituted through the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 with the main purpose of restoring justice to the communities that lost their land due to evictions during the apartheid era (RSA, 1994). Bary (2011) and Sjaastad, Derman and Manenzhe (2013) indicated that this Act focused on returning land or providing other compensation including money, through Communal Property Associations (CPAs), to persons and groups within the community who lost their land after 19 June 1913, the date of the Native Land Act which formally divided South Africa's land based on racial discriminatory principles. It is also clear that on the other hand the aim of the land restitution programme is to support the vital process of reconciliation, reconstruction and development (Bary, 2011). It is evident that over 61% of the land has been claimed and furthermore, 810 292 hectares have been transferred to an estimated 616 429 beneficiaries. This is a significant achievement in the processing of land claims. A number of communities, which were brutally moved under apartheid, have been able to return to their ancestral lands. However, the question remains whether individuals or groups of people have the capacity and the ability to transform or translate the land into meaningful productivity.

Land redistribution

The land redistribution sub-programme aimed to address the division between 87% of the land, dominated by white commercial farming, and the 13% in the former 'homelands' by way of diversifying the ownership structure of commercial farmland. The sub-programme was minimally successful, redistributing about 7% of land to the landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers and emerging farmers for productive use, to improve their livelihoods and quality of life as well as to stimulate growth in the agricultural sector. This was executed through grant-based mechanisms (settlement/land acquisition grant of R16000 per household from 1995-2000 and then the agricultural development grant for land redistribution of R20 000- R100 000 per individual based on own contribution). Currently most of the farms redistributed are struggling financially, and are faced with huge debts, poor infrastructure, and lack of adequate support, as well as conflicts within the large group projects, poor skills development and numerous other problems (Gumede, 2014). This prompted the Department of Land Reform to actively utilise the proactive land acquisition strategy (or more state-led approach) coupled with a recapitalisation strategy from 2010 (Department of Land Reform, 2012).

The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis (RSA, 1996). Access to land is one of the socioeconomic rights set out in the Bill of Rights, but nowhere is it stated that everyone has the right to land. Lahiff and Rugege (2002) argue that in meeting its constitutional obligation, the state may choose to redistribute state land, purchase or expropriate privately-owned land for redistribution, or make it possible for people to purchase land by means of subsidies and through facilitating access to credit on favourable terms. The purpose of the land redistribution programme is to provide the poor with access to land for residential and productive uses, in order to improve their income and quality of life. The programme aims to assist the poor, labour tenants, farm workers, women, as well as emergent farmers. In essence, the Department of Land Affairs (1997) and Gumede (2014) highlighted that, for the efficacy and the achievement of land redistribution, there is a need to take account of commonage whereby the national government provides the funds to municipalities to purchase land to be used by poor communities living in or around rural towns for grazing or as small garden areas to supplement their incomes and improve their food security. However, an important point to note is that municipal commonage existed before 1994, but was only accessible to the white residents of the towns in accordance with the discriminatory policies of the state. Furthermore, the post-1994 policy was to ensure that commonage was used for the benefit of the poor in urban and peri-urban areas (Maake, Manamela & Meso, 2016).

Land tenure reform

The land tenure reform is one of the three legs of the Land Reform Programme (LRP) as described in the 1997 White Paper. Tenure reform is directed towards two distinct objectives. The first is to address the state of land administration in the communal areas of the former homelands and coloured reserves. The communal areas make up most of the land in the former homelands and amount to approximately 17 million hectares, including Ingonyama Trust land in KwaZulu-Natal, as well as the former 'self-governing territories' of KwaZulu, Gazankulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele and QwaQwa, in addition to the former 'independent' homeland states: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC). The communal areas are home to nearly one third of all South Africans and the site of the deepest concentrations of poverty in the country. Many residents have insecure or illegal forms of tenure, which is both a potential source of conflict and an impediment to investment and development. The second objective is to strengthen the security of tenure of farm dwellers living on commercial farms. Most farm dwellers have access to residential land only, but a minority are labour tenants who also have access to grazing land for their own livestock or to arable land for cultivation, in return for which they are required to provide (unpaid) labour to the landowner. There are also a large number of farm evictions and the Department has been severely criticised for weak legislation and policies around evictions. This calls for the government to revitalize and strengthens its current policies around tenure reform.

CONCLUSION

It can be deduced from the paper that the transformation of people's perceptions over the use and the significance of land has implications for the prolific and unprecedented incidences of poverty both in urban and rural areas. It is also clear that the land reform programmes and its policies are highly beneficial to a vast number of communities and to the poor through the practice of different livelihood activities. However, its efficacy is complemented by the full transformation of perceptions that people on the ground have over the usage of land for productive purposes.

It is also clear from the paper that the willing seller, willing buyer principle failed at some point because it did not explicitly indicate how the poor people could secure the funds to buy the land, given their precarious conditions. Additionally, it is clear that in the absence of the transformation of people's perception, land can be regained through land claims or redistributed, but the very same land remains unused and poverty is perpetuated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- There is a need for land reform policies to consider the extent to which land redistribution, tenure reform and restitution would necessitate the transfer of farming skills to incoming new farm owners.
- There is also a need for capacity building whereby current white farmers could help in capacitating black farmers ensure that all the mandatory aspects of farming knowledge are transferred.
- The contemporary government must put aside sufficient resources to support emerging black farmers and that can include financial capital and agricultural inputs such as fertiliser.
- In the willing-seller, willing-buyer principle, it is clear that the government should subsidize the previously disadvantaged groups of people with regard to purchasing of the land so that the poor are able to use it for production purposes.
- There is a need for the government to revitalize and strengthen the current land tenure reform policies to avoid conflicts over the land.
- It is lastly recommended that the transformation of people's perceptions for the usage of land should be complemented by the capacity, resources, capital etc.

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INSTITUTIONS AND WATER GOVERNANCE IN THE OKAVANGO DELTA, BOTSWANA

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ABSTRACT

The goals of Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM) can be achieved by embracing the principles of distributive governance, which places both customary and statutory water institutions on the same base in the management of water resources. As culture and traditions constitute intangible aspects of water resources management in rural Africa the recognition of water governance systems grounded in local norms, which correspond better with the aspirations of local water users as against the expert-knowledge systems (that generally require external support to function) is desirable. Following the introduction of the statutory institutions in post-colonial Africa, Botswana included, customary institutions, which were once effective in regulating water resources became relegated to the background in those countries. Adopting a critical literature review approach, this article employs the concept of legal pluralism to analyse the institutional factors that create the disharmony between cultural and statutory water management institutions. Findings indicate that water has been abstracted from its social nature and transformed into a tradable economic good. Ultimately, the local meanings and images encoded in water as a nature-given resource are overlooked, thus generating conflicts in water governance. This paper recommends the adoptions of legal pluralism under which water institutions need to embrace both customary and statutory institutions.

Keywords: Botswana, customary, institutions, legal pluralism, Okavango Delta, statutory

INTRODUCTION

Since prehistoric times, indigenes (indigenous people) have governed water in their localities (Osei-Tutu, Pregernig & Pokorny, 2015) and established social institutions as mechanisms to regulate water use (Kapfudzaruwa & Sowman, 2009). The colonial era saw the creation of the colonial states and their associated statutory institutions (Gachenga, 2015) which led to the centralization of water resources governance. Subsequently, water management was made the responsibility of state institutions with properly trained personnel purportedly for better water governance even though the motive was apparently to secure revenues for the states (Osei-Tutu et al., 2015). Indigenes and their customary institutions were pushed into the background and in some cases criminalized (Brown & Lassoie, 2010). Not surprisingly, there was local resistance to this form of water governance. In the late 1980s governance strategies that sought to involve local people in officially recognized water governance emerged with the rationale to enhance effectiveness, efficiency and equity in water use (Brown & Lassoie 2010). However, the results of implementation efforts have been unsatisfactory (Oyono 2004). This was largely because they had involved the introduction of expert knowledge systems of water governance in local communities (Ostrom, Lam, & Lee, 1994) where the technical, managerial and financial requirements of the expert-knowledge systems were incompatible with local circumstances. The result was a lack of local ownership and strong dependency on external support to function (Pokorny & Johnson, 2008). In view of this, several authors have recommended customary institutions in the pursuit of officially recognized local water governance (Agrawal & Ostrom 2001; Ostrom et al., 1994). Indeed, in some empirical studies local institutions were found to be effective and efficient in regulating use of local resources (Colding & Folke 2001).

In many countries local customs and religious beliefs have shaped the rules applied to water. Such local rules have been traced back to the traditional life of the indigenes. For instance, in India local water rules were developed and incorporated into statutory water laws (Naff, 2009). This was the same in China and Egypt where rules to manage floods and promote irrigation were initially developed locally but later became part of national water law (Roth, Boelens & Zwarteveen (2015). The prehistoric water rules focused on ownership and rights, however, with the industrial revolution, water rules shifted to water quality issues with pollution taking a centre stage. The trend continued to today where water governance focuses on integrated and sustainable utilisation of water. The study of water governance has shown that it is not easy to change historically acquired rights and responsibility (Ostrom, 1994). Thus, traditional courts, taboos and traditions continue to preside over water management in rural areas in Africa showing that people have long memories regarding their water rights.

Although water institutions are very much shaped by a context literature has shown that African water institutions have six general features (Mehari, Van Koppen, McCartney & Lankford 1996; Muyambo & Maposa, 2014; Osei-Tutu et al., 2014). Firstly, the institutions have a cultural origin which were influenced by the geographical and hydrological conditions that shaped the growth of the early civilisation along riverbanks. In general, regions that were water rich had little need to develop rules, while water poor regions had great need to have local water rules. This tendency is evident to this day in different parts of Africa (Mehari *et al.*, 1996).

A second general feature of water rules is the religious influence. Through the spread of major religions like Christianity and Buddhism among others to different parts of the world, water related rules in each religion began to penetrate statutory water legal systems. Due to this religious influence, private ownership of water in some places is not recognised, as water is regarded as a fugitive social good. As noted by Dellapenna & Gupta (2008) the perspective that water is elusive emanated from the African Traditional Religion (ATR) and borrowed by Hinduism and spread to Christianity. Thus, in some versions of the major religions water cannot be commercialised because it is a gift from God even though limited ownership is recognised where individuals have taken specific measures to create access to water, for instance through the digging of wells or provision of treatment plants. In Islam rules concerning water bear a religious characteristic because, the faith was born in an arid religion. This is why in Islam the word for law is *Sharia* meaning *path to the watering place* (Naff, 2009). In contrast Roman law which were developed in a relatively water rich areas allow personal ownership of water. Following this, countries which ascribe to Roman tradition of water governance recognise three types of water ownership namely private, commercial and public.

Thirdly, water institutions in Africa have a conquest and colonisation characteristic. In some cases, these processes transferred religious principles, that is, to countries conquered by Islam religious ideologies means water institutions abide by Islam religious features. In some instances, water institutions spread secular rules especially those countries which were colonised by European countries. Yet, in other instances, water institutions promote ideological based conceptions such as the spread of a state ownership of water. A fourth feature is the codification of water institutions at a national level. This stage involved the identification of common principles of managing water at local and national level. This was followed by recording of water laws at both national and international level. The international law Commission was mandated to codify international water law (Woodman, 1999). While key features of local rules were codified, however, international water law focuses much on transboundary water courses.

A fifth feature of statutory water institutions emerged from engineering and epistemic community. Those people who had vast knowledge of water science developed scientific concepts of water management. They developed notions of diverting water from where water is in abundance to where it is in scarcity. While initially these communities focused on developing infrastructure and engineering works like dams, over time their work has shifted towards integrated river basin management. With integrated basin management some crucial local level water rules were lost. The sixth trend in water governance is the globalisation. This trend has spread neoliberal ideas regarding water. Globalisation regards water as an economic good and not as a social good as viewed in customary institutions. Having delineated trends in water governance, the main objective of this paper is to analyse institutional factors engendering dissonance existing between customary and statutory water management institutions in the Okavango Delta. The paper is organised as follows, whereas section 1 is an introduction, Section 2 presents the conceptual framework underpinning the paper. Section 3 describes the study area and section 4 deliberates on institutional structure under statutory and customary governance in the Okavango Delta. While section 5 outlines customary institutions for water governance, section 6 gives the conception of water under customary institutions. Finally, section 7 concludes the paper.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The thrust of this paper is imbedded in the legal pluralism conceptual framework as conceived by Hooker (1975). In the author's opinion, the status quo is an erroneous assumption that law is and should be the law of the state uniform for all persons exclusive of all other edict and administered by a single set of state institutions (Akon's, 1988). However, literature has shown that there exist within any one given society of different juridical mechanisms that apply to identical situations (Hooker, 1975). Thus, legal pluralism exists whenever social actors identify more than one source of law within a social arena. In this esteem, the essential feature of legal pluralism in Africa is the coexistence and usage of statutory and customary institutions in the governance of natural resources (Woodman, 1999). Understanding the concept of legal pluralism thus, helps in resolving the dissonance existing between customary

and statutory water governance institutions in the Okavango Delta in Botswana. As viewed by Muyambo & Maposa (2014) water allocation depends much on local than statutory institutions especially in rural Africa. This is because local institutions are a result of local history and circumstances and in turn influence the feasible routes for reforms in water allocation. Literature has shown that water reforms are likely to be more effective and have lower transaction costs if they build on and enhance the social capital of local institutions rather than destroying or disrupting them (Guillet, 1998). State efforts to change how water is allocated are likely to be ineffective or counterproductive unless grounded in an understanding of the principles and practices that guide its allocation at local level (Maganga, 2003). Conversely, local communities face increasing challenges in comprehending and dealing with competing water uses and users beyond the boundaries of local management institutions (Gachenga, 2015; Maganga, 2003). Thus, to mitigate the water access and allocation predicaments faced by indigenes within the Okavango Delta, the adoption of legal pluralism is imperative as it recognises that multiple legal frameworks coexist. Legal pluralism is not a matter of simply applying a single, well defined and accepted set of formal rights derived from national institutions, but instead requires recognition of the customary institutions among stakeholders. Water rights can be broadly defined as claims to water resources that are recognised as legitimate (Merry, 1988). At the local level and within the customary institutions, water rights already exist in one form or another often defined and applied in ways that differ significantly from those that may be recognised in statutory institutions.

THE OKAVANGO DELTA

The Okavango Delta (See Figure 1) is a large flood-pulsed alluvial wetland (Mendelsohn, van der Post, Ramberg, Murray-Hudson, Wolski, & Mosepele, 2010), characterised by very low level of anthropogenic transformation in the semi-arid north-western Botswana (Gondwe & Masamba, 2015). It is located within 180-200 East of the Greenwich Meridian and 220-240 South of the Equator (Gondwe & Masamba, 2014). It covers an area of 22 000 km2 and is one of the world's largest inland deltas (Mendelsohn *et al.*, 2010). The delta receives water from central Angola via Cuito and Cubango rivers and consists of five ethnic groups, each with its own ethnic identity and language (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010). They are the HamBukushu, BaTawana, BaYeyi, BaKalanga and BaKgalagadi. The HamBukushu, BaTawana and BaYeyi traditionally engage in mixed economies of subsistence agriculture, hunting and collection of wild fruit (Bock & Johnson, 2004). On the other hand, the BaKalanga and BaKgalagadi engage in fishing, hunting and the collection of wild fruits. BaKgalagadi people utilize both forest and mineral resources. The Okavango Delta is home to a wide variety of wild animals - among them being elephants, buffaloes, hippopotamus, lions, cheetah, and tsessebe.

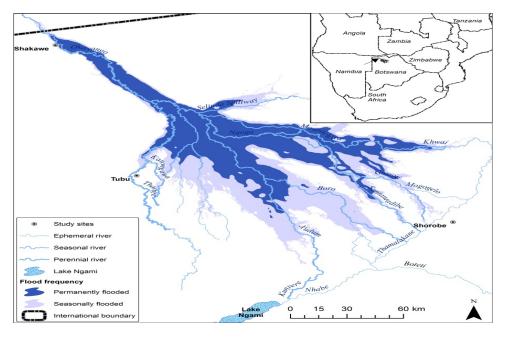


Figure 1: Map of the Okavango Delta showing the sampled sites

Source: Okavango Research Institute GIS Laboratory

WATER INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND REFORMS IN BOTSWANA

North (1990) conceptualises institutions as rules of the game that direct the governance of common pool resources to avoid tragedy of the commons. Institutions in water management are designed to influence human behaviour by either restraining or enabling human choice (Mogomotsi, Goemeone & Matlhola (2018). On this basis, two categories of water institutions namely customary and statutory exist. Institutions in this context can be viewed as established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions as well as organisations which govern water use. They constitute humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interactions (North, 1990). According to North (1990) an institution is a framework of laws and organisations within which an individual act. Thus, institutions in this case refer to any structure or mechanism governing the behaviour of a set of individuals within the Okavango Delta in terms of water use, management and conservation. Added to this are organisations as Ministry of Land Management, Water and Sanitation Services (MLMWSS), Department of Water Affairs (DWA) and Water Utilities Corporation (WUC). Put together the water legislations, policy and water organisations constitute what are called statutory water governance institutions in the Okavango Delta. For details of water institutions in the Okayango Delta see figure 2. The reliance on groundwater and the limited spatial distribution of surface waters creates a complex institutional framework for water management and development in Botswana (Republic of Botswana 2012). This is further compounded by the reliance on internationally shared and transboundary waters. In order to safeguard national interests and sovereignty, the government of Botswana has emphasised the need to constantly compile and analyse a comprehensive institutional framework for water governance in Botswana and to the Okavango Delta in particular. Since the definition of institution encompasses both legislations and organisations in water management, the explanation for these institutions will begin by looking at institutions in the form of organisations and this will be followed by outlining institutions as in legislations and policies as shown in figure 2.

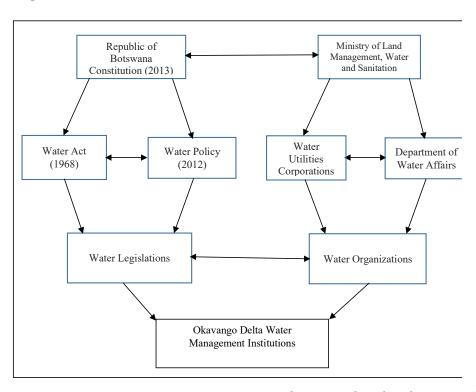


Figure 2: Statutory Water governance institutional Framework in the Okavango Delta

Source: *developed by authors*

On the top of the organogram is the MLMWSS with a role to provide leadership and policy directive (Republic of Botswana 2012), to the departments and parastatal. The key role of the ministry is to formulate, direct and coordinate national water law and policy. It is also within its mandate to formulate water management strategies. However, the ministry delegates this responsibility to the DWA. The department develops water policy, monitors and allocates water to users. Furthermore, DWA provides technical expertise to the ministry on legislations and liaise with riparian water users at both national and transboundary level. Following DWA is the WUC, established under

the Water Utilities Corporation Act of 1970 (Republic of Botswana CAP 74:02). Initially WUC was responsible for the supply and distribution of water within the Shashe Development Area, however, the mandate was extended to assume responsibility as the water authority for cities and villages within the entire Botswana. WUC, governed by WUC Act (1970), specifies financial principles and methods of charging water to ensure that the organisation runs on a commercial principle and ensure the recouping of cost (DWA, 2013).

On the other hand, if institutions are defined as rules of the game in water governance they comprise water legislations and policies such as the Republic of Botswana's Water Act (1968) Water Bill (2005) and Water Policy (2012). These three are all rooted in the constitution of Botswana. The 2012 Water Policy aims to provide a framework that fosters access to water of high quality by all users and to advocates for sustainable development of water resources in Botswana. The policy is premised on the core principles of sustainable development taking into consideration the objectives of IWRM. Although on paper, the Water policy (2012) adopts a decentralised catchment area approach, the transboundary nature of rivers in Botswana makes the approach difficult to apply and it uses the precautionary principle. The overarching guiding principles as enshrined in the Republic of Botswana (2012) are the 3Es namely equity, efficiency and *environmental sustainability*.

Of significance to note in Botswana water sector is that for five decades into independence water resources management continue to be governed by the 1968 Water Act (Chapter 34.01). While there is a political will in reforming the legislations as shown by the 2005 Water Bill, it is important to note that the reform process is taking too long as the 2005 water Bill is yet to be promulgated thirteen years prior to the changes. The first step towards reviewing this legislation was the setting up of the inter-ministerial committee by the government of Botswana to review water resources legislation. The committee was headed by the Ministry of Mineral, Energy and Water Resources (MMEWR) and it recommended that a new water act be put in place (Republic of Botswana, 2013). This brought up the 2005 Water Bill and the 2012 Water Policy. The proposed water Act (Water Bill 2005), is founded on economic efficiency, environmental sustainability and equity of water use. The following are the key features of the new water Bill (2005) and Water Policy (2012).

The Water Bill (2005) proposes that water should not be privately owned as the case in the current act and water is to be viewed from the complete hydrology perspective. Both ground and surface water need to be treated as part of one hydrological perspective. This is a departure from the current Water Act (1968) which views the two waters as separate. Stakeholder driven institutions are supposed to be formed that will have more say on water allocation and general water management on a day to day basis. A very important institution in this case is the Village Water Development Committee (VWDC). This is a crucial institution in as far as Okavango Delta is concerned. The formation of VWDC imply use of local rules (taboos) in water governance in rural Okavango Delta. The other key feature of the Bill is that there is a greater consideration of the environment with environmental water use being recognised as a legitimate user. There is more control over pollution with the polluter pays principle taking a centre stage. The bill proposes the abolition of common law riparian rights which attaches water rights to the land owner. Basing on the 2005 Water Bill, no owner or occupier of any land, by reason thereof, have any right that is enforceable against the government or any other person..... other than a right conferred by or acquired in terms of this Act. This buttress the point that the government of Botswana owns all surface and underground water. Thus, any use of water other than domestic needs approval of the government. Water management is thus not tied to land. This has just seen the water resources being taken from the MMEWR to MLMWSS. Although water is perceived as an economic commodity in which those who use it have to pay, it also recognises the fact that water is a social good. In this regard, the bill makes exemption for the first 30-50 litres of water consumed per month by residents and thus such volumes are free monthly (Republic of Botswana, 2005)

The water sector reforms are taking too long, but the reforms are ostensibly likely to bring equity in water governance. The aim of the Water Bill (2005) is to involve all stakeholders in water management. This seems a noble idea as it proposes to incorporate all grassroots stakeholders in the village. Figure 3 shows the organogram of the new water management institutions in Botswana. One key feature of the new water governance institutions is the introduction of Village Development Committee and the creation of water management areas. Even though, this is a mammoth task given the fact that Botswana is problematic to divide into catchment areas because most of its

water resources are transboundary in nature e.g. Chobe in the Northern Botswana. Thus, creation of catchment areas necessitates loss of her sovereign rights especially to transboundary.

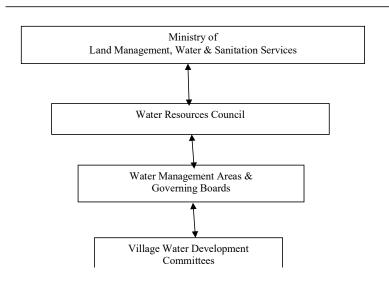


Figure 3: The proposed statutory water governance institutions in Botswana

Source: Developed by Authors

The African people have their cultural practices that serve to regulate their lives and issues on water conservation. To achieve this management system, there is a social hierarchy that controls communities even though African governments appear not to recognise such structures (See Figure 4). At the top most of the organogram is the Supreme Being. Spirit mediums and rainmakers are at the second tier of the ladder. The chiefs and the elders occupy the third level. It is through this societal hierarchy that water governed in honour of the ancestors (Dodo, 2013). The spirit medium institutions within the African people have seriously suffered a heavy blow from statutory institutions whose principles define the African spirit world as satanic (Dodo, 2013; Ngcobo & Obono, 2013). Resultantly, and by their membership and allegiance to statutory institutions most people are shunning the practice despite having served the indigenous people well for thousands of years (Muchabaiwa, Chiminya, & Dodo 2010).

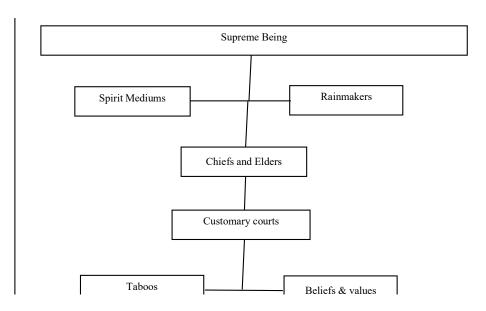


Figure 4: Customary water governance institutional Framework in the Okavango Delta

Source: Developed by the authors

Long before the advent of colonisation and globalisation the various communities that currently constitute modern Botswana society had evolved various institutions governing the use of water. As a result of colonisation, globalisation and the advent of the modern state the customary uses of water principally for domestic use, watering animals, farming (e.g. molapo) and cultural rituals have been supplemented by other uses particularly in the tourism industry. Climatic and ecological changes coupled with population increase have sharply reduced this vital resource. Faced with the phenomenon of dwindling water resources in the Okavango Delta the Botswana government has through the instrumentality of legislative measures intervened to regulate the water sector. This gave birth to the MLMWSS, DWA, WUC, Water Act (1968), Water Bill (2012), Water Policy (2012) and the 2013 Water Management strategies and Plans. Considering this, customary institutions were downplayed in line with changing socio-economic and political dictates of Botswana.

However, before the onset of statutory institutions customary institutions have been used and indeed were effective in monitoring water quality. Traditionally water has been used for appeasement of ancestral spirits, curing diseases and casting out evil spirits in addition to domestic uses. Accordingly, no customary institutions were developed to address matters of tourism and irrigation. Customary institutions evolved rules for reasonable uses of water resources amongst Okavango Delta communities through which Okavango River flows. Use of implements for fetching water were regulated by rules determined by the competent local authorities usually chiefs, spirit mediums, rainmakers and water diviners as well as elders (Segadika, 2006). Earthwares, for instance clay pots, were the prescribed or acceptable vessels for fetching water. This was done because iron vessels rust and thereby contaminate water with heavy metals. The drinking part of the river was often located upstream from bathing part of the river reserved for watering animals.

Violation of these rules was an offence punishable by fines payable to the local chief or spirit mediums (Mehari et al., 2006). Apart from imposition of fines religious and customary taboos also served as potent sources of ensuring compliance with customary rules on water usage (Colding & Folke, 2001). Pronouncement of chiefs and spirit mediums as part of customary beliefs were scrupulously adhered to (Colding & Folke, 2001), and disobedience of such edicts had grave consequences including death for the offender (Akong'a, 1988). As documented in some parts of Ghana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe, it is forbidden to draw water on certain water pools on certain days of the week (Akong'a, 1988; Segadika, 2006; Maganga, 2002; Kuruk, 2007; Muyambo & Maposa, 2014). It is also forbidden to grow crops along river banks which are considered the resting abode of river gods and their children (Akong'a, 1988). The protection of rivers and other water points is the responsibility of the entire society. They owe it a duty to the ancestors and those yet to be born to maintain its integrity.

To avert the ancestral spirit from punishing the entire society for violations, every member of the community is enjoined to refrain from acts that endanger the environment and to prevent others as well from so acting (Gachenga, 2015). As the custodians of the environment and the occupant of the ancestral land, the chiefs in consultation with the spirit mediums mete out appropriate sanctions to offenders (Maganga, 2002; Kuruk, 2007). Hence, through customary beliefs enforceable rules are evolved for water conservation. Any dispute arising out of the use of water is resolved by the chiefs and elders at a local court (Kgotla) in line with the prevailing rules or practises and edicts handed down by the forefathers (Segadika, 2006). The awards of tribunals are adhered to owing to the fear of chiefs who have powers to ostracise a person from the community (Kuruk, 2007).

As a result of modernisation, the potency of customary institutions as a tool for enforcement of norms on water usage has significantly diminished. Christian beliefs, for instance, have superseded customary beliefs as propounded by spirit mediums, chiefs and the elders, hence sanctions that were feared in the past paled significantly (Akong'a, 1988). The advert of modern state furthermore swapped the powers of chiefs with state water officials and institutions enacted by the post-colonial legislative which substituted traditional customary edicts propounded by chiefs and spirit mediums. So by and large, customary institutions as a basis for the enforcement of norms and taboos on the usage of water has paled into insignificance and indeed is honoured by its observance only in the rural communities (Akong'a, 1988).

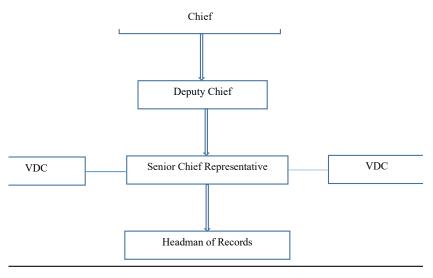


Figure 5: Customary institutions for water governance in the Okavango Delta

Source: Developed by authors

CONCEPTION OF WATER IN CUSTOMARY INSTITUTIONS

Figure 5 is an organogram of the customary institutions in Botswana water governance system. At the top is the chief. In Botswana, a chief is "....an individual who has been designated as a Chief in accordance with customary rules by his ethnic group assembled in the *kgotla* and has been recognised as a Chief by the Minister (Chieftainship Act of 1987). There are various ranks of chiefs (Dikgosi). The Chief who is the head of the district and is based in the district capital is most senior. S/he is assisted by Deputy Chiefs. Below the Deputy Chief rank is the Senior Chief Representative, who assists the Deputy Chief in the District capital or be in charge of the tribal administration in a large village, assisted by the Chief Representatives, headmen of record, and headmen of arbitration (Botswana Government, 1999). Even if, chiefs are still selected from the royal families, the government of Botswana has control over the recognition, promotion and demotion of traditional leaders of all ranks (Molosi-France & Dipholo, 2017). The system does not reflect an indigenous style of governance, but rather a hybrid of indigenous and Western democratic system. The importance of the kgotla lies in the fact that it represents the point of interaction of the traditional political system and the organisation of the central government and district councils. It acts as a means of offering traditional legitimacy to the introduction of new ideas, ways of doing things and regulations issued by the new elites at the central and district levels (Molosi-France & Dipholo, 2017)

Viewed from an ATR perspective, water is a blessing from God that gives, sustains and purifies human life. It is from this basis that access to a minimum of 30-50 litres per day is invented (Akpabio, 2011). The argument is that if poor people do not receive a basic water of 30-50 litres a day free of charge, they tend to get it straight from a nearby primary source. In Botswana, the low urban water use charges and the heavy subsidy are in favour of the rich who not only can afford the high-water price but can afford to buy bottled water. To supply water for free in rural areas where the majority cannot afford to pay for it, urban water user charges have to be increased or the government subsidies removed for urban dwellers and effected to rural dwellers. The point here is to say the subsidy system must target the poor be those in rural or urban areas.

In customary institutions the interpretation of water is that of being a free gift from God and an embodiment of spirits. This is what makes water a social good to which customary institutions are devotees while statutory institutions regard water as an economic good. The key question then is what does water as a social or economic good mean? Before attempting to answer the question, it is better to first appreciate the categorisation of water sources. Basing on Akpabio (2011) sources of water can be private, restricted private and public property. In water governance, water as a private property encompasses water in private containers (e.g. jojos), treatment plants (e.g. WUC water treatments plants), distribution systems and reservoirs e.g. Gaborone water Reservoirs (thereafter Gaborone Dam). This is water in which work, infrastructure and knowledge have been invested to obtain it. In such a case the owner of the container or infrastructure has the right to use or sell it. It is from this perspective that in Botswana water in

WUC treatment plants and distributary systems is private water. It is private because the organisation has incurred lots of money to establish the infrastructure. Therefore, to recoup the costs, water users must pay. In this case WUC sells water like any other goods. Thus, water is an economic good from the perspective that one who owns the infrastructure to convey it from source to residential areas and can prevents non-payers from accessing it.

Following private water sources is the restricted private property. These include streams, rivers, or dams located in private land. For instance, Thamalakane River which passes through Maun and Gaborone Dam are all restricted private property. In this case the owner of the land has special rights over others but has certain obligations to them as well. Within these limits, the owner can trade water like any other goods but should still allow those who are incapacitated a free access to it. The last is the public property water sources. Instances are water in rivers, Okavango River or Chobe, in this case. Since water is in its natural state, therefore it cannot be bought or sold. The water can only become an economic good if and only if an entity constructs infrastructure to convey it to people's homes. When this is done water becomes a private property and the entity has the right to recoup costs. The only way to do so is to allow users to pay for the service rendered to them. However, in the process of recouping costs, water charges must be very low especially in rural areas where people are poor and live very close to water sources. It has been shown that if the price of water is high people particularly those in rural areas tend to go for river water even for drinking because the conception they have is that water is a gift from God and is as pure as Him (Akpabio, 2011). Thus, water in public sources has no precise owner and therefore such waters are for everyone and no one can avert others in accessing it.

Having classified water, it is then possible to attempt to define the term water as a social or economic good. From an ATR perspective, to say water is a social good is to mean water is a gift from God and is part and necessary for sustaining life. The belief that water is a free gift from God is loaded with many meanings. It assumes perfection having come from God. The inherent belief in ATR and indeed in any other religions is that anything associated with God is presumed perfect. This notion tends to encourage usage of any water in the Okavango Delta regardless of the quality or source. Even when the quality of the source is physically very poor, people still use it for drinking and other domestic purposes. It is from this perspective that people living along Okavango River and those surrounding the Okavango Delta make it a normal practice to drink from whatever source available. Another deep ATR spiritual conception of water is on its quality. Water in a river like Okavango is freely utilised without question or complaints, no matter how dirty it could be. The belief is that any complain about its physical conditions would automatically attract natural punishment from the gods of the river since water is also as an embodiment of animals. Literature has shown that punishment can be in the form of sudden disappearance, of the complainant or any other form of physical disabilities (Muyambo & Maposa, 2014). In this sense, water belongs to the community thus, no individual or organisation literally owns water. This is because water has a fundamental role to play in curing diseases, heal woods, cast out evil spirits and to sustain life. In this regard, water should not be directly as in bottled water or indirectly as in institutions in the guise of recouping costs. This is the basis of water as a social good in ATR.

CONCLUSIONS

Institutions for water governance are currently dominated by statutory institutions. This is even though customary institutions can equally serve the same purpose in water governance. Botswana, like any other African countries with a colonial history put more prominence on statutory institutions in water governance. While legal pluralism entails the adoption of two or more water governance institutions, the status quo in Botswana is skewed towards statutory institutions. Even though water sector institutional reforms are being undertaken in Botswana, the pace at which the reforms are undertaken is slow. For instance, the current water law was enacted in 1968 and has been in use since then. An attempt in 2005 to come up with a new water law with the intention to incorporate customary institutions is still in draft form since 2005.

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WHERE ARE YOU WHEN I NEED YOU MOST? AFRICAN WOMEN AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRISIS: THE CASE OF BOTSWANA

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the socio-political-economic and cultural context under which women in Africa strive to attain a reasonable standard of living with a particular reference to women in Botswana. The paper investigates the support systems that are bestowed to women by the government and the society at large. Governments have developed policies and programs that aim to enhance the livelihood of women and help them survive social crisis through inclusive and sustainable policies and programs. The research reveals that the surveyed women face social crisis mainly in the areas of personal safety, negative feelings and emotions. Findings indicate that women are empowered in terms of access to information relating to -health, education and economic opportunities and this information is accessed through the use of information communication technology including mobile devices relating to cell phones and the internet. The findings from this research also indicate that women have access to health services and education. However, the findings indicate women are economically marginalized despite having access to information on education, economic opportunities and financial services. Extending public policy and professional help through community support groups and government intervention could help women and girls cope with social crisis they encounter in their lives. There is need to direct policy and resources to enhance dissemination of information through ICT and empower women, girls, the boy child as well as men with a view to improving economic and employment opportunities in institutions.

Keywords: African women, Botswana, social crises, inequality, policy, empowerment, and progression.

INTRODUCTION

One of major concerns of women is the lack of support by the society and government policies and programs that are exclusive in nature. Women are faced with a myriad of challenges in the areas of health, education, employment, poverty, nutrition as well as slow progression in their socio-political and economic spheres of life despite the time and energy they invest in order to attain reasonable growth and progression (Gerreck and Middleton (2016). In addition, women around the globe and Africa in particular face compounded problems and social crisis relating to rape, sexual violence, domestic violence, abuse, incest and murder at alarming rates and this is rendered a contemporary social crisis in Africa Sharma (1997), African Development Bank, 2015). International organizations and communities collaborated to encourage governments and the society at large to accord women the assistance and the necessary support they need in order to withstand and be resilient in social crisis as well as political, economic and cultural challenges they face in their daily lives (World Economic Forum, 2015). Such support from national government and the global community would help women to be able to deal with the social crisis they face in their daily lives and help them attain socio-political and economic progression. Governments across the world need to make proper and informed needs assessment procedures in order to formulate policies that correspond well with the people being governed in order to include all the parties subject to public assistance (Vedung, 2017).

The following section critically reviews literature regarding the social crises faced by women around the world. The section assesses the policies, programs and support systems designed to help women deal with and overcome the crisis they face in the socio-economic and political spheres of their lives. This section also evaluates the inclusiveness and sustainability of the support systems designed to help women progress and attain a reasonable standard of living and better quality of life. Some of the social crises to be explored included in the areas of health, education, employment, economic opportunities, empowerment, poverty and nutrition. Furthermore, the paper will explore the rape, domestic violence, sexual and emotional abuse, incest and bullying faced by women and girls in the society. The role of government, civil society and the international community will be reviewed in an effort to establish the extent to which the support system is effective in alleviating social crises faced by women.

GLOBAL GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL CRISES FACED BY WOMEN

Poverty, Unemployment and Education

According to Altmann, Eisternreich, Lehner, Moser, Neidl, Ruscher, and Vogeler (2013) gender discrimination limits opportunities for women and girls to get equal access to education. They further assert that education is a fundamental human right and enhancing and promoting equal access to education would reduce unemployment and poverty in the world. Making education free and accessible to all will improve quality of life; reduce health problems including the risk of HIV, violence and inequality between men and women (Armi, 2007, cited by Altmann., *et al*).

In most African countries, women possess more barriers to education than their male counterparts (Hartnett and Heneveld, 1993). But in this areas (Africa) formal education is a standard set to be a pre requisite to equitable economic well-being of an individual. It is only through academic qualifications that someone can acquire a sustainable employment therefore this lagging behind in educational development for women deprives them from achieving better employment opportunities, thus subjecting them to impoverished conditions of life. Glick and Sahn (1997) allude to low education levels lead to unemployment, which then causes poverty to the affected person.

Health

Gerrels and Middleton (2016) posit that women's health entails fertility, infant mortality rate, maternal mortality ration, neo-natal mortality rate and female life expectancy at birth. The two authors assert that globally, there have been some levels of commitment and achievements particularly newly emerging and developing countries that have signed universal conventions that promote gender equity and inequality such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). For example, there have been gains in fertility reduction, infant mortality and in efforts to reduce poverty by creating employment opportunities and re-investing wealth in healthcare programs for women and girls. Other policies and strategic areas to develop include efforts to end child marriages, enhancing access to education for girls, providing contraceptive services as well as providing universal healthcare services to the most vulnerable being women and girls as they face the most significant barriers in healthcare access (Gerrels and Middleton , 2016:692).

Smith (2013) indicates that a substantial cause of maternal mortality in Botswana is unsafe and illegal abortion. The catastrophe is instigated by the morally indifferent government policies in the country, for example, according to the laws of Botswana abortion is legal if only the pregnancy was caused by rape, incest and only if the women suffers from chronic medical conditions. This policy threatens women's health as it excludes them from benefitting from freedom of expression as outlined in the constitution of the country, therefore women are excluded in reproductive health benefits because pregnancy is instigated by two people, both male and female, thus the law punishes women only. Cooper, Morroni, Orner, Moodley, Harries, Cullingworth and Hoffman (2004) specify that morally indifferent health policies lead to silent exclusion to women.

Personal Safety

Jordan (2002) refers to rape or sexual assault as an old crime that has been recognized about 30 years ago and included in the criminal justice system. According to Jordan (2002) attitudes and behavior towards of police officers to rape victims is different and it is important to provide trained and experienced police officers to help rape victims. Jordan asserts that female rape victims prefer to be assisted by female police officers because of the assumption that they will be more sympathetic than male officers. However, Jordan suggests this is not always the case as the key attributes of professionalism, warmth and sensitivity are required to deal with rape victims, and that not all female police officers possess these qualities, hence the need to train all police officers in these key attributes. Kornelsen and Grzybowski (2005) declare that women's safety is one of the most prevalent issues in the modern day, thus most governments across the world are working tirelessly around the clock to find collective security measures.

Domestic Violence

Sharma (1997:1) asserts that male violence against women in, is a major source of frustration, fear, distress and injury and even death. Sharma further purports that domestic violence is prevalent across all societies and affects all across religion, sexual orientation, national origin, geographical regions, age and even affects those who are not abused directly (pp.1). According to Sharma, incidents of violence against women have increased over the years and continue to be ignored, trivialized or rationalized and this undermines efforts to prevent and intervene. Sharma

(1997) asserts that violence can take many forms including intimidation and threats, demeaning comments, sexual coercion, and attempts to monitor women's activities and these are more likely to be carried out by present or former male partner. Mookodi (2004:55) points out that "concerns about the high incidence of violence against women in Botswana have prompted non-governmental organizations, researchers and activists to undertake studies to assess the extent and nature of the problem and to suggest measures to address it".

There are various influential factors contributing to domestic violence which can entail legal, economic and physical power of a partner, socio-cultural factors such as gender roles and expectations, personality factors including emotions, jealousy, control, dominance and biological factors such as being larger and physically strong (Sharma, 1997:2). Some incidences of domestic violence can range from date rape, dowry related violence and genital mutilation. Domestic violence has multiple effects on the victim including physical injuries including death, psychological disorders such as humiliation, harassment, sexual coercion, denial to access resources; cognitive disorders such as depression, destroys trust, helplessness and eventually leading to low self-esteem to women. Dalal (2011) indicates that all forms of domestic violence prevent women from achieving common socio economic goals like economic empowerment. There is need to develop and apply preventive measures for example shelters, publicize, for both men and women as well as educate social institutions to stop condoning to domestic violence and realize that violence against women and children is inhumane and intolerable (Sharma, 1997:6).

Social crisis faced by African women

As pointed by Fraser-Moleketi (2015:1) women are more economically active in Africa as farmers, workers and entrepreneurs than anywhere else in the world (cited in African Development Bank, 2015). Moleketi further asserts that women in Africa are important components to the welfare of their families as well as an important voice in the governance of their communities and nations. Despite these fundamentals roles played by women, Moleketi (2015) points out women face an array of barriers that prevent them from fully playing these roles due to inequality between men and women existing in Africa. According to the African Gender and Equality Index (2015) developed by the African Development Bank, the major components of gender equality compiled entailed economic empowerment, human development and laws and institutions. In addition, according to the African Development Bank (2015:4) women and men have experienced different opportunities, conditions and privileges including earning different wages, not having the same access to education and being equal before the law. Peters (2004) discusses that gender disparities have contributed negatively to social development of the African continent, thus leading to failure of women to have a sense of belonginess to their communities. The African Development Bank (2015) has developed an African Index on gender equality based on data collected from 52 out of the 54 African countries and very interesting results came out the survey. The index has identified major barriers faced by women and girls in terms of economic empowerment, human development including equal access to education, access to reproductive health services, and equal representation in laws and institutions established to protect and enhance their livelihoods.

Gender Equality in Africa

According to the African Development Bank (2015) the best top 5 performers in attaining high levels of gender equality are Rwanda, which is the only country in Africa where half of their members of Parliament are female. South Africa has also performed well in the index as having the best gender parity rates in Africa for wage employment. Namibia has done well in gender equality in terms of the constitution that guarantees equality before the law to non-discrimination on the basis of sex and the use of gender-neutral language (African Development Bank, 2015:5). Mauritius and Malawi are also in the top five in doing best in attaining gender equality in Africa. World Economic Forum (2015) asserts that cross the world's regions, the range of the economic gender gap is especially wide compared with the political, economic and educational gender gaps.

Human Development and Health crisis

According to the African development Bank (2015:16) women and girls face an array of social and economic problems including high maternal mortality, violence, illiteracy, poor health and little control over their fertility. However, ADB acknowledges that there have been improvements in health and reproductive rights of women and girls for example in the last ten years access to basic health has increased in Africa. Though there remain some health challenges including death during child- birth, particularly those aged 15 to 19, who perish from pregnancy complications as the main cause of death. HIV infection is another risk faced by African women and girls as their partners infect them, as they are less likely to take prevention measures due to inequality in the relationship and their

inability to negotiate safe sex practices. These deeds rely on the notion that culturally in Africa women are viewed as caregivers to men, manifested with household chores, therefore depend on man for survival (Alesina, Brioschi and Ferrara, 2016, Mookodi, 2004). This leads them to be vulnerable to illicit acts due to being too dependent. Furthermore, women and girls in Africa die from unsafe abortions especially in poor countries and in countries where abortion is illegal (African Development Bank (2015). In addition, women are faced with serious health issues emanating from domestic and sexual violence. For example, in some countries women have very little control over their fertility and end up having many children. At the same time high fertility impacts on food security and impacts on the environment and the overall development prospects of a family (African Development Bank (2015). Due to the lack of healthcare, teenage mothers experience many complications and premature deaths since their young bodies are still developing and not ready for the physical and emotional trauma of childbirth (Maness, Buhi, Daley, Baldwin and Kromrey, 2016). On the overall, Africa is lacking in terms of reducing fertility rates for example the number of children range from 2 in countries such as Mauritius to 7 children in Niger (African Development Bank, 2015:18). The girl child in Africa faces more barriers and obstacles, for example they can be forced into marriages from as young as 9 years of age, are vulnerable to sexual abuse and assault in schools by teachers, fellow students and older men.

Despite the above social problems, there have been some progress in some countries, for example Mauritius provides free education at primary school and this has contributed to a high literacy rate of 90 per cent. Countries such as Botswana have made HIV testing, counseling and treatment and have succeeded in preventing the transmission of HIV from mother to child. Tunisia has free family planning services while Algeria has the highest in Africa's share of births attended by skilled staff (African Development Bank, 2015: 16). Do and Kurimoto (2012) assert that Namibia also shown support to women health by introducing intervention programs aimed at increasing contraceptive use so that unplanned pregnancies are limited.

Personal safety: Domestic and Sexual Violence

According to the African Development Bank (2015:20) violence against women is an acute problem across the African continent as women and girls are exposed to violence and abuse from intimate partners, neighbors, acquaintances and strangers. Rape is another social crisis facing the continent as it is used as weapon of war and can be used by a partner. Meyiwa, Williamson, Maseti and Ntabanyane (2017) proves that crowds of young girls and women suffer from violence based on their sex and their unequal status in the society; these women often suffer in silence due to their limited social and economic power. Violence against women and jealousy from an intimate partner are some of barriers that prevent women and girls' full participation in socio-economic and political activities. These factors can lead to increased absenteeism from work; poor physical and mental health and can affect the overall education and skills obtained to enhance the livelihood and progression of women. Izumi (2007) points out that gender based violence seriously affects all aspects of women's health- physical, sexual and reproductive, mental and behavioral health. Personal consequences of gender based violence like insecurity can be both, immediate and severe as well as long lasting and chronic; indeed, negative personal consequences may persist long after the violence has stopped As pointed out in the ADB (2015:20) personal safety from fear and violence is basic human need and provision of personal security is a must to the development process.

Economic Empowerment and Barriers

Dejene (2007) indicates that the concept of promoting women's economic empowerment has gained greater attention over the last three decades. The African gender equality index assessed equality between men and women in terms of opportunities in business and employment (African Development Bank, 2015). Various indicators were used including labor participation rate, disparity in wages and salaries, earned income and access to loans from financial services. The best performer in terms of equality in economic opportunities was Tanzania, which has the highest rate of female labor force participation in Africa. Malawi in Southern Africa has increased access to agricultural training and access to information, inputs and services.

Chinomona and Maziriri (2015) provide that in South African post-modern era, the role of women entrepreneurs in economic development is inevitable and women are willing to take action in business and contribute to the nation's growth stepping up to own and run businesses in numbers that would have been hard to imagine a mere few decades ago. More specifically, the government of Botswana has recognized women's role in economic development and efforts have been made to integrate gender in the development process (Lesetedi, 2018) In the case of Botswana

female entrepreneurs have been empowered through the provision of programs to venture into arable farming, small stock, poultry and horticultural projects.

According to the African Development Bank (2015:11), by global standards, African women are economically active and highly entrepreneurial, and two thirds of these women are in the agricultural sector. These women are faced with a myriad of barriers including low economic returns, lack of entrepreneurial skills, legal difficulties associated with entering into business agreements (especially if married), limited access to land, credit facilities to help them grow and expand their businesses as well as limited access to financial facilities. For example, in Ethiopia women produce 27 per cent less than their male counterparts (African Development Bank, 2015). As noted by the African Development Bank African women own one third of all businesses across Africa, which are informal micro business with low value and returns.

This is despite the fact that female owned businesses are a major source of income for families including female-headed households. Another greatest challenge is to balance business and family life and domestic obligations, as they have the sole responsibility of looking after the sick, old, disabled and at the same expected to own and run a successful informal micro-business (African Development Bank, 2015). Parpart and Stichter (2016) suggest that patriarchal government systems which are common in Africa makes women voices to be of low representation at the central planning board therefore are excluded when making economic development policies.

Poor infrastructural development in some African countries hampers the empowerment of women as they face problems due to the unavailability of electricity, water and telecommunication facilities. If these available these facilities are very expansive, inefficient or erratic in supply, hence affecting micro businesses. As pointed out by the African Development Bank (2015:13) women, girls and children suffer more as they have spent time and energy collecting wood for cooking, collecting water for household consumption and this reduces their time to spend on productive activities. Carranza, Donald, Jones and Rouanet (2017) indicate that women in Africa are consistently time poor, spending more time performing unpaid household chores and less time in productive activities, and fewer women have bank or mobile money accounts or borrow money than men. Lack of access to ICT also hampers the economic empowerment of women and girls as they cannot or have limited access information on a variety of services including financial services, education, health services and other socio-economic and political opportunities. For example, 23 per cent of women are less likely than men to own a mobile phone and they own one, men regulate access and usage (African Development Bank, 2015:14).

Equality in Law and Institutions

Raz (2017) advices that equality before the law is a fundamental principle which every democratic state must uphold. The equality in institutions was measured by the number of seats in Parliament occupied by female members, number of women ministers and judges, while legal rights were measured in terms of access to credit, loans and land and household rights were measured by the requirement by law to obey a husband, heading a household like men and the right of daughters to inherit just like sons (African Development Bank, 2015:4). Surprisingly, Angola and Mozambique have scored well in the equality in law (African Development Bank, 2015:7). Furthermore, South Africa has the most equality in law while Angola has the fewest number of barriers to legislate female businesses. Botswana has also made attempts by reviewing laws oppressing women in the 20th century in the sense that it had reformed some laws on women ownership to property and inheritance and also considered safety of women by increasing an age limit for defilement from sixteen years to eighteen years, therefore women are protected from patriarchal acts.

In addition African Development Bank, measures have revealed that for example a countries in Africa where married women cannot apply for a passport, in 15 countries women cannot choose where to live, women can be married off without their consent, divorced at will and loose property, young girls are forced to go into marriage or sold off, bride trafficking at a very young age when their bodies are not ready and mature enough. These are just a few of the myriad of barriers faced by women and children in Africa and this can result in abject poverty. Some authors assert that there are perceptions that women are risk evasive for example Maxfield and Shapiro (2009) point out women do take risks though in a collaborative way as they tend to consult before taking the risk.

When it comes to leadership positions in institutions and organizations, the African continent takes a lead in the world, for example in Rwanda, 60 per cent of parliamentarians are female, while 45 per cent minsters in South Africa are women, followed by Cape Verde at 36 per cent and Lesotho at 32 per cent (African Development Bank, 2015:25). In addition, women in Africa are progressing in terms of ownership and management of companies for example 30 per cent of companies are owned and managed by women in Liberia and 60 per cent in Cord' devoir. Acemoglu and Wolitzky (2018) denote that the central mechanism is that equality before the law increases elites' effort, which in turn encourages even higher effort from non-elites.

Strategies to enhance gender equality

According the African Development Bank (2015:16) investing in human development and educating girls and women has multiple benefits and outcomes including improving their quality of life, increasing their life opportunities and increasing child and family welfare as women and girls are empowered through education to make informed decision regarding their lives and health. Gilbert (2017) proves beyond doubt that developing countries had joined the collective gender security approaches to solve gender based ills in their nations since they are mostly affected. African countries that have made progress in the health component have provided better education for girls, have enhanced access to contraceptives, revised the legal system as well as developed policies and programs to empower women make more informed decision affecting their lives (African Development Bank, 2015:18).

Studies have shown that educated girls and women tend to have fewer children, use productive farming methods, earn higher wages and working women are more likely to marry later in life (African Development Bank: 2015:18). Designing policies and programs that could eliminate economic barriers would empower women and enhance their opportunity to earn more income as their business expand and grow. As pointed out by the African Development Bank (2015) African women are already active and what they require are policies and strategies to help and empower them expand and grow their micro businesses. Cultural reforms also need to be considered where relevant because some traditional practices do not resonate well with the modern lifestyles (Njo, 2016).

Gender Equality and Social crises faced by women and girls in Botswana

In Botswana, the 1980s and 1990s were a period of heightened women's mobilization (Bauer, 2011). Botswana is one of the developed countries in Africa which achieved high levels of growth from the mineral revenue earned from diamonds (Salkin, Mpabanga, Cowan, Selwe and Wright, 1997). Botswana was able to re-invest the mineral revenue and developed socio-economic infrastructure in the health, education, transport and telecommunication services (Botswana Government, 2003). The country has been able to foreign reserves and maintained steady GDP growth rates due to prudent management of resources and good macro-economic policies (Bank of Botswana, 2015). Botswana is also rated well globally and the best in the African continent regarding good governance and transparency (Botswana Government, 2015).

Just like in many countries the world, women in Botswana face many barriers and challenges in their socio-economic and cultural lives. There is gender inequality at economic, social, legal and institutional level and multiple barriers faced by women and girls in the society. Bauer (2010) specifies that unlike many of its neighbors in Southern and East Africa, Botswana has not significantly increased the percentage of women in its National Assembly despite being a signatory to the 1997 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration which committed countries to 30 per cent women in positions of power and decision making by 2005. There is gender inequality in various areas including in economic, education and health services as well as in laws and institutions. As pointed out above women are not at par with men when it comes to economic opportunities where their participation in the labor market is lower and are disadvantaged in terms of salaries and wages. In the case of Botswana, many of the social problems faced by women and girls include unemployment, poverty, gender inequality, discrimination, domestic violence, rape/sexual assault, emotional and sexual abuse, sexual coercion as well as high prevalence of HIV and AIDS (African Development Bank, 2015).

Despite the above challenges, Botswana has made some achievements in the area of human development. Led by the women's organization Emang Basadi, the accomplishments of the women's movement were many and significant, therefore winning a landmark citizenship case, prompting a comprehensive review of laws to identify instances of gender discrimination that resulted in a reform of many laws, issuing the first women's manifesto in Africa (Bauer, 2011). The production of workshops for political parties and women candidates that resulted in the best outcomes for

elected women in Botswana ever, among others (Emang Basadi, 1999). This reform was led by a women rights activist called Dr Unity Dow of Botswana.

According to the African Development Bank (2015), Botswana has performed well in Africa in the gender equality index of human development as the country has scored 91 in the index after Mauritius (98), Tunisia (93) and South Africa (92) (Africa Development Bank, 2015:7). For example, Botswana has made strides in creating equal opportunities for boys and girls to go to school, equal access to secondary and tertiary education. The country has done well women and girls reproductive health services where 90 per cent of pregnant women in Botswana have access to HIV testing, counseling and treatment to prevent mother to child transmission of HIV (African Development Bank, 2015:16).

Botswana has lagged behind in enhancing gender equality in laws and institutions, as the country has low scored of 41 in the continent despite being one of the most successful countries in Africa in terms of economic development, GDP, governance and the existing supporting legislative and macro-economic management policies (Botswana Government, 2015). In the continent countries such as Mozambique, which scored 60, Angola scored 65 and South Africa scored 58 and these countries have out-performed Botswana in gender equality in laws and institutions. Botswana has not closed the gender gap when it comes to women in leadership positions. Rwanda outshines all countries in the continent with 60 per cent of members are female parliamentarians, while South Africa and Lesotho have the most female ministers (African development Bank, 2015:24). Botswana has performed badly even in the region where the country has failed to meet the 50 per cent requirement for women in leadership positions set under the SADC protocol on Gender and development (SADC, 2014). The Botswana government and traditional leader have enhanced women and girls' rights and their equality before the law by influencing/encouraging change in legislature relating to inheritance and as a result there have been some improvement in inheritance rights of women, partners and children. (ADB, 2015:13).

Economic empowerment has always been a challenge despite Botswana experiencing GDP growth over the years from the diamond revenue. The government has made efforts to diversify the economy from the mineral sector to manufacturing and service sectors (Botswana government, 2016). One of the biggest challenges facing the country is the high rate of employment particularly the youth unemployment, which ranges from 20-40 (if under-employment is included) percent (Botswana Government, 2016). Botswana has not scored very well in the gender equality index in efforts to create economic opportunities for women. For example, Tanzania has the highest number of female participation in the labor force while Malawi has improved women's access to agricultural training, access to information, inputs and services African Development Bank, 2015). However, Botswana has also made some strides for example there have been some improvements over the years in enhancing economic opportunities and economic empowerment of women, where policies and programs have been designed to empower women to venture into business, arable farming and horticultural projects (African Development Bank, 2015:10).

According to Ama, Mangadi, and Ama, (2014) there is a high number of female entrepreneurs in the world, constituting approximately 25 percent of all businesses. In the case of Sub-Sahara Africa, 27 per cent of women are in business, 6 percent in South Africa and 25 percent in Botswana. Jamali (2009) asserts women entrepreneurs face many challenges including lack of access to capital and financial support (cited by Ama et al, 2014). A study carried out by Ama et al (2014) revealed that female entrepreneurs had very little education, were young and mainly single. The low level of education affected female owned businesses' ability to learn and understand skills required to improve and expand businesses. Further women in the informal sector face many problems including time away from home, family break-ups, neglecting household responsibilities as well as lack of assistance from government as there were considered being in the informal sector. The study also revealed that most of these women ventured into micro businesses because it was an easy way to make profit, to improve family living conditions, enhance nutrition and health (Ama et al, 2014: 511).

RESEARCH METHODS

Primary data was collected through a semi-structured survey questionnaire. Secondary sources from the literature were reviewed and assessed; including journal articles, case studies from other researcher's. In addition, documented

reports were used regarding the social crises faced by women in Botswana and the existing support system to help them cope in social crisis they face in their daily lives

The survey used the social crisis attributes obtained from the African Development Bank gender equality Index (2015). The index has various components of gender equality in the areas of economic and employment opportunities, human development and health, laws and institutions. In addition, theoretical guidance was obtained from Sharma (1997) regarding domestic violence theoretical explanations of domestic violence, its causes, interventions and preventive measures. The perspectives on global inequality and poverty were obtained from Altmann et al, (2013), where the global poor are defined according to material, education or economic poverty. The main research questions were asked according to various aspects and categories of social crises faced by women and girls as identified in the literature reviewed (African Development Bank (2015); Sharma (1997); and Altmann et al, (2013).

A total of thirty (30) women responded to the survey out of the fifty (50) who were purposively sampled for the survey. The survey was conducted in Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana and the respondents were categorized by age, employment status and educational background. The semi-structured questionnaires were administered for a period of one week between 10th and 17th August 2016. Data was analyzed using the SPPS computer package and statistics analysis through Likert's scale structured questions. Respondents were also asked to rank in order of importance the social and institutional support they receive in times of social crisis. An open-ended question was included to seek the views and opinions of respondents to suggest ways to improve the existing support system and institutions that help them deal with their social crisis. The table below shows the characteristics of respondents by gender, age, employment status and educational background. The table shows that majority of respondents were aged between 18 and 35 years, 63.3 per cent have a university degree and 60 per cent were unemployed.

Table 8: Respondents Characteristics

Attribute	Frequency (#)	Percent	Cumulative
		(per cent)	
Gender			
Female	28	93.3	93.3
Missing	2	6.7	100
Total	30	100	
Age Group			
18-35	22	73.3	73.3
36-55	5	16.7	90.0
56-65	3	10.0	100
Total	30	100	
Employment Status			
Employed	3	10.0	10.0
Unemployed	18	60.0	70.0
Self-Employed	0	0	
Government	5	16.7	86.7
Private	1	3.3	90.0
Missing	3	10.0	100
Total	30	100	
Educational Level			
High School or Below	4	13.3	13.3
University Graduate	19	63.3	76.6
Missing	7	23.3	100
Total	30	100	

RESULTS

The section that follows is a presentation of results using frequency tables and presented according to the main research questions.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACED BY WOMEN IN BOTSWANA

Access to Health Services

The results of the survey show that majority (69.9 per cent) of respondents were happy with the service they receive from the clinic or hospital. Furthermore, a higher number of respondents were satisfied with the health services particularly the advice they receive regarding their health (70 per cent) as well as services regarding HIV/AIDS testing, counseling and treatment (76.6 per cent). Women surveyed agreed that they received reasonable support for any health related crisis affecting them as a female (73.4 per cent) Slightly more than 50 per cent of women said they received adequate assistance regarding maternal health, pregnancy and care (53.4 per cent and while 63.3 agreed that they receive adequate help regarding family planning. On a negative note 73.4 per cent of women did not like the attitude of hospital staff that attended to them.

Education and Economic Opportunities

The results of the survey indicate that women in Botswana are empowered as evident from almost 100 per cent of women who indicated they had access to new technology (cell phones, internet, cell phone banking and social media). Furthermore, 93.4 per cent of those surveyed had equal access to education (93.4), access to financial services (83.4 per cent) and access to land (70.0 per cent). An overwhelming 89.9 per cent said they had access to information that empowered them in the areas of health, education, employment and starting a business. Regarding access to credit facilities, only 66.7 per cent of women surveyed agreed to this statement despite indicating that they had access to financial services. In terms of economic empowerment through agriculture only 53.6 per cent of women agreed that they had access to agricultural services and programs in small stock, farming, poultry and horticulture.

Equality Before the Law

Surprisingly almost 80 per cent of respondents felt they were equal before the law and 60 per cent were of the view that they have equal rights in the household. However only 50.0 per cent of women surveyed felt their pay was equal to that of their male counterparts considering the education, skills and effort they had. Approximately 53.3 per cent were neutral regarding earning a different wage than men. About the 53 per cent was neutral about being discriminated in employment due to being pregnancy, attractiveness or unattractiveness. Surprisingly slightly less than 50 per cent of those surveyed felt extra demands were required by male employers in order to get a job, a service or assistance (46.7 per cent), while 33.3 per cent were neutral.

Economic Empowerment

Almost 65 per cent of women surveyed indicated they had adequate water and electricity facilities to help them with household chores. A higher percentage said thee had adequate access to telephone, cell phone or Internet facilities (73.4 per cent). Disappointingly only half of women agreed that they were happy with the quality of their lives (50.0 per cent).

Personal Safety and Domestic Violence

It is surprising that on average, the majority of women surveyed did not or disagreed that they have experienced any sexual abuse/assault, (86.7 per cent), sexual violence by a teacher, pupil or older men (76.7 per cent), or sexual assault in public (83.0 per cent). Even more surprising was that 90 per cent of women surveyed had not experienced sexual abuse or assault at home. Regarding domestic violence, there were good indications that 90.0 per cent of women surveyed indicated that they had not experienced violence from an intimate partner, neighbor and/or strangers. Only 30 per cent of women said they had experienced violence at home, while 70 percent said they have not. Even more surprising is the issue of personal safety as more that 70 per cent of women surveyed feared being attacked in public by men for sexual favors or are afraid of being raped when walking in public. This is a cause for concern for public security in the country, as women do not feel safe when walking in public.

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED

Health

In this section of the questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate if they had ever experienced any social crisis their lives. Approximately 63 per cent of women indicated they had experience poor health once in a while (43 per

cent) and sometimes (20 per cent). Only 20 per cent of women said they had never experienced poor health and one person (3.3 per cent) indicated they experienced poor health all the time. Regarding lack of access to reproductive health services 53.3 per cent said they have experienced this problem and only one person experienced problems of lack of access to reproductive health services. It is interesting to discover that only 43.3 per cent of women said they have never experienced problems with control over the number of children while it was no applicable to 46.7 per cent. The questionnaire did not ask about the marital status of women or the number of children they had. More than half of the women surveyed said they had never experienced someone close to them dying during childbirth or from pregnancy complications (56.7 per cent). Sadly 20.0 per cent have experienced this once in a while or some of the time. Almost half of women surveyed said they have never been frightened of HIV infection from a sexual partner while 16.7 per cent they fear HIV infection from a partner all the time. Interestingly an overwhelming 80.0 per cent of women said they have never had a difficulty saying to unprotected sex due to fear from an intimate partner. Only 1 respondent they were often frightened.

Personal safety and Domestic Violence

Results from this research on domestic violence are encouraging as more than 75 per cent of women surveyed indicated they have experienced domestic violence from family or parents (76.7 per cent). A high percentage of women said they had never experienced sexual violence from a partner (83.3 per cent), 90.0 per cent had never experienced sexual violence from a family member and 86.7 never experienced sexual violence from an acquaintance or a friend. Regarding experiencing an unstable environment at home, 40 per cent of women had never experienced instability in the household while half of the women surveyed have experienced an unstable environment at home. When it came to feelings of an unsafe home 63.3 have never felt unsafe at home, 30 per cent of these women felt unsafe once in a while or often, while 1 person said they had always felt unsafe at home. It was surprising to discover that women felt unsafe in public as more than 66.7 said they felt unsafe in public and 16.7 of these women felt unsafe all the time. Only slightly over one third of women said they have never felt unsafe in the public (33.3. per cent). Safety at home was an issue as 66.6 per cent of women surveyed experienced burns from cooking accidents in their lives while only 23.3 per cent have never experienced burns from cooking accidents.

Poor Economic conditions

It is depressing to discover that over 70 per cent of women surveyed indicated they had experienced poor economic conditions in their lives. In this area 76.6 per cent said they have experienced poor economic conditions and only 16.7 per cent had never experienced poor economic condition. Unfortunately, only 2 women (6.7 per cent) said they experienced poor economic conditions all the time. Not having adequate food is a problem for women surveyed as 66.7 per cent said they have experienced not having enough food and only one third (30 per cent) have never experienced this.

Asking for Support during a Social Crisis

Respondents were asked to indicate in the list that was provided in the survey questionnaire where they normally ask for support when they are in a social crisis. A large number of women indicated they ask for support from family (96.7 per cent), from friends (96.6 per cent) and from their mother (93.3 per cent). Interestingly 70 per cent strongly agreed they ask for support from their mother and only 30 per cent strongly agreed they asked for support from spouses. Women also look up to their siblings for support when faced with a social crisis as 86.7 per cent indicated that. Surprisingly a lower percentage of women ask for support from spouses (70.0 per cent), fathers (73.3 per cent) and relatives (76.7 per cent). The results of this research revealed that slightly over one third of women ask for support from government (33.4) and less than 20 per cent ask their community for support when in a social crisis (17.2 per cent). Asking for help from the community might be due to fact that the women surveyed were sampled in the capital city where community plays a minimal role in city dwellers lives. A higher number ask for support from the police (70.0 per cent) and slightly over half of the women surveyed ask for support from the civil society (56.7 per cent).

Receiving Support during Social Crisis

When asked to indicate where respondents received support or help from, a larger number indicated they receive support or help from their friends (76.6 per cent), followed by their mothers (73.3 per cent), father (61.9 per cent)

and siblings (60.0 per cent). Spouses and relatives seem to play a lesser supportive role when their partners are facing social crises as slightly more than half of women surveyed received support or help from a spouse (53.3 per cent). Family gives support as 56.7 per cent of women surveyed agreed that they receive support or help from family. The community played an insignificant role as only 20 per cent said they received support or help from their community or civil society (16.6 per cent). Only 43.3 received help or support from the Police and 36.7 from government when in a social crisis. Interestingly only 23.4 per cent of women surveyed would ask for support from the international community while a third of women surveyed said they received support from the internal community.

Person Normally Willing and Ready to Support during Social Crisis

There was an open- ended question that asked women to write down the person who is normally willing and ready to help. 12 out of the 30 women surveyed wrote down family, 9 wrote mother and 2 wrote friends, 4 wrote relatives or spouse and 3 said either police, spouse or sibling are willing and ready to help when in a social crisis.

Confidence to Cope During/With a Social Crisis

It was encouraging when viewing results regarding ability of women to cope well with any social crisis as an overwhelming 93.3 per cent agreed that they were confident that they will be able to cope well with social crisis with the support they receive from family, friends and others. In addition, 86.6 per cent of women surveyed agreed that they knew for certain that they would receive support from family, friends and government to help them deal with any problem they face the next time around.

Confidence was rated from not confident at all at a scale of 1 to very confident at a scale of 7. More than 60.0 per cent of respondents were confident they would receive support or help when faced with a social crisis. In addition, half of those surveyed would happy with the smallest support or help they receive for example 50 per cent of women will be happy with 15 to 20 per cent of support while 20 per cent of women will be pleased with more than 20 per cent of support. Respondents were asked to rate the level of support they received from 0% being the smallest support and support greater than 20%. Respondents were requested to rate the level of support from being very poor to very good. Sixty per cent rated the support they received as good (60.0 per cent) and 20 per cent rated support or help as very good. Interesting half of women surveyed indicated that their husbands or partners assist often and all the time with household chores and only 3.3 per cent said husband or partner never helps her with chores. Five respondents said this question was not applicable to them.

Different Feelings and Emotions Experienced by Women

It is normally human behavior/humanity that all human being experiences some distress or problems in their lives. This can be translated into different feelings and emotions. The important aspect is how positive or negative an individual is when experiencing these feeling and the support system available to help cope with these feelings and emotions. Respondents were therefore asked questions regarding their feelings and emotions to gauge how good they felt about themselves and others.

Positive feelings and emotions:

On the overall, 70.0 per cent of the women surveyed indicated they were exited and 20 per cent of these women were excited all the time. Furthermore 76.7 per cent of women were determined and 50 per cent of these women were determined all the time. An overwhelming 93.3 per cent were attentive and 70.0 per cent were active. Inspirational levels were found to be high amongst the women surveyed as 93.3 per cent said so with 50 per cent inspired often and 30 per cent inspired all the time. Women also expressed feelings of strength as indicated by 93.3 per cent and 23.3 per cent of these women felt strong all the time.

Negative emotions and feelings:

Women expressed negative feelings and emotions for example 89.9 per cent felt upset and 43.3 per cent of these felt distressed often (33.3 per cent) or all the time (10.0 per cent). Furthermore 73.3 per cent of women felt distressed with 10.0 per cent of these women were distressed all the time. In this research, hostility came out as a social crisis in women in Botswana as 76.6 per cent felt hostile, only 13.3 per cent never hostile. There was high number of

women in this survey who indicated various negative emotions and feelings such as irritability (83.4 per cent), being ashamed (76.6per cent), nervousness (93.3 per cent) and being afraid (86.6 per cent). Women also expressed feelings of guilt as 80.1 per cent said they felt guilty at some point in their lives. Only 13.3 per cent indicated they have never felt guilty. The extent to which these emotions and feelings were rated ranged from often to all the time, for example 43.3 per cent of women surveyed felt upset often and all the time, 23.4 per cent felt guilty often and all the time, 30 per cent were scared often and all the time, 36.7 per cent felt hostile often and all the time and 26.6 per cent were nervous often and all the time. Women who never experienced these feelings and emotions ranged from 3.3 per cent to 13.3 per cent. For example, 13.3 per cent said they have never felt guilty, hostile, irritable and ashamed.

How Independent are Women in Botswana?

A large number of women indicated that they would rather depend on themselves than others (76.7 per cent) and 83.4 per cent agreed they relied on themselves most of the time. Regarding the family structure, women felt that it is their duty to take care of their families including sacrifices for the family (86.7 per cent). An overwhelming 96.7 per cent of women agreed that they have a number of good qualities, 93.7 per cent took a positive attitude towards self and 83.3 per cent are satisfied with themselves. Regarding the extent to which women in Botswana support each other, respondents were ambivalent as 46.7 per cent agreed (with 33.3 per cent slightly agreed) women support each other and 43.3 per cent disagreed (10.0 per cent slightly disagreed). An overwhelming 86.6 per cent of women were proud to be a Motswana woman (60.0 per cent strongly agreed) and this emphasis the strong identity with the women of Botswana. Surprisingly 86.7 per cent of women agreed that they are able to do things as well as men can. This enhances the feeling of equality between men and women in terms of things they can do. For example, when asked to indicate if they women would buy things for themselves, 83.4 per cent agreed that they would buy things for themselves than get them from a male partner. There are perceptions that women and girls go into relationships for material gains and the survey questionnaire had a question to explore this myth. Interestingly 83.3 per cent of women indicated they would refuse to go into a relationship for economic gains and 80.0 per cent disagreed that they would like to be in relationships for material gains.

Comments Regarding Social Crisis Faced by Women and Girls

The respondents were asked to write down any comments they might have regarding social crisis faced by women and girls in Botswana and they stated that women in Botswana were treated like sex slaves, in that most women are victims of abuse from partners because they depend on their partners for survival. Others women commented that the society puts a lot of pressure on girls to excel at school, to fulfill her parents dream by getting married, have children, be submissive and be a respectful wife and said that this is just too much to take in. more females and girls are hesitant to report crisis they face due to fear in cases of domestic violence. One lady wrote down that there are other social crises such as prostitution. (This might be because prostitution as listed or included in the survey as a social crisis). Women in Botswana are not aware of their sexual reproductive health rights hence they are always denied some of these rights at health facilities, especially women in remote areas. Another lady commented that girls should be their own support system. On women wrote that girls get periods, stain themselves and people lough at them.

Suggestion to Improve Existing Support Systems

The following are some of the suggestions written down by respondents.

- Those helping women and girls in a social crisis should ensure confidentiality as matters such as abuse re sensitive issues. Confidentiality would encourage others facing social crisis to come forward for help.
- Women and girls need to take the initiative to empower themselves; be independent, and not be inclined for sexual favors for material gains.
- People should be sensitized.
- Make long term services available to help victims cope with emotional, psychological and physical trauma
 and also build independent NGOs and existing ones such as Emang Basadi to help women.
- The support available is not always enough. Social workers should do their work with love. And help
 individuals rather than promote their interest.

- Women and girls in Botswana are empowered, mostly, except in hard to reach areas like remote /rural areas as they are neglected and are not empowered.
- Services be taken to women in rural areas to be sensitized about their worth as girls and women.
- NGOs such as *Mosadi Pilara* (a woman is a rock) should be supported, funded to attend to women to help them improve their lives.
- Women and girls should be empowered, should be tough and strong and including avoiding being taken advantage of by their male counterparts.
- There is no improvement to be made, as I am happy with the support and help available.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Social-economic Problems Faced by Women in Botswana

Maternal, Reproductive and Health

On the overall, women surveyed said they did face social crisis regarding their health. The results of this survey indicated that almost 70 per cent of women were satisfied with the health services they received, including information and advice received. Problems emerged regarding maternal health and pregnancy care where only 53 per cent said they received adequate maternal and pregnancy care. Results also revealed that women surveyed were happy with HIV testing, counseling and treatment as demonstrated by 77 per cent who agreed to this statement. This supports the African Development Bank (2015) study which indicated that 90 per cent of pregnant women in Botswana have access to HIV testing, counselling and prevention of HIV/AIDs transmission from mother to child. The results of this survey also indicate that women in Botswana have reasonable support for any health related crisis, for example 73 per cent agreed. This shows that women receive the necessary information and advice relating to their health. However, results of this survey indicate women were not happy with the attitudes of health staff who attended to them (73 per cent).

The survey has revealed that women who were surveyed have access to information regarding health and other services as demonstrated by the 90 per cent who said so. Availability of health related information has empowered women as 80 per cent of those surveyed said they had never had any difficulty saying to no to unprotected sex due to fear from an intimate partner. Surprisingly almost 50 per cent said they have never had a fear of HIV infection form a partner. This might be explained by access to information which empowers women to have the courage to say no to unprotected sex by those surveyed. This is also surprising because data shows that HIV/AIDS infection in Botswana in increasing, particularly amongst the youth. Furthermore, the results of the survey show that women surveyed had not experienced high level of health related crisis as almost 60 per cent said they had never experienced someone close to them dying during childbirth or from pregnancy complications compared to the 20 per cent had experienced someone dying from this health complications.

Health was an issue as the survey revealed 77 per cent of women surveyed experienced poor health in their lives compared to only 20 per cent they had never experience poor health. Results regarding access to reproductive health service and women's control over the number of children were disappointing. For example, the results indicate that slightly more than 50 per cent said they had never had problems of accessing reproductive health services while one third of those surveyed had experienced problems. This is disappointing despite the fact the government of Botswana has invested in health care services and access to these services remains a challenge for women.

Empowerment, Education and Economic Opportunities

Regarding education and economic empowerment, the results of this research show women have equal access to education as an overwhelming 93 per cent agreed to the statement. It is interesting to find that the results of this research reveal that women have good economic opportunities particularly access to financial services, land and credit facilities. For example, 70 per cent of the women surveyed agreed they had access to land, 83 per cent had access to financial services and 67 per cent had access to credit facilities. As mentioned earlier women in Botswana appear to be empowered as a very number 90 per cent felt they had access to information that empowers them. The survey also revealed that all the thirty women surveyed said they had access to new technology (cell phone, internet,

cell phone banking) (99.9 per cent). Having access to technology contributes to empowerment regarding accessing information online, communicating with others through social media and becoming an informed person and citizen in the process. Results show that a high number of women had access to telephone, cell phone and internet facilities (73 per cent) and 63 per cent said they had access to electricity to help them with household chores. This is a good indication as it gives women and girls an opportunity to have time to engage in other activities beside household chores. It was surprising to discover that 53 per cent of women surveyed said they did not have adequate food either once in a while, some of the time or often. Only one a third said they have never experienced not having adequate food in their lives as a girl or women.

Equality in Law and Institutions

Results indicate that women surveyed felt equal before the law as 76 per cent agreed to the statement that they felt equal before the law. Feelings of equality in the household wan not bad either as 60 per cent of women agreed they felt equal in the household (out these only 13 per cent slightly agreed). However only half of the women surveyed felt their pay was equal to men considering the education, skills and effort while 27 per cent were neutral and the 27 per cent disagreed.

Personal Safety and Domestic Violence

In relation to social crisis relating to domestic violence and sexual assault, results of the survey show that a high number of women have not experienced social crisis. For example, over 80 per cent of women surveyed said they had never experienced domestic and sexual violence from a partner, family member or an acquaintance. These are good results looking at the confidence levels women who were surveyed had. Incidents of sexual abuse/assault at school were low amongst the women surveyed as results that 87 per cent indicated they have not experienced sexual abuse at school. Surprisingly 63 per cent said they had never experienced sexual harassment while less than 20 per cent said they had experienced it. The only issue that emerged in this research was personal safety in public as indicated by 67 per cent who said they felt unsafe in public.

However, what have emerged from this research were various negative feelings and emotions relating to women being upset (09 per cent), afraid (87 per cent), nervous (93 per cent), scared (87 per cent), distressed (743 per cent) and feelings of hostility (77 per cent). Further results from this study show that over 70 per cent of women indicated they had feelings of being ashamed. One of the limitations of this research was the lack of follow up which could have been carried out for in-depth investigation into some of these variables. It would have been valuable to find why these women had these negative emotions and feelings.

How independent are women in Botswana?

The survey has revealed some level/element of independence on women surveyed as demonstrated by 77 per cent of women who agreed that they would depend on themselves rather than others. The level of self-reliance was high as the results of the survey indicate that 83 per cent of those surveyed felt they relied on themselves most of the time and rarely on others. Furthermore 77 per cent of women in the survey were of the view their personal identity was independent of others and was very important to them. There were indications that women in the survey also sacrificed a lot as 87 per cent said it was their duty to take care of family. Results of this survey also indicate that a high number of women felt they were able to do things as well as men (87 per cent), which show feelings of equality on what women and men could do.

Support system to alleviate effects of social crisis

The survey revealed that women receive support for when faced with any health related crisis emerges as over 70 per cent said to. Further the results of this research showed that when faced with a social crisis an overwhelming number (over 90 per cent) of women surveyed said they ask/request for support from family, friends, siblings and their mothers. Lesser support is sought from the police and a spouse/partner (70 per cent), father (73 per cent) and relatives (77 per cent). It is indeed surprising that women first approach their family, friends and mother for support compared to their spouse or partner. Regarding the support received when in a social crisis, mothers (73 per

cent) and friends (77 per cent) topped the least of people extending support to women surveyed when they are in a social crisis compared to Police (43 per cent), spouse/partner and relatives (53 per cent) and family (57 per cent). Surprisingly though 66 per cent of women surveyed ask for support from the community only 20 per cent agreed that they revived support from their community. Family, friends and mother were also listed as people who were normally willing and ready to help when faced with a social crisis. This might be explained by the fact that the women surveyed were from the capital city where nuclear family structure reigns. It was interesting to find out that women surveyed di not strongly feel some sense of support from each other, as results of this research were almost neutral where 47 per cent agreed (33% of these slightly agreed) that women support each other while 43 per cent disagreed.

Ability to Cope/Deal with a Social Crisis

This research has revealed that an overwhelming number of women surveyed were confident that they would cope with any social crisis with the support they had from family friends and others (93 per cent). Furthermore, the results of this survey demonstrated high levels of confidence in dealing with any social crisis, for example 87 per cent of those surveyed said they were certain they would receive support and had a sense of security for their socio-economic environment (80 per cent). The results also show that the women surveyed had a positive feelings and emotions, for example 80 per cent felt inspires often and all the time, 77 per cent had sense of determination, felt strong (60 per cent) while an overwhelming 93 per cent were attentive more often and all the time. In addition, the survey results show that women in this research had positive emotions and feelings about themselves and this could contribute to their ability to deal with any social crisis they face in their lives. For example, women surveyed had a positive attitude towards self (94 per cent), were satisfied with themselves (83 per cent) and were proud to be a woman in Botswana. Results show that women surveyed felt they were person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others (93 per cent), and this positive attitude towards the self, enhances their ability to cope with social crisis.

LESSONS AND IMPLICATIONS

One of the major implications of this study is that women have access to health services, there is need to improve the services offered in the area of maternal health services. Botswana is a middle income country and has invested in her health infrastructure. The government should strive to enhance access to health services and information particularly for women in remote areas. As suggested by respondents in this research, efforts should be made by women support groups, NGOs and government to empower women to access health services. The community in towns and cities should also be empowered to help women aces information and services to empower women to make informed decisions on issues affecting their lives. Support structures in the communities that women live in should be empowered to extend their services to women and girls.

There is also need for government to build capacity of hospital and clinic staff in order to enhance their work ethic and build positive attitudes so that they deliver excellent health services to women, girls as well as boys and men. Offering professional socio-psychological support services to women and girls would help change their attitudes and feelings as this research has revealed various feelings of shame, hostility, nervousness, and distress amongst women surveyed. The professional help could also be in the form of public policy and programs. Empowering community support groups through funding and capacitation, the establishment of formal structures and systems to help improve positive feelings and emotions amongst girls, boys, women and men will help alleviate socio-economic problems and enhance the overall well-being and quality of life of citizens. As pointed out by Meyiwa et al. (2017) concerted efforts should be made to attend to challenges impeding the implementation of frameworks and policies that focus on gender struggles.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this research was to explore the social crisis faced by women in Botswana and assess the support systems available to help them cope with these problems and challenges. The research explored social crisis in the spheres of health, education, economic opportunities, empowerment, personal safety and equality. The investigation used semi-structured questionnaires administered to 30 purposely sampled women aged between 18 to 65 years in Gaborone the capital city of Botswana. One of the major findings is that women are empowered when it comes to their maternal and reproductive health. Women have access to information and health services although they were happy with the services rendered by hospital staff. Domestic violence and sexual assault did not emerge as social crisis faced by women sample in this study. However personal safety was a problem as most women felt unsafe

in public. Findings of this research indicate that women surveyed felt they were equal before the law and in the household. This includes equal access to education. There were indications that women surveyed were able to cope with any social crisis due to the existing support system and support received particularly from family, friends and their mothers. Police also played a significant role in helping women when they were in social crisis. As this research was quantitative in nature, future research should increase the sample size to cover areas outside the capital city and include men in the survey to gather their views. In addition, future research should apply qualitative research methods in order to probe into other variables and to enhance generalization of findings.

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PUBLIC SECTOR MANAGEMENT IN BOTSWANA: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

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ABSTRACT

Botswana has been hailed as a model of success in public sector management surpassing most, if not all, other African countries. The interest of this paper is to challenge this position particularly in the light of the recent undertakings. The central argument here is that the introduction of New Public Management type of reforms since 2000 to date has had serious implications in the management of the public sector. These changes have not only receded the position that Botswana has since enjoyed as the shining star in the continent, but it went further to have some adverse effects such as compromised service delivery and governance structures in the overall performance of public service. The paper uses secondary data sources to explore NPM in the context of Botswana. Therefore, the paper moves to advice that, perhaps, it will be better for the executive to give the public service space by reducing their interference by allowing public servants to work jointly with citizens to design and implement policies and programs that benefit all in the country.

Keywords: New Public Management, decentralization, Developing countries, Good governance, Botswana, public policy, programs design and implementation.

INTRODUCTION

There is a near expert consensus on the importance of well-functioning public sector in the development process in both developed and developing countries. However, the centrality of public sectors in developing countries' economies cannot be overemphasized, given the absence of viable alternative actors in their economies such as the private sector. Consequently, in most of these countries, the public sector has been at the forefront of the development efforts, especially through their civil services (Shepherd, 2003: 2). Sherperd specifies that despite assuming the leading role in the development process, the performance of the civil services in most of developing countries, especially those in the sub-Sahara Africa, have been nothing but disappointing. Relative to other countries in the continent, however, Botswana's public service has been hailed as a model of successful public sector management for the better part of its post-independence period.

It is against this background that this article seeks to challenge the received position of Botswana's public sector management against recent developments that followed introduction of New Public Management (NPM) inspired reforms. As was the case in the wake of self-rule in majority of sub-Sahara Africa, the new leadership in Botswana through the new public management inspired reforms, have come to depress the essential features that helped sustain and maintain imbedded culture of high performance marking public sector management in the country. The article is divided into 4- sections. The first section assesses NPM in the global area in light of successes and challenges in implementation in the context of developed and developing countries. This is followed by presents the trajectory of Botswana's development choices and her quest to use NPM as an alternative initiative to reform the public administration for excellence in policy and program delivery through participation of all citizens.

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

The proponents of New Public Management (NPM) present it as a new global paradigm in public sector management marking a complete departure from progressive-era models of public administration (Hood, 1995; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992; Haque, 2001). According to this view, NPM supplemented traditional public administration. To Osborne and Plastrik (1997), it represented a historical shift from one paradigm to another. It purported to reinvent government and generally fix problems in government. Although there are different variants emerging within NPM (Ferlie, Pettigrew, Ashburner, & Fitzgerald, 1996), NPM reforms are strikingly similar in the goals they pursue. NPM rests on the twin doctrine of removing the differences between the public and private sectors and shifting ways of doing business in public organizations away from complying with procedural rules towards getting results (Cope, Leishman and Starie, 1997). In this way, NPM asserts the superiority of the market over the state; reflecting New Right movements way of managing public sector through reorganizing public bodies to bring their management, reporting, and accounting methods closer to business methods. Thus, NPM is driven to maximize productive and allocative efficiencies that are hampered by traditional bureaucratic arrangements dominant in public sector organizations.

According to Bratton and Gold (2012:6) NPM emerged in the 1980s and 90s to weed out too much government intervention in the affairs of the economy to replace it with a political thought that favored market forces and limited power of government. This resulted in neo-liberal economics to regulate the economy to maximize efficiency with believe that privatization sustains economic growth and that self-regulation works best. Decentralization management is a key aspect of NPM which is derived from managerial and is part of an effort to de-bureaucratize and delayer the hierarchies within the Public Service (Hood, 1991, Ferlie et al., 1996). The key concern is to give managers the freedom to manage their units in order to achieve the most efficient output. Decentralization is seen as a mechanism that also enables the population to participate in the process of governance, as well as a framework for allowing the community's interests to be represented in government decision-making structures.

Indeed, decentralization falls neatly into the neoliberal logic of divesting the central state as many of its responsibilities and encouraging the growth of the market forces. Key to the re-engineering of public service or as it often referred the NPM is the concept of decentralization. Decentralization is favored over centralization which is often blamed for administrative pathologies. Central to decentralization is the fact that it overcomes the indifference of government bureaucrats to satisfying the needs of the public; improving responsiveness of governance to public concerns and improving the quality of services provided. Decentralization is also a mechanism that enables the population to participate in the process of governance, as well as a framework for allowing community's interests to be represented in government decision-making structures. Hence this paper is guided by the NPM model in which decentralization and governance are the key components prevailing in the quest to reform the public service in Botswana.

As pointed out by Drechler (2005) NPM represented an important reform of the last quarter of a century in which most countries believed (cited in Mello et al, 2013:84). NPM is viewed as framework that assumes that the public sector as having bureaucracies which are inherently defective and wasteful and came about as a panacea to save governments by introducing private sector like management concepts (Mello et al, 2013). However, Downs and Larkey (1986) contend that the private sector is as bureaucratic and inefficient clouded with issues of corruption and fraud as the public sector (in Mello et al, 2013:84). McLean and Elkind (2004) illustrated fraud and corruption associated with NPM by using the Enron scandal in the USA (Cited in Mello et al., 2013). Mello (2013) argue that the neo-liberal philosophy of NPM was further tarnished by the 2008 financial meltdown and the Euro crisis.

Mello et al., (2013:87) illustrated how the NPM productivity-output lines can be blurred where managers of municipalities and the CEO of the national airline were compensated with performance bonuses while they managed dysfunctional, ailing and poor performing entities. As pointed out by Down and Larkey (1986) excellent organizations reward the rank and file as the source of quality and productive gains (Cited in Mello et al., 2013:87). The two authors argue that this model of NPM is non-existent in the private sector and the public sector is expected to emulate this framework as a panacea to excellence in efficiency and productivity. Denhardt and Denhradt (2011) argue that government should not be run like a business but like a democracy (Cited in Mello et al., 2013).

In the case of , Wenene et al., (2016) argues that concepts like NPM are difficult to reap rewards from due to a weak relationship between public service providers and recipients of public services. The authors give example of western countries such as Canada where there is a continuous dialogue between citizens who influence, expect and demand better services from government. This the authors argue is achieved through NPM concept of governance and citizen empowerment by allowing citizens participate in and influence the policy making process. Developing countries in Africa are plagued by reform fatigue due to the fact that their opinions are requested but make minimal impact to change on the quality of public services delivered to citizens. According to Wenene et al. (2016:173) various factors that contribute to lack of citizen involvement in the case of Uganda includes lack of transparency in approaching challenges to service delivery as well as lack of information and education. De Vries and Nemic (2013) assert that NPM has two dimensions including minimizing the role of government and improving the internal performance of the public sector. NPM as a reform initiative could be based on neo-liberalism, post NPM or new liberal state and the results from such reforms are different (De Vries and Nemic, 2013:5). The next section assesses NPM in the context of Botswana.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF BOTSWANA

When Botswana gained its independence in 1966, it inherited little from the outgoing British colonial administration. The colonialists, in the 80 years that they were in charge, had largely ignored the development of the territory. Rather, the primary focus of the colonial administration was to serve its security and economic interests. Consequently, at independence the country was one of the poorest in the world with a per capita income of \$60. The economy relied heavily on subsistence agriculture, foreign aid and remittances from migrant laborers working in mines in neighboring South African. Only a handful of locals had attained university education. Infrastructural development was also deficient with only few kilometers of tarred roads (Tsie, 1998; Owusu & Samatar, 1997; Somolekae, 1998). Underdevelopment, therefore, best characterized the territory's colonial experience.

Notwithstanding this unpromising beginning, Botswana has achieved a lot in the post-independence period. To many, the outstanding achievement that the country has since experienced is seen as one of the few success stories of sub-Saharan Africa (Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, 2001) and at times it is conceived as an African miracle (Samatar, 1999). The country's socio-economic and political development has been impressive not only in comparison with other developing countries but also at a global scale. For instance, the country achieved the highest economic growth in the world from 1966 until 1989. Tregenna (2003) finds this exceptional economic growth striking considering the general world economic recession, especially in the 1970s. Again, the country's growth has been in contrast to experiences elsewhere in Africa where euphoria that marked attainment of self-rule soon disappeared and was replaced by bleak economic prospects and developmental crisis (Good, 1994; Holm, 1994; Beaulier & Subrick, 2006). As a result of its impressive development trajectory, Botswana has since earned a reputation as a 'developmental state' in the same way as the East Asian Tigers and leapt into middle-income status as assessed by the World Bank.

Various factors have been advanced to explain this exceptional economic growth and development in Botswana – luck, mineral wealth and prudent management by the public service are among factors highlighted (Harvey and Lewis, 1990; Tsie, 1998; Jefferis, 1998; Siqquidi, 1999; Leith, 2005). Luck was the fortune the country found in its diamond, yet Tsie (year) argues that it was not only luck but the ability of the country to negotiate with De Beers for an 85-15% shareholding in the diamond industry which has since changed to a 50-50 shareholding. However, the luck could as well be found in the relatively corrupt free leadership as Mokhawa (2005: 109) puts it 'the presence of political leadership with no aspirations for rent-seeking aspirations could also be ascribed to luck' (Acemoglu et al.,2001) have a different take on it). They are of the view that diamonds in Botswana enriched elites enough to discourage rent-seeking). Diamonds have been the country's economic backbone since their discovery. Botswana, now, is the world largest producer of gem diamonds by value and the fourth largest by production.

At times, diamonds revenue accounted for almost more that 80 percent of the country's export earnings. In fact, it is often provided that diamonds have been the reason behind Botswana's budget surplus. The provision of social services and infrastructural development has been realized thanks to diamonds rents. As regards prudent management the country has pursued a number of policies in the form of monetary adjustment policies that affect the exchange rate, bank lending rates and public sector wages (Mokgethi & Hill, 1986). Against this background of economic and social development, the importance of public sector management in the country's success can, therefore, not

be overemphasized. This article concentrates on the evolution and development of public sector management in Botswana and the New Public Management reforms adopted since the 1990s until 2000s aimed at enhancing the performance of the public service.

PUBLIC SECTOR MANAGEMENT IN BOTSWANA: THE QUEST FOR EFFICIENCY

While the general assessment of public sector management across Africa concludes that it is of low quality, this has impacted negatively on development and implementation of development policies. The case in Botswana, however, has been different. Public sector management in Botswana is usually described as of high quality (Goldsmith; 1999; Good, 1992; Kiiza, 2006). The ensuing high quality of public administration in the country can be traced to the pre-independence period and decisions made thereafter by the country's new political leadership and bureaucrats. As in most colonies, public administration structures in the then Bechuanaland were dominated by the white colonialists. The British protectorate administrators made most of the administrative employees and where locals were found, they occupied lower clerical positions without input in the development programs from the native population. These institutions were marked by strong bureaucratic formation which emphasized professional orientation in the public services. This sharply contrasted with developments elsewhere in many developing countries, especially African countries. The immediate aftermath of independence in many African states, however, witnessed a rapid and radical transformation of colonial administrative legacy – in part as a result of violent struggles for independence (Goldsmith, 1999).

The results of Africanization policy were devastating across many of these countries. To Turner and Hulme (1997), growing acts of mismanagement, nepotism, political patronage, large and rigid bureaucracy and widespread corruption within the administrative apparatus of the state became the norm. As a result, the stage was set for weak public institutions with low capacity to undertake their core mandates of effecting development policies across the African continent.

A totally different picture emerged in Botswana that helped legitimize the new administrative machinery and also maintain its quality (Goldsmith, 1999; Somolekae, 1993; Leith, 2005). The political leadership in Botswana were forced to ask some hard question about how the inherited institutions could be utilized effectively. Consistent with this task, the leadership chose continuity: building on and, thereby, retaining without major modifications the inherited institutions. Characteristic to this strategy was to retain skilled former protectorate officers willing to stay with the assumption that these officers will transfer knowledge and skills to their Batswana counterparts who were not as skilled (while other African states chose to Africanize public service. This meant quick and massive promotions of indigenous bureaucrats in positions previously occupied by white colonialists). As Samatar (1999) contends, although Botswana was among the countries that were in dire need to indigenize the Public Service, they were relatively slow to do so. Rather Botswana chose to refer to this process as localization. As articulated in the ruling party's (Botswana Democratic Party) Mmanifesto of 1965, the government guarded against lowering public service standards through the localization process in which foreign administrators were gradually replaced by qualified citizens.

By retaining the Protectorate administrators, not only was there no destabilization in the running of the civil service but the ensuing civil servants were professionals as a result of this twinning strategy. Coupled with this was intensified and rigorous training of civil servants either at home or abroad. And all this has helped in shaping strong emphasis on importance of quality in the administrative machinery that has since come to characterize public sector management in the country (Wescott, 1994; Hope, 2003; Duncan, Jefferis & Molutsi, 2000).

Consistent with its vision for quality in Public service, Botswana over the three decades after independence embarked on a series of public sector reforms. However, the scope and intensity of the reforms grew tremendously from the 1990s into the 2000s. Both internal and external pressures accounted for this increased adoption and implementation of various reform initiatives. With regards to the external imperatives for reform, the 1980s witness ascendancy of the neo-liberal ideology which swept across the globe and, in the process, brought changes to both the study and practice of public sector management through the introduction of New Public Management (thereafter NPM) reforms (Hood, 1991; Common, 1998; Weyland, 2005). Botswana public service was no exception to this global wave in public sector management. Although the introduction of the NPM was against the backdrop of Structural Adjustment programs in many developing countries, Botswana having not been part of this, also embraced some of these changes. In Botswana these came in the form of Public Service Reforms.

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND THE BOTSWANA CIVIL SERVICE

Botswana government has increasingly tended to internalize this framework by assuming reforms that are modeled along NPM. These have tended to include among others corporate values, such a vision and mission statements, performance management systems, decentralization and human resource development. However, these reforms have been controversial and contested because the reforms have not realized the intended objectives or improved performance (Marobela, 2008).

2007 to Date: Change of Guard?

Perhaps as a consequence to this lack of performance, regardless of reforms in place, that is why the newly appointed President. When the new President ascended to power in 2008 there were so many changes made within a very short space of time. The President brought with him changes that stood to reverse the way things were ran in the public service. Historically, presidents tolerated administrators running the policy development process because of the expertise they offered. But again, the administrators were products of that very same system and, therefore, felt comfortable with the status quo. However, the current man, similar product of the same system, has different point of view about administrators in contrast with his predecessors. The logical question then would be why this case is and this is explored in the next topic.

The newly appointed President has redefined the key fundamentals to the advancement of Botswana to fit into what he has termed the four Ds; Democracy, Development, Dignity and Discipline. Though his main emphasize is on discipline and a sense of national pride as fundamentals that if well pursued would see the country reach unparalleled development heights, these have brought frenzy within the public service. While a disciplined public service is desirable, the military style of discipline can be a lot to stomach. This has led his critics to refer to him as autocratic particularly in the manner in which he governs. According to the president, the military type of leadership that he has been privy to do get things done.

Are we witnessing a reversal of what has been a classical case?

According to the World Bank (2012) Botswana has and some achievements in the last five decades including annual growth rates averaging 4.3 per cent and per capita growth from USD500 in the 1980s to USD12000 in 2012. However as noted by the World Bank, this growth has been coupled with major challenges including high rate of employment, inequality and poverty. Table 1 below illustrates some of the achievements and major challenges faced by Botswana in the last five decades. The GDP growth rates have expanded and contracted highest recorded growth rate being 8.3 per cent in 2007 and sliding down to a negative growth rate of 7 per cent after the 2008 financial crisis. However, it is worth noting the economy picked in 2010 to 2014 though at varying degrees of growth. As shown in table 1 below, Botswana has been struggling with high rate of unemployment since the 1990s. The lowest unemployment rate was 10.2 percent in1981while the highest was recorded in 2008 (Statistics Botswana, 2015). Youth unemployment poses a major challenge for the country as 36 per cent of youth between the ages of 15-24 are unemployed (Human development Report, 2015).

Period	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
GDP at constant	8.3	3.9	-7.8	8.6	6.2	4.3	5.9	5.4	-0.5
market prices									
GDP excluding	14.5	8.6	5.0	6.2	7.9	6.3	5.2	5.1	1.7
mining									
GDP per capita	6.3	2.0	-9.5	6.6	4.2	2.3	3.9	7.9	7.0
Excluding mining	12.4	6.6	3.0	4.2	5.9	4.3	3.2	-	,
Government	28629.6	30455.1	30023.1	31909.4	38486.0	41657.8	48951	5403	5377
Revenue							.3	2	4
									·
Government	24821.9	35150,7	39489.2	38417.5	38667.5	40736.1	41729	5634	5380
Expenditure		,					.7	6	3
Government Debt	3807.6	-4695.6	-9466.1	-6508.0	-181.4	921.7	7221.	2820	2406
(Surplus/Deficit +, -)							6		
Foreign Exchange	9790	9118	8558	8117	8100	7800	7600	8378	8940
Reserves (USD)									
Annual Inflation %	10.3	16.7	5.4	6.2	7.1	7.5	6.7	4.9	4.7
Unemployment %*		26.1	17.9		19.9	18	20.0	17.9	17.5
Youth	32	32	33	33	36	36	36	36	35
Unemployment									
(ages15-24) %**									

Table 1: GDP growth (constant 2006 prices), Unemployment and Inflation: 2007-2014

Source IMF, 2012, Bank of Botswana 2015, Botswana Government, 2015 and 2015. *Statistics Botswana, 2016, **Human Development Report, 2015,

As illustrated in table 2 and 3 below, the rate of inequality is very high though it has slightly improved between 2012 and 2015. The World Bank (2012:4) points to the fact that inequality in Botswana remains to be one of the highest in the world. Table 3 shows that poverty incidences have declined since the 1980s except in urban villages, while there are indications of increasing rate of the urban poor as illustrated in table 2 below.

Table 2: Inequality and Poverty in Botswana

	Inequality		Population Living	The Working		Rural	Urban
	Gini-Coefficient		below PPP	Poor		Poverty	Poverty
			(below \$1.25 a day)	(below \$2a day)			
1985/86	0.54	2003	24.4%		2002/03	44.8	10.6
1993/94	0.61				2009/10	25.5	14.0
2012	0.63						
2015	0.431	2015	13.4%	23.9%			

Source: IMF/World Bank, 2012, Human Development Report, 2015

Table 3: Poverty Incidence (%): 1985-2010

	1985/8	1993/94	2002/03	2009/10
National	59.0	47.0	30.0	19.3
Cities & Towns	-	ż	10.6	8.0
Urban villages	19.3	24.3	19.4	19.9
Rural Areas	54.0	40.1	44.8	24.3

Source: Statistics Botswana, 2015

Could be argued that the last three decades of Botswana's public administration model of NPM is a reversal of the successful classical case of Max Webber's traditional and bureaucratic model of public administration of the first two decades particularly in the 1980s? One can argue that the classical bureaucratic model of public administration has worked well for Botswana in terms of contributing to the economic growth and development of social and infrastructural services in the country. On the other hand, the NPM model of public administration has attempted to attend to the weaknesses of bureaucratic model by distancing government from too much control and interference in the economy by allowing the public sector lead in the delivery of public services.

However, combining Classical and neo-classical models of public administration have added to the complexity of problems including high rates of unemployment, inequality and poverty. As pointed out by the World Bank (2012) some of the weaknesses in the Botswana public administration includes policies that have limited capacity to promote inclusive growth and human development. As evident in tables above, inequality and high rates of unemployment have major issues facing Botswana and policies developed to address these have not been successful. These policies such as social welfare programs benefit only one third of the very poor (World Bank, 2012). Furthermore, NPM has not addressed the issue of inequality and unemployment because of some industry sectors where the private sector is not willing to compensate workers as they decry of shortage of skills and a mis-match between university graduates and industry skills requirements. Botswana has spent a lot of her mineral revenue on human development particularly educating the nation however the quality of education is poor, hence contributing to unemployment of the youth. NPM also appears to benefit a few rich and influential people in the country through corrupt means of tendering and bidding systems, thus excluding the poor, marginalized and vulnerable groups of the society. The middle class in Botswana seem to be excluded in benefiting from NPM as they make up most of the working class and are public servants who implement government services.

A new public administration and public policy making model has emerged in the last decade where the public service has witnessed the revival of conservatism as opposed to the forward surge of neoliberal agenda witnessed under the former president. The president's first year in office has brought mixed reactions as some of his initiatives were well channeled and supported while others have been viewed as impositions and encroachment on people's private

spheres. The president has issued more directives compared to his predecessors since assuming office in 2008. Some of his critics are arguing that although it is early to say, these directives suggest that he has a propensity to act alone and rule by decree. To this, the president has won himself a label of an autocrat. Interviewed about this the president was' response was not a benign denial but rather an agreement to this. The directive forms part of the public administration system of Botswana and is compelled by the constitution which was obtained during colonial period in order to favor those in power at that point in time, thus ensuring maximum political security to them. Subject to the provisions of (The constitution of Botswana, 1966), part III, executive functions of the president, section 47 (2) indicates that, "In the exercise of any function conferred upon him by this Constitution or any other law the President shall, unless it is otherwise provided, act in his own deliberate judgment and shall not be obliged to follow the advice tendered by any other person or authority". This negatively affects the attempts of collective security measures because the supreme law of the country promotes civic individualism and command bureaucratic principles, thus leading those in power to be dictators. This promotes bad governance because the system is disregardful of universal ethical principles like consultative democracy.

What then For the Future of Botswana's Public Service

As suggested by Wenene et al., (2016) governments in Africa need to improve governance and modernize their political and administrative systems and empower the middle class and voters to pressurize politicians and public service providers or better governance. They further suggest decentralization of public policy and public service delivery as an option to reform public administration in addition to NPM in Africa where government is brought closer to the people and have citizens have an influence in the type and quality of services delivered to them. Finally, Wenene et al., (2016) suggest that African governments need to be less patrimonial in nature and gain legitimacy through stakeholder dialogue and citizen empowerment.

Bratton and Gold (2012) view is that economic intervention by government is ineffective and purposely harmful particularly in era of globalization where the trend is to open up and integrate markets in order to benefit from globalization in terms of improved standard of living, increased foreign direct investment (FDI) and elimination of poverty. Hence new transnational institutions will replace rigid and old public administration structures and processes trying to control and regulate the economy (Bratton & Gold, 2012). In the case of Botswana, the fruits if globalization and attracting FDI are hampered and discouraged by small economies of scale and shortage of competent human resource and appropriately skilled human capital to help transnational companies achieve their goals.

This supports the call for Botswana to adapt an alternative public sector reform initiative as NPM has not yielded expected results due to its failure to transform the Botswana economy in terms of efficiency and effectiveness of public institutions, the creation of much needed jobs and improved standard of living through private sector's participation in economic activities by way of outsourcing, contracting out and public-private partnerships see table 1 and 2 below). NPM has not had a great impact in transforming public administration in Botswana as the government continues to regulate and control the economy through multiple laws and regulations which hampers foreign direct investment and transnational corporation are discouraged by the rigid and lengthy processes and systems of doing business in the country.

As pointed out by Barton and Cunningham (2016:1) human resources in the public sector are different from the private sectors and yet public sectors are encouraged to introduce business like reforms such as NPM. Barton and Cunningham (2016) argue that public institutions have different characteristics such as being forced to do more with less and deliver multiple public services to take care of different cohorts of citizens including educating the nation, delivering accessible and quality health services to the young and the aged, law enforcement with increasing crime due to poverty and at the same time deal with new concepts like performance management systems, management by results and privatization though reforms such as NPM.

NPM also calls for the decentralization and outsourcing on non-essential services as well flexible human resource management policies and programs that cater for the millennials who require different career expectations (Barton & Cunningham, 2016). The two authors further purport that NPM expects public sector to adhere to globalization which dictates that governments should make public policies and programs fairly accessible to all citizens, there should be openness and transparency in government dealings with the private sector through open tendering

and competitive bidding system. As suggested by Wenene et al. (2016) the business-like management styles of government through NPM has rendered public institutions fatigued and this has hampered the ability of public servants to deliver quality services and the public fatigued to demand quality service from public institutions.

Hence this paper suggests an alternative model to reform the public service as opposed to NPM. Wenene et al., (2016) are of the view that paying for public services would enhance successful implementation of reforms and enhance governance, effectiveness and quality service delivery as recipients of public services will have the motivation to demand better service through dialogue with government and public service providers. While De Vires and Nemic (2013) have argued that NPM has lost its value as a viable concept to improve efficiency of public organizations and suggested that good governance should come in to rescue NPM and improve the quality of public sector.

This paper has attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of NPM to improve efficiency and quality of the public service in Botswana as well demonstrated the extent to which NPM has influenced the evolution of public administration in the country. As asserted by De Vries and Nemic (2013:6) NPM should be driven by catalyst, community and competitiveness based management style based on results oriented, customer and mission driven principles coupled with decentralization and market driven qualities. Hood (1995) assert that NPM should operate government like a business and get rid of bureaucratic ethos to improve quality service and use ICT infrastructure to delivery of services through e-government channels. Whereas De Vries and Nemic (2013:7) argue that there is nothing like "a one size fits all" model of NPM to reform public administration in both developed and developing countries. The successful implementation depends on how well governments were prepared before adopting NPM as a reform initiative.

De Vries and Nemic (2013) assert that the problem with some countries is that they adopt some elements of NPM which renders the initiative ineffective. In other countries some of the existing reforms are not related to NPM framework, for example developed countries Norway rendered the reforms very complex (Christensen & Laegneid, 2000). The ineffectiveness of NPM was evident during the 2008 financial crisis and the Enron scandal where countries were in turmoil despite having adopted market like concepts of NPM which were hoped to rescue governments from the debt crisis emanating from the financial crisis (De Vries & Nemic (2013). Botswana has also introduced an array of reforms to transform her public administration and improve governing structures, but these reforms have had a limited impact in improving the quality of the public service as demonstrated in table 1 below.

It should also be noted that reforms are very complex and government agenda's in developed and developing countries differ. The success of reforms whether NPM or any models would depend on the existing public administration and governance structures and ethos. Reforms have worked in enhancing public administration in Botswana in terms of modernizing the public service by adopting reform concepts such as NPM. However, the state continues to play a very prominent role of controlling and directing the economy and does not allow the private sector to play a significant role in driving economic growth and sustainable development to create employment, diversity the economy, improve the standard of living for the ordinary citizen as well as reduce poverty and high levels of inequality prevailing in Botswana. However, there have been some positive gains from the reforms including NPM, a case where the bureaucratic and developmental state models of public administration have resulted in some structural transformation of the country in terms of economic growth and investment in various sectors of the economy including education, health, telecommunications, education; governance structures and in infrastructural services (Salkin et al, 1999, Botswana Government 2009, Botswana Government, 2017).

Despite positive economic development and growth rates achieved in the past decades, there have been serious challenges in recent years where the achievements/milestones of the last five decades are regressing due to the erosion of/in the governance structures as well as continued dwindling of public administration ethos. In addition, despite having adopted the NPM philosophy in managing the economy, performance of the global economy and international markets have impacted on the achievements of Botswana including affecting diamond sales and the global ranking of the country in terms of performance of its public institution and governance structures. NPM did not come in to rescue public institutions from declining revenue due to falling international markets and increasing unemployment. Table 1 and 2 below illustrate some of the achievements since an array of reforms were introduced to transform public administration in Botswana together with selected countries in Africa.

As shown in table 1 and 2 below, Botswana out performed these countries in relation to the macro-economic environment, followed by better ranking in ethics and corruption, public sector institutions and public trust in politicians (Global Competitive Report, 2015-2016). Whereas Botswana's performance was average in some areas and ranked poorly in willingness to delegate, quality of primary education, quality of infrastructure, health and primary education (Global Competitive Report, 2015-2016). Furthermore, Botswana is ranked above average, at 106 out of 188 countries when it comes to human development index, an index examines the relationship between work and human development by assessing a country's long term progress in areas of health, education, work and standard of living (Human Development Report, 2015). One of the great achievements in the HDI for Botswana was the increase in life expectancy from 48.7 years in 2000 during the HIV/AIDs scourge to 64.5 years in 2015 after the government intervened to reduce HIV/AIDS related deaths in the country.

Table 1: Global Competitiveness Index: Selected Countries

Country	Botswana	South	Namibia	Mauritius	Zimbabwe	Nigeria
Rank		Africa				
(out of 140 countries)						
Public Sector Institutions	37	47	44	35	118	129
Property rights	40	24	33	34	135	108
Ethics & Corruption	36	76	60	47	120	136
Diversion of funds	38	94	68	49	113	132
Public trust in politicians	40	98	54	73	134	132
Irregular payment of bribes	44	50	65	43	96	132
Bribes for government contracts	50	96	84	60	111	137
Bribes for judicial decisions	39	30	48	32	87	111
Undue influence	38	40	51	43	127	109
Judicial independence	36	24	39	32	115	96
Favour to government decisions	49	105	79	85	133	132
Public sector performance	36	34	39	24	121	111
Macro-economic environment	9	85	71	73	104	81
Efficiency in legal framework in	32	14	31	23	92	83
settling disputes						
Transparency of government policy	48	39	47	28	105	121
making						
Security	54	102	73	36	59	130
Quality of Infrastructure	83	59	42	47	121	133
Health & primary education	119	126	116	42	106	140
Quality of Primary Education	85	117	99	48	47	128
Labour Market index	39	107	49	57	134	35
Willingness to delegate authority	99	26	76	42	90	89
Legal rights index	63	63	63	44	63	44
Trustworthiness & confidence	54	11	40	37	115	50
Human Development Index	106		126			
	0.698		0.628			

Source: Global Competitive Report, 2015-2016, Human Development Index, 2015

Table 2: Case studies: Competitiveness Index: Private Sector Governance

Country	Botswana	South	Namibia	Mauritius	Zimbabwe	Nigeria
Rank		Africa				
(out of 140 countries)						
Private sector institutions	40	23	41	32	85	87
Corporate ethics	37	38	53	36	105	123
Ethical behaviour	37	38	53	36	105	123
Accountability	57	2	37	29	66	52
Auditing strength	56	1	30	42	40	57
Efficacy of corporate boards	56	3	75	41	87	49
Protection of shareholders	39	3	26	32	70	64
Investor protection	92	14	81	28	81	55

Source: Global Competitive Report, 2015-2016

As suggested by Wenene et al. (2016) introducing a reform model where providers and receipts of public services dialogue and a stakeholder approach where African middle could be empowered to demand quality service and better governance. In the case of Uganda public servants were not obliged to deliver quality services due to low pay and

poor tools whereas citizens were reluctant to demand high quality services as public servants were de-motived to deliver quality service which was free (Wenene et al. 2016). Hence introducing user fees for public services would motivate voters and recipients of public services to demand quality services. Wenene et al. (2016) conquer with this paper where reforms in developing countries including Botswana and Africa in general should be based on the concept of decentralization of public services and enhance governing structures to curb lack of transparency and openness, corruption, unfairness and inequality existing in government.

In addition, empowering citizens and the middle class to be aware of their rights to demand quality service would enhance the quality of public administration in the country. Furthermore, effective engagement and dialogue between voters and the government would improve decentralization and devolution of power from the central government to recipients of public services. As suggested by Vigoda and Cohen (2015:3) it is important for future NPM style of reforms to focus on improving the image of government by enhancing governance and collaboration between citizens and public administration as this will increase citizen support for public policy and reforms. Vigoda and Cohen (2015) further assert that passive and less involved citizens will thwart efforts by government to reform and improve public administration through reforms such as NPM.

The Government of Botswana appears to be endorsing NPM as reflected in the 2017 budget speech where their emphasis on the post neo-liberal ideology of government playing a lesser controlling role in the economy by allowing the private sector to take the lead in economic diversification and creation of much needed jobs in the economy (Botswana Government, 2017). As pointed out Bratton and Gold (2012) post-NPM philosophy emphasis reduced government interference and increased role of the private sector. Brando and Cunningham (2016) are of the view that NPM also calls for the human resources to be transformational in order to be more connected to the demands and aspirations of millennials workers and be in line with global trends in recruiting and retaining talented employees. Whereas Bratton & Gold (2012:502) suggest for de-regulation of employment legislature and practices in order to integrate global trends in efforts to attract FDI and enhance benefits of post NPM.

As pointed out above Botswana has had very impressive public sector reform initiatives on paper. However, these reforms have not resulted in tentative change and impact in terms of policy and program delivery to ordinary citizens. Service delivery and productivity problems have continued to emerge in the public sector despite the adoption of reform initiatives such as new public management where the public sector is expected to deliver services and programs as a result of operating like a business or like a private sector. As demonstrated in table 3 below, economic growth has declined; GDP per capita has gone down, together with increasing unemployment and inequality in the country. However, the country has done well in terms of reducing poverty and incidences of poverty.

Table 3: Economic indicators after adoption of NPM

Description	Indicator: 2010-2014			
Economic growth between 2010	Declined from			
and 2014	8.6% in 2010 to 5.4% in 2014			
GDP per capital	Declined from			
	6.6 in 2013 to 3.9 in 2016			
Foreign Exchange Reserves	Declined from			
	US\$8117 in 2010 to			
	US\$7600 in 2013.			
	Increased to US\$8378 in 2016			
Unemployment	Increased from			
	19.9% in 2010 to			
	20.0% in 2014			
High Inequality	Gini-Coefficient (0 low, 1 high)			
	0.54 in 2002/03 to			
	0.63 in 2012/13.			
	Declined to 0.43 in 2015/16			
Population living below	Declined from			
US\$1.00 per day (PPP)	24.4% in 2003 to			
	13.4% in 2015			
Rural Poverty	Declined from			
	44.8 in 2002/03 to			
	25.5 in 2009/10			
Urban Poverty	Increased from			
	10.6 in 2002/03 to			
	14.0 in 2009/10			
Poverty Incidence	1985/86	2009/10		
National:	59% 19.3%			
Cities and Towns:	- 8.0%			
Urban Villages:	19.3% 19.9%			
Rural Villages:	54.0%	24.3%		

Source: World Bank, 2012; Botswana Government, 2015; UN Human Development Report, 2015

Thus, Botswana has performed well in the last 30 years in terms of economic growth and governance, however unemployment and inequality have continued to haunt the country despite reforms such as NPM, which were expected to create economic opportunities for citizens. Some of the weaknesses of NPM model include centralized control by government as opposed to decentralization of authority and this has resulted in undermining of the NPM model to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery.

CONCLUSION

The distinctive part of the NPM reform initiatives has been its global drive towards institutional change within public sector organizations through the adoption of more entrepreneurial management of public services away from the traditional public management system (Haque, 2001; Hood, 1995; Sotirakou & Zeppou, 2006). However as explained and assessed above the NPM model has not been able to enhance public sector management in Botswana as expected. One of the major weaknesses of NPM in the country is the reversal of decentralized authority which was adopted during the performance management model era and the increased centralized control from government. This has rendered NPM ineffective as the model calls for increased devolution of authority and flexibility in public sector operations for enhanced service and program delivery to citizens. The next phase of public sector reforms in Botswana would be for the government to effectively implement other reforms such the use of ICT through the e-government initiative, improve bureaucratic processes and governance structures as this would enhance benefits of NPM and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of public sector institutions.

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BOTSWANA'S DEVELOPMENT AGENDA: A DICHOTOMY OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE?

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ABSTRACT

Botswana is often hailed as a success development story in Africa and a beacon of democracy in Africa despite being among the 30 poorest countries in the world at independence in 1966. The discovery of diamonds in the early 1970s helped Botswana with resources which catapulted her into an upper middle income country today. Despite this economic miracle, Botswana is one of the most unequal societies in the world, high poverty rates, high youth unemployment, and high HIV/AIDs infections. This paper looked at selected development indicators including governance, prosperity and human happiness index to analyse the factors that shows Botswana's development progress. The paper concludes that Botswana's sound economic management is on the other hand accompanied by inadequate policy consultative process and implementation resulting in some section of the population trapped in underdevelopment. High social inequality resulted in a non-inclusive development leading to dichotomous development.

Keywords: development; policy; dichotomous, policy implementation; inequality; economic growth

INTRODUCTION

Development and the advancement of the wellbeing of world citizens has become a top priority for many governments globally. To further accelerate this global endeavor, specialized global institutions such as the World Bank (WB), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and their many affiliates have been instituted to ensure global guidance for development. In Africa for example, there is the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the African Union (AU) and numerous economic blocks like Southern African Development Association (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) etc. all aimed at monitoring and assisting Africa with her development agenda. But despite these global efforts, established global institutions, global policies and international agreements all intended to enhance development, majority of the world population still live in abject poverty. Africa has been the hardest hit by this misfortune. Within the African continent however, Botswana has emerged as an odd case rising from being one of the poorest countries in the world at the time of independence in 1966 to an upper middle-income country to date (ColClough and McCarthy, 1980). However, the country faces uncommon challenges which paints some shades in the global picture that is portrayed about the success story. The purpose of this paper therefore is to argue that Botswana faces a dichotomous development characterized glaring inequalities and unprecedented unemployment, factors that undermines the success story the country is known for. In the analysis the paper looks at some of the factors that contribute to the de-development of some sectors of the population while other advanced their economic fortunes in unprecedented ways.

BACKGROUND

Botswana gained independence in 1966 and was considered among the poorest countries in the world with little hope of breaking that glass ceiling (Harvey and Lewis, 1990). It was the discovery of diamonds that changed the economic landscape of the country with unparalleled economic growth averaging 5% annually since 2008 (World Bank, 2018). This growth is mainly from the mining sector which for decades has been the mainstay of the country's economy. The expansion of the non-mining sector especially water, electricity and tourism also contributed positively to the surge in Botswana's economic outlook in the past decade.

At independence, Botswana was self-sufficient in food production based on subsistence agriculture (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). Colclough and McCarthy also note that agriculture was the mainstay of the economy contributing 40% of the country's GDP at independence. At the time Botswana was relatively an egalitarian society with no distinct social classes visible along economic lines.

The early 1970s brought a major economic breakthrough for the country with the discovery of diamonds. Good governance, prudent economic management, consultative processes for policy making through local structures made Botswana with its small population to move the world economic ranks to become an upper middle-income country. The economy, measured by GDP growth was one of the fastest in the world from 1966 to 2000years after independence at a rate of 6.9% per capita (van Klaveren, Kea Melanie and Nuria, 2009). Deliberate and careful planning was adopted as a method that intended to accelerate economic growth and this was in a way achieved as shown by the GDP growth per capita (Lekorwe, in Edge and Lekorwe, 1998). Sustained development through the investment of the mineral wealth in social programs were geared towards an inclusive growth for the different sectors of the economy and social classes. Since independence Botswana has also strived to provide almost free universal education to all children of primary school going age (NDP 10).

Despite the impressive growth and general improvement in the lives of the people of Botswana, the country is facing challenges including inequality and other challenges such as HIV/AIDs, high unemployment rate especially among the youth, low income for women as compared to men and high poverty rates affecting mostly children below the age of 15 and younger (van Klaveren, Kea Melanie and Nuria, 2009).

PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH ABUNDANT RESOURCES

Botswana is a success story in a continent characterized by famine, poverty, poor sanitation, corruption, genocides, slave trade, terrorism which have become Africa's defining characteristics (Khennas and Barnett, 2000). High rates of corruption- the case of Nigeria, slave trade in Libya, the war in DRC. The contrast is the abundant resources Africa has at her disposal. Natural resources found in Africa include, Diamonds, Copper, gold, Petroleum, Iron. Africa is a home to a wide range of wildlife the likes of Greater Kudu, Okapi, Ostriches, wildebeest, Mandrills and Lemur. Furthermore, Africa has 7 large perennial rivers (Limpopo, Senegal, Nile, Niger, Congo, Zambezi and Orange). In addition, the continent has fertile and productive lands, capable to support all types of Agriculture, - be it Agronomy, Horticulture, suitable conditions to support animal husbandry- cattle rearing, poultry, and piggery. Based on these natural resources Africa should be the continent with food security and sustainability, but because the means of production are privately owned and by very few, and in some cases property rights not well defined (Ostrom, 1990), many of the African population are starving, especially women and children.

The DRC is one of the countries which have ample natural resources: the country has diamonds, copper, gold, cobalt, Zinc. All these resources are not used to improve the lives of the people. Some of the countries like the DRC, still have poor education system, untarred roads, and worse genocide. Corruption in Africa denotes access to basic necessity such as access to good quality education, health facilities as well as getting employment. The extent of getting a job goes as far as- it's not about what an individual knows but rather who an individual knows. The corruption then magnifies and permeates the distribution of information which becomes a prerogative of a few with the right connections. It ceases to be a point of informing the public about available development opportunities where ordinary people could also benefit. Corruption engenders a situation where ordinary people are often not aware of opportunities to improve themselves such as investments but only the people in power are aware of such opportunities (Khennas & Barnett, 2000). Corruption then deepens and goes to the degree of rewarding government contracts where the selected few are rewarded through their connections. Due to corruption, Income

inequality intensifies, and the bias used in awarding tenders compromises the quality of end- products of the projects-infrastructure.

Indeed, natural resources have contributed to the economic growth of Africa as a continent even though the growth is uneven. This remarkable economic growth (UN, 2013) has led to limited improvement in poverty eradication, due to the mere fact that the beneficiaries of these natural resources are not the locals. Diamond mines in Namibia (Debeers, NamDeb) South African Gold mines, Zambian Copper mines- (Konkola Mines, Mopani copper Mines, Lumwana Mines, Nigerian oil companies such as (Shell, Mobil oil Company) are not owned by the natives but by multinational corporations whom the welfare of the natives is not a priority. In addition, even though the natural resources are abundant, the natural resources are slowly getting to a depletion state, yet Africa remains undeveloped. Poor governance has contributed to contributed to Africa's underdevelopment. Poor governance does not only affect the economic status of a country, it also impacts the education system of the country, the health facilities, infrastructural development and other aspects of life (Sebudubudu, 2010). Botswana with its good record of good governance has become and economic miracle.

Apart from Botswana, almost no government is keen on using natural resources for national growth, let alone improve the living conditions of the citizens. Although Botswana is one of the few countries that use its natural resources to develop and improve the living conditions by investing in the education, health and infrastructure, the country is not immune to other challenges such as high rates of unemployment, inequality and poverty (Khennas & Barnett, 2000).

Botswana's success story is a result of democratic rule based on sound macro-economic and fiscal policies (Molomo, in Edge and Lekorwe, 1998) with many distributive policies put in place at independence. Coupled with a modest populace whose political consciousness was not contaminated by the militant social and political consciousness within the SADC region especially during the liberation struggle, Botswana has enjoyed uncommon peace envied by many in Africa. This peaceful atmosphere also being the adopted philosophy by the country's leadership of dialogue to resolve conflict and contentious situation. While discovery of diamonds catapulted the country from its state of abject poverty to the current economic state, it has also bred unrivaled inequality with majority of the population living in poverty.

Botswana is one of the most unequal societies in the world. Based on the Gini coefficient from World Bank Namibia, South Africa and Botswana have the highest rate of inequality (Cowell & Fiorio, 2009). These are all upper middle-income countries which are doing well economically, however there is unequal distribution of income and wealth. In addition, Botswana has been ranked as the least corrupt country Africa, as well as the 34th in the world. The question is why a country with the least rate of corruption would have the highest rate of inequality. This is one of the questions that this paper plans to address. But it is imperative to define development to provide context for the analysis of Botswana's dichotomous development path.

UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There are different ways that development is conceptualized, and, in a way, it is a mystery that still defies proper definition and understanding among scholars. Historically, development was an easy statement of a number such as per capita income, a level of GDP for a country which has been questioned by Seers (1969). According to Seers, our conception of development should be based on what has been happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality. Seers believes that while the measure of increased income is important it is purely economic and does not include such social factors as poverty, inequality and even wellness. On the other hand, more scholars after Seers came up with other definitions. For example, Remenyi (2004) defines 'Development is a process directed at outcomes encapsulating improved standards of living and greater capacity for self-reliance in economies that are technically more complex and more dependent on global integration than before' (pp. 22). Schaffer, Deller and Marcouiller (2004) conceives of development as involving '...social environmental and economic change to enhance the quality of life" (pp. 4). Sen (1999) takes a divergent view by looking at development as encapsulating freedom and enhanced capacities. Sen argues that development is expansion of freedoms that people enjoy (pp. 3). The other factors such as poverty income etc. are seen as limiting freedoms hence are themselves unfreedoms that need to be tackled if development is to take place.

In conceptualizing development this paper considers the relevance of the different perspectives within the scholarly community with more bias to the micro understanding of development based on Sen's human development theory to unpack the human agency aspect of development. At institutional and policy levels the paper employs the power theories especially the third dimension of power by Luke (1974 and 2005) and Gaventa (1982). The power theories will help bring insights into exclusionist tendencies of policy formation which results in perpetuated disadvantage of the powerless hence continued inequality. The distinct difference between power at the third dimension is that it is a critique of the pluralists' conception of power that opined that power is when A can make B do something that B would not otherwise do where both are actors in decision making (Polsby, 1975). This approach emphasizes freedom to choose and no conflict in decision making. The perceived smooth consensus on issues has been criticized by Bachrach and Baratz, (1970) who argue that pluralists deny the existence of latent conflict and also the existence of mobilization of bias where the power holder would use resources to thwart any proposed decision akin to their interests. The third dimension by Luke and Gaventa mentioned above embrace the mobilization of bias thesis and the existence of latent conflict. In addition, they propose that 'A' has power over 'B' in so far as 'A' can shape 'B' conception of things. This control of another's conception leads to control of individual choices and values. Employing this myriad of related theories will help shed light on the dichotomous nature of Botswana's development path.

BOTSWANA'S DEVELOPMENT: AN UNEVEN PATH.

The booming of Botswana economy through the capitalist path supported by what Marxists would call imperialist patronage, has led to many egalitarian theorists to question if Botswana will uplift the dire lifestyle of many impoverished communities from their poverty state. This line of questioning is anchored on the enshrined pillar of the now ended Vision 2016: to eradicate poverty and additionally, the Goal 1 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of No Poverty that is enshrined in the new Sustainable Development Goals. The impoverished community's habitats are in rural areas of Botswana where poverty and below standard lifestyles are prevalent in contrast to the pockets of the rich mostly habitat in urban areas. A standard description of a rural area in modern Botswana is a place that has road network proximate to it and accessibility to the road is ensured, it will also have a minimum of a primary school, a health facility such as a clinic, access to mobile phone network (Moepeng, 2013). Moepeng (2013) further explains that in some cases, it will most likely be connected to the national electricity grid. While the forgoing is the case, the country still has many places which do not have access to all the necessary resources mentioned above.

How can the government of Botswana achieve inclusive development, while a significant part of the population of Botswana is still excluded from genuine participation in decision making? When some major policies exclude citizens? One of the main barriers to inclusive development in Botswana is lack of knowledge due to inaccessible information (Nkosana, 2011). For instance, some citizens do not participate in general elections, because they are too pressed with their daily needs to go for elections. It is not yet very clear to them the importance of choosing a representative who would make decisions on their behalf. Nkosana (2011) also observes that in some cases, people participate in elections and indeed in some activities as an act of obedience to government. Lack of knowledge is also evidenced in spoilt votes where in some rural areas the number of spoilt votes exceeded the number of counted vote. Due to language barrier there is poor dissemination of information, some citizens are not even aware of the importance of voting, voicing their concerns. The exclusionist tendencies are also observed in the Botswana Language Policy which puts recognition to some languages while other national languages are delegated to the margins. The adoption of a mono-language system has gigantic gaps that provokes elements of lack of inclusiveness. The policy is the result of Tswana hegemony influenced by western principle of 'one country, one language'.

In recent days, linguistic differences have played a major role in Botswana politics and academia. Being the oldest democracy in Southern Africa, Botswana harbors more than several hundreds of different languages and with more than a thousand dialects. This vividness and diversity of language has added extra color in linguistic debates. At the same time, language is the major issue behind regionalism and demand for recognition in Botswana. Therefore, it is logical and the demand of the time to investigate the complexities of the Botswana Language Policy and to decide whether Mother Tongue can solve basic problems of Botswana society. This language barrier and the refusal to recognize other dialects jives well with the postulates of the power in the third dimension that argues that the powerless are held at ransom because they are being shaped to adopt the same values as the power holders as well as

to perceive things from the stand point of the powerholders (Luke, 1974, 2005; Gaventa, 1982). Soon after independence in 1966, decisions were underway that led to the pronouncement that Setswana becomes a national language and English an official language. This decision came about under the banners of nation building and the spirit of a united people (Mooko, 2009). Subsequently, this led to the undermining of the linguistic heterogeneity and multiplicity of Botswana languages. The use of these two languages was implemented in all segments of Botswana, including schools. As such, Mooko (2009) warns that language policy as practiced in schools is influenced and predicated by power-relations and the power structures that evolved since independence. This power structure and power relations are dominated by the Setswana-speaking groups, who were of higher status and managed to relegate other groups to the margins. The hegemonic principle with which the Botswana Language Policy was founded, expounded Tswana customs and has masked the praise which Botswana pride herself as a multicultural nation. This exclusiveness is exhibited not only in Botswana education system and formal administration, but also in the formation of the structure called House of Chiefs and Tribal Territories (Baldauf and Kaplan, 2004).

The Top down approach, which is used to initiate development programs, results in most of the development programs not necessarily benefiting the intended beneficiaries. For a decade now, the government has been introducing several initiatives to curb poverty and promote equity but there are still certain groups of people who are marginalized, who do not have access to national resources. Examples of such groups include Bakgalagadi in the Kgalagadi and Ghanzi districts. Bakgalagadi are one of the ethnic groups in Botswana who own a lot of cattle, hence contributing significantly to the beef industry in Botswana. But due to the language barrier and their classification as a minor tribe they are marginalized. Promotion and adoption of English as official language has propagated the alienation, exclusion and marginalization of a wide variety of language groups. The preferment of English and Setswana language in Botswana, birthed a deniability of other language groups to propel in standard and in recognition (Moepeng, 2011). This created foundations of social exclusion and a bar set high for the so-called minority language groups to have equal access to national resources.

Despite the uncertainties created by the language policy which we assert could have contributed to dichotomous development, the government has initiated several developmental programs. Examples include the Poverty Eradication program whose main aim is to eradicate extreme poverty, the Back to School Initiative which aim to provide a second chance to the students who did not do well at secondary school level. While the Back to School program is commendable one wonders how can the program be a success while the country has more than 85 000 unemployed graduates? What is it that will motivate the intended beneficiaries to participate when people who excelled academically are still roaming in the streets? This is a clear indication that there is mismatch of skills, the knowledge imparted by institutions of high learning and what the market needs is different. This calls for interaction with the involved stakeholders before developing such programs. Botswana is often hailed for her consultative process which has been touted as responsible for the peaceful and harmonies co-existence of the different ethnic groups and the state. But such contradictions of development interventions and the persistent problem that could be solved point to a dichotomy of intentions or at the very least mismatch of the programs and the existing problems.

BOTSWANA'S SELECTED DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

In this section the paper looks at and analyzes some selected development indicators by different categories such as urban and rural or by different districts. The indicators are intended to demonstrate the uneven development within the different sectors of the economy and classes of people. Figure 1 below shows the population with access to water between rural and urban areas.

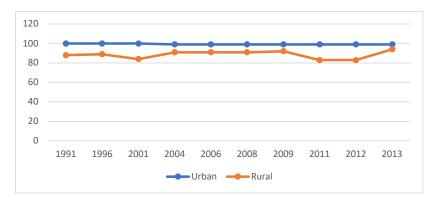


Figure 1: Population with Access to Safe Drinking Water by Urban & Rural Areas, (%), 1991 – 2013

Source: adapted from Statistics Botswana, 2016

Figure 1 shows access to safe drinking water over the years from 1991 to 2013. As the table shows, there is a difference in access between the rural and urban areas. Almost 100% of urban dwellers have access to safe drinking water compared to 85 % rural areas who have access to safe drinking water. It is worth noting that 2001, 2011 and 2012 records the lowest number of rural dwellers having access to safe drinking water. There is very little change of access to safe drinking water by rural dwellers over the 20 years. The large number of people with access to clean water is consistent with the growth rate of the economy and government policy to translate revenue from mineral into provision of social services. Botswana's per capita income is shown in figure 2 below.

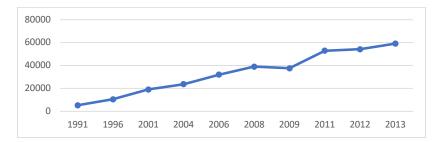


Figure 2: Per Capita GDP at nominal prices

Source: adapted from Statistics Botswana, 2016

It can be argued that the increased per capita income is an indication of the accumulation of revenue which nevertheless accrues to the minority hence the least that could happen is for rural areas to be compensated by a shift of more resources to meet their basic needs such as water and sanitation. This however is not to deny the general improvement of the livelihoods in rural areas but rather a critique of relatively low levels of development and the qualitative difference in relative terms given the available resources and efforts put in place by the state. The purpose is also to question the continued dichotomy of development levels between rural and urban areas and also the non-changing numbers in comparative of beneficiaries of development between rural and urban dwellers despite the rising GDP.

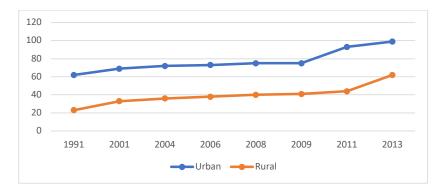


Figure 3: Population with Access to Improved Sanitation by Urban and Rural Areas, (%), 1991 – 2013

Source: adapted from Statistics Botswana, 2016

Figure 3 above shows the level of improved sanitation over selected years from 1991 to 2013 for both rural and urban areas. The percentage improvement between 1991 and 2013 for rural areas is only 40%. While this is the same growth rate as in urban areas, there has been no deliberate effort to close the gap hence perpetuating the same levels of inequalities and dichotomies in development of both rural and urban areas. It should be pointed out again that the base year of 1991 shows that only 20 % of rural households had access to improved sanitation compared to 60 % of urban dwellers. This another indication of uneven development that shows dichotomy between rural and urban which gap remains constant over the years. Figure 5 show poverty incidence from 1985-2010.

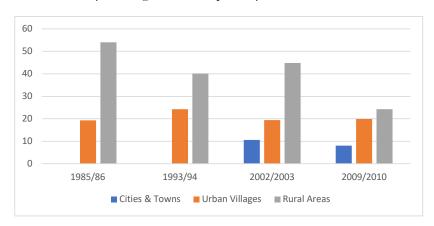


Figure 5: Poverty Incidence (Percentage) 1985-2010

Source: adapted from Statistics Botswana, 2016

Figure 5 continues to show the dichotomous development especially with regards to rural areas being disproportionately disadvantaged in terms of development. These areas continue to lag behind in most of the statistics compared to urban areas.

Furthermore, poor policy implementation, poor project management and poor monitoring of these programs end up failing to achieve their intended mandate. With regard to backyard gardening, some beneficiaries hold that it has short term benefits; that of temporary relief from hunger not poverty. Botswana's development path is also assessed using other international development indicators such as the human Development Index (HDI).

Human development index (HDI): The HDI is a composite measure that gives a general picture of how the country compares with others in terms of its Human Development. The index has different dimensions as follows:

- a. to lead a long and healthy life, measured by life expectancy at birth;
- b. the ability to acquire knowledge, measured by mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling;
- c. the ability to achieve a decent standard of living, measured by gross national income per capita".

The literature however suggests that attention be made on other indicators that measure Human Development which focus more on the disaggregated populations and their access to resources. Three of these indicators are identified as follows:

Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI): is being proposed to factor the contribution of inequality that also affects the extent of Human Development. Factoring inequality in human development measurement has shown to lower the HDI score. **Gender Development Index (GDI)** and **Gender Inequality Index (GII)** are also suggested as measures that need to be considered to address human development adjusted for gender inequality and to clarify the situation of women and men in terms of human development.

Variable 2012 2013 2014 2015 **Inequality loss** HDI value 0.693 0.697 0.698 0.698 0.433 119 109 108 HDI rank 106 64.5 20.9 Life expectancy at birth 64.2 64.4 64.5 Expected years of 12.6 12.6 12.6 12.6 schooling Mean years of schooling 9.1 9.2 9.2 9.2 32.1

14,627

14,84

14,66

3

55.5

13,996

Table 1: Botswana HDI Values from 2012 to 2015

Source: Adapted from the HDI Reports2012-2015

GNI per capita (PPP

US\$) Botswana

Table 1 shows an improvement in performance of Botswana in its human development efforts in terms of global ranking. It shows Botswana performing best in 2014 when it was ranked 106 out of 188 and worst performance when it was ranked 119 out of 186 countries in 2012. It is however worth noting that the ranking does not take into consideration the other indicators inside the HDI as a composite indicator. Therefore, some scholars suggest that some social indicators be considered when calculating the HDI scores such as gender inequality because when they are accounted for, the score changes to high or low depending on whether these indicators have a high value or not. Another measure used at international level to rank countries' development progress is the Legatum Prosperity Index (table 2, appendix, page 14) which also comprises several categories such as governance, health care, national security, social capital etc. The index assesses each country's performance based on each of the above stated categories. A rank is then awarded to measure the country's performance in the global scale. Botswana does well in the prosperity index on governance and environmental conservation. However, looking at the health pillar, social capital, national security, happiness index etc., the country ranks low in contrast to its economic standing as an upper middle-income country. These are evidence that while the country is doing well economically as also evidenced by the prosperity index, there are areas people related that need to be addressed to lessen the level of unequal and dichotomy in developmental indicators.

These are also evidence of high performance shown by development indicators but increased social ills which negate the glorious picture that catapults the country into an exemplary status. Social capital which is measures the strength of personal relationships, social network support, social norms and civic participation in a Country. Despite access to education the ranking shows that the country is not doing well on international standards.

Table 2: Different Prosperity Pillars by Year (2012-2016)

	Rank				
Prosperity Pillar	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	(70/142)	(72/142)	75/142)	(77/142)	(54/149)
The Economic Quality pillar ranks countries on the openness of their economy, macro-economic indicators, and foundations for growth, economic opportunity and financial sector efficiency.	107	96	101	118	99
The Business Environment¹/ENTREPRENEURSHIP& OPPORTUNITY pillar measures a country's entrepreneurial environment, its business infrastructure, barriers to innovation and labour market flexibility.	68	69	72	77	70
The Governance pillar measures a country's performance in three areas: effective governance, democracy and political participation and rule of law.	32	28	28	30	30
The Personal Freedom pillar measures national progress towards basic legal rights, individual liberties and social tolerance.	30	41	41	95	78
The Social Capital pillar measures the strength of personal relationships, social network support, social norms and civic participation in a Country.	90	109	93	111	84
The Safety & Security pillar ranks countries based on national security and personal safety.	63	68	84	72	110
The Education pillar ranks countries on access to education, quality of education and human capital.	90	92	94	95	51
The Health pillar measures a country's performance in three areas: basic physical and mental health, health infrastructure and preventative care	102	104	111	111	41
The Natural Environment pillar measures a country's performance in three areas: the quality of the natural environment,				87	51

¹ This pillar was only changed from Entrepreneurship & opportunity to Business in Environment in 2015

Source: Adapted from Legatum Prosperity reports 2012 to 2016

The education pillar however showed a lot of improvement for Botswana in 2016 where the country ranked high as compared to the previous years. However, the development path for Botswana has been a mixed bag with success in macro indicators but social ills which display contradictory performance exacerbated by social inequality by gender and in terms of spatial measures.

CONCLUSIONS

Botswana has since independence maintained a high growth rate that was equated with the Asian Tigers or the Newly Industrialized Countries (NIC) as they are commonly called. Part of this success for Botswana was democratic principles and sound economic management that the government adopted at independence. However as shown in this paper there are some anomalies in Botswana's development path colored with inequality (60.5 in 2007measured by the Gini Index), which is ranked as among the highest in the world; declining international indicators such as the happiness index and some categories of the Legatum Prosperity Index like education and social capital. Poverty rates albeit decreasing still affect the rural areas more than urban areas and the gap is not closing. This paper has shown that the sanitation statistics have remained almost the same for rural areas from 1991 to date hovering about 20% below those of urban areas. Sen (1999) opines that development must of necessity also be considered in terms of capabilities where human agency is promoted to ensure that an individual enjoys the freedoms they are entitled to. Human agency and capabilities cannot be possible without basic needs being availed such as good quality education, inclusive development and recognition of individual human values that are unique to them. Quality education is necessary for informed decision making including political and economic participation of the citizenry. Since in some respects the country ranks low in terms of educational quality, this also affects power distribution as some pundits would argue that the more the education the more the economic opportunities and thus more meaningful participation in the country's life.

Botswana has since independence recognized eight official tribes while others are regarded as minor. Attempts by some of the minor tribes were made in the past to advocate for recognition for their own unique and culture including the use of their language for intellectual vocation. This exclusionist tendency might be deemed to present a debilitating condition for individual development which will hinder development at macrolevel. Denied capability will lead to participative poverty which as the literature shows in some cases leads to quiescence (Gaventa, 1982). Where majority of the people are excluded in the development process but are symbolic participants, the result is social consciousness that is vulnerable to suppression even in an inviting environment for participation. This stifles authentic national participation in national discourse. The result of this symbolic participation is perpetuation of the status quo where power holders drives their agenda while the majority are spectators. There in lines the dichotomy of social classes that will represent two separate and unequal development.

Gaventa (1982) and Luke (1974) addressing policy issues at the level of third dimension of power, argue that those who yield power have resources at their disposal which they can use to shape the less powerful to conform to their values. Therefore, the idea of development and its meanings will mean to the less privileged what the power holders explain it to mean. The nascent emergence of disagreement and/or rebellion on the part of the powerless would be met with the mobilization of bias where the views of the less privileged would be thwarted out of the national or policy agenda. This situation means the dominant ideas that drive development would be always those of the powerful elites. The situation in Botswana as shown by the dichotomous nature of development, is that majority of the rural people remain poor. These are joined by the poor who live in the geospatial fringes who create the mass of the national poor, characterized by powerlessness, low capabilities and inadequate resources. This does not only take place in rural areas but also applies to the poor in urban areas. Their situation of poverty and powerlessness is maintained by the mobilization of bias which further stifles their authentic participation in national discourse. Sen (1989) would argue that to remedy the dichotomous development will necessitate the removal of unfreedoms one of which is capability poverty. While this is a desirable option, its achievement might a challenge given that change is often brought by a determined people in an open space where their human agency is recognized, and they have access to resources to counter the mobilization of bias and non-decision in the face of latent conflict as perceived by the power holders. It is however notable that Botswana with its democratic institutions still has a leeway where the disgruntled members of the society can challenge the status quo. The extent to which they can do so with minimal cost is a question that need further research.

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NAVIGATING BOTSWANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TRAJECTORY SINCE INDEPENDENCE: SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES

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ABSTRACT

Botswana's economy transited from an agrarian economy to a mineral led economy since independence. In the process the country failed to transform the agricultural sector to a modern commercialised sector, capable of creating employment and providing the inputs to the emerging modern industrial sector in conformity to the experience of the industrialised economies as espoused by the Lewis model. This led to the high levels of unemployment, inequality and poverty. The mining sector was instrumental in elevating the country to high middle income status within four decades of independence. The capital intensity of the mining sector helps in part in explaining the country's economic ills. The difficulty in moving into non-mining growth is frustrated by human capital resource constraints which possibly manifests in mismatch between available skills and human resource needs. The development of the arable agricultural sector, particularly horticulture could help in addressing some of the economic challenges.

Keywords: Botswana, growth, diversification, state, budget

INTRODUCTION

Botswana's developmental track record over the past 50 years has been remarkable; the country has since independence been doing well in many development indicators. The Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) led government treated development as a deliberate process; hence, the notion of development planning. Budgeting has always formed the core of the Botswana development and budgeting process. The country's first National Development Plan (NDP) was in force from 1963-1969. The 1963 NDP was later superseded by the Transitional Plan for Social Economic Development. This was meant to create comprehensive economic management and also lessen dependence on British Aid. A series of National Development Plans followed thereafter (Botlhale, 2013). The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MFED former Ministry of Finance & Development Planning) which was established in 1966 has been coordinating the developmental process through successive National Development Plans (NDPs) and the budgetary process with line ministries serving as the implementing organizations (MFDP, 2010). It follows that Botswana's success has not been accidental but well planned (Motshegwa, 2017). As a result, Botswana has earned itself a tag in academic circles as a "developmental state"; a state that strategically intervenes in various sectors of the economy and society to achieve developmental outcomes. Tsie (1996), Edge (1998), Taylor (2002), among others, posit that Botswana resembles features of a developmental state. Further, it could also be argued that the country's founding president was a visionary leader who helped lay down a firm foundation for the progress that the country has been well known for in particular as an isolated case within Africa. Some authors have referred to him as the Mandela of Botswana (Magang, 2015).

The first section considers the theoretical framework, then the next looks at the budget process, followed by economic growth. Section four discusses poverty, inequality & unemployment followed by economic diversification. The section discusses the successes, challenges as well as the opportunities going forward.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper adopts a theory that is premised on a developmental state and the Lewis two sector model. These two theories are discussed below.

The Developmental State Theory

Theoretically, a developmental state can be said to be a state between a free market capitalist economic system and a centrally planned economic system, i.e. it borders on private ownership with state guidance. Basically, it's a form of a mixed economic system implying that it is neither capitalist nor socialist (see Bolesta, 2007). The theory further suggests that a developmental state supports a developmental trajectory without handicapping the social development as found in the case of centrally planned economies. One of the crucial elements of a developmental state is the collaboration between the public and private sectors. That is, the private sector becomes a partner of the government in the developmental venture. Government should be closely involved in both the macroeconomic and microeconomic planning so as to grow the economy. Maintaining a balance between public, private and the labour market is also critical in increasing measures such as productivity, job security and industrial expansion. Marwala (2009) is of the view that industrialisation plays a vital role in a developmental state since it includes the production of high value added goods and services. These in turn create job opportunities, for example, instead of exporting unrefined raw minerals, people can be employed to add economic value to such through production of goods such as watches jewellery etc. Effective developmental states are said to be able to advance their economies much more rapidly compared to countries that use regulations to manage their economies in general (Marwala, 2009). Developmental states have been perceived as being efficient in the allocation and distribution of resources. As a result, they tend to invest optimally in very important areas that form the basis of industrialisation such as education. Further, these types of states often protect their domestic infant industries, encourage and compensate foreign companies that invest in building the country's productive capacity in sectors such as manufacturing (establishment of plants). This is done with the objective that the domestic industrial sector will succeed and benefit from the spill-overs from these foreign companies (Marwala, 2009). A developmental state should not only be effective, but it should, also be legitimate and developmental oriented (Fritz & Menocal, 2006). However, the state should be cautious not to be captured by particular groups. Rather, the state should nurture economic development by setting a framework for the private sector or markets.

In various Asian countries the developmental states have been enormously successful in promoting growth and development compared to Africa where they have failed (despite some hopeful beginnings in the post-colonial period) (see Fritz & Menocal 2006; Mkandawire, 1998).

In light of the above framework, this paper seeks to examine how Botswana has fared/ progressed as a developmental state (in terms of economic diversification, economic growth, and the budgetary process) over the last 50 years of its independence. This is also due to the assertion that the country has actually pursued policies that have features of a developmental state (Taylor 2002). For example, Botswana has undertaken policies that manage investment plans (through the Ministry of Trade and Industry & the Botswana Investment Trade Center), has a national development vision i.e. the national development plans (NDPs), the national budget, implying that the state is an entrepreneurial agent involved in institution building to promote growth and development (also see Taylor 2002). This has in turn produced some positive results in terms of the country's impressive growth.

The Lewis Two Sector Model

Economists have espoused different economic theories and models to try to explain in particular the development trajectory of the contemporary first world economies. An endeavour to apply these lessons to third world countries seems not to bear fruit. It is the view of the authors that amongst a good number of these theories the structural change model has proven quite pertinent in explaining Botswana's economic path. The Lewis Theory of Development model, which is a representative of the structural model, sought to explicate the structural transformation of economies from stages of rural subsistence economies to modern urban industrialised economies. It was embraced as a general theory of development process for labour surplus poor economies in the 1960s and 1970s (Todaro & Smith, 2009).

This model assumes that the economy comprises two sectors. The first one being the rural subsistence agricultural sector which is over populated with zero marginal productivity thereby culminating in Lewis's conclusion that the sector is overpopulated or has surplus labour. The implication of this surplus labour is that labour can be taken from this economy with totally no adverse effects on the subsistence sector's production capacity. The other sector is the urban modern industrial and highly productive sector, which draws most of its labour from the traditional subsistence agricultural sector.

The thrust of the model is on the transfer of labour from the rural to the urban sector as well as growth of both employment and output in the urban sector. The rate of expansion of the modern sector is determined by the rate of investment and capital accumulation into the sector, with the assumption that capitalists are reinvesting their entire profits and, thereby, helping in this expansion. It is assumed that the urban wage is higher than the rural wage for as long as there is surplus labour in the rural and the supply of labour from the rural to the urban is perfectly elastic meaning that the modern sector could attract as much labour as it wants from the rural sector at the existing wage. We need to be cognisant here of the assumption that wage in the rural sector is determined or equated to the average product, while in the urban capitalist sector it is determined by the marginal product. It is only after expansion at high levels of output within the urban sector and diminished surplus labour within the rural sector that wages in both the rural and urban sectors will start to increase.

BUDGET PROCESS

From the year 2000, the government of Botswana introduced opinion gathering meetings (*pitso's-* consultative forums) to form part of the budget process in the country. This was done with a view to enhance participation by stakeholders in the national budget (an offshoot of the national development plan) - a public resource allocation exercise (see Botlhale, 2013).

Botswana's remarkable status can partly be attributed to having a strong institutional support for public budgeting which adheres to the stipulations as laid out in the constitution. This has not only ensured prudential and credible financial management, but it has also allowed some degree of certainty and openness. For example: section 119 of the constitution requires the MFDP to take the lead role in drafting budget estimates and in presenting them to parliament in 30 days or less before the beginning of the next financial year (which is the 1st of April of each year). Section 124(5) of the constitution on the other hand establishes the auditor general as an independent department to oversee the budgetary process (see Kaboyakgosi, 2011). This is because Botswana's budget process is a fundamental part of the country's expansive development planning process. Strong capacity and systems have been put in place to make sure that the budget planning process and implementation is aligned to the nation's development objectives (Phirinyane, 2005).

The Minister of finance oversees the management of government finances as per the Finance and Audit Act section (4). Further, the rules for collecting and expenditure of public funds are clearly outlined in the financial Instructions and Procedures. The Government Budget is made up of five main categories, namely; manpower, recurrent and development budgets as well as consolidated and development fund revenue estimates (see MFDP, 2010). Every mid-year around June/July manpower and financial ceilings are prepared and finalised to guide ministries on manpower and financial limits within which to make their respective budgets. The budget ceilings are fixed in consultation with the ministries in consideration of their anticipated implementation plans of development projects. The project review exercise then follows in October. This provides the details of the implementation progress of each project in the various ministries plus the estimates for the projects. The Estimates Committee (nominated by the minister of finance) makes the final recommendations on the manpower and financial resource allocation to the various ministries/departments taking into account the expected revenue and the established priorities. Moreover, a cabinet memorandum is prepared and submitted to cabinet, if approved, the budget estimates book and appropriation bill are forwarded to parliament for discussion (MFDP, 2010; Botlhale 2013).

However, a number of supplementary budgets may be permitted during the progress of a financial year to meet any shortages in the budget provision for the year as approved by Parliament. These are usually limited to emergencies and unforeseen expenditure requirements. In some cases, supplementary budget requests would necessitate imposing an equivalent reduction in some other parts of the budget. The revenues accrued from mining coupled with the prudential financial management structure as outlined above has enabled Botswana to invest in development

projects/programmes and have a good developmental track over the years since her independence. However, it is worth noting that despite the impressive performance the country has experienced socio-economic challenges including unemployment, poverty, inequality, sluggish diversification.

Regarding the budget process, while the opinion gathering meetings are a welcome development, more still need to be done in terms of stakeholder participation. The pitsos (Consultative forums), as pointed out by Botlhale (2013) should also be augmented by a budget act which, in addition to legitimising these gatherings, can also be complemented by pre-budget hearings, publication of a pre-budget statement and quarterly budget reports. In addition, Parliament should be strengthened to ensure meaningful participation in the budgetary process. For example, Parliament should be given more time to debate the budget speech (given its complexity) as opposed to the six days that they are currently allowed to debate on the budget. Parliament should be given autonomy and be formally accorded the powers of the legislature to adjust the budget proposed by the executive. Parliament is currently housed under the Ministry of State President and is dependent on the executive and does not have an independent budget of its own. This dependence hampers the effectiveness and autonomy of Parliament (see Botlhale 2013).

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Before the advent of the diamond "miracle" Botswana's economy was largely agrarian thus depending on agriculture. This dependency on agriculture by the country's macro-economy was a reflection of the Batswana's rural economies whose livelihood was largely underpinned by arable and livestock farming. Subsistence agriculture was the mainstay of the economy and was deficient as a source of employment and economic production (Malema, 2012). The agriculture sector, which contributed around 40% to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at independence, has seen a reduction of its contribution to about 3% of GDP (Kapunda, 2003: 5, ADB, 2009: p.2, in Malema, 2012: p.53). The agriculture sector, due to it being less lucrative, was easily displaced as a main contributor to GDP by mining upon the discovery of diamonds.

Unlike many African countries, Botswana has escaped the "resource curse"; the country's diamond wealth underpinned economic and human development. In the early years of the country's independence, Government took a deliberate decision to ensure that the mineral wealth will be used to achieve development goals. In 1975, the state successfully negotiated with de Beers Diamond Company for a 50/50 share ownership of all the country's diamond mines; the receipts accrued from the mines have allowed government to invest in a wide variety of development schemes (Taylor, 2002). Diamond revenue boosted the country's economy, which registered double digit growth rates. Over the thirty years between independence in 1966 and the mid-1990s, Botswana was the fastest growing economy in the world with an annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rates of over 10%; this prolonged growth took Botswana from being one of the poorest countries in the world in 1966 to middle income status by the 1990s (Jefferies and Nemaorani, 2013). The country's first three decades as a republic was, not only a period of GDP growth but it was also, characterized by significant strides in human development.

To illustrate the phenomenal economic growth rates which have been globally acclaimed and to also explain the existence of high unprecedented inequalities, the country's growth in GDP per capita terms since independence with a view to illustrate the growth afore mentioned is presented in Figure 1. The economic composition/structure is meant to show the presence or otherwise of the economy's domination by the mining sector. As one would clearly observe, the share of mining sector has been dropping post the 1990s yet remaining above 30 per cent of GDP. The share has since plummeted to below 30 per cent following the global financial crisis (GFC) of 2008, thereby diminishing the stranglehold of mining on the Botswana economy, even though the sector remains the mainstay of the economy. It is equally important not only to demonstrate the exceptionality of growth and the dominance of mining, but to further interrogate the existence of diversification of the economy in lieu of the recent economic transformations as approximated by changes in sector's shares to the economy.

Figure 1 shows the trend in GDP per capita since independence measured in US dollars. From a mere US\$82 in 1966, the economy's GDP per capita increased to over US\$ 7000 by 2011. This has elevated the country from a class of the poorest countries to an upper middle income economy.

Per capita GDP, US Dollars

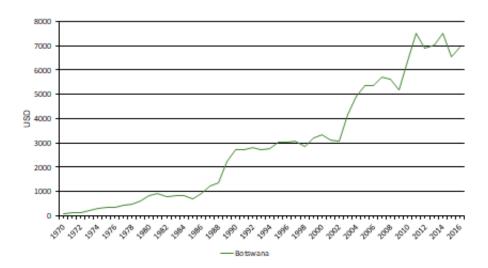


Figure 1: Per Capita Income

Source: Authors using data from Bank of Botswana statistics (various years) & Statistics Botswana.

Figure 2 below captures the growth rates of GDP per capita between 1960 and 2012. The highest level of growth was realised in the early 1970s as it stood at about 42 percent. From the mid-1960s to the early 1990s, the per capita growth rates averaged above 10 per cent of which three of those years it was above 30 per cent. The greatest decline in post-independence Botswana was in 2009 as it decreased by about 15 per cent due to the global financial crisis. The other period in which it decreased by more than 10 per cent, was in the mid-1980s.

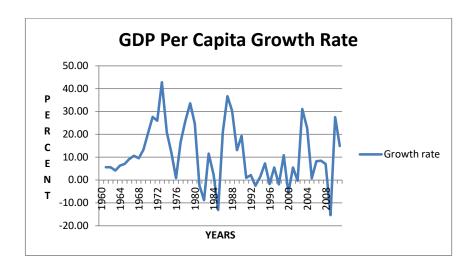


Figure 2: Growth Rate of Per Capita Income

Source: Authors using data from Bank of Botswana statistics (various years)

Whereas the classification of countries' development is based on GDP per capita as a proxy, its limitations as a measure of development has been recognised culminating in the use of the human development index (Todaro &

Smith, 2009). This is a composite index which has brought together key developmental variables amongst which are a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and a decent standard of living.

Macroeconomic objectives were realized alongside improvement in the quality of life of citizens. During the first three decades, significant strides were made particularly in health and education. For instance, Primary School enrolment rate went from 50% in 1966 to 97% in 1999, adult literacy rates improved from 41% in 1970 to over 79% in 1999, the mortality rate of children under the age of 5 dropped from 151 per 1000 live births in 1971 to 56 in 1991, and the infant mortality rate fell from 108 deaths in 1966 to 38 in 1999 (Taylor: 2002: p. 3). Furthermore, by 1990, 85% of the rural population had a clinic or hospital within 15 kilometers of their homes that provided primary health care (Edge, 1998: p. 336). Households' access to portable water went from 56% to 83% between 1981 and 1994 (Taylor, 2002: p. 3). In the mid-1990s growth slowed down from double digit to single digit rates. Jefferies and Nemaorani (2013) submit that it is generally accepted that the period of rapid diamond-led growth is over and contend that since the mid-1990s, growth rates have been lower, although still respectable by international standards with trend growth around 5% per year.

Whereas Botswana has realized commendable development outcomes, there are concerns regarding economic diversification and redistribution. The impressive growth rate has not translated to the equitable distribution of the country's resources to the majority of the citizens. The problems of unemployment, inequality and poverty, which could be argued are very much interconnected and interrelated, continue to persist. There could be a number of factors associated with the country's failure to uplift the living standards of the majority of the citizens. However, key to this failure has been the structure of the Botswana economy, which has since the discovery of the capital intensive minerals, been dominated by this sector to this day. It is the dominance of the mineral industry and the country's failure to diversify, which has led to the socioeconomic ills hitherto alluded to (Malema, 2012). In view of the unprecedented economic growth rates and the prevalent socio-economic ills, the country has also been considered to have experienced progress without prosperity (Magang, 2015). Other analysts have gone on to classify the country as one which has experienced pre-modern growth, a situation reminiscent of economic growth without development (Hillbom, 2008: pp.191 & 192).

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Botswana's economy has not been able to significantly alleviate poverty. Redistributive justice has proved to be slippery despite numerous redistributive policies. Poverty rates have been stubbornly astronomical for a country that has enjoyed decades of economic progress. Conteh (2014) asserts that the much celebrated economic growth is a statistical illusion since it does not affect the whole country. About a fifth of the population can be regarded as poor; the Botswana Core Welfare Indicators survey of 2009/10 suggests that the poverty rate stands at 20.7% falling from 30.6% in 2002/2003 (Stiftung, 2014: p. 14). Government has put into place various policies with a view to address the poverty situation. These anti-poverty programs include, among others, Destitute Housing, Ipelegeng (Public Works), Self Help Housing Agency (SHHA) programme, Integrated Support for Arable Agriculture (ISPAAD and, recently, backyard gardening (AfDB/OECD, 2012). The Khama Administration has moved from poverty alleviation to poverty eradication. It is, however, worth noting that the current government's Poverty Eradication programme is still work in progress; therefore, its success or failure will be determined with time.

The stark poverty situation has always been accompanied by two other economic ills in the form of income inequality and unemployment. The country's wealth has not been equally distributed across society. As a result, Botswana has not been doing well in global income inequality rankings; Botswana's income inequality stands at a Gini coefficient of over 6.0 (AfDB/OECD, 2012). The coefficient as a measure of inequality ranges from 0 representing perfect equality to 1 reflecting perfect inequality. The values range from 0.20 to 0.35 in cases of relative equality and 0.50 to 0.70 for high degree of inequality (Todaro & Smith 2009). The persistent poverty and stark inequality may be linked to the fact that the economy has not been able to create enough jobs. The Botswana Core Welfare Indicators Survey of 2009/10 puts official unemployment figures at 17.8 % (Stiftung, 2014: p. 14). This high level of unemployment although undesirable is not surprising given that the economy is grappling with diversification. Redistributive problems in the form of unemployment, poverty and inequality are interconnected and therefore create something of a domino effect. Botswana's economy is not diversified therefore not creating enough

jobs resulting in unemployment; few job opportunities inevitably lead to poverty which translates into skewed distribution of wealth.

There are two main types of revenue sources in Botswana namely tax and non-tax revenue (see Figure 3 below). Tax Revenue accounts for more than 60 per cent of entire government revenue, with a higher proportion of this from mineral tax, Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU) customs pool, non-mineral income tax, sales tax/value added tax. In the financial years 2004/5 and 2005/6, mineral revenue accounted for more than 50 per cent of government revenue and it currently stands slightly below 40 per cent (BoB, 2014). The remainder of the total government revenue is from the non-tax revenue.

The fact that this dependency is unsustainable became evident during the 2008 global financial and economic crisis. Botswana's economy was hit hard as global diamond sales fell sharply, leading to the temporary closure of the diamond mines in the first half of 2009 which caused the economy to fall into a recession (Jefferies and Nemaorani, 2013). This resulted in a decrease in mineral revenues forcing government to work with a very constrained budget. This underpinned the urgent need to diversify the economy and to find other sources of revenue (MFDP, 2011).

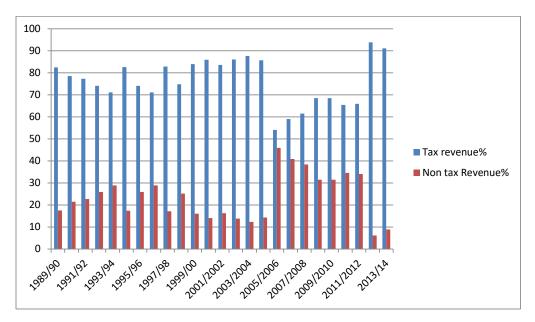


Figure 3: Main sources of government revenue

Source: Authors using data from MFDP, BoB statistics (various years)

The global economic crisis' devastating impact on the diamond sector was a demonstration of the vulnerability of Botswana's undiversified economy. The need for diversification of the economy away from the mineral (diamond) sector became more evident and urgent. However, it is worth noting that calls for diversification of the economy predate the global recession; there has, for a long time, been efforts at promoting other sectors with a view to broaden the base of the economy.

ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION

Conteh (2014) observes that successive governments of Botswana since independence have continued to conceptualize their mission principally in terms of fostering national development by diversifying the country's economy. The economy was being transformed from the predominately agrarian type of economy at independence. The agrarian economy was merely based on the agricultural sector and the beef industry, which were the mainstay of the economy at independence.

Diversification has been defined differently by different commentators, with Kapunda (2003) defining it as the spread of investment initiatives across different economic sectors. The limitations of this definition have been discussed extensively by Malema (2012), who espouses the notion that investment is a means rather than a result and does not,

therefore, guarantee results. We have in this paper adopted the definition that diversification entails the spread of the contribution to the economy by different sectors such that no single sector could be said to be dominant within the economy. This actually emphasises the end result more than the process, which may not necessarily be desirable.

The First Diversification/Structural Phase

As already indicated above, Botswana's economy was a typical Lewis's rural subsistence agriculture economy at independence as close to 40 per cent of the economy was attributable to agriculture. This was a slight four percentage drop from the 1966 share of 43 per cent. Even though the shares of the sector for the period 1974 to 1997 were unavailable, the share was 30 per cent in 1975 on its down decline as the economy shifted from agricultural domination to mining. The share of agriculture declined until it went below five per cent in 1993. Since then it has further declined to oscillate around three per cent. Before independence and immediately thereafter, the mainstay of Botswana's economy was agriculture. The discovery of diamonds in 1972 elevated the share of mining from just over two per cent at independence to over 44.7 per cent in 1990 thereby consolidating the sector as the mainstay of Botswana's economy. As in 2017 the share of mining stood at 10.4 percent.

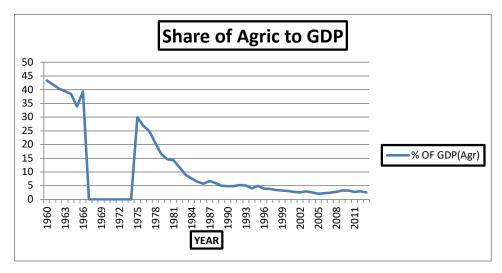


Figure 4: Share of Agriculture to GDP

Source: Authors using data from Bank of Botswana statistics (various years)

The Second Diversification/Structural Phase

As the share of agriculture was decreasing that of mining was increasing in the late 1970s. Figure 5 below clearly demonstrates that the mining sector which gained momentum in the early 1970s following the discovery of diamonds has had a significant part to play in Botswana's economy. Whereas it was desirable to diversify away from agriculture, and to have mining catapult the country from one of the poorest at independence to a middle income economy, the dominance of the economy by the sector has been worrisome. The figure below shows that for the ten years under focus, mining's share to GDP stood between 37.5 and 43 percentage points.

Viewed through the lens of the Lewis's model, it could be argued that the collapse of the agricultural sector was not, necessarily, a result of surplus labour being attracted from the rural to the urban as the urban modernised sector was expanding. In actual fact in view of the capital intensive nature of the mining sector, the absorptive capacity of the rural labour was very minimal if at all it existed. Since the government has a share in the diamond sector, she was able to use the revenues to develop some other sectors of the economy which became the major employers than the diamond sector. That people were not absorbed in the urban industrial sector as stipulated by Lewis is an indictment on the country's industrialisation process. The high unemployment and poverty rates that are currently estimated at 20 and 18 percentage points and the inequality that is above the 0.6 Gini coefficient are testimony to the failure of our economy to transform the benefits on mining sector growth to the wider population. This is consistent with the "anti-developmental" economic growth espoused under the Arthur Lewis model or the "pre-modern growth" tag that is of late used to define the Botswana economy. The country's developmental state approach became the saviour as the government, the parastatals and the initiatives of the so still infant private sector became the sources

of employment and, to some degree, a means of poverty and inequality reductions. The dependence on the mining sector given in particular its capital intensity hence its limited employment generation, at least directly, its non-renewability as a resource and its susceptibility in the International market prompted the government to seek means of diversifying the economy from its dependence on minerals.

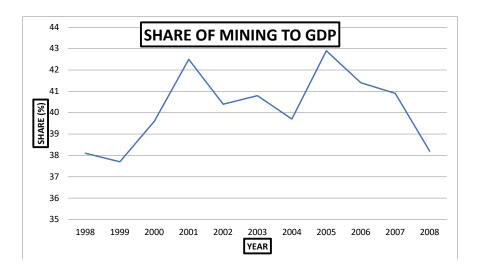


Figure 5: Share of Mining to GDP pre the Global Financial Crisis

Source: Authors using data from BoB statistics (various years)

Botswana's efforts to diversify the economy are as old as its diamond dependency. Government of Botswana has been at the forefront of promoting economic diversification through policy intervention. The most significant policy tool of the government in pursuing economic diversification was the Financial Assistance Plan (FAP) introduced in 1982 (Conteh, 2014). FAP put into practice government's pronouncements on industrial development and was a direct outflow from the government's adoption of the National Policy on Economic Opportunities of 1982; the FAP was to expand the business opportunities and entrepreneurial capacity of Botswana, particularly citizens (Conteh, 2014). The mandate of FAP was to diversify the economy of Botswana and create employment and it gave preference to females in that they were given a higher percentage on the grants than males. The FAP was later replaced by the Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA) in an effort to continue with diversification efforts. Botswana's economic diversification strategy has been largely aimed at capacitating citizens to launch businesses that can help the country to industrialize. The mandates of both FAP and CEDA are similar in that they both focused on citizen empowerment by getting locals to start businesses. CEDA's mandate was also increased to cover partnerships between local entrepreneurs and external companies (CEDA). However, economic diversification efforts from FAP to CEDA have not borne any significant results; the goal remains elusive. In addition to the previous schemes government introduced more institutions like Botswana Export Development and Investment Authority (BEDIA) and Botswana Investment and Trade Centre (BITC). BEDIA was established for the promotion of export-oriented enterprises and selected services in order to encourage economic diversification, rapid economic growth and sustainable employment opportunities. BITC was geared towards the promotion and attraction of investment, custodianship of the national brand, promotion of exports and economic growth and development, to further drive the economy of the country.

Despite economic diversification being somewhat elusive, government has not surrendered; continuing to roll out policies aimed at achieving this goal. In 2005, the Business and Economic Advisory Council (BEAC) was established as an advisory body to assist government in achieving economic diversification and sustainable growth; the work of the Council culminated in two documents: "Botswana Excellence - A Strategy for Economic Diversification and Sustainable Growth" and the "Action Plan" (Government of Botswana, 2008). The latter document is a comprehensive strategy with clearly articulated objectives. The strategy set a new tone for conditions necessary for economic diversification. The strategy pointed out the need to, among others, amend or discard past unsuccessful policies, create an enabling environment for business, open up to the international economy, commercialize Agriculture (Government of Botswana, 2008). Other objectives included diversification of tourism, establishment of

a transport hub, introduction of free zones, establishment of the Botswana Innovation Hub, Diamond Beneficiation, enhancing banking and financial services, mining diversification around coal and gas (Government of Botswana, 2008). A new government institution, Government Implementation Coordination Office (GICO) was set up in 2007 to provide guidance to ministries regarding the diversification strategy.

The Third Diversification/Structural Phase

President Ian Khama's administration has introduced another strategy which is specifically aimed at promoting the private sector. The National Strategy on Economic Diversification Drive (EDD), which was instituted in 2010, envisages diversification of the economy through the development of globally competitive enterprises that need little or no government protection or support (AfDB/OECD, 2012). Economic diversification is a process not an event; therefore, it is, a long term goal. As a result, government ought to be commended for its' relentless attitude and approach towards achieving this goal. There are signs of some degree of diversification in the post-recession period. The services sectors of the economy have improved its share of contribution to Botswana's GDP; this includes Trade, hotels & restaurants (17.6 percent in 2014, compared to 16.8 percent for mining for the same year) and Banks, Insurance & Business services at 14.3% in 2014 as well (Bank of Botswana, 2014). After taking a knock during the financial crisis, mining was outperformed by the burgeoning trade, hotels & restaurant sector. From 2011 through to 2014, mining has been relegated to being the second largest contributor to GDP after trade, with the finance and business services sector not falling far behind; this shows that the economy has become somewhat more diversified, with the non-mining private sector accounting for 69.6% of total value added in 2012 (Jefferis and Nemaorani, 2013). The share mining to GDP dropped to a low of 10.4 percent by 2017. Apart from economic diversification, Botswana has longstanding redistribution problems in the form of poverty, inequality and unemployment. The post GFC "diversification" should be viewed and interpreted cautiously. The decline in the share of mining was not a result of the growth of some other sectors of the economy. It was specifically driven by the decline of the mining sector both in absolute and relative terms as the global financial crisis set in. In view of the diminishing significance of the sector within the Botswana economy, other sectors contribution would still have grown even in the absence of any unprecedented rates in those sectors. The decline of the mining sector was bound to decrease its share to the total economy and even if some other sectors remained constant such transformations in terms of the economic structure were still to ensue. In view of this explanation, such transformation could not be said to be in the interest of beneficial diversification and is therefore not the ideal kind of diversification for which the country has laboured for years. Whereas the sectorial distributions attest to some form of diversification, the process involved undermines such an end result.

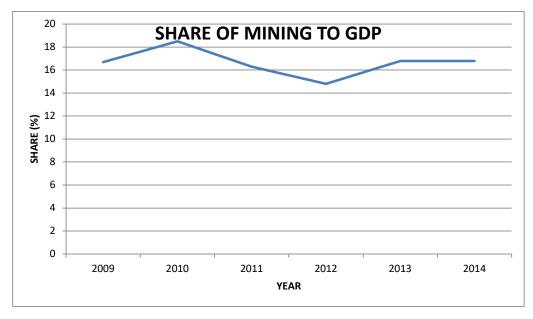


Figure 6: Share of Mining to GDP post the Global Financial Crisis

Source: Authors using data from Bank of Botswana statistics (various years)

In 2015, government introduced the Economic Stimulus Package (ESP), which has been received with mixed reactions from both economists and the general public (Tabane, 2015). ESP was introduced before the details were made clear by government but was launched on the 14th February 2016 at Machaneng village. There is also a contention that some of the ESP projects were awarded even before it was announced (Sunday Standard, 2015).

SUCCESSES, CHALLENGES AND WAY FORWARD

The share of mining seems to have been the major beneficiary to the downfall of the agricultural sector soon after independence. The sector's share grew from around two per cent at independence to a high of 46.7 per cent in 2003 before declining to the lowest level of 13.5 per cent in 2015. As the country diversified away from agriculture after independence it unfortunately undiversified into mining and in the process remained with a high dependence on the mining sector.

If the agricultural sector could have been transformed over time from a subsistence one to a more commercialised one, the country would most probably have transformed in the same manner consistent with that of the developed economies as espoused through the Lewis two sector model (Todaro & Smith, 2009). This would most probably have enabled the labour intensive agricultural sector to be both the source of employment in rural areas and an input sector into the developing industrial sector within urban centres. The neglect of this sector or the absence of well-targeted interventions, particularly for the arable sub-sector, as demonstrated by failures of programmes such as the Accelerated rain fed programme (ARAP), Arable Lands Development programme (ALDEP) and the on-going Integrated Support Programme for Arable Agriculture Development (ISPAAD) are testimony of the in-effectiveness of the intervention mechanisms.

Going forward into the 21st century, Botswana cannot only rely on the mineral sector to fuel economic growth. New areas of growth such as manufacturing, business and financial services and other non-mining activities ought to be nurtured. However, the country's problem with human capital, in particular the alleged mismatch of skills, is a likely barrier to the realization of a non-mining led economic development. World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Reports of 2012/2013 and 2014/2015, respectively paint gloomy pictures of Botswana's human capital; the reports point to a problem with Botswana's human resource. The 2012/13 report ranks Botswana in the 79th position out of 144 countries in terms of competitiveness (World Economic Forum, 2012: p. 13). The report commends Botswana for its reliable and transparent institutions but notes that the country's weaknesses continue to be related to its human resource base notably low productivity, and low quality of the education (World Economic Forum, 2012). The country's rankings improved to position 74 in the 2014/2015 report but notes that Botswana's education system presents an area of concern for a middle income country to transition to becoming an efficiencydriven economy; moreover, the report decries a poor work ethic in the national labour force and an inadequately educated workforce (World Economic Forum, 2014). The human capital problem ought to be effectively addressed in order for Botswana to survive in the highly competitive era of intensifying economic globalization. The golden age of natural resource dependency has passed therefore there is a need to focus on positioning the human resource as a source of economic growth; there is a need for a re-orientation of the mind-sets and attitudes, of the country's labour force and a re-alignment of the education system. This will require a coordinated effort to ensure effective coordination and management of the roles and contributions of the numerous different stakeholders in both the public, private and education sector (help to address skills mismatch).

CONCLUSION

Botswana's development has steadily evolved from the first phase of development which has predominantly been agrarian and steadily moved to the mineral lead economy. In recent years, the country has witnessed a volatile economy especially after the 2008 world economic slump where prices of diamonds plummeted drastically. Recently, that is, in 2015, government introduced the Economic Stimulus Package (ESP) in order to revive the economy and to deal with a backlog of projects that have been planned in the previous National Development Plans but could not be undertaken due lack of funds. ESP has been viewed by different actors as a viable strategy that can diversify the economy. One of the major changes in the award of ESP project is there will be a two tier system of evaluating the tenders by council and then the winners names will be sent to the ministry to check if they have not yet been allocated another ESP project. In this way, ESP projects will be fairly distributed.

As a developmental state, Botswana has been able to allocate and distribute its resources efficiently. This assertion does not mean Botswana is hundred per cent a model of a developmental state. Viewed within the context of Lewis two sector model, Botswana seems to have failed the industrialisation transformation process. The failure of the country to transform the agricultural sector is one of its major undoing which has led not only to limited diversification, but unemployment, inequality and poverty. In order to achieve diversification of the economy in the future, Botswana should be able to reduce drastically its dependence on minerals and beef export to start new projects that will contribute to the GDP. Botswana should ensure that it is self-reliant in food production, and that it can export its excess manpower to other countries. The development of arable agriculture, in particular horticultural production could help in the reduction of unemployment.

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CODE OF CONDUCT IN PROMOTING ETHICAL BEHAVIOUR OF PUBLIC SERVANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to determine the effectiveness of codes of conduct in promoting ethical behaviour of public servants in South Africa. Code of conduct is a written document which defines the ethical standards of an organisation. Currently, ethics are more important than ever to any department or organisation because public trust to governments had eroded. The public expects public servants to execute their public functions diligently and with integrity. Public servants are obliged to be consistent with applicable departmental laws, operational policies and procedures in execution of their departmental delegated responsibilities. The ethical behaviour of the South African public servants are guided by the Public Service Regulations of 2016, Prevention and Combating of Corruption Activities Act 12 of 2004 and Explanatory Manual on the Code of Conduct for the Public Service. This paper is conceptual and argues that unethical behaviour is the major cause of corruption.

Keywords: Ethics, Corruption, Codes of conduct, Public sector, Public servants

INTRODUCTION

Section 23 (1) of the Public Service Regulations, 2016 of South Africa, requires executive authorities to designate suitable qualified ethics officers in government departments to promote and advise on ethical behaviour. The designated ethics officers should also monitor unethical behaviour of departmental public servants and report their (departmental public servants) corrupt activities while section 23 (2) mandates the heads of departments to establish departmental ethics committees chaired by a Deputy Director General (DDG). The established departmental ethics committees must provide oversight and manage ethics in departments. In most instances, the ethical behaviour of public servants are guided by departmental codes of conduct. Codes of conduct in the public sector are: (a) mechanisms employed to inform and guide morality and discretion of public officials (b) written enforceable standards of conduct that do not undermine the compliance to code of conduct is one of the important characteristics of professionalism. Professionalism in Public Administration and Management equips public servants to exercise informed discretion more in circumstances in which rules and guidelines seem inadequate, conflicting or non-existence (Clapper 2014, pp. 7-9). Section 195(1)(a) of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 requires public administrators (public servants) in South Africa to promote and maintain high standard of professional ethics. Unfortunately, the South African government is overrun by corruption as reported by Mkhabela (2018, p.1). Corruption is one of the results of unethical behaviour of public servants (Fraser-Moleketi 2007, p. 335).

CORRUPTION AS A RESULT OF UNETHICAL BEHAVIOUR OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

Corruption is a universal problem which undermines growth and development by directing resources away from development programmes. This increases poverty, inequality and underdevelopment. The effects of corruption are harmful to developing countries in most instances. Achieving good governance and fighting corruption are amongst the most important challenges facing democratic countries in most instances (Department of Public Service and Administration 2008, p. 2). In 2002, the Department of Public Service and Administration (hereafter referred to as DPSA) developed the Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy. Fraud, abuse of power and conflict of interest are some of the common manifestations of corruption in South Africa. Fraud involves behaviour by a public servant, which normal mislead other public servants, people and any entity into providing a benefit that will not normally accrue to them (public servants, people and any entity). Abuse of power involves a public servant using his/her vested authority to improperly benefit another public servant, person or entity. For example, if during a tender process, the head of the department expresses his/her interest to see the tender contract awarded to a specific person. Conflict of interests involves situations where public servants act or fail to on a matter where the public servant has interest (Department of Public Service and Administration 2002, pp. 7-8).

CORRUPTION AS AN OBSTACLE TO GOVERNMENT'S EFFECTIVENESS IN DELIVERING PUBLIC SERVICES

There is a need to renew focus on ethics and measures to curb irregular government expenditure which results in corruption. Corruption is one of the key failures of government institutions (Makwetu 2017, p. 1). Some of the negative public service corruption consequences include: weakened service delivery, misdirection of public resources, inhibition of growth that is necessary to alleviate poverty and less trust by society in the public service (Webb 2005, p. 153). Section 13 (e) of the Public Service Regulations 2016, requires every public servant to immediately report to the relevant authority fraud, corruption, nepotism, maladministration and any other act which constitutes a contravention of any law which is prejudicial to the interest of the public when it comes to his/her attention during the course of his/her employment in the public service in order to prevent corruption and discourage unethical behaviours of public servants. Corruption is a critical threat to basic service delivery and good governance. It hampers development and impedes growth initiatives. It diverts resources from where they are needed and by so doing, it destroys good governance (Van Niekerk & Olivier 2012, p. 150).

Corruption is a governance challenge because it undermines good governance and good governance is a prerequisite of preventing and combating corruption. It is a societal problem that affects all sectors of society differently. It undermines the ability of state to meet its development objectives (Fraser-Moleketi 2007, pp. 335-337). This is asserted by Pityana (2010, pp. 1-2) who states that corruption prevents state from fulfilling its constitutional obligations, erodes the legitimacy of democratic government and subverts the rule of law and it needs to be understood as an unlawful arrangement between two or more parties, those who give and those who take in exchange for mutual beneficial favours and gains. However, it should be noted that governments promote their own national interests (political and commercial) through corrupt means. The common practice of this habit is heads of states being accompanied by business delegations on foreign in order to promote bilateral trade.

One of the purposes of the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Act 12 of 2004 is to provide for the strengthening of measures to prevent and combat corruption activities. The National Anti-Corruption Forum (NACF) brings together representatives from the public sector, private sector and civil society with the aim of identifying problems and advising government on how to counter corruption (Irwin 2011, p.11). Types of corruption include bribery which implies offering of varying amounts of money to secure a public tender or job in the public sector, embezzlement of funds and theft of resources, irregularities in procurement which includes conflicts of interests and nepostic appointments or flouting procurement processes and irregularities in employment such flouting of recruitment processes and creation of ghost posts (Corruption Watch 2017, p. 9). Corruption is fundamentally undemocratic, it undermines the legitimacy of credibility of democratically elected governments and of responsible and accountable civil servants (Fraser-Moleketi 2007, p. 332). In democratic countries, the state needs to take the lead in combating, preventing, managing, and eliminating corruption. Corruption destroys trust. It hurts many and benefits few. It inhibits the ability of government to respond to citizens' needs and to utilize scarce resources in the most efficient and effective manner. It takes resources away from priority areas such as health, education, social development (Fraser-Moleketi 2007, p. 332). It undermines democracy, weakens the developmental state and undermines responsibility, accountability and legitimacy (Fraser-Moleketi 2007, p. 333).

Corruption and changing public management practices are supposed to be influencing of public trust (Helmig 2016, p. 1384). The Anti-Corruption Inter-Ministerial Committee (ACIMC) was established in 2014 and mandated to coordinate and oversee the work of state organs in order to combat corruption in public and private sectors. The Anti-Corruption Task Team is a central body mandated to give effect to government's anti-corruption agenda and it is guided by the Anti-Corruption Inter-Ministerial Committee and Anti-Corruption Task Team Executive Committee. This a collective of government stakeholders mandated to implement government's anti-corruption agenda and programmes (Public Affairs Research Institute 2016:14). The National Anti-Corruption Strategy (NACS) Steering Committee members are the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA), Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME), Government Communication and Information Systems (GCIS), Public Service Commission (PSC), National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (NICOC), South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and the State Security Agency (SSA) (Public Affairs Research Institute 2016, p. 14).

SIGNIFANCE OF ETHICS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The fundamental purpose of government departments is to provide services that satisfy public needs. The public service more special in democratic countries is expected to be responsive to the needs of the people (Dorasamy 2010, pp. 056-057). The fundamental priority of the South African democratic government is to improve service delivery (Department of Public Service and Administration 2003, p. 2). Ethical considerations lie at the heart of the practice of Public Administration. The success of public administrators will largely be determined by how fully and consistently they (public administrators) respond to ethical imperatives of their occupants (Robson 2014, p. 18). Enhancing ethical behaviour improve service delivery. Some of the ethical issues include mismatch post appointments, lack of commitment to quality service delivery and conflict of interest

Ethical codes are instruments which direct the behaviour and conduct of public administrators. In Public Administration, they facilitate ethical behaviour and conduct by providing direction to what is expected from those to whom they apply can provide criteria for evaluating behaviour and conduct where necessary for instituting disciplinary from those to whom they apply action (Robson 2014, p. 23). According to the Department of Public Service and Administration (2017:16), all departments and government components should have established ethics committees. Enhancing ethical behaviour is a challenging task for public management (Helmig 2016, p. 1384). Government institutions are the major employers of public officials and they (government officials) should perform their jobs with high professional standard (Raligia & Odeku 2014, p. 118). Public morality should be of higher calibre because public employees carry out public trust. Many citizens want to know why there are so many violations of ethics in the public sector. Some of the answers include that: (a) public servants do not understand their oath of office (b) they do not know the ethical codes that govern their status as public servants (c) they do lack knowledge of ethical principles that enable them to make correct discretional decisions (d) some of them are from private sector or other professions where there are different or no codes of ethics at all (Sheeran 1993, p. 5).

Ethics distinguishes good from bad and assists human beings in choosing right from wrong as stated by Kliem (2012, p. 2). Ethics deals with an agreement on what is regarded as wrong or right by a group of people living together. This agreement serves as a guide of their (group of people) daily ethical behaviours (Babbie & Mouton 2011, p. 520). For example, every public servant in South Africa is expected to adhere to the provision of the Explanatory Manual on the Code of Conduct for the Public Service: A Practical Guide to Ethical Dilemmas in the Workplace booklet developed by the Public Service Commission in 2002. Section 195 (1) (a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 requires public administration to be of high standard of professional ethics that must be always promoted and maintained. Section 4.3.3 of the code of conduct for public servants, states that the public service is required to appoint personnel who irrespective of their political opinion or affiliation have the ability to render public services to the citizens among other services (Public Service Commission 2002, p. 26).

The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) provides training on the code of conduct for ward councillors and manuals are provided during training sessions. Ethics and compliance need to be collaborated closely because compliance focusses on laws and rules while ethics is a system of accepted beliefs that control behaviour based on morals. There are different factors that contribute to shaping ethical values in society and business/ organisation. Understanding what people and society value, impacts on employees' behaviour is the key that ethics and compliance have (Groenewald & Donde 2017, pp. 10-11). Ethics are regarded as moral principles that inform

and guide individual and group behaviour and bring people to share a set of values and are important in the in governments' operations. Good ethics management framework having four (4) functions should be developed (Office of the Auditor General of British Columbia 2017, p. 12). Institutions need to develop frameworks having four ethical functions and activities that will serve as a guide on how officials must always behave unethically. The set ethics framework functions should be well communicated to employees. The ethics framework functions and the activities that institutions should execute under each function are tabulated below.

Table 1: Ethics Framework Functions and the activities

Ethics Framework functions	Activities
Setting ethics expectations	Institutions need to develop a formal code of conduct. The developed formal code must be easy to understand so that officials can implement if effectively. The ethical conduct expectations for the public servants based on values of the institution should be clearly stated. Policies and procedures that guide the desired conduct should be clearly stated in order for the public servants to meet the institutional set ethics expectations.
Communicating and fostering ethics	Employees will easily understand what is expected of them and try to meet the expectations if they are assisted to understand their obligations trough training or be allowed to consult someone they trust to get assistance on ethical issues, allowed to work with leaders who model strong ethical behaviours and communicate ethics as a priority through formal and inform conversations and actions.
Enforcing ethical conduct	Employers must identify possible ways that officials might misbehave, adopt effective policies and procedures to prevent, detect and discipline unethical conduct, regularly monitors its system of controls for effectiveness including asking employees for feedback.
Coordinating and managing ethics	Employees will behave ethically if institutions coordinate and manage their ethics initiatives effectively. Institutions should have clearly assigned responsibility and accountability for providing oversight of the ethics framework functions. Develop strategies to support, promote and renew ethical culture and implement the developed strategies in a coordinated way. Institutions should also evaluate and report on the effectiveness of ethics engagement.

Source: Office of the Auditor General of British Columbia and tabulated by the author, 2018

THE IMPORTANCE OF CODES OF CONDUCT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SECTOR

Code of conduct in the South African context, means rules that translate ideals and values into everyday practices. Values are commonly held beliefs that guide judgement about what is good and proper and from which ethical principles they derive. Conduct is the actual behaviour and actions (Department of Public Service and Administration 2003, p. 2). Chapter 2, part 2 of the Public Service Regulations 2016, provides for the code of conduct for public servants in South Africa in order to guide their (public servants) ethical behaviour. Ethical dilemmas are caused by obscured rules, conflicting responsibilities and tension between responsibilities and personal needs or desires (Clapper 2014, p. 4). Code of conduct is one of the important ethical constructs in Public Administration and Management. Codes of conduct in the public sector are: (a) mechanisms employed to inform and guide morality and discretion of public officials in execution responsibilities (b) written enforceable standards of conduct that do not undermine the compliance to code of conduct is one of the important characteristics of professionalism (Clapper 2014, pp. 5 & 8). Codes of conduct are written list of principles or rules that guide conduct

and set guidelines for the behaviour of members of a particular profession in most instances (Office of the Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2012, pp. 10 & 12)

Code of conduct is one of the elements of good anti-corruption strategy and good management practices in South African public sector. Other good anti-corruption strategy and good management practices in South African public sector public sector include modern employment practices such as, financial disclosures, fair procurement and progressive disciplinary system (Department of Public Service and Administration 2002, pp. 6-7). Strategic consideration 5 of the anti-corruption strategy requires management to develop improved anti-corruption management policies and practices because management must be held accountable for preventing corruption and this must be stipulated in their service agreements (Department of Public Service and Administration 2002, p. 16). Code of conduct stipulates conduct that officials are barred from engaging in such as conduct relating to corruption and misuse of official office for private gains. Other provisions of code of conduct include financial disclosure by senior public servants and rules governing the acceptance of gifts (Naidoo 2017, p. 74). Ethics codes have been used as a catalyst to build modern public administration system. Public administrators must form part of a professional standards because professionalism is found in the public service in most instances (Gilman 2005, p. 20). Ethical values include integrity, honestly, respect and accountability (Groenwald 2016, p. 14). Codes of conduct promote public trust and confidence in the public servants. Ethical performance of public servants reduces the unethical behaviour of public servants among other things (Webb 2005, pp. 158-159). Some of the benefits of code of conduct include improved accountability and promoting professionalism (Office for the Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 2012, p. 36).

THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION HOTLINE (NACH) AS AN ETHICAL TOOL TO CURB CORRUPTION IN SOUTH AFRICA'S PUBLIC SECTOR

According to the Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy, there are various types of corruption include bribery, embezzlement, extortion, insider trading or abuse of privileged information, favouritism, and nepotism. Bribery involves promise, offering or giving of benefit that improperly affects the actions or decisions of a public servant. Embezzlement involves theft of resources by people entrusted with the authority and control of resources. Fraud involves actions or behaviour by a public servant that mislead other people into providing a benefit that would not normally benefit the public servant. Extortion involves coercing a person or entity to provide a benefit a public servant or another person or entity in exchange for failing to act in a particular manner. Favouritism involves provision of services according to personal affiliations. Nepotism involves ensuring that family members are appointed to the public service. Insider trading or abuse of privileged information involves using of privileged information and knowledge a public servant possesses as a result of his/her office to unfair advantage to another person to obtain a benefit (DPSA 2000, pp. 7-8).

Departments should build ethical organisational cultures in order for the anti-corruption strategy to be successful (The Presidency 2016, p. 45). Fighting corruption is a joint effort and all role players should be actively involved if desired results are to be obtained. The National Anti-Corruption Hotline (hereafter referred to as NACH) was established in 2004 as one of the efforts of dealing with corruption produced by unethical behaviour of public servants in South Africa. The cabinet mandated the Public Service Commission (PSC) to manage it. The success of the NACH largely depends on the extent to which departments investigate the cases referred to them by the by PSC and the action taken to those are guilty. For the effective management of NACH, corruption cases must be reported to NACH managed by the Public Service Commission (Public Service Commission 2011, p. 29). The NACH was outsourced by the PSC but currently, it is managed internally. The Department of Public Service and Administration supports the NACH by reporting suspected fraud and corruption (Department of Public Service and Administration 2016).

In 1999, the South African Financial Disclosure Framework was established. This framework is currently incorporated with the Public Service Regulations of 2016 which had replaced the Public Service Regulations of 2001 (PSC 2017, p. 7). The South African Financial Disclosure Framework is regards as a necessary step to safeguarding the confidence that the public has for the public service officials. This framework requires all members of the Senior Management Service (SMS) in the public service to disclose all their registrable interests annually to their Executive Authorities (EAs). The Executive Authorities (EAs) are required to submit copies of the financial disclosure forms

to the PSC by 31 May of each year. However, an eDisclosure system was introduced during 2013/2014 financial year. This provides the SMS members with an option of either submitting their financial disclosure forms manually or through the eDisclosure system. The PSC uses the forms after receiving them to determine potential or actual conflicts of interest. The PSC checks declaration of directorships and partnerships in companies and ownership of properties. Information relating to the involvement of SMSs in companies and partnerships assisted the PSC in establishing whether an SMS member is involved in private business activities that may be regarded as potential conflicts of interest or actual conflict of interest. The PSC verifies the received financial disclosure information using the Companies and Intellectual Property Commission (CIPC) and the Deeds Registry. The verified information assists the PSC to detect if properties are being used for business purposes or not (PSC 2017, p. v). However, it is unfortunate because according to the PSC, the framework is not fully implemented by departments despite the PSC's several interventions. There is little progress regarding feedback from EAs. Failure to fully implement this framework undermines the promotion of professional ethics as stated in section 195 (1)(a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. In view of this failure, the PSC is of the view that the National Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures should monitor and ensure that EAs comply with the Financial Disclosure Framework. In addition, management of conflicts is an integral part in public service's initiatives to become ethically driven among other things. Furthermore, compliance with the framework should not be seen as purely a mandatory requirement but as an ethical obligation of each senior manager in the public sector (PSC 2017, p. vii). It should be noted that section 30 of the Public Service Act 103 of 1994 prohibits public servants in South Africa to conduct remunerated work outside the public service (RWOPS) and EAs should be always vigilant of such conduct in order to promote professional ethics. EAs must apply the provisions of this section (30 of the Public Service Act 103 of 1994) in conjunction of the provisions of the Public Service Regulations 2016.

In 2001, the Protected Disclosures Act 26 of 2000 came into effect. One of its main purposes is to detect wrongdoing in the workplace and acting as an early warning mechanism to prevent corruption within the public sector as a result of unethical behaviour of the public servants. This Act is one of the resolutions taken at the National Anti-Corruption Summit in 1999. It was suggested during this summit that development and implementing of whistle-blowing mechanisms which include measures to protect persons from victimisation if the they expose corruption and unethical practices. Whistle-blowing: implies raising a concern about malpractices or unethical behaviour within an institution (b) it is a key tool for promoting individual responsibility and organisational accountability (c) enables employers to find out if there are things that are not going well within the organisation and take necessary action. Whistle-blowing had been promoted by the PSC through provincial workshops and had been recognised as an important corruption prevention tool by various government institutions (Public Service Commission 2001, pp.1-4). However, one of the concerns of the PSC is the slow rate of feedback from departments. Some of the causes of the slow rate of feedback are the lack of investigative capacity of departments, lack of accountability by senior managers to deal with NACH cases referred to their departments and intimidation of departmental whistle blowers and investigators by senior officials or Executive Authorities (Public Service Commission 2011, pp. x-xi).

Sebola (2014, p. 303) is of the view that ethical prescripts and codes set for public servants have little impact on their compliance (public servants do not comply with ethical prescripts and codes of conduct). Lack of transparency in public budgeting might be the starting point for financial manipulation by officials (Ngwake 2012, p. 316). Conflict of interests is one of the ethical issues. This is attested by Naidoo (2017, p. 76), corruption is one of the ethical and administrative transgressions which make up financial misconduct. The procurement function is severely affected most by corruption. Public procurement is one of the most serious areas of unethical procurement practices. Unethical procurement practices prohibit the public sector from obtaining goods and services at the lowest possible tariffs and unethical procurement practices should be controlled (Mazibuko 2017, pp. 107). The financial disclosure framework should be used as one of the mechanisms to curb unethical procurement practices. Hotline is one of the ethics interventions or one of the corruption reporting mechanisms. The above discussed NACH is one of them. Ethical values include integrity, honestly, respect and accountability (Groenwald 2016, p. 14). The Presidential Hotline was established in 2009 as a service for the members of the public to raise their concerns about the services they receive from government departments and agencies (The Presidency, 2009:1). The author was unable to source information on the current report of this hotline.

CONCLUSION

The democratic government of South Africa had put several mechanisms in place to promote ethical behaviour of public servants with the aim of promoting professional ethics. Departments are expected to have code of conduct in order to promote ethical behaviour among other things. Should public servants behave ethically as stated in their departmental codes of conduct, the South African democratic government should not be overrun by corruption as stated by Mkhabela (2018, p.1). Strategic consideration 5 of the anti-corruption strategy requires management to develop improved anti-corruption management policies and practices because management must be held accountable for preventing corruption and this must be stipulated in their service agreements. Section 23 (1) of the Public Service Regulations, 2016 of South Africa, requires executive authorities to designate suitable qualified ethics officers in government departments to promote and advise on ethical behaviour. Public servants can use the NACH to report unethical behaviour of their colleagues and they must be protected as whistle blowers. Some of the benefits of code of conduct include improved accountability and promoting professionalism. Departments must establish departmental ethics committees in order to promote professional ethics.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Senior managers in the public sector must submit the financial disclosure forms so that the PSC can detect if there is a conflict of interest in their behavioural activities. Conflict of interests is one of the unethical behaviours of the South African public servants. In view of this, Executive Authorities must submit the received financial disclosure forms before 31 May of each year as required by the PSC. The view of the PSC that the National Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures should monitor and ensure that EAs comply with the Financial Disclosure Framework should be promoted so that professional ethics is promoted. Public servants must comply with their departmental codes of conducts. Public servants must report any unethical behaviour to the NACH so that the identified unethical behaviour can be investigated. Corrupt activities must be avoided because it (corruption) has negative consequences on the citizens and the country as a whole.

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THE EFFECTS OF THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG'S WATER AND ELECTRICITY BILLING SYSTEM ON RESIDENTS

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the effects of the inconsistent water and electricity billing on the residents of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. Firstly, the article examines the current situation pertaining to the municipality's billing processes. Secondly, the article explores whether the challenges emanate from the billing system or the workforce of the municipal owned entities which are City Power and Johannesburg Water. Thirdly, it examines the factors affecting residents regarding incorrect billing of services. Fourthly, the article takes a closer look at the legislative framework for the municipalities billing systems. It will also analyse the relationship between the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council's Contact Centres and the Municipal Owned Entities. The article will outline municipal services, electricity services, water and sanitation services, elements of municipalities billing systems and the City of Johannesburg billing system. It is the responsibility of the Municipalities to ensure accuracy and consistency regarding the water and electricity metre readings. The article will adopt the use of published material and local government legislation. Lastly, the article concludes by recommending ways that the municipality should adopt before disconnecting residents' water and electricity supplies.

Keywords: Local Government, Municipal Billing System, Electricity, Water and Sanitation services

INTRODUCTION

Local government is one of three spheres of government in South Africa. In April 1991 the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber was formed as a "people-based" negotiating forum prior to holding a democratic election and the formation of a new administration for the Johannesburg area. Following the 1993 "Local Government Transition Act" the Greater Johannesburg Negotiating Forum was created and this forum in September 1994 reached an agreement which entailed regrouping the suburbs into new municipal structures, the metropolitan local councils (MLCs) and the overarching Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council also known as the "Transitional Metropolitan Council" for the city (Encyclopedia Wikipedia, 2018, p.2).

The government of Johannesburg's metropolitan area evolved over a seven-year period from 1993, when no metropolitan government existed under apartheid to the establishment in December 2000 of today's Metropolitan Municipality. An "interim phase" commenced with the 1993 Constitution. This saw the establishment at the metropolitan level of the Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC) and several urban-level councils under and neighbouring the TMC. In February 1997 the final constitution replaced the interim constitution and its transitional councils with the final system of local government which defined the current category A, B and C municipalities. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality was created accordingly as a category A municipality, giving it exclusive executive and legislative power over its area (Encyclopedia Wikipedia, 2018, p.2).

THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

In terms of Chapter 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Republic of South Africa), Section 152.1 it is evident that municipalities do not comply with the legislative requirements regarding service delivery. Section 152.1 states that the objects of local government are to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner and to promote social and economic development. According to Mazibuko (2013, p.17) in the past, the municipalities were confined to a small geographical area that was manageable. As these municipalities were expanded and the new demarcation included the rural areas and informal settlements which were previously not part of the system, the existing systems could not cope with the challenges that they faced. To this end, the new demarcations have changed the whole scenario and as such a large part of the rural areas and informal settlements have been incorporated into the new set-up and this has an impact on the consolidated billing systems. The state of affairs has an effect on the management of customers for effective billing systems and customer relations. The community problems are not handled or respected and responded to the communities as customers of the municipalities. In the light hereof, the purpose of this study is to seek answers to the above matters. The research problem therefore is that the municipal bills sent to are incorrect and inaccurate. As a result, public confidence declined and communities are unwilling to pay for the incorrect or inaccurate bills issued.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK ON MUNICIPAL SERVICE DELIVERY

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, did not only create local government, but also set out its objectives in various pieces of legislation. These regulate different areas of local government including the establishment and development of municipalities, administration and financial management in municipalities and service delivery. Firstly, the Constitution of South Africa is the supreme law in the land. Any law or conduct that is in conflict with the Constitution is invalid. All obligations that are imposed by the Constitution, including those on local government, must be fulfilled. Chapter 7of the Constitution deals with local government and sets out its overall objectives (Corruption Watch, 2014, p.1).

Legislation also empowers communities to get involved in the affairs of local government and creates a responsibility on municipalities to foster this engagement. Communities are legally allowed to play an important role in the running of their municipalities, but too often they are not aware about their rights and responsibilities in this regard. Various pieces of legislation that are relevant to local government are discussed in detail. Secondly the Municipal Systems Amendment, 2011, Act is part of a legislative series that aims to empower local government to fulfil its constitutional objectives. The Act sets out the core principles, mechanisms and processes that are necessary for municipalities to function. It defines the legal nature of a municipality and the manner in which municipal powers and functions are to be exercised in terms of community participation, by providing for methods that councils must use to engage communities, performance management in municipalities, municipal services, municipal entities, public administration and human resources in municipalities and credit control and debt collection in municipalities.

Thirdly the Municipal Finance Management Act 56, 2003 (MFMA) applies to all municipalities and municipal entities. The MFMA provides for the management of the financial affairs within a municipality by describing the processes relating to municipal budgeting, spending and financial accountability. Lastly, the Municipal Property Rates Act 27, 2000, describes the processes that municipal councils must follow when setting their property rates and taxes. The Act regulates property rates and also sets out a uniform national framework for the levying of property rates by municipalities (Corruption Watch, 2014, p.1).

Local government is vested with the authority to enact By-laws. Municipal by-laws are no different to any other law in the country and they can be enforced with penalties challenged in court and must comply with other laws such as the Constitution. People who do not comply with by-laws can be charged with a criminal offence. A by-law is passed if it has a favourable vote from the majority of the municipal council. Before passing a by-law, a municipal council must give the community an opportunity to review and comment on the by-law. By-laws regulate the affairs and the services that a municipality provides in its area of jurisdiction. (Corruption Watch, 2014, p.1).

MUNICIPAL SERVICES

Post-apartheid South Africa faces a major challenge in ensuring that municipalities provide optimal services to residents of heterogeneous cultures. In post-apartheid South Africa, access to effective public services is no longer seen as an advantage enjoyed by only a privileged few in the community but as a legitimate right of all residents, particularly those who were previously disadvantaged. This stance emphasizes "service to the people" as parameter for local government transformation. Thus, one of the most important indicators in assessing the transformation of local government is the experiences and perceptions people have of service delivery in their day-to-day lives, more specifically whether they perceive an improvement in the services delivered to them. The implication of this is for local government to transform words into deeds and thus to prioritize and satisfy the needs of the communities they service (Pretorious and Schurink, 2007, p.19).

Municipalities render services to meet the basic needs of citizens. Such services include water supply, sewage collection, electricity supply, municipal health services, road and storm water drainage, street lighting and municipal parks and recreation. However, the City of Cape Town as a metropolitan, along with five others provides more functions and at a municipal level provides housing budgets as well. Constitutionally, South Africa has one of the most advanced local government systems anywhere in the world. Yet service delivery challenges remain apparent. Therefore, despite the existence of a highly progressive constitution, laws and electoral democracy, violent social movement discontent has been rising to the extent that some analysts have labelled South Africa as the "protest capital of the world" (Bohler-Muller et al, 2016, p.4).

ELECTRICITY, WATER AND SANITATION SERVICES

Electricity Services

Although ESKOM is responsible for the generation and bulk transmission of electricity, Schedule 4B of the Constitution (1996) allocates the authority to distribute electricity to municipalities in their areas of jurisdiction subject to legislation and regulation by national and provincial government. The Municipal Systems Act as amended (Act No.32 of 2000) establishes municipalities as service authorities and introduces a distinction between authority and provider. While the authority function includes the development of policies, drafting by-laws, setting tariffs and regulating the provision of services in terms of the by-laws and other mechanisms the service provider undertakes the actual service provision function.

The Electricity Regulation Act (Act No. 4 of 2006, as amended) states that persons operating an electricity distribution facility must have a licence to do so. The National Energy Regulator of South Africa (NERSA) has licensed a total of 188 distributors, including 6 metropolitan municipalities, 2 metropolitan electricity service providers (City Power and Centlec), 105 local municipalities, 1 district (uMkhanyakude District Municipality), 13 private distributors and Eskom. Although all municipalities with a NERSA distribution licence are electricity service authorities this licence does not confer service authority status as this can only be done by the minister responsible for local government. According to the Municipal Structures Act (Act No. 117 of 1998, as amended) the responsibility to distribute electricity is allocated to a district municipality unless a local municipality is authorised to do so by the national minister responsible for local government. Many municipalities consequently fail to make payments to ESKOM for the electricity delivered to households in its jurisdiction leading to an accumulation of debt and threats by ESKOM to start cutting off electricity to municipalities. This would have far-reaching consequences for residential and commercial entities. Electricity distribution is a major source of revenue for municipalities as the Municipal Fiscal Powers and Functions Act allows municipalities to levy a surcharge on electricity tariffs even if it is provided by Eskom. Failure to provide electricity to residents can therefore have serious financial implications for municipalities. Alternative sources of energy should be considered when it is not practical or cost-effective to connect all households to the national grid, such as in rural areas where solar panels could be more cost-effective. The responsibility to distribute electricity to consumers is shared between municipalities and Eskom. This creates a situation where different areas in the same municipality could receive services from different service providers. (Statistics South Africa 2016, p.71).

The provision of electricity can contribute significantly to the improvement of human quality of life. In addition to providing a host of social benefits, access to electricity could also stimulate local economic development. Local governments play an important role in the distribution of electricity and electricity is an important source of local

government funding, particularly for larger urban municipalities. Although significant progress has been made since 1994 with the provision of electricity, significant challenges remain. (Statistics South Africa, 2016, p.67).

Water and Sanitation services

The White paper on basic household sanitation emphasises the provision of a basic level of household sanitation to those areas with the greatest need. It focuses on the safe disposal of human waste in conjunction with appropriate health and hygiene practices. The key to this White Paper is that provision of sanitation services should be demand driven and community based with a focus on community participation and household choice. The Strategic Framework for Water Services (2003) is committed to provide basic sanitation facilities that: are safe, reliable, private, protected from the weather and ventilated; keeps smells to a minimum; is easy to keep clean; minimises the spread of sanitation-related diseases by facilitating appropriate control of disease-carrying flies and pests and enables safe and appropriate treatment and removal of human waste and waste water in an environmentally sound manner.

In terms of basic sanitation services, the framework aims to ensure that sanitation facilities are easily accessible to households and sustainable, including the safe removal of human waste and wastewater from the premises where this is appropriate and necessary. Services should also advance the communication of good sanitation, hygiene and related practices. The Constitution commits the national and provincial governments to monitor and regulate the performance of municipalities with respect to the functions listed in Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution (Statistics South Africa, 2016, p.34).

Electricity services rendered by City Power

City Power Was established in 2000 as an independent municipal entity, wholly owned by the City of Johannesburg. City Power Johannesburg (SOC) Ltd (City Power) is the electricity distribution service provider of the City of Johannesburg. It purchases, distributes and sells electricity within its geographical footprint. City Power provides quality service delivery through an electricity network that guarantees both sustainable living and enabling support that drives economic growth. City Power promotes optimal management of the City's electricity network and encourages careful consideration for the environment. Its activities are based on a strong commitment to sound financial management and governance. The entity is well positioned to achieve sound financial management, efficient systems and processes, pursuit of sustainable additional revenue streams and capital efficiency. To accomplish these goals, it engages all relevant stakeholders and responds to stakeholder needs with a productive workforce, while maintaining a functioning electricity network in the City.

City Power successfully executed a number of service delivery initiatives and projects in the 2016/17 financial year. (City of Johannesburg annual Report, 2016/2017, p.47)

Water Services rendered by Johannesburg Water

Johannesburg Water (JW) was incorporated as a private company on 20 November 2000 and started operating as a business on 1 January 2001 (which was prior to the commencement of the Municipal Systems Act and the MFMA although feasibility studies were done in respect of all the utilities and corporate entities prior to establishment). Johannesburg Water entered into the following two contracts with the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC): A Sale of Business Agreement in terms of which the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council transferred its water and sanitation assets and over 2,500 employees to Johannesburg Water. Johannesburg Water paid the City R1.5 billion paid for its water and sanitation assets. A thirty year Service Delivery Agreement which provided inter alia that initially 60 per cent of the City's customers would be transferred from the City to JW in order to enable JW to carry out meter reading, pre-edits of billing, credit control and revenue collection functions. Johannesburg Water was set up to be a Water Services Provider to the GJMC; hence its mission was to provide all people of Johannesburg with access to quality water and sanitation. (SALGA, 2011, p.2).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITY OF JOHANNES CONTACT CENTRE, CITY POWER AND JOBURG WATER

The City offers a single point of telephonic contact for all citizens in Johannesburg in order to streamline its service to customers. The contact centre handles all queries for the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council Owned Entities such as City Power and Johannesburg Water. The residents and businesses make suggestions, comments and complaints via the Contact Centre. If a call is not logged a call with the call centre or Service centre and a reference

number is not received the query will not receive any attention by the relevant department and resolution will not take place. In the event that a call cannot be handled at first point of contact a service ticket will be logged for the appropriate department's resolution. A reference number will be given to the caller which enables him or her to follow up on progress on the service ticket to finality. The call centre operates on daily basis and all calls are recorded for both training or coaching purposes. The call centre is the main delivery channel for customer service. The City of Johannesburg believes that establishing a call centre was a reflection of its commitment and to care of its staff and customers. (Joburg Call Centre, 2018.p 1).

The City of Johannesburg had functions similar to those done by a call centre, but they were fragmented and disjointed. The single call centre aimed to centralise and formalise those functions into a sophisticated call centre that strived for service performance and organisational efficiency. City Power is currently utilising the City of Johannesburg Call Centre for logging of complaints, queries and technical problems (City Power Business plan 2017-2021, 2018, p.30).

The Advantages of a Call Centre

The Call Centre consists of one number that serves all inquiries and improves service delivery. Customer queries and complaints are properly and promptly addressed, and action is taken to solve queries and eliminate public complaints. A multi-functional call-handling process has been put into place, with target response times. It ensures that standards are set for key activities related to the call centre that can then be measured. Plans have been put in place to achieve and maintain targets. An efficient process has been developed to manage call centre internal relationships with other business areas and to identify, review and resolve issues as they arise. Lastly, it enables forecasting and business planning to manage the effect of activity on the operations (Joburg Call Centre, 2018, p.1).

The Call Centre Is Divided into Two Specialist Departments

The first department is Emergency Connect which is a 24-hour emergency services call centre where appropriately qualified call centre agents take calls relating to all life-threatening emergencies and from where dispatchers send out appropriate response vehicles, namely ambulances, fire engines, rescue vehicles and metro police. The second one is Care Connect which deals primarily with all general inquiries for public service providers such as querying accounts, billing, meter readings, water, electricity, roads, Metro bus, refuse, traffic fines, and so on. It is a customer relations call centre. A single contact number is used to assist the public with queries relating to municipal services and all Municipal Owned Entities (Joburg Call Centre, 2018, p.1).

ELEMENTS OF MUNICIPAL BILLING SYSTEM

The impact of the municipal billing system on revenue collection, the spheres of government and sector departments as a collective can play a critical role to ensure that the principles of the municipal billing system impact positively on revenue collection. Management and user structures governing the municipal billing systems and those principles are referred to as doctrines of the municipal billing systems (Mazibuko, 2013, p.121).

The assessment and billing of taxes and other revenue are the two most important tasks faced by local governments in their daily operations. The inability of a municipality to successfully accomplish these tasks can reduce the amount of revenue available to finance its activities and provide services to residents in an orderly manner. There are a number of system processes that need to be adhered to with regard to the finalisation of billing cycles and they are outlined below as follows:

• Master data

For the purposes of accurate billing information, the master data needs to be entered only once when the consumer connection is added into the database. This data is relatively static in nature and does not change periodically. Various data items which need to be stored are consumer number, name of consumer, address, type of use, type of consumer, tap size, data of connection, details of feeder line, locality, house number, water connection number, number of taps, number of families, meter make, meter number, first reading, ownership of meter and deposit amount;

• Data for each billing cycle

Data for each billing cycle will be entered for every consumer for every cycle and will be used to calculate the demand of that billing cycle (Bell, 2005, p.182). Various data items which need to be stored are consumer number, data of meter reading or period for which billed status of the connection and any changes in master data;

• Receipt data

Receipt data is the data related to the payments made by the consumer against the bill issued. This data is entered on a daily basis irrespective of the billing frequency. Various data items which need to be stored are consumer number, date of receipt, receipt number, details of the collection centre and cash or cheque. If cheque: cheque number, bank branch, part payment or adhoc payment or deposit and account head for posting. If incorrectly entered, the municipal billing system can impact negatively on revenue collection and the consumers' records corrupted and leading to disputes; and

• Information Technology (IT) security

IT security has an impact on the municipal billing system and therefore on revenue collection. IT security plays a pivotal role in terms of securing the municipal billing system as an application and the potential revenue to be collected. The municipal billing system has to be tightly secured to prevent external users accessing the information of taxpayers. Many information policies in municipalities fail because they do not consider the importance of people as a key part of policy and it is not enough to focus on information technology itself.

CITY OF JOHANNESBURG WATER AND ELECTRICITY BILLING SYSTEM

According to Mazibuko (2013, p.156) the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is the biggest municipality in South Africa. The metropolitan municipality endeavors to plan for its municipal billing system to satisfy the municipal billing requirements and standards, however, the taxpayers are still not happy about the incorrect and inaccurate bills which are generated by the billing systems. The arrangement of the municipal billing system in the Metropolitan financial governance is discussed in the following sections.

According to the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan, Municipality, every month the city sends out over a million accounts to all its residents, charging for electricity and water supplies, waste collection, and property taxes, more commonly known as rates. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is expected to be self-funding and municipal revenue is raised from three main sources: electricity and water provision and property rates. This income is used to pay for a wide range of public services from the maintenance of roads and traffic control, to providing public parks, libraries, clinics, recreation centres and other similar services for the public. All property owners, both those who own freehold properties and sectional title holders, must pay rates. These are a city tax based on the market value of properties, which are recorded in the general valuation roll (Mazibuko, 2013, p.156).

The above is outlined in the city's rates policy, which is based on the Municipal Property Rates Act (MPRA), (6/2004):

- (i) Property rates: Rates are payable monthly and as a property owner, consumers should make sure that the city has his or her current postal address so that the owner receives his or her account on time. Even if the owner does not receive a statement, he or she is still liable to pay his or her rates.
- (ii) Sectional title holders: Sectional title holders receive individual rates accounts, with domestic refuse and sewerage charges also directly billed against the sectional title holder. In the past, these services were billed against the body corporate or the managing agent.

Accounts for water and electricity: accounts for water and electricity are still billed to the bodies corporate. To ensure that the client receives his or her bills on time, he or she should ensure that the city has the correct postal address (Mazibuko, 2013, p.156).

THE CHALLENGES OF THE BILLING SYSTEM IN THE CITY OF JOHANNESSBURG

According to the City Power Business Plan 2017- 2021, 2018, p.30) non-technical losses define lost or uncollected revenues relating to the incomplete and inaccurate customer billing and poor management of metering operations in

the distribution network. As a result, non-technical losses may be considered to be revenue losses due to the theft of electricity and inability to measure customer energy consumption accurately for billing. The following are common factors that contribute to non-technical losses:

- Illegal Connections: Energy theft such as in non-proclaimed/ informal settlement, own connections before the meter or tampering with the meter to bypass readings dials. Illegal connections are compounded by the inherited challenge from Eskom of poor customer addresses and meter locations managed. This challenge also created a scenario where "ghost" prepaid vending became possible;
- Bypassed Meters: Emergency calls out after hours, often result in power restorations where a customer's
 meter is bypassed, and the necessary meter change-out does not happen. This is caused by lack of job card
 data which electricians do not close, in order to enable metering operation to replace the bypassed meter;
- **Meter Tampering:** Meter tampering is often a problem with prepaid customers that do not have split meters. Customers on AMR meters are also known to tamper with the communications modules by stealing sim cards or removing fuses on meters. The result is an online meter that can be detected, but does not transmit customers' consumption data, due to communication failure;
- Poor management of meter installations and maintenance: Meter installations and trouble-shooting conducted by poorly skilled technicians often results in situations where a meter detected as online, but the necessary configurations, especially for AMR and Prepaid are not which leads to failure in communication to transmit meter data, or failure in vending;
- Poor maintenance of customer data (Addresses, account Number, etc.): Lack of customer data quality
 management and associated system updates leads to various challenges as follows: o Un-located addresses
 for manual read meters: Inability to respond swiftly to detected energy theft and inability to fast-track
 maintenance of meter change out for customers who logged queries. Poor data capturing of meter readings:
 Meter readers often capture data that throws exception during the validation phase. Some of these errors are
 not resolve within the meter reading window and therefore impact on accurate billing of customers. Meter
 readers must face penalties for poor data capturing.
- Inaccurate and incomplete billing of customers: Inaccurate and incomplete billing tends to promote the culture of non-payment with disgruntled customers. Inefficient management of meters or not fulfilling work orders often leads to customers been billed on estimates rather than actual consumption. There are cases where customers on prepaid are still billed and invoiced for some time after they have been converted to prepay. Inaccurate billing is a major contributor for customers having negative sentiments about the organisation; and
- Corruption and fraud on the side of utility or distributor's employees: A number of City Power employees and electricians have been in the past found to be guilty of illegally connecting customers, where employees have willfully swopped registered meters for unregistered ones. Proper processes and controls must be introduced that dictate meter handling and issues at stores (City Power Business Plan 2017- 2021, 2018.p.30).

The employees of City Power and Johannesburg Water contribute to the abovementioned challenges because they are not competent enough to execute their duties. It is therefore deduced that the Technology and the SAP software are not the root causes of the billing challenges. Poor record keeping by City Power and Johannesburg Water is one of the major challenges of the Municipal Owned Entities.

THE EFFECTS OF BILLING CRISIS ON RESIDENTS

It is estimated that the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council received 15 000 new complaints each month. In March 2017, the City of Johannesburg had 44 000 queries which were still in the process to be resolved. The number increased because of constant incorrect estimations of electricity and water consumption, which are often estimated by meter readers. The municipality wrote off R8 billion debts in 2015 which were non-traceable. Incorrect data capturing and poor record keeping are the major problems within the Municipality Owned Entities (Cox, 2017, p.1).

There is inaccuracy and inconsistency regarding the property valuation system. During the property valuation the city filed 60 000 objections against the service providers. There are thousands of property owners whose properties are undervalued, and they are paying less. As soon as they are traced they will be expected to pay the rates according to the value of the properties. It was alleged that that many commercial properties, including upmarket shopping

centres were undervalued to the value of R1 billion. The incorrect valuations will be rectified by increased number of valuators and by establishing frequent supplementary valuation rolls (Cox, 2017, p.1).

According to Cox (2017, p.1) it was indicated that there were thousands of customers, mostly commercial; who were not billed by the municipality to the value of R5 billion. The municipality endeavour to appoint the billing task team that will assist to identify properties which are not billed. It will consist of team members responsible for verification. The process is inevitable because it is estimated that out of 150 properties only 120 properties are billed. The customer information is gathered from City Power, Johannesburg Water and the development planning department not accurate.

The municipality intends moving meter readings away from City Power and Johannesburg Water and centralise the function in the finance department to ensure accuracy and consistency. The disconnections and reconnections department will also form part of the municipal's finance department (Cox, 2017, p. 1).

According to the city by-laws, electricity readings can be estimated only for three months and water for six months. Residents are getting incorrect estimates which results into in unrealistic readings. The Customer Care Centre is currently weak and there is a need to train and develop staff. The presentation of invoices is another weakness of the municipality. The municipality is not using the best accounting practices and as a result of that residents cannot understand their accounts because they are complex. The municipality underestimated the amount of work needed to fix the billing crisis. It was assumed that it would take about six months and the real estimation is between 18 to 24 months (Cox, 2017, p.1).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This article focused on the effects of the inconsistent water and electricity billing on the residents of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. The article examined the current situation pertaining to the municipality's billing processes. The article took a closer look at the legislative framework for the municipalities billing systems. It also outlined the relationship between the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council's Contact Centre and the Municipal Owned Entities. The article discussed municipal services, electricity services, water and sanitation services, elements of municipalities billing systems, the City of Johannesburg billing system as well as the challenges and effects of the city of Johannesburg's billing crises in detail.

In the view of the above it may be surmised that the key among the challenges of the City of Johannesburg billing system which impact on residents negatively include the following:

- The electricity and water meter readers contractors appointed by the City of Johannesburg does not take actual readings instead they estimate and the estimations are not accurate resulting into enormous errors;
- The two municipal owned entities which are City Power and Johannesburg Water does not submit the correct data to the City of Johannesburg Contact Centre;
- The electricity and water billing queries are not resolved within the agreed times lines as per the municipality's By-laws and this result into huge backlogs;
- The synergy between the Municipal Owned Entities and the Contact Centre is very weak; and
- The competency levels and efficiency of the Contact Centre are very low.

Municipal billing systems are critical instruments for the success of correct data, clean bills and positive revenue collection and the improvement of public confidence in the system of local government.

The article outlines recommendations as follows:

- It is important that the municipality must have a programme dealing with customer account layouts with a view of simplifying them. Provide training to ward committees on all aspects of municipal billing system regarding the compilation and layout of accounts; and
- It is therefore recommended that there should be interrelated principles that have the potential to strengthen the adaptive capacity of the municipal billing governance system, particularly through engagement and feedback in local and national practice. It is to seek a better match between decentralised municipal billing governance functions and local capacity. There must be connectivity which seeks improved information flows and relationships as the basis of informed decision making; and accountability which

seeks clearer definition of power relationships as they pertain to the standardisation and integration of the municipal billing system in the local governance system.

Any successful billing practice must ensure that bills are raised on a monthly basis and should be volumetric-based, such that customers pay for what they consume. This makes it mandatory for municipalities to adopt a 100% metering of all its customer connections. Municipalities must realise that an effective billing and collection system in terms of these principles can bring about immediate improvements in revenue streams. However, to ensure that such practices remain effective, it is essential that municipalities have updated, robust and computerized customer databases such that the billing function can be easily implemented. It is recommended that the City of Johannesburg must convert customers to split prepaid meters with bidirectional communication, installation of independent load management controllers and installation of protective structures as well as remote meter monitoring. Convert domestic customers to smart meters with load management bidirectional metering infrastructure. Convert the large power users to smart meters and perform technical audit on metering accuracy.

Terminate and discontinue the services of contracted meter reading companies and convert all the water and electricity meters to pre-paid meters.

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AFRICA'S YOUTH BULGE: A THREAT, OPPORTUNITY OR SOMETHING TO BE IGNORED

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ABSTRACT

Africa is currently the fastest-growing and second most populous continent in the world. Its youth population is the largest in world history. An estimated three-fifths of the continent's population is currently under 25. It is predicted that Africa's approximately 1 billion inhabitants will reach or surpass 2.2 billion by 2050. If these approximations prove true, 25% of all people, and 47% of all the world's children, will be of African origins. The implications of this youth bulge for both resource allocation and social inclusion policies, particularly within countries faced with financial stress, merit special attention. This paper examines the youth bulge in Africa and opportunities and challenges emanating from it. Attention is also given to possible consequences of not addressing African youth bulge issues. As research has discerned, numerous factors affect the developmental outcomes in 'young societies.' How these young people interact with and in the public sphere is contingent upon how we respond to and support them. A large youth population is a potential asset for any nation. Realizing this potential requires strategic policy and resource investments. Without significant investment from both the public and private sectors, these young people are at great risks of becoming marginalized, socially, politically, and economically. Such marginalization can lead to disastrous outcomes, i.e., social unrest, economic stagnation, illicit activities and child warfare. Moreover, it is asserted in this paper that the African youth bulge is not something that can simply be ignore.

INTRODUCTION

Whether called leadership transition, succession planning or generational replacement, youth around the world are demanding inclusion into policy and development decision making that affects them. Far from being removed, Africa is in the midst of a generational replacement forecasted to transform governance on the continent. (John Githongo, 2018). And, demographics support this forecast.

Africa's demographics also reveal a very "Youthful Continent". More than 65% of Africa's population is under age 35 and over 35% is between the age 15 and 35. Approximately10 million African youth arrive on the labor market annually.

By 2050, Africa is predicted to account for:

- 41% of the world's births;
- 40% of all children under 5;
- 37% of all children under 18;
- 35% of the world's adolescents (AUYD, 2011).

Moreover, Africa is experiencing a dynamic youth bulge.

Youth Bulge Theory

"Youth bulge" and "demographic dividend" theorists share two distinct hallmarks. One, which is an assumption underlying analyses in this paper, is the argument that societies with large cohorts of young adults constitute a distinct class for study. The other is a contention about the ubiquities of youth disproportionality and how they can culminate to exacerbate youth vulnerability in a variety of settings. This paper is an exploratory examination of an equally central premise of both theoretical orientations: youth disproportionality is both temporal and geopolitical. Put more simply, a critical analysis of this issue involves a contemplation of when and where the youth population growth is occurring and the consequences that arise from it.

The framework for this study emanates from an "urbanscape" and may be more applicable to countries with large urban populations. The issues examined, however, are echoed throughout the continent. Data sources and methods for analyzing them were selected to help develop a more complete view of the African youth bulge.

Methodology

The data that follow are derived primarily from information provided by the World Factbook and the youth-focused research institute: Youthpolicy.org. These sources were selected based on their reputation for reliability as well as the capacity to furnish some of the most recently available information. The World Factbook, formerly known as the National Intelligence Survey (NIS), is sourced by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Its publicly available version has been in operation since 1975 and provides background information and vital statistics for approximately 267 countries, territories, and political entities. To provide the most complete information possible, some statistics, especially those related to population, are derived from analysts estimates for 2017.

The World Factbook database is updated annually and includes detailed, transparent notes on its data collection methodology and sources. All information related to total population, age distributions, median age, dependency ratios, fertility ratios, population and urban growth rates, the proportion of the population living in urban areas, budgets as a percentage of GDP, school life expectancies, unemployment, percentage of revenue generated from taxes, and the percentage of the population living below poverty is based on the 2017 version of the World Factbook. Collective statistics describing regional and/or continental trends were produced by compiling information from individual country factsheets into a comprehensive database.

Youthpolicy.org was established in 2011 as a project of the Youth Policy Labs. Like the World Factbook, the Youthpolicy.org database is principally sourced with information from national governments and international governance institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and the United Nations. This database focuses exclusively on youth, and the implications of youth-related trends and national-level policies on youths' well-being. Information regarding the Human Development Index (HDI), Youth Development Index (YDI), youth policy, youth institutions, their budgets and programming, national youth organizations, and educational expenditures as a percentage of governmental expenditure is based on country factsheets provided by Youthpolicy.org.

The comprehensive database and factsheets are drawn upon to develop information on the African youth bulge. This information was used to construct diagrams, tables and descriptive analyses presented below. It was also drawn upon to make several inferences about the African youth bulge.

The African Youth Bulge

A youth bulge is making Africa the fastest-growing and second most populous continent in the world. Its youth population is the largest in world history and they are demanding change. As John Githongo observes (2018) "Last year was a good one for the continent's autocrats. But young Africans have launched a democratic revolution — and they've got the numbers on their side." (p.1)

It is predicted that Africa's approximately 1 billion inhabitants will reach—or surpass—2.2 billion by 2050. If these approximations prove true, 25% of all people, and 47% of all the world's children, will be of African origins. (AUYD, 2011). The implications of this youth bulge for both resource allocation and social inclusion policies, particularly within countries faced with financial stress, merit special attention. This paper provides an overview of the youth

bulge that Africa is experiencing. Attention is also given to opportunities and challenges emanating from it. Possible consequences of not addressing African youth bulge issues is also considered.

Africa's Youth Bulge: Possible Responses

There are several possible ways of viewing the African youth bulge. This population group can simultaneously represent a threat, benefit, and opportunity. It can also be considered marginal and ignored. Thus, the African youth budge can be viewed from both negative and positive perspectives. Negatively, this ranges from being a minor distraction to a significant problem that must be addressed. Positively, young people are viewed not only as a challenge but also as an opportunity with a high probability of producing a return for society. In this sense, youth also represent an endowment that can provide immediate and future resources for society. The perspective taken will dictate the youth policies promulgated in a given country.

Youth as Threat Perspective: To some, the large youth population may represent a threat. Their mere size constitutes a potential challenge to the established political order. As they continue to come of age, they will constitute the largest political voting block in most African countries. Will they usurp political power? Or, will they align with existing diverse political interests? Only time and circumstances will answer these questions. How youth are engaged or not engaged, however, will likely help determine the answers.

Youth as Benefits Perspective: The youth bulge has several beneficial implications. It suggests a vibrant workforce for many years to come. It also suggests a much less dependent population. That is, as these youths mature into adults and become part of the workforce, the number of young and old dependents in the population should decrease drastically. Moreover, the vast majority of the population should be in the workforce. A vibrant workforce and small dependent population would represent an ideal economic climate for investments opportunities on the African continent. Researchers have found that the workforce is one of the main determinants for attracting foreign direct investments (Demirhan and Masca, 2008).

This is extremely significant as much of North America, Europe and Asia is experiencing aging populations. Populations in these areas are expected to become more dependent and the workforce, thus, less vibrant. Industry would have to look elsewhere for the workforce needed to produce the global demand for goods and services (Blonigen and Piger, 2011). Strategic investments in African youth development would position the continent to be a recipient of significant Direct investment.

Youth Marginalization Perspective: While the marginalization of women and minorities is widely discussed in the literature, there is only limited discussion about the marginalization of youth (Schleussner et.al., 2016; Green, 2016). As a United Nations Conference Report observes, however, "Often marginalized from local and national development gains, youth are particularly vulnerable to economic shocks, social instability, and conflicts. They are frequently left behind despite widespread development in other age groups" (UN, 2014). This marginalization forces them to the periphery or the edge of society. This, in turn, robs youth of facilities and opportunities enjoyed by the non-marginalized sections of society.

Any investment in youth development under this perspective is viewed minimally as an opportunity cost or suck cost incurred and cannot be recovered. There is no appreciation for current or future contributions they make to society. Moreover, youth are tolerated but not appreciated

As a group, African youth have attained a higher level of educational matriculation than any previous cohorts on the continent. Nevertheless, they face serious challenges that will erode their potential if governments do not prioritize investments in youth development. The projected growth for this population group is more than three percent. The poverty rate, however, for African youth is 41.93 percent. With approximately 10 million African youth arriving on the labor market annually, this high unemployment rate will likely fuel activism and intergenerational tension, if allowed to persist. (Orlando, 2017)

Research has discerned, numerous factors affecting the developmental outcomes in 'young societies' similar to those emerging in Africa. As findings suggest, how these young people interact with—and in—the public sphere is contingent upon how society responds to and supports them. A large youth population is a potential asset for any

nation. Realizing this potential requires strategic policy and resource investments. Without significant investment from both the public and private sectors, these young people are at great risks of becoming marginalized, socially, politically, and economically. Such marginalization can lead to disastrous outcomes, i.e., social unrest, economic stagnation, illicit activities and child warfare. Therefore, it is asserted in this paper that the African youth bulge also represent a disproportionality that cannot simply be ignored. (African Youth Charter)

While the various perspectives are helpful conceptual frameworks for considering how a society value or devalue youth, they do not within themselves allow for quantification and measurement. Scholars have developed index measures of youth standing in a society. Among these are the: Youth Dependency Ratio, School Life Expectancy, and Youth Development Index Score.

Index Scores measure of multi-dimensional progress on youth development based on The Youth Dependency Ratio is the Ratio of the youth population (ages 0-14) per 100 people of working age (ages 15-64). A high youth dependency ratio indicates that a greater investment needs to be made in schooling and other services for children. The School Life Expectancy is the total number of years of schooling (primary to tertiary) that a child can expect to receive. Youth Development levels of education, health and well-being, employment and opportunity, political participation and civic participation for young people. These measures collectively can provide a picture of African youth disproportionality. The Youth Dependency Ratio is, perhaps, the best individual indicator of African youth disproportionality, and is utilized in this work.

African Youth Disproportionality

Presentation of the issue of youth disproportionality in this work is intentionally arranged in a way that provides a global overview while concomitantly emphasizing distinctive characteristics of African youth demographics. Although some degree of generalizability for the situation of the 21st century youth cohort is possible, the findings are also reflective of some of the unique aspects of African societies in general and particularly Sub-Saharan Africa. The conceptual framework for this paper, therefore, emanates from the status of youth in Sub-Saharan African. This framework guides the examination of recent data detailing the scope and scale of youth bulge across the continent.

A Youth-Specific Profile

In order to adhere to the conventional regional delineations, countries are classified according to the United Nations' standards for each region. A regional discussion of youth disproportionality is then pursued. In reference to the regions, the terms:

- "Northern Africa" depicts the nations of: Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, and the semiautonomous entity of Western Sahara.
- "Eastern Africa" describes the countries of: Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.
- "Western Africa" denotes the nations of: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.
- "Central Africa" refers to Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Republic of the Congo, and Sao Tome/Principe, collectively.
- "Southern Africa" designates the countries of: Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland.

Although the term "youth" in this paper refers to individuals between 15 to 35 years old, contending definitions of what age segment constitutes youth make precise calculations of the young adult population difficult. Western nations, like the United States, and international governing bodies, like United Nations, classify "youth" as between the ages of 15 and 24 years old. Even nations where the legal convention does include 35 years old or older among "youth," it is not uncommon for official census data to use the 15 to 24-year delineation when describing the age distribution. Consequentially, much of the available data on demographic trends of the continent of Africa follow similar conventions. The data below, however, demonstrate that even by international conventions, the issue of youth disproportionality is salient for the entirety of the continent.

Youth Demographic Snapshot

While youth-related scholarship produced in the contexts of aging societies and/or demographically stable populations can be resourceful, understanding the scope and scale of youth disproportionality from an Africa-centric perspective is imperative. The continent is far from monolithic, but there are trends that can be observed across numerous geographic territories, governmental entities, and/or ethnic groups. As such, certain types of vulnerability exhibited in African youth populations may be either virtually nonexistent or lacking in intensity in other world regions. However, an examination of human and social development measurements can provide some indication of the status and impacts of youth vulnerability.

Northern Africa

Northern Africa's youth demographics are comparatively lower than other regions. However, their populations can still be classified as moderately youthful. Youth aged 15 to 24 years old constitute over 17% of the population and infants and children (ages 0-14) make up an additional 30% of inhabitants. The median age of this region's inhabitants ranges from as young as 19 years in Sudan to about 31 years in Tunisia. No country in this region has a median age that approaches or exceeds 35 years old—the African Union's upper limit for youth. North Africa, perhaps more so than any other region on the continent, demonstrates the limitations of large-n quantitative studies based on demographic breakdowns for understanding the potential consequences of unaddressed youth vulnerability. Whereas "youth bulge" theorists argue that the younger the population, the greater their proclivity towards sociopolitical instability, North Africa features numerous examples of how relatively mature societies can also be susceptible to youth-driven discord.

Tunisia, for example, boasts the third highest median age in mainland Africa. Roughly 14% of the population corresponds to the conventional standard for youth. Slightly over one quarter of the nation is identified as infants and children. In contemporary history, Tunisia is most renowned for its role in precipitating the "Arab Spring." North Africa's youth-directed revolution is often traced to the actions of 26-year-old Tunisian, Tarek al-Tayeb Mohamed Bouazizi. In an attempt to express his frustration with the confiscation of his merchandise and the humiliation of being spat on by a municipal official, Bouazizi resorted to an act of self-immolation (Abouzeid, 2011).

This young man's story is both reflective of the poignancy of youth-specific vulnerability, even in relatively resourced African countries. It is also indicative of the catalytic role youth-run organizations can—and, often, do—play in mediating the relationship between youth, their governments, and local communities. Youth-run activities catapulted the concerns of their issues into the spotlight in Tunisia. Social media is a leading conduit for providing youth with resources and a platform for expressing their grievances the region. Egypt Algeria, Morrocco, Libya, and to a lesser degree, Mauritania and Western Sahara also became illustrative of the divergent examples of how youth led activities, elevated issues germane to their interests.

Eastern Africa

With an average median age of 20.38, Eastern Africa ranks as the third most youthful region on the continent. Only Djibouti, Mauritius, and Seychelles have median ages that exceed the regional average. The age demographics of the 18 countries in this region range from 15.8 years in Uganda to approximately 35.4 years in Seychelles and Mauritius (See Table 1). Absent these three outliers, youth in this region are more precisely described as being about 18.5 years of age, with a standard deviation of less than two years. Youth compose 19.43% of East African society. Children and infants make up an additional 39.8% of the population. Conversely, individuals aged over 65 and those between the ages of 55 and 64 constitute 3.61% and 4.5% of the population, respectively. On average, East African women are estimated to give birth to approximately four children over the course of their reproductive years.

Youth in East Africa have very high dependency ratio scores. As illustrated in graphs 1 and 2, Ethiopia and Kenya, the two countries with the largest populations, each has scores in excess of 70. Both countries also have very large youth populations, which can reduce this dependency as they grow older.

Table1: East Africa: Average Median Age					
Burundi	17	Mozambique	17.2		
Comoros	19.9	Rwanda	19		
Djibouti	23.9	Seychelles	35.4		
Eritrea	19.7	Somalia	18.1		
Ethiopia	17.9	South Sudan	17.3		
Kenya	19.7	Tanzania	17.7		
Madagascar	19.7	Uganda	15.8		
Malawi	16.5	Zambia	16.8		
Mauritius	35.2	Zimbabwe	20		

Graph 1: Ethiopia Youth Dependency



20.11% aged 15-24 years

Median age: 17.9 years

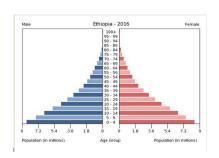
Youth dependency ratio: 75.80

Population growth: 2.85%

Population below poverty: 29.60%

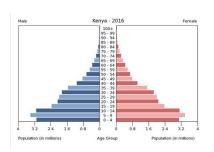
• Percent of Revenue from tax: 15.40%

Educational expenditures: 25.37%



Graph 2: Kenya Youth Dependency





Western Africa

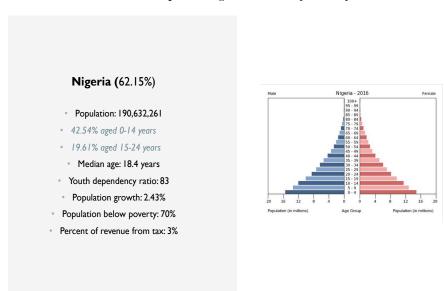
Western Africa is ranked as the second most youthful population on the continent with respect to its median age. With seven countries exceeding the regional average of 19.28 years old, and nine countries below it, youth demographics in this region exhibit less country-to-country variance than can be seen in Northern or Eastern Africa.

With the exception of Cape Verde, where the median age is 25.4 years old, the median age of citizens in all of these countries ranges between 15 and 25 years old. Youth comprise approximately 19.72% of the population, with a standard deviation of less than one percent. Infants and children constitute an additional 40.96% of the population in this region. This region also has an average total fertility rate of four to five children per woman, which would indicate that the existing population growth patterns can be expected to follow similar trends into the near future.

This region also has a very high youth dependency ratio score. Nigeria, for example, has a youth dependency score of 83. As the largest country with the largest economy, Nigeria's ratio score drives overall dependency for West Africa. It has been the focus of a variety of illicit activities affecting youth in the region. See Graph 3.

West Africa is the second most peopled region on the continent. The issue of youth-specific migration, both voluntary and involuntary, is salient in this region. According to a 2014 report by UNODC, West African victims of human trafficking were the most likely to be transported across borders.

Graph 3: Nigeria Youth Dependency



Central Africa

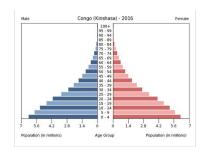
Central Africa has the lowest median age and, therefore, could be considered the most youthful. While Angola ranks as the least mature nation, with an average median age of 15.9 years old. Countries like the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabo, and the Republic of the Congo are relatively more mature, with median ages of around 18 to 19 years old, no country in this region has a median at or above 20 years of age. Collectively, youth make up approximately 19.85% of the region. At the national level, the proportion of youth in populations ranges from 17.1% in the Republic of the Congo to as much as 21.46% in Chad and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (See Graph 4). Like its counterparts in other regions of the continent, the percentages of infants and children in Central Africa imply that young people will maintain their statistical majority into the distance future. As a region, 42.29% of Central Africans are infants and children. This trend is most exaggerated in the countries of Angola, Cameroon, and Chad where this cohort constitutes 48.12%, 42.39%, and 43.02% of the population, respectively. However, even in Equatorial Guinea, which has the lowest proportion of infants and children, this cohort represents 39.81% of society.

Central Africa is also considered the most tumultuous region on the continent. It is home to the oldest UN peacekeeping mission. Youth Dependency is very high in the region. As illustrated in Congo-DRC Graph (4), it can be over 90. This suggest the youth may be extremely vulnerable. As many as 30,000 child soldiers were estimated to exist in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and youth make up the bulk of the country's unemployed, unskilled labor force (YouthMap, 2013).

Graph 4: Congo-DCR Youth Dependency

Congo-DRC (63.20%)

- Population: 83,301,151
- 41.74% aged 0-14 years
- 21.46% aged 15-24 years
- Median age: 18.6 years
- Youth dependency ratio: 91.50
 - Population growth: 2.37%
- Population below poverty: 63%
- Percent of revenue from tax: 11%
- Educational expenditures: 8.89%



Southern Africa

With an average median age of 23.74, the countries of Southern Africa can be viewed as relatively more mature than its regional counterparts. The age distribution across this region range from an average median age of approximately 21 to 22 years old in the countries of Namibia and Swaziland to about 27 years old in South Africa. See graphs 5 and 6.

Collectively, 19.68% of residents in Southern African nations are between the ages of 15 and 25. Infants and children account for about 32.70%, while individuals aged 65 or older constitute less than 5% of the region's inhabitants. Women in this region are estimated to give birth to two to three children over the course of their reproductive years, below the continental average of three to four children.

Continental Overview

As illustrated in Table 2, Africa has a very young population. It also has a very high youth dependency score. Northern and Southern Africa, which have relatively more mature youth populations than regional counterparts, are exceptions. Overall youth dependency remains high in each region.

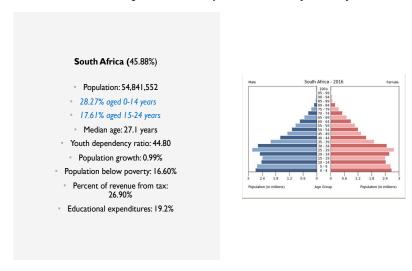
Table 2: Continental Overview

Regional Averages

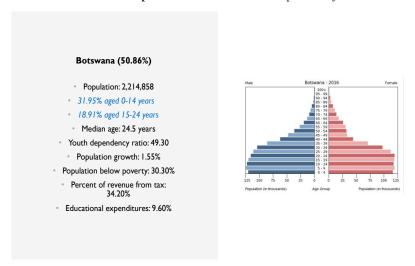
	regional i i verageo					
	Population	Median Age	% Aged	% Aged		
			0-14 Years	15-24 Years		
Northern Africa	32.57 million	26.1	30.75	17.56		
Eastern Africa	22.42 million	20.38	39.8	19.43		
Western Africa	22.79 million	19.28	40.96	19.72		
Central Africa	17.11 million	18.56	42.29	19.85		
Southern Africa	12.59 million	23.74	32.70	19.68		
Continent-wide	198.78 million	21.62	37.30	19.25		

^{*}Estimates based on CIA World Factbook country statistics

Graph 5: South African Youth Dependency



Graph 6: Botswana Youth Dependency



Trends in Youth Policy

Given the unique vulnerabilities and trends on the continent, it is the researchers' position that Africa's youth disproportionality requires the development and modification of policy tools that can address the idiosyncrasies of their local contexts. Public policy is perhaps the most frequently cited determinant of the extent to which a disproportionately young society is an advantage or hindrance to a country's development among scholars.

Contending definitions of what age segment constitutes youth make precise calculations of the young adult population difficult, but it is clear that infant and child populations are also continuously growing. On average, children under the age of 15 constitute 38 to 39% of the population. In Niger, where this age segment is most dominant, infants and children are estimated to compose 49% of the population. Even in the least youthful nation in Africa, Seychelles, approximately one in every five inhabitants is an infant or child. This suggests that the youth population across Africa can likely be expected to continue expanding at least long into the next decade—and likely beyond.

Africa's youth population and patterns of youth development present a furtive area of study for youth policy scholarship. Not only are its regions contextually relevant to "youth bulge" and "demographic dividend" theory, but contributions to this body of literature have the potential for direct applicability to some of the most substantial segments of today's youth population.

A Talent Management and Development Perspective

If African nations are to grow their economies and address prevalent social needs of citizens, developing the talents of youth is crucial. The World Bank recently published its Human Capital Index, which is seen as a new way of considering the added value of investing in the development youth. It gauges how much effort is being put into developing young people and the expect return to both individuals and society. According to the report, higher investments in education and health result in a more productive and higher earning workforce(Ahmed, 2018). A major observation in the report is that investments in youth have large payoffs for individuals, societies, and countries. As explained in the report, during periods dominated by technological change, such as now, with the growth of artificial intelligence, investment in development of "human talents" and problem-solving skills is particularly important. These talents consist of the knowledge, skills and health that people accumulate over their lives, enabling them to realize their potential as productive members of society," (Ahmed, 2018). Particular emphasis was placed on "value-added from long-term" investments in youth.

The benefits derived from talent development of young people in Singapore and South Korea were cited as examples. This was contrasted with the lack of youth development in most African countries. African countries dominate the bottom of the World Bank index. Chad is the lowest rank country and 21 of the bottom 25 countries are in Africa. Nigeria was 152nd, Ethiopia was 135th, and Uganda 137th. Kenya is ranked 94th and the top-ranked African country is Seychelles at 43rd.

Youth Development: It depends on how you measure effort"

The news is not all bad for Africa. From a more traditional measure of youth develop, Gross Domestic Product or GDP, some African countries are making significant investments into youth development initiatives. In education expenditures, as percentage of GDP, for examples, several African countries rank well ahead of more "developed" nation. As indicated below, Lesotho ranks first on this measure and Ghana is in top 13th.

- Ethiopia: 4.7% (85th)
- Ghana: 8.1% (13th)
- Kenya: 6.6% (28th)
- Lesotho: 13% (1st)
- United States 5.2% (63rd)

These are encouraging signs, but more effort is needed to both develop and retain talent in African countries.

As the World Bank Index report highlights, access to talent is, perhaps the most crucial determinants of growth and development for both organizations and nations. Research indicates that this access can be stolen, bought, and borrowed, but the best option is to develop what you have (Brumfield and White, 2016). Alignment and retention are said to be essential aspects of the talent management process. Brumfield and White make three observations about talent management, in this regard, that are relevant to the Africa youth budge:

- You can only develop what you have;
- You can't retain or develop what you don't have, and,
- If you engage talent, it is more likely to be retained

These three points are important for several reasons First, Africa's large youth population is wanting for development. Concurrently, youth have not been engaged in broader societal decision making, nor those that affect them directly. And, finally, the most promising talent often leaves the continent. Thus, the central question: Africa is losing its youth? First to underdevelopment, then immigration.

Conclusion: Is Africa Losing its Youth?

According a CNN report, as many as 500 young Africans die each month trying to reach Europe. Human trafficking of young African women for illicit activities is increasing rapidly. Recent news reports have highlighted the selling of young African men into slavery in North Africa. As many as 30,000 individuals are said to be in slavery today. The African Union announce its intention to support the return to 20,000, mostly young, immigrants who were trying to reach Europe.

In response to this crisis, Strive Masiyiwa an entrepreneur, businessman and philanthropist declared to young people, "you don't have to cross the Sahara. We can create solution." Masiyiwa correctly points . . . if we don't do something to help young people create jobs in the economy. . . Africa's progress . . . [will] be reversed". Solutions must include empowering youth with the skill, talents, and opportunity to develop their countries. (Akinola, 2015)

As Mmanti Umoh (2017) so eloquently explains it:

Africa needs to empower its young people to increase their ability to personally influence what is happening in their lives and communities. Involve youth in government decision-making processes which includes: involving young people in the planning and delivery of services that interest and impact upon them, equipping young people with skills so they can increasingly contribute to decision making and instigate matters for government consideration thereby creating the opportunities for young people to become more involved in their communities.

She also points out, "If we give the youth an opportunity, the future is going to look very different. . . Young people can lead social action with a social conscience that will let them build a better world in the process."

Moreover, someone is going to tell African youth that they are talented. Someone is going to tell them that they are important. Someone is going to give them the time and attention they deserve. Whoever, does these things will help give direction to the generation that will lead the African continent for the next 40 years.

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GLOBALIZATION AND NUTRITION IN BOTSWANA TO COMBAT 2 DIABETES MELLITUS

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ABSTRACT

Africa is currently the fastest-growing and second most populous continent in the world. Its youth population is the largest in world history. An estimated three-fifths of the continent's population is currently under 25. It is predicted that Africa's approximately 1 billion inhabitants will reach or surpass 2.2 billion by 2050. If these approximations prove true, 25% of all people, and 47% of all the world's children, will be of African origins. The implications of this youth bulge for both resource allocation and social inclusion policies, particularly within countries faced with financial stress, merit special attention. This paper examines the youth bulge in Africa and opportunities and challenges emanating from it. Attention is also given to possible consequences of not addressing African youth bulge issues. As research has discerned, numerous factors affect the developmental outcomes in 'young societies.' How these young people interact with and in the public sphere is contingent upon how we respond to and support them. A large youth population is a potential asset for any nation. Realizing this potential requires strategic policy and resource investments. Without significant investment from both the public and private sectors, these young people are at great risks of becoming marginalized, socially, politically, and economically. Such marginalization can lead to disastrous outcomes, i.e., social unrest, economic stagnation, illicit activities and child warfare. Moreover, it is asserted in this paper that the African youth bulge is not something that can simply be ignore.

Keywords: Nutrition, Diabetes, Nutrition intervention, Global health, Botswana

INTRODUCTION

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON TYPE 2 DIABETES MELLITUS (T2DM) AND OVERNUTRITION LEADING TO OBESITY

Diabetes is increasingly becoming a widespread disease across nations around the world and most markedly, in low- and middle-income countries according to the World Health Organization. In the global spectrum, diabetes prevalence rates increased from 104 million in 1980 to 422 million in 2014 according to the World Health Organization. Among adults over the age of 18 have an increased rate of prevalence from 4.7% to 8.5% in 2014 (Diabetes, 2018). The pathology of T2DM is associated with inadequate amounts of insulin produced by the human body or when insulin resistance has developed. This leads to unregulated levels of blood glucose which, in effect, may lead to morbidity and mortality if not controlled. The short- and long-term complications of the disease include hypoglycemia, hyperglycemia, micro- and macrovascular complications. T2DM is one category of diabetes and globally, is the one that accounts for many people living with the disease around the world. There is gestational diabetes (which affects pregnant women), Type 1 Diabetes Mellitus (which affects children and young adults), and uncommon forms—monogenic diabetes (an inherited form of diabetes) and cystic fibrosis-related diabetes. T2DM is positively linked to diet which is the cornerstone of an individual's overall environment and that which has a major influence on health and disease prevention. There are a range of factors that contribute to the onset of T2DM, including lifestyle, environmental, and familial factors. There are many nations across the world that lack supportive environments, healthcare access, and affordable health services to combat and/or delay the onset of T2DM and individuals living in low-and middle-income countries are at the greatest risk for morbidity and mortality from the disease due to the paucity of these key factors. The risk factors associated with T2DM are linked to gene-expressions (which are inheritable) and metabolic factors (which are modifiable). T2DM threatens the well-being and quality of life and imposes large economic burdens which can be detrimental and have perpetual adverse effects.

One the most significant risk factors linked to T2DM is overweight and obesity and the adaptation of overnutrition links to obesity. Overnutrition, which occurs when there is frequent or habitual overconsumption of nutrients based on dietary patterns that threaten an individual's health, is most threatening in low-, middle-income countries around the world however is also apparent in high-income regions drawing on the notion that it does not discriminate. In low- and middle-income regions, however, overnutrition is strikingly increasing leading to disproportionate rates of morbidity and mortality as it relates to T2DM—which is due, largely in part, to poverty and the lack of access to essential nutrients that sustain good health. In middle- to high-income regions, dietary patterns, overnutrition, and food choices play a considerable role in T2DM and the complications that are associated with the disease. In the

current literature, overnutrition is attributed to having long-lasting effects from childhood into adulthood. The cycle of overnutrition affects nutritional status resulting in decreased productivity and malfunctioning of adequate health and physiologic development, education, socioeconomic power as well as physiological growth. To combat global T2DM, its health complications, and its risk factors, public-private partnerships and multicomponent interventions are necessary. In general, diabetes is a priority non-communicable disease (NCD) in the global economy and is being targeted by world leaders in the Political Declaration on the Prevention and Control of NCDs led by the World Health Organization. It is the charge of world leaders to join forces to affect a colossal disease prevention and health promotion strategy targeting diabetes in all its forms in a way that is cost-effective, evidence-based, affordable, population-wide, and multi-sectoral.

DIABETES FACTS AND HOW DIABETES AND NUTRITION INTERVENTIONS ARE ADDRESSED GLOBALLY

The World Health Organization put into place global targets, also known as the global monitoring framework, for the prevention and control of T2DM (and other NCDs) that ought to be reached by 2025. There are nine (9) global targets for T2DM, an NCD, as illustrated in Table 1 ("About 9 voluntary global targets", 2018).

Table 1

25% relative reduction in the overall mortality from cardiovascular diseases, cancer, diabetes, or chronic respiratory diseases

10% relative reduction in the harmful use of alcohol, as appropriate, within the national context

10% relative reduction in prevalence of insufficient physical activity

30% relative reduction in mean population intake of salt/sodium

30% relative reduction in prevalence of current tobacco use

25% relative reduction in the prevalence of raised blood pressure or contain the prevalence of raised blood pressure, according to national circumstances

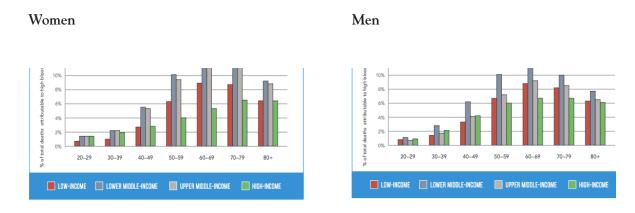
Halt the rise of diabetes and obesity

50% of eligible people receive drug therapy and counseling (including glycemic control) to prevent heart attacks and strokes

80% availability of the affordable basic technologies and essential medicines, including generics, required to treat major NCDs in both public and private facilities

The percentage of mortality rates associated with T2DM risk factors (and, hyperglycemia) are strikingly high in low-and lower middle-income countries compared to high-income countries as illustrated in Figures 1a and 1b.

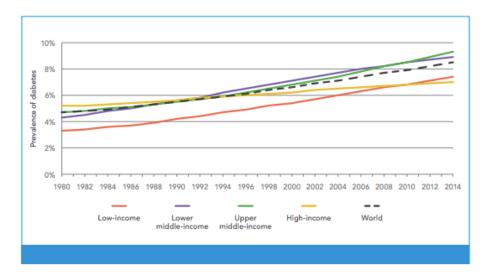
Figures 1a-1b. Percentage of all-cause deaths attributed to high blood glucose, by age and country income group, 2012, World Health Organization (World Health Organization, "Global Report on Diabetes").



The prevalence of T2DM is increasing in an upward trend across countries, and in particular, in low-income and

lower middle-income countries around the world as illustrated in Figure 2. T2DM was the eighth leading cause of death in both men and women in 2012. The World Health Organization reports that diabetes prevalence has increased twofold since 1980. The greatest attributable risk factor to the onset of T2DM is obesity-induced insulin resistance and hyperglycemia (where hyperglycemia accounts for 43% of all deaths before the age of 70).

Figure 2. Trends in prevalence of diabetes, 1980-2014 by country income group, World Health Organization (World Health Organization, "Global Report on Diabetes").



The global diabetes death toll (which includes T2DM variants) was estimated to be 1.5 million in 2012 and those living with the disease (18 years and older) were estimated at 422 million in 2014. There is an increasing rate of T2DM risk factors and the greatest increase is attributable to obesity (where more than 1 in 10 adults were classified as obese in 2014). The World Health Organization contends that the prevalence of physical inactivity leads to obesity and this is on the rise and continues to be a growing concern. The World Health Organization reported that prevalence rates associated with physical inactivity is highest in high-income countries and double the rate in low-income countries. In an effort to address T2DM globally, both the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization contend that multicomponent intervention packages are the solution to combatting the disease. These intervention packages include promoting healthy dietary patterns, and physical activity. The approach behind the intervention package emphasizes it as a life-course towards prevention of T2DM via regular and adequate levels of physical activity and healthy dietary patterns and replacing saturated fatty acids with polysaturated fatty acids; limiting saturated fatty acid intake to less than 10% of total energy intake (and 7% for at-risk groups) and achieving adequate intakes of dietary fiber through the regular consumption of micronutrients; reducing the intake of free sugars to less than 5-10% of total energy intake; participating in 75-150 minutes of physical activity and muscle strengthening in a week.

In addition to multicomponent intervention packages, there are global initiatives, like the Global Nutrition and Epidemiologic Transition Initiative, which targets diabetes prevention and reduction of prevalence rates via assessing the carbohydrate quality of staple foods. There are 11 countries participating in this initiative, including Nigeria, Brazil, Tanzania, India, Malaysia, Kenya, China, Mexico, Cost Rica, Kuwait, Puerto Rico, and the USA as illustrated in Figure 2 (Mattei, et al., 2015). The premise behind this initiative is to consider cultural beliefs in nutrition intervention approaches to combat diabetes, T2DM, and to use this approach to develop culturally-appropriate dietary interventions to prevent the onset of T2DM. The target diet recommended is one that is rich in carbohydrates (e.g., corn, potatoes, and cassava). The countries illustrated in Figure 3 have varying diabetes prevalence rates.

Figure 2. Prevalence of diabetes, 20-79 age group, 2011, Global Nutrition and Epidemiologic Transition Initiative (Mattei, et al., 2015).



Similar to the multicomponent intervention packages recommended by the World Health Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization, the Global Nutrition and Epidemiologic Transition Initiatives is another advocate in T2DM prevention as it aims to promote health and prevent the disease and other NCDs based on diet modifications. In contrast to multicomponent intervention packages, another arm of this initiative aims to address the modification of eating behaviors via sensorial factors, affordability and availability of food and meal plans, societal norms, and personal beliefs.

DISCUSSION

GLOBALIZATION AND NUTRITION IN BOTSWANA TO COMBAT TYPE 2 DIABETES MELLITUS

Botswana is only one of many prospering countries in Africa, yet it is plagued with persistent overnutrition (and undernutrition) due, mostly in part, to poverty and an incredibly unreliable health system. Malnutrition, in general, influences metabolic parameters, morbidities such as T2DM and eventually mortality. Nutrition-related factors are largely attributed to T2DM and complications associated with the disease and overnutrition plays a critical role in nutrition and diet as factors to tackle the disease. In Botswana, because of constrained resources, the country is battling how to tackle increasing T2DM prevalence rates. Botswana is among African countries that are highly affected by diabetes due to constrained resources and this is adding to the diabetes endemic. In 2012, World Diabetes Day took place in Gaborone, Botswana and the Deputy Director in the Ministry of Health, John Botsang, attested that there were 96,000 people living with diabetes in Botswana marking Botswana as having a national prevalence rate of 8.25% compared to 4.3% across other countries in Africa (Botswana Daily News, 2013). Between 2000 and 2015, Botswana was among 24 African countries ranked as the second highest country with the largest diabetic percentage rates.

OVERVIEW OF DIABETES MELLITUS IN BOTSWANA

The condition of being diagnosed with or having risk-factors for diabetic conditions and T2DM is a result of diet and nutrition—namely, overnutrition. According to the World Health Organization, malnutrition is defined as the inadequate consumption or overconsumption of micro- and macronutrients leading to overweight, obesity, diabetes and other NCDs. Malnutrition affects 1.9 billion adults who are obese and 462 million who are underweight and is an endemic occurring around the world increasingly—largely in low-income countries (World Health Organization, 2017). In Botswana, there are variations of reports on the prevalence rate of diabetes in being a large contributor to malnutrition. The Botswana's Ministry of Health, in 2013, reported that "around 32,000 adults (20-70) years) [were living] with diabetes" (Ministry of Health, n.d.). In another report, published by the International Diabetes Foundation, 52,000 cases of diabetes among adults were said to have occurred in Botswana in 2017 (International Diabetes Foundation, 2018). In a fourth report published in 2015 by the International Food Policy Research Institute, information reported about diabetes is noted as "not available" regarding availability and state of implementation of guidelines and protocols for managing diabetes (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2015). The variances in data reported on diabetes prevalence rates in Botswana is concerning and moreover, disturbing as it implies that there are no uniform quantitative data, on both the overall estimate and

population segments (e.g., adults and children), diagnosed with T2DM or at-risk for diabetes and metabolic conditions associated with the disease. The issue with these inconsistencies suggest that Botswana lacks more than just healthcare prevention to combat T2DM, but it also lacks sufficient data reporting and records on the prevalence of NCDs. This implies that diabetic conditions and variants linked to T2DM may likely be far worse than what has been reported. Moreover, it suggests that there are obvious unreliable and inaccurate reports of diabetes prevalence rates. What is clear is that there is a problem in Botswana in addressing diabetes prevalence strategically and there is also unique opportunity to identify barriers and implement effective nutrition interventions. In early 2018, an article described Botswana as being a country that is anxious to address malnutrition but that lacks sufficient resources to approach the problem and "accurately and consistently track [NCD] data on how the situation is changing" across the country for individuals diagnosed or at-risk for malnutrition and associated chronic health conditions such as diabetes (Tshipa, 2018). Because of insufficient resources, Botswana is stifled in being able to provide health services, among other life-saving treatments, to its people.

PARTNERSHIPS FOR GLOBALIZATION OF RESOURCE INTEGRATION AND FOOD SUPPLY CHAIN MANAGEMENT

A key component to combatting morbidities and mortalities associated with overnutrition resulting from diabetes is the globalization of resource integration and partnerships for food supply chain management of services and goods across countries that proliferate the availability of health services, treatment, and food supplements to promote health and prevent disease. To this end, globalization is important as it works as a conduit to both promoting effective health transitions common to all countries in the world and being a benefactor through these efforts. Another key component is nutrition globalization; nutrition, as we know it, is a disease prevention mechanism that considers interventions that delay or prevent morbidities to combat mortality associated with disease. Nutrition globalization considers combatting morbidities and mortalities via modifying dietary patterns, increasing variety of foods in markets, growing food supply chains, and growing global marketing and imports of food products (Jacobensen, 2014).

There are opportunities for international partnerships around the world to promote globalization efforts to increase variety of foods in markets, grow food supply chains, and grow food imports however there are limitations. In the last decade, food imports to Botswana have declined up until 2016 as illustrated in Tables 1 and 2. This is attributable to the decrease in horrid climate changes over the last two years which devastated agricultural production. Since local crop production is scarce, due largely to confined landscapes, Botswana relies on neighboring countries, like South Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as countries distant to its boarders, like Europe and East Asia, to augment their food supply via food imports.

Table 1. Trading Economics, The World Bank (*Trading Economics*, n.d.; Botswana Food imports, 1960-2017)

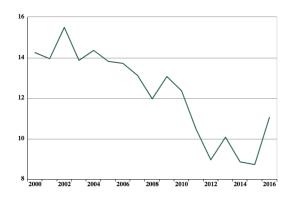
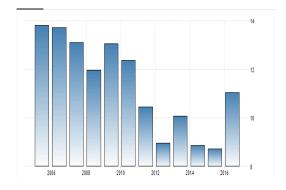


Table 2. Kanoema World Data Atlas



As reported by the African Food Security Urban Network, Botswana may never become self-sufficient in local crop production due to its horrid climate change (Acquah, 2013) and confined landscape stretching from eastern and northern borders of the country. Nutrition globalization for Botswana becomes a challenge not just from agriculture production but also food imports. In a recent publication issued in April 2018 by the Botswana Gazette, Botswana is expected to pay more for food in 2018 due to being forced to rely on international food imports who are

capitalizing on the country's declining agricultural development. These impediments are devastating to the people of Botswana in their efforts to compete in globalization and especially to its most vulnerable people, the poor. If Botswana remains stifled in its ability to compete in the global economy when it comes to nutrition globalization, this would prompt greater concerns for being able to combat malnutrition and associated chronic health conditions, diabetes in particular. Moreover, despite its growing economy, Botswana would face challenges beyond food supply to food accessibility and food quality which prompts even greater concerns for food security. All levels of the global economy should recognize that globalization can benefit population health and nutrition interventions by encouraging best practices in how we treat and develop a health food supply. The opportunities for international partnerships to promote globalization would then require collaborative relationships with government entities, businesses, NGOs, and public and private entities.

OPPORTUNITIES TO COMBAT MALNUTRITION AND DIABETES MELLITUS

The importance of food security and how individual households can improve their health and safety to food consumption plays a role in combatting malnutrition and chronic health conditions, like diabetes mellitus, and in ensuring that food is consistently free from contamination that would otherwise make it not safe to consume. Food security is important at the household level because it is the cornerstone to ensuring that each member of the household is practicing how to maintain and consume safe food and ensuring households contain a safe and sufficient food supply year-round. The opportunities to combat malnutrition and diabetes mellitus require households to have sufficient land for homestead food production, income to be positioned to produce and consume food supply and have other necessary resources that help produce a variety of nutrient-rich foods. Beyond the production of rich food sources, the importance of best practices within the household to promote food and nutrition security is also key; these include how household members share food, prepare food, store food, practice good hygiene, practice good health care, and how care is given to women and children of the household. The emphasis here is that the absence of food and nutrition security leads to malnutrition, which is a serious threat to all household members and can have long-lasting effects that are detrimentally hard to break.

Small-scale food production, which occurs when there is limited or decreased agricultural production or growth in a region that makes it difficult or impossible to harvest and farm, is another factor that is important to addressing opportunities to combat malnutrition and diabetes mellitus. For example, in Botswana, farming has become a major problem for local townships in the last two years due to climate change and limited landscapes across the country's borders which force the country to rely on international food imports which are often unaffordable or if affordable, drive up costs of local produce in the country's markets. There are limitations with small-scale food production which include deterioration of soil fertility; poor sanitation that devastates harvesting plants and livestock; lack of irrigation; insufficient gardening and cultivation; lack of community mobilization of food production; natural disasters; and urbanization. Effective strategies that mitigate these issues collectively require cross-collaboration with farmers, pastoralists, and local community leaders to for capacity building and the sharing of resources and knowledge to promote sustainable food production.

Homestead food production and the utilization of the household to grow fresh health foods while maintaining low costs in food production is key to identifying opportunities to combat malnutrition and diabetes mellitus prevalence in Botswana. These are not only key to improving household food security but also to providing an avenue for poor households to combat food depletion year-round. Additionally, homestead food production promotes a healthy diet by supplying a routine supply of food items that provide supplemental nutrients that are affordable and easily accessible.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO COMBAT THE PREVALENCE OF DIABETES FROM A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ACCORDING TO THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

The World Health Organization recognizes the global endemic of diabetes and the large-scale domino effect it has on economies, communities, families, and individuals, among others. There is a concerted effort across the globe where countries are joining forces to develop effective and scalable strategies to target the diabetes endemic with a steadfast approach via political influences. The political impetus towards developing effective solutions is comprised in the World Health Organization Global Action Plan 2012-2020 as well as the Sustainable Development Goals (from the United Nations prioritization efforts to eliminate disease, poverty, hunger, and literacy as part of its 2030

agenda) and the United Nations Political Declaration on NCDs. These joint efforts formulate recommendations that are in place to reduce diabetes in its threat to human life. The World Health Organization seeks to establish multi-sectoral commissions across the globe that will ensure countries preserve their commitment, share resources, and promote advocacy towards developing and implementing solution-oriented actions to combat diabetes—and, T2DM which carries the greatest number of morbidity and mortality. Additional recommendation from the World Health Organization to combat the prevalence of diabetes include plans to engage ministries of health around the globe to put into practice strategic leadership roles and standardized targets that ensure national policies address diet (and in particular, overweight and obesity) and raising awareness of health risks and healthy foods from childhood through adulthood; ensure policies and legislation developed to raise awareness and combat diabetes is fully funded and implemented; develop supportive cohorts and social environments for physical activity; strengthen responsive rates to diabetes and other NCDs at a primary level of care; implement improved guidelines that address early diagnosis and managing diabetes; ensuring equitable and affordable access to health services and medicine to combat diabetic conditions; and invest in outcome evaluations that monitor the progress and efficiency of implemented solutions intended to combat diabetes. It is of great consequence to nations and to the global economy that these recommendations from the World Health Organization are fully funded and implemented and through multicomponent interventions, significant differences can be achieved that benefit economies, communities, families, and individuals who are burdened by diabetes. Collectively, multicomponent interventions can have a perpetual effect to hinder the increasing prevalence rate of diabetes, and in particular—T2DM, and thus promote health and improve the lives of individuals diagnosed with the disease.

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HBCU FACULTY AND STUDENTS PROMOTE HEALTH EQUITY VIA A MOBILE UNIT

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ABSTRACT

Many historically black colleges and universities are located in low economic neighborhoods where the rates of poverty, unemployment and the uninsured are higher than average, and residents often have limited access to health care services. Mobile units can provide vital health services right in the convenience of the neighborhood when transportation may not be readily available and can reduce the use of emergency rooms when illnesses are identified and treated early. This paper highlights steps taken to acquire and operate a mobile unit, the opportunities for students to gain hands-on skills and for faculty to maintain their clinical skills. There will be a discussion on services provided, health risks identified and the university's effort to reduce health disparities and promote health equity in the East Winston neighborhood of Winston-Salem, NC.

Keywords: Health equity, HBCU, Mobile health, Community health, Low-income

INTRODUCTION

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) were created during the post-slavery era with the sole purpose of educating Black people. These institutions continue to be relevant in preparing diverse educated professionals and providing service to local communities. Many communities surrounding HBCUs tend to be poor with limited resources. Through collaborative community partnerships, HBCUs can have a positive impact on the quality of life of the surrounding neighborhoods (Gasman 2013; Heard, 2007).

Mobile clinics have been used for decades to expand health care services, especially in poor communities. These units serve those with limited access to hospitals, clinics and doctors' offices. Services may include mammograms, dental services, vaccinations, back to school physicals and more within the convenience of resident's communities or workplaces. Since many HBCUs are located in communities that need services, there are opportunities to serve local residents and reduce the risk of health disparities and promote health equity (Yu, et. Al 2017)

This paper shares the Rams Know H.O.W. (Health Care on Wheels) project at Winston-Salem State University, an HBCU located in Winston-Salem, NC, and steps taken to address the needs of a low-income community by nursing and allied health faculty and students.

BACKGROUND ON MOBILE HEALTH CLINICS

A challenge to providing health services in low income communities is limited access to a stationary clinic. Mobile clinics make it possible to reach individuals living in rural and remote areas where access to health care services is limited. Several studies have shown that mobile clinics improve access to health care. Salud Family Health Centers (SALUD) utilized a mobile clinic to provide preventative healthcare to Mexican immigrant workers in rural northern Colorado (Diaz-Perez, Farley, and Cabanis, 2004). Over 1500 immigrants were served by a mobile unit. Similarly, the University of Maryland School of Nursing used a mobile unit to provide community-based healthcare including hypertension, diabetes, and asthma screening services. The mobile unit also afforded opportunities for faculty and students to hone their clinical skills (Heller & Goldwater, 2004).

Old Dominion University used mobile clinic services to care for elderly patients. Cervical cancer screenings, and immunizations were provided and resulted in decreased utilization of the emergency services (Alexy and Elnitsky, 1998). It was determined that such services reduced costs associated with serious medical emergencies through preventive health care. In general, the use of mobile health clinics in medically underserved urban communities can reduce risk of acute medical conditions through preventive screenings (Song et al, 2013).

For universities located in communities where access to health care is limited, there are opportunities for faculty to enrich student learning experiences while providing a valuable community service. Since mobile clinics can move around, a wider audience of residents can be served.

PROGRAM OVERVIEW

The School of Health Sciences (SOHS) is located at Winston-Salem State University, an HBCU located in East Winston-Salem, NC. The SOHS offers a variety of undergraduate and graduate degree programs in nursing and allied health professions.

In 2009, the SOHS received a mobile clinic donation from Novant Health. It was named the Rams Know H.O.W. (Healthcare on Wheels) Mobile Health Clinic. The Ram is the university mascot. The mobile clinic provides wellness services where faculty, staff and students of SOHS serve residents of the East Winston community surrounding the campus. Many of the residents in this community are underinsured or uninsured. These services are provided at no cost to the residents. Since members of the faculty and the students have historically provided healthcare services within the local community at free clinics, health fairs and other settings, the Rams Know H.O.W. was seen as an innovative extension of the services already being provided. Furthermore, the community has a sense of trust of the university and willingly participate in health screenings.

TARGET COMMUNITY

The East Winston community is 5.59 square miles in the heart of a medium size metropolitan city, with a population of 17,000 (4.9% of Forsyth County) and median age of 32.9. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). This community was developed in the early 1920s and was known as the African-American side of Winston-Salem. Since the late 1990s, an increase in the Hispanic population has been noted. Based on the 2000 census, approximately 17,000 people live in East Winston, an increase of approximately 4% from the 1990 census (US Census, 2000). Most of the residents rent a home or apartment and about 30% of residents own a car (East Northeast Winston-Salem Area Plan, 2008). The number one mode of transportation for most residents is the local transit authority. Riding the city bus to work, the mall, or other places outside the community is the norm.

Being an older neighborhood, East Winston is experiencing challenges that include poor housing conditions, aging infrastructure, run down properties, substandard housing units, and declining commercial areas. Community residents are primarily African-American (76%), poor and medically underserved (Forsyth Medical Center Emergency Room Data, 2009).

There is a high unemployment rate, high rate of uninsured and underinsured, and high-risk factors for diabetes, heart disease and stroke.

MOBILE HEALTH CLINIC INITIATIVES AND PLANNING

Before the Rams Know H.O.W. donation was received, a Mobile Clinic committee was formed to strategize on receiving a mobile clinic to serve the East Winston community. The committee then developed a business plan to serve as a compass for meeting the wellness needs of the community. The plan included an executive summary, company summary, products and services, market analysis, strategy and implementation summary, management summary and financial plan. The executive summary was communicated to potential funders. Upon sharing the plan with Novant Health—a regional health organization, a mobile unit was donated by them along with 7 years of funding.

MODEL OF CARE SERVICES STAFFING

The Mobile clinic utilizes a unique model of paid staff and volunteer faculty as well as students. The paid staff members include a driver from the university transportation pool who has an approved class B license to drive large vehicles. There is a full-time mobile clinic coordinator who recruits faculty, staff and students to serve.

COORDINATION OF SERVICES

Coordination of services is one of the most important aspects of the project. The following procedures were developed to avoid conflict and missed appointments:

- 1. All internal and external requests for the mobile unit must be made at least 3-4 weeks prior to the event date;
- 2. Event location must be confirmed at the time of request; and
- 3. Driver requests must be submitted to the university Motor Pool at least 3 weeks prior to the event date. No unit or driver requests will be submitted less than 14 days of an event, unless it has been approved by the project director (Valentine et al., 2014).

Steps in making a request for services

- 1. The RAMS Know H.O.W. Mobile Clinic Request Form must be completed by all requestors to receive free health and wellness services, which include laboratory screenings, blood pressure, and height and weight measurements. The form is located on the School of Health Sciences webpage via the RAMS Know H.O.W. Mobile Clinic under Featured links: (https://www.wssu.edu/academics/colleges-and-departments/school-of-health-sciences/mobile-unit-request-form.html);
- 2. Once the form is completed by the requestor, it is automatically sent to the Mobile Clinic Coordinator;
- 3. The requestor will receive notification of receipt of request form within 48 hours;
- 4. After notification is given, the requestor will receive confirmation via email of the availability of the mobile clinic for their event;
- 5. If the requestor would like glucose and/or cholesterol testing kits for the event, these are also provided free of charge. A print out of results are shared with the individual. If abnormal values are presented, individuals are referred to local free clinics for follow-up appointments;
- 6. The requestor is advised to host the event in the early morning hours while participants are still fasting or have fasted for 10-12 hours before being tested;
- 7. A request for laboratory testing must be made at least three (3) weeks prior to event to ensure kits are available on the day of the event; and
- 8. All information for the orders are sent and facilitated by and through the Clinical Laboratory Science department at SOHS.

PROJECT OUTCOMES

Since 2010, nearly 10,000 residents have received services. Nursing and Allied Health Faculty, staff and students have provided quality, accessible and integrated wellness services at no charge to underinsured and uninsured residents in the East Winston neighborhood, which surrounds the university campus. These services include blood pressure screenings, anthropometric measurements, and glucose and cholesterol screenings. Through a strong referral and network base and supporting free clinics, the university was able to advance its teaching, service, and research mission through excellent community outreach in the local neighborhood. Education has been provided on how to reduce weight and control blood pressure. Glucometers have been provided to local residents to track blood glucose levels.

To date, over \$300,000 in free health care services have been rendered, through preventive screenings; the risk of strokes and myocardial infarctions have been reduced, thus reducing the strain on local emergency departments and reducing the amount of uncompensated care to local hospitals.

This program is valuable to the East Winston community in many ways. Residents deemed high-risk were referred to free and reduced health clinics in their community which some were unaware of. Further, the outreach to African-American males, who often delay preventive health care services, was noted. Lastly, community outreach by faculty, staff and students expanded the university's engagement goals, facilitated learning and provided an opportunity for faculty and staff development.

CONCLUSION

Since many historically black colleges and universities like Winston-Salem State University are located in low economic neighborhoods where the rates of poverty, unemployment and the uninsured are higher than average, many residents have limited access to health care services. The Rams Know H.O.W. mobile clinic has provided vital health services to low-income residents in the convenience of the neighborhood and reduced the risk of health disparities.

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BLOOD GROUP IDENTIFICATION CARD MAY HELP RURAL COMMUNITIES IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The implementation of a national program on blood donations and transfusion has not reduced blood shortage in sub-Sahara Africa. In developing countries, the bulk of the population live in the rural areas, hundreds of miles away from any major medical institution where blood can be collected and stored for subsequent transfusion. In Cameroon, for example, deaths from blood shortage continue to rise. When in need of blood transfusion in the rural communities, family members are asked to solicit potential donors from within their communities. This approach is laborious, stressful, time consuming and costly to patients and the family. It leads to treatment delay and unnecessary death of someone whose life could have been saved. In this review, blood donation and associated challenges in Sub-Sahara African is discussed. The author proposes the implementation of a blood group identification (BGID) card to alleviate the stress associated with searching for potential donors in rural communities to reduce untimely deaths resulting from transfusion delays. An individual's blood group does not change throughout life! Hence, only potential donors with an appropriately typed and known blood group would be solicited in a timely fashion and invited for further screening and donation in the hospital. Furthermore, BGID card carrying individuals would serve as a "blood bank" for timely access to meet a blood transfusion need in rural hospitals where sufficient energy and appropriate blood storage facilities are lacking.

Keywords: Blood, donations, transfusion, infection, rural hospitals

INTRODUCTION

Deaths resulting from the lack of blood for transfusion are frequent in Africa. Per World Health Organization (WHO), the median donation rate is 4.6 (minimum 10 units) per 1000 people per year in sub-Sahara Africa compared to 32.1 for high-income countries. This translates to greater than nine times higher the average rate of blood donation in high-income over low-income countries. Besides donations, shortage of suitable blood for transfusion is further exacerbated by blood group incompatibility and screening for transmission-transmitted pathogens. Blood group compatibility between donor and recipient ensures safe transfusion and prevents hemolytic transfusion reaction, a leading cause transfusion-related death worldwide. In 2001 WHO Africa region set goals of (i) developing, adopting and implementing national blood policy in at least 75% in all countries, (ii) ensuring the screening for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and other infectious pathogens of all transfused blood units and (iii) increasing blood donations to at least 80% from voluntary, unpaid donors in all countries (Tapko, Toure & Sambo; 2010). Some improvements have been made but a lot of weaknesses remain.

Transfusion associated deaths are due in part to delays in finding, typing and screening of potential donors. Despite efforts at reducing deaths, blood shortages are rampant in sub-Sahara Africa. Of the more than 400,000 sachets of blood needed yearly for the treatment of patients in Cameroon's hospitals, only about 50,000 of units of blood are collected (Lukong, 2016). This pattern of blood needs and shortages are common across the continent.

International organizations such as WHO consider shortage and unsafe blood as the two most critical issues related to blood transfusion in Africa (Dhingra, 2006). These problems frequently lead to serious health consequences and death from transfusion of infected blood or lack of blood for transfusion in anemic, traumatic, surgical and postpartum hemorrhage situations. Through actions that improves blood safety and availability, many of these deaths are preventable.

WHO plays an essential role in improving safety and ensuring universal access to safe blood products. By strongly advocating for the implementation of a global strategy for blood safety and availability, the organization provides policy guidance and technical support on implementation to member states. Through the President's Emergency Plan for HIV/AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the United States continue to contribute significantly towards the realization of WHO's goal in strengthening blood transfusion services in PEPFAR-supported countries like Ethiopia and Namibia in Africa (Dhingra, 2006). WHO works with experts and other recognized institutions worldwide to share expertise,

identify problems, and seek solutions towards the common goal of global blood safety and availability (Bloch et al, 2012). Despite these efforts, blood safety and lack of availability remain a major public health challenge on the continent.

This paper offers a possible solution to the problems associated with blood donation for transfusion in rural Africa. The different types of blood donors and factors contributing to blood shortage in Sub-Sahara Africa are discussed. The author proposes the adoption of a blood group identification (BGID) card as a way to quickly recruit potential donors; thus minimizing delay transfusion and reducing unnecessary deaths in the rural community hospitals. While the proposed suggestion focuses on timely donation, it does not negate the importance of ensuring that collected blood is safe for transfusion. In fact, blood must be donated before it can be typed and screened for safety and subsequent transfusion.

TYPES OF BLOOD DONORS

There are three main groups of blood donors: (i) voluntary non-remunerated, (ii) commercially remunerated and (iii) family replacement donors. Across sub-Sahara Africa Iz (n.d) reported that, approximately 6, 15 and 79 percent of the total blood collected were respectively donated by voluntary non-remunerated, commercially remunerated and family replacement donors. Gallaher et al (2017) indicated that donations from replacement donor stands now at about 40%. This drop in replacement donors is not matched by a comparable increase desirable donations from voluntary and unpaid donors. As a consequence, overall blood donation in Malawi has decreased by almost 50% between 2011 and 2013 (Gallaher et al, 2017).

VOLUNTARY NON-REMUNERATED DONATION

Voluntary non-remunerated donation is highly encouraged and considered the safest group of donors. WHO strongly recommends all nations to obtain all their blood products from voluntary unpaid donations. In accordance with the World Health Assembly resolution 28.72 adopted in 1975, voluntary and non-remunerated blood donors come from low-risk populations where donated blood is believed to be generally safe. However, unpaid donors contribute the least amount of blood and are difficult to attract and retain for subsequent blood donation in sub-Sahara Africa (Tagny, 2010 & 2016). Another shortcoming of imposing an all-volunteer donation system is the fear of illegal blood trade if payment is banned (Pablo, 1994). To increase the fraction of voluntary unpaid donor pool, appropriate policies and innovative ideas must be developed and put in place to attract and retain voluntary non-remunerated blood donors. Third world countries like Sri Lanka, Haiti, and Vietnam have been successful in reversing their blood donation pool from paid to voluntary unpaid donors. According to WHO, Sri Lanka has successfully transitioned from paid to unpaid blood donors within the last two decades. Today, about 87% of its donated blood come from voluntary unpaid donors. Haiti also has recorded great success in collecting blood from unpaid donors by encouraging young people between 16 and 25 years old to become regular volunteer blood donors. Today, eighty-five percent of Haiti's blood come from voluntary unpaid blood donors. As of 2011, approximately 89% of Vietnam's blood supplies were from unpaid donors. Furthermore, 100% of donated blood in Vietnam were screened for HIV, hepatitis B and C infection.

COMMERCIALLY REMUNERATED BLOOD DONORS

Commercially remunerated blood donors are fraught with the prevalence of high blood borne pathogens. As already indicated, paid donors make up about 15% of the donor pool in sub-Sahara Africa. The paid incentives make this category of donors more likely to donate and more often than recommended even when they may be in poor health and undernourished. Pablo (1994) discussed the negative consequences of paid blood donation in his 1994 paper. Briefly, paid donation (i) may discourage voluntary unpaid donations, provoking shortages and driving up costs in the blood-supply system, (ii) increases the risks of transmission of more transfusion-related diseases than that of voluntary donors, and (iii) the risks of exploiting destitute people across world.

FAMILY REPLACEMENT DONORS

Family replacement donors still make up a significant proportion of blood donation in sub-Sahara Africa. The challenge for family donors is that requesting blood donation puts additional responsibility and stress on patients and their loved ones who are already under enormous strain. When requested to donate, family members may find it difficult to say no even when donating would be detrimental to their own health. While the bulk of the blood donation come from family, Bates & Hassall (2010) concluded that family donors alone cannot fulfill a country's

blood needs. Hence, a hybrid approach between voluntary unpaid and replacement donations should be encouraged to increase blood supply (Gallaher et al., 2017).

DRIVERS OF BLOOD SHORTAGE IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA DONORS AVAILABILITY

In sub-Saharan Africa, donor availability is a major challenge. An adequate blood supply can be ensured if there are enough individuals willing to donate. Individuals and communities must be appropriately sensitized on the need and importance of donating blood regularly. As already indicated, the average blood donation rate is approximately tenfold lower in sub-Saharan Africa compared to higher-income countries. This problem is further compounded by the requirements from WHO for countries to establish a reliable and safe blood supply from a stable base of regular, voluntary, and unpaid blood donors to minimize the risks of transmission of blood borne pathogens. However, such stipulation would exclude all the traditional family/replacement donors who constitute the majority of donors in the rural communities on the continent. Allain (2011) reported that excluding traditional family/replacement donors would exacerbate the pre-existing blood shortage and increase up to five fold the cost per unit of blood.

BLOOD BORNE PATHOGENS

All donated blood should be typed and preferably screened for blood borne pathogens before transfusion. In endemic areas in sub-Sahara Africa, malaria screening is not performed (Alek, Perry & Bates, 2010). Typically, blood is screened for HIV, human T-lymphotropic virus (HTLV), hepatitis B virus (HBV), hepatitis C virus (HCV), syphilis and West Nile virus prior to transfusion. Transfusion-associated hepatitis and HIV are major problems in sub-Saharan Africa with most countries having hepatitis infection rates exceeding 3%, much higher (>10%) for West African countries (CDC MMWR, 2014) and ~16% for Cameroon (Moki, 2013). To reduce the proportion of transfusion-transmitted infection, WHO recommends the use of voluntary non-remunerated blood donors. In addition, some countries have made tremendous efforts to reduce transmitted infections by testing for hepatitis B surface antigen (HbsAg) and HCV antibody (Ibironke et al, 2014). Tagny et al (2016) reported a significant reduction in seroprevalences of HIV, HBV, HCV and syphilis since the 1990 at the Yaounde University Teaching Hospital in Cameroon. The reduction in transfusion-transmitted infections also led to a significant decrease in the total number of blood collections as some Cameroonians are unwilling to know their serological status through participation in blood donation (Koster & Hassall, 2011). Such attitude compounds further the blood shortage for transfusion. As a consequence many more patients in need of transfusion died prematurely in the hospitals because of the lack of blood.

About 35 countries in sub-Sahara Africa are unable to screen all donated blood for one or more infectious pathogens. Screening is unreliable in communities where testing exist because of the irregular supply of test kits, staff shortages, poor quality test kits, and/or lack of basic quality in the laboratories. As a result, the risks of transfusing not only infected but also poorly typed and incompatible blood is prevalent in rural hospitals. In general, transfusion-related deaths go unreported for proper investigation and corrective measures.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND INVESTMENT IN HEALTHCARE

In sub-Sahara Africa, countries spend between 2-6 % of their gross domestic product (GDP) on healthcare; three to five folds lower than the amount set aside for healthcare in European countries (who.int/nha/data). With a population of about 24 million, Cameroon spent ~5% of its GDP on healthcare in 2015. At the individual or family levels, the poor generally suffer from poor health. Unable to afford, the poor easily succumbed to health problems and challenges such as infectious diseases, malnutrition and childbirth complications that are avoidable and easily treated. Although heavily decried nationwide, a pregnant female was left to die in front of a major hospital in Cameroon because the family was unable to pay for the caesarean section procedure (Linning, 2016; france24.com). Poor people can't get access to hospital care. As a consequence, unnecessary deaths go unreported especially in the rural hospitals.

The growth in Cameroon's population means increased demand for blood to tender to the growing number of road accidents and complications of childbirth. Moki (2013) reported a drastic increase in the number of accidents resulting in about 1500 deaths on Cameroon roads in 2012. In 2011, a study by WHO reported maternal mortality rate of 782 deaths per 100,000 births in Cameroon (france24.com). Presumably, some of these deaths could be attributed to the lack of blood for transfusion. While wealthy countries have the infrastructure network (to deliver

blood products in a timely fashion), energy (to store and preserve blood products), equipment and expertise to separate whole blood into various components for transfusion; thus minimizing the risks of transfusion transmitted infections; resource-poor nations in sub-Sahara Africa are unable to do so. In these countries, ninety-five percent of the blood donated (most locally) is transfused as whole blood. Besides safety, blood components separation maximizes the use of a single unit of blood to benefit several patients. Patients are only transfused the blood component needed for their treatment. The lack of power is also an ominous problem in sub-Sahara Africa. One report estimated that over 110 million people live in urban areas in Africa without access to electricity (Attia, 2018). The energy situation is dire in the rural areas and hospitals located therein.

The presence of a centralized system to manage and distribute donated blood is another dilemma. The process is not efficient/effective in countries where the infrastructure network is poor. In Malawi, centralization per WHO recommendation led to a reduction in blood product for transfusion in acute situations (Gallaher et al., 2017). The same is true of other countries where rural hospitals are hundreds of kilometers away from the nearest centralization center.

THE BLOOD PROBLEM IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

WHO's national policy on blood transfusion recommend countries to define applicable standards: plan, execute, coordinate, follow up and evaluate the implementation of activities related to blood transfusion. These activities include promoting voluntary blood donations from the population; the majority of whom live in the rural areas, hundreds of miles from major hospitals where blood can be collected and stored for subsequent transfusion. One of the major indicators for transfusion are anemia and overt hemorrhage (Asanghanwa, 2013). Donated blood is also used for transfusion during: (i) complications of pregnancy, (ii) traumatic situations with heavy bleeding, (iii) major surgical procedures and (iv) many complex medical conditions such as cancers, sickle cell disease, hemophiliac etc. Besides donating to help fellow man, blood donors also enjoy some health benefits. Prevention of hemochromatosis, reduced cancer risks, healthy heart and liver, weight loss and the development of new blood cells are donor health benefits associated with blood donation (organicfacts.net).

When blood is needed for transfusion in the rural communities, family members are asked to solicit potential donors from within their local communities. These potential donors (many of whom are family members and/or friends) are invited to the hospital for screening. If there is a match, the donor donates for subsequent transfusion to the patient. In the absence of a match, the patient's family members would repeat the whole process of soliciting another set of potential donors, and this repetition continues until a match is found.

The aforementioned approach is certainly not efficient or effective. It is laborious, painful, time consuming and costly. More importantly, repeat solicitation of donors leads to treatment delay and death of someone whose life could have been saved. Bates et al, (2008) reported that blood shortages accounts for 26% mortality in mothers experiencing severe bleeding during peri- and post-partum delivery. Delayed transfusion also accounted for a high mortality rate in acute pediatric malaria patients in Mulago hospital in Uganda (Idro & Aloyo, 2004; Meremikwu & Smith, 2010).

In the rural communities, blood shortage and timely donations/transfusions is further compounded by the lack of power and adequate storage facilities. The lack of power and adequate storage facilities makes blood transfusion on the continent challenging. Kubio et al (2012) identified blood donation, testing, storage and logistics, transfusion practice, adverse events, and follow-up as some of the major blood transfusion challenges in rural sub-Saharan Africa. The notion of storing an adequate blood reserve in a rural hospital blood bank is nonexistent. In the urban hospitals, blood reserves are also very constrained and limited.

WHO estimates that approximately 112.5 million units of blood are donated yearly worldwide. The bulk of these donations (47%) come from high-income countries where about 19% of the world's population resides. In one rural hospital in Ghana, whole blood collection rate was 8.36 units per 1000 population in 2009 (Kubio et al, 2012). Many patients requiring transfusion, however, do not get transfused safe blood and blood products in a timely fashion. Many of the donated blood units were found to be positive for infectious diseases such as hepatitis B, hepatitis C, human immunodeficiency virus and syphilis etc. Screening for safe blood is key to the prevention of transmission of hepatitis and other blood borne pathogens. In sub-Sahara Africa, prevention and control of

transmission of blood pathogens remains a major challenge especially in the rural communities where screening is impractical and nonexistent. The inability to screen blood products for diseases accounts for the estimated 45,000 yearly hepatitis virus infections that are transmitted through the transfusion of contaminated blood (CDC, 2014). Reducing this number is a priority for the World Health Organization and other international bodies.

PROPOSED SOLUTION

Many efforts are being made and considered to address blood shortage and the availability of safe blood products in sub-Sahara Africa. Blood donation crisis in sub-Sahara Africa can be reversed by implementing measures and policies that have been successful in other third world countries. In Sri Lanka, regular blood donors receive membership cards that recognizes their commitment to blood donation at four levels – red, silver, gold and platinum. Donated blood is screened for all major infections and converted into components for optimal use. Haiti embarked on sensitizing the population on the importance of blood donation by tapping into a network of "volunteer promoters and sent mobile blood". Flyers, stickers, t-shirts, books and pens were handed out, with the aim of attracting younger donors using the concept of Club 25; all geared at encouraging young people aged 16 to 25 to become regular volunteer blood donors. Vietnam is committed to increasing its percentage of blood obtained from voluntary blood donors to 95% (currently at 89 %) by 2020.

In addition to adopting any or all of the above strategies, sub-Sahara African countries should also consider implementing a Blood Group Identification (BGID) card for its citizens across the community. This strategy should drastically alleviate delays associated with timely blood transfusion, improve health outcomes and safe lives. More specifically, only potential donors with an appropriately typed blood group would be solicited and invited to the hospital for screening and donation. We believe that generating a BGID card would eventually save lives and drastically cut down on the thousands of deaths associated with delays in the transfusion of blood products. Specifically, (i) an individual's blood group would be typed and known early, preferably from birth, (ii) the blood type information is incorporated into the birth certificate or edged into a BGID card issued to the individual, (iii) these individuals and perhaps their family would be aware of the blood type of their loved ones in case there's future need for blood transfusion, and (iv) families would solicit only matching donors (reduce delay, timely transfusion and save a life) from their communities for donation in time of need.

The creation of a BGID program should improve upon the timeliness, accuracy of blood donation and the overall health outcome in sub-Saharan Africa where blood recipient's deaths are frequent. This is especially true for the rural communities where storage facilities and energy are lacking. The proposed effort should support and strengthen local and national strategies to reduce deaths from blood transfusion. Blood availability and delays in transfusion can be greatly improved when citizens' blood groups are "typed" and they are issued a BGID card. This is a feasible proposal because an individual's blood group remains unchanged throughout life. A BGID card would reduce the stress and search challenge family members face, especially in the rural areas for potential donors when in need of blood products for their loved one.

CONCLUSION

A significant number of lives are lost in sub-Sahara Africa from blood shortage and delay in finding a match for timely transfusion. The adoption and implementation of a BGID card system should reduce unnecessary deaths resulting from delays in finding suitable donors. The BGID card, when adopted, should decrease blood transfusion delays and save lives in the rural communities where storage facilities and energy are lacking. BGID card carrying donors would serve as a repository for blood products that can immediately be tapped for transfusion to a patient in need of blood. The idea of a membership card is at the heart of voluntary blood donation success in Sri Lanka, where regular blood donors are given four different levels of membership cards (red, silver, gold and platinum) to recognize their commitment to blood donation.

Besides improving on the infrastructure, and investing more on healthcare, sub-Sahara African nations must embark and engage its citizens on a blood donation campaign. People are generally altruistic and willing to help when asked. Gallahar et al (2017) advocated that a hybrid model of centralized voluntary and family replacement donations strategies is better for culturally appropriate donor recruitment. The recruitment efforts can be greatly enhanced by directly engaging and involving individuals (community leaders and traditional chiefs) who speak in a language that the citizens understand in the blood campaign drive. By making it a top priority to sensitize the populace on

the value and health benefits of blood donations, the overwhelming burden on family members to provide blood or search for donors in sub-Sahara Africa can be reversed. Sri Lanka, Haiti and Vietnam are just a few third world countries that have succeeded in meeting most of their donated blood demands from unpaid, voluntary donors. Sub-Sahara Africa may learn from these nations.

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DEVELOPMENT OF AN EVIDENCE-BASED CVD RISK PREVENTION PROGRAM TO PROMOTE HEALTHY LIFESTYLE BEHAVIORS AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

Cardiovascular disease (CVD) is a significant public health problem and is the leading cause of death in the US. Some risk factors for college students include obesity and physical inactivity, which are disproportionately higher among African American (AA). Although studies regarding health issues and the obesity epidemic have increased in recent years, few of these studies target AA college-aged students. Utilizing e-learning, web-based technologies and a mobile app, we pilot tested an evidence-based 15-week CVD risk prevention and intervention program administered as a 3-credit hour semester long CVD intervention course versus a comparison course. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the university where the study was conducted and 124 students AA college students (two cohorts) voluntarily consented for the CVD intervention or control group (n=63 cohort 1 and n=61 cohort 2). CVD risk factors were assessed by examining blood markers and anthropometric measurements. Demographic and intervention program data (physical measures, blood marker investigation, and self-report surveys) were collected at three time points; baseline, post, and follow-up over the academic year. Blood markers for lipids and glucose results were within the established optimal range. Intake of fruits and vegetables increased along with knowledge of CVD risk factors; 86% of students enrolled in the intervention passed the course; 100% would recommend this course to future students. It is feasible to develop and offer a healthy lifestyle behavior CVD intervention to AA college students for optimal student awareness of chronic disease risk factors and behavior change.

Keywords: CVD prevention, lifestyle behaviors, African-American, mobile app, physical activity

INTRODUCTION

Cardiovascular disease (CVD) is a significant public health problem and is the leading cause of death in the United States (US). People of all ages and backgrounds can get the condition and one in three deaths (approximately 800,000) are reported each year in the US (Benjamin, Blaha, Chiuve, et al, 2017; Kochanek, Murphy, Xu & Arias, 2016; Lloyd-Jones, Adams, Carthenon, et al., 2011). Annual overall costs resulting from CVD are estimated at \$400 billion with a projection to rise to more than \$818 billion by 2030 (Benjamin, Blaha, Chiuve, et al, 2017). Strategies that address leading CVD risk factors such as hypertension, high cholesterol levels, and smoking, can greatly reduce the burden of CVD (Benjamin, Blaha, Chiuve, et al, 2017; Farley, Dalal, Mostashari & Frieden, 2010). The risk factor criteria for CVD are as follows: uncontrolled hypertension is defined as a systolic blood pressure ≥140 mm Hg or a diastolic blood pressure ≥90 mm Hg, based on the average of up to three measurements; uncontrolled high levels of LDL-C is defined as levels above the treatment goals established by the National Cholesterol Education Program (NCEP) Adult Treatment Panel-III (ATP-III) guidelines: <160 mg/dL, <130 mg/dL, and <100 mg/dL for low-, intermediate-, and high-risk groups, respectively (CDC National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, 2017); and current cigarette smoking was defined in persons who 1) reported having smoked ≥100 cigarettes in their lifetime and who currently smoke every day or some days, or 2) had a measured serum cotinine (the primary nicotine metabolite) level >10 ng/mL (CDC National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, 2017; Scott, Grundy, Cleeman, et al., 2004).

About half of Americans (49%) have at least one of these three risk factors (Benjamin, Blaha, Chiuve, et al, 2017 Gregg, Cheng, Cadwell, et al., 2005). Several other medical conditions and lifestyle choices can also put people at a higher risk for heart disease, including, diabetes, overweight and obesity, poor diet, physical inactivity and excessive alcohol use. Nearly one-third of adults in the US are obese and overweight (Kumanyika et al., 2008; Flegal, et al, 2007; Ogden et al., 2007; Kumanyika & Obarzanek, 2003) which affects physical, social, and quality of life and is a major influence on the development of CVD (Goff, D.C., Lloyd-Jones, D.M., Bennett, G., et al., 2013; Poirier 2006). However, the need for treatment is highest among low-income and ethnic minority populations who have a high burden of obesity but less access to healthcare services (Smith, Jr. et al., 2005). Many disease risk factors

are amenable to change, and all individuals can reduce their risk of CVD morbidity and mortality, especially if healthful behaviors are established in childhood or changed in young adulthood (USDHHS, 2007). Although studies regarding health issues and the obesity epidemic have increased in recent years, few of these studies target college aged students; and more importantly, African American (AA) college students who are more predisposed to CVD (Holland, Carthron, Duren-Winfield & Lawrence, 2014).

Current literature indicates that most college students are unaware of CVD risk factors and some students hold false beliefs about CVD complications (Becker, Bromme & Jucks, 2008); Collins, Dantico, Shearer & Mossman, 2004). Previous reports have indicated that college students do not accurately perceive their own risk factors and rate their own risks lower than their peers' risk (Goff, Lloyd-Jones, Bennett, G., et al., 2013; Green, Grant, Hill, Brizzolara & Belmont, 2003). Young adults are often overlooked in research studies (Tram & Zimmerman, 2015) despite research that shows plaque formation begins in young adulthood and can lead to coronary heart disease as they approach middle-age or older adults (Raynor, Schreiner, Loria, et al., 2013; Liu, K., Daviglus, M.L., Lorie, C.M., et al. (2012). Available prevention and intervention strategies have been proposed to reduce CVD mortality and morbidity such as the Million Hearts project launched by the United States Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS, 2017), Healthy People 2020 (USDHHS, 2010), and guidelines from both the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute (NHLBI) and the American Heart Association (Goff, D.C., Lloyd-Jones, D.M., Bennett, G., et al., 2013).

This purpose of this report is to describe the development and methodology of an intervention named Rams Have HEART, a subject-preference, controlled, prospective trial of a CVD intervention to test whether incorporating knowledge and awareness of CVD risk factors in a 3-credit hour semester long CVD intervention course increases physical activity, fruit and vegetable intake and enhanced blood marker results versus a comparison course. We are not reporting on final outcomes, anthropometric measurements and blood marker data. This report focuses on how the intervention was designed and implemented into the General Education curriculum at an HBCU located in the southeastern US.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Obesity is a significant risk factor for CVD and a leading cause of death in the US with AA disproportionately affected (Lloyd-Jones, Adams, Carnethon, et al., 2009). The manifestation of the disease in childhood and adolescence is rare but risk factors and behaviors that accelerate the development of atherosclerosis begin at childhood, according to the NHLBI Expert Panel for cardiovascular health. Obesity disparities are prominent in youth, given that 70% of overweight youth are estimated to be overweight when they become adults (US DHHS, 2017); therefore, it is imperative that innovative approaches be developed to prevent obesity early in the life sequence.

Based on data from the 2017–2018 US National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES), there are differences in overweight and obesity prevalence by racial/ethnic group among women, children and adolescents (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2017). Among women, almost 58% of non-Hispanic black women aged 40 to 59 years were obese compared to 38% of non-Hispanic white women. The prevalence among men, however, did not differ by racial ethnicity. Among children and adolescents, up to age 20 years, the CDC uses the term "overweight" rather than "obesity" and further defined "overweight as a BMI at or above the 95th percentile of sex-specific BMI-for-age values from the CDC growth charts 2017. Data reveals that differences by racial/ethnic group exist for both sexes.

For college students, the transition from adolescence to young adulthood can be a time of increased stress and is associated with increased health risk such as poor diet, overweight, obesity and physical inactivity particularly among AA who have a higher propensity for developing CVD. There is a great need for interventions to help AA young adults understand the importance of CVD risk factors on future health profile; to learn how to assess family history of CVD, obesity, health behaviors, and lifestyle choices and to develop self-efficacy to modify behavioral changes that improve life-long health. Such interventions are needed the campus of the current HBCU, given that more than 75% (>4,650) of the student population are AA and 63% self-reported being overweight or obese (Valentine, Duren-Winfield, Onsomu, et al., 2012).

The rationale for implementing health promotion intervention programs for AA college students is related to the goal of obesity prevention during adulthood. A focus on CVD prevention and treatment in these students may seem particularly intuitive because the process of developing obesity may begin in early life, and arresting development of obesity early on has the greatest long-term payoff in years of healthy life. Additional benefits include the avoidance of obesity-related comorbidities that develop during adulthood. There are relatively few AA students participating in many of the national health surveys of college students such as the National College Health Assessment (2014). This study serves as a methodology for the development and pilot testing of a CVD risk factor assessment, prevention and health promotion intervention named *Rams Have HEART* for AA students enrolled at an HBCU. The intervention incorporates didactic and eLearning technology strategies that align with the evidence-based Centers for Medicaid & Medicare Services (CMS) Quality Improvement Organization (QIO) toolkit, Reducing Cardiac Risk Factors, the Million Hearts Initiative (USDHHS, 2017), Healthy People 2020 (USDHHS, 2010), guidelines from both the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute (NHLBI) and the American Heart Association (Goff, D.C., Lloyd-Jones, D.M., Bennett, G., et al., 2013).

Rams Have HEART is designed based on two methods of information transfer to college students; namely, 1) the development of a 15-week CVD prevention and intervention healthy lifestyle program that focuses on diet and physical activity; 2) the use of e-learning and web-based health resources. Approval of the intervention course to be offered at the university was granted by the Academic Standards Committee. A mobile app was designed as a tool for self-monitoring and self-motivation for healthy behaviors (Kizakevich, Hubal, Brown, et al., 2012; Kizakevich, 2011). Further, the use of Student Health Coaches (SHCs) as intervention leaders and research assistants created added value and served as a mechanism to expose allied health students to research (Duren-Winfield, Nance, Onsomu, et al., 2011). We hypothesize that, compared to the control group, students enrolled in the evidence-based CVD health curriculum course will have improved health behaviors (increased fruit and vegetable intake, physical activity participation, cardiovascular fitness, sleep quality, and stress reduction), anthropometric measurements (BMI and waist circumference), and blood markers (total cholesterol, triglycerides, high-density lipoprotein (HDL), low-density lipoprotein (LDL), and glucose). The overarching CVD prevention goals entail promoting healthy eating, increased physical activity patterns, and lower body mass index.

RESEARCH METHODS AND DESIGN Theoretical Framework

The proposed intervention is based on the Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, 1988) and constructs from the Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 2001). This model suggests that changes in one's actions regarding health activities is dependent on one's perceived susceptibility and seriousness about a potential health problem, perceived benefits and barriers to taking action, cues to action and self-efficacy. Beliefs related to readiness and motivation to change toward healthy behavioral changes encompasses both cognitive and emotional components. In the CVD curriculum, experiential activities (i.e., activities of unique stimulating educational experiences that are characterized by involved, active learning) are used to raise awareness about self and family risk factors for cardiovascular disease. This increased awareness increased cues to action.

Small group discussions were used to problem solve benefits and barriers to increasing one's self efficacy to change behavior.

OVERVIEW OF STUDY DESIGN, RECRUITMENT AND AIMS

The study design was a subject-preference, controlled, prospective trial of a CVD intervention conducted in AA college students who were attending a southeastern HBCU. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the university where the study was conducted. Students between the ages of 17 – 26 (mean age =18) voluntarily enrolled in the CVD intervention group or control group. Students were excluded if they were non-African American, <age 17, or pregnant because of possible health risks and limited safeguards for this study population. Students were excluded if they identified a physical or health condition that was contraindicated for the study.

Recruitment for the intervention occurred during the spring/summer semester 2016 and 2017 respectively. Faculty advisors across the university were informed of the new General Education CVD course EXS1301 Healthy Lifestyle Behaviors for Heart Health. They informed students of the course during the advisement period and students were enrolled. Likewise, for the control group, HED 1301 Concepts of Health, students voluntarily enrolled in the course.

The control group course was a basic health education course that covered the adoption and maintenance of healthy behaviors overall. It was taught without any additional information on CVD risk factors. The principal investigators consented both the intervention and control group two weeks after the semester began. A complete review of the study was presented via a 30-minute PowerPoint presentation. Students received information about the purpose of the study, what their participation would entail, how confidentiality will be maintained, provided phone numbers and email addresses for the PIs and the compliance officer. Each student received a consent form to keep for future reference with study information and contacts and offered opportunities to ask questions. Students understood they were enrolled into the study, not just the class only, and were allowed to decline participation. Everyone consented. A \$20 gift card incentive was given at each data collection point that occurred at baseline, post and follow-up. Our original recruitment goal was 50 students per cohort; per semester year; i.e. fall 2016 and fall 2017. We exceeded our recruitment goal with an enrollment of 63 students for cohort 1 and 61 for cohort 2.

Our study aims were: 1) To assess CVD risk factors among AA college students by examining blood markers and, 2) To pilot test a 15-week CVD risk prevention and intervention program administered as a 3-credit hour semester long CVD intervention course versus a comparison course among two cohorts of AA college students. We hypothesized that, compared to the control group, students enrolled in the evidence-based CVD health curriculum course would have improved health behaviors (increased fruit and vegetable intake, physical activity participation, cardiovascular fitness, sleep quality, and stress reduction), anthropometric measurements (BMI and waist circumference), and blood markers (total cholesterol, triglycerides, high-density lipoprotein (HDL), low-density lipoprotein (LDL), and glucose). Additionally, participants also completed self-report surveys: International PA Questionnaire (IPAQ), Perceived Stress Scale (PSS), and Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI).

CURRICULUM AND MOBILE APP DEVELOPMENT

The curriculum was developed implementing evidence-based CVD risk factor prevention information from the CMS QIO Toolkit that provides educational resources to reduce cardiac risk factors that include hypertension, smoking and high cholesterol and resources to increase heart healthy behaviors. The curriculum was aligned with the ABCS of the Million Hearts™ Initiative (USDHHS, 2017; 2010). The content focused on CVD risk factors, diet and physical activity and how they relate to weight reduction, disease risk prevention and heart healthy behaviors. The course was organized into three units: Unit 1: Understanding Healthy Lifestyle Behaviors; Unit 2: Behavior Modification and Unit 3: Cardiovascular Disease Risk Factors and taught two days a week, Tuesday and Thursday from 9:30am − 10:45am. The course was designed to introduce the student to fundamental aspects of cardiovascular health, wellness, fitness and healthy lifestyle behaviors using evidence-based health data easily accessible to the public for free. With the emphasis on lifestyle modifications to promote heart health and overall health and wellness, this course will prepared undergraduate students to 1) calculate cardiovascular disease risk factors and understand how lifestyle behaviors contribute to chronic disease risks, 2) organize and analyze data, 3) interpret quantitative information and draw conclusions and, 4) evaluate the presentation of health data in mass media, e-learning and web-based sources.

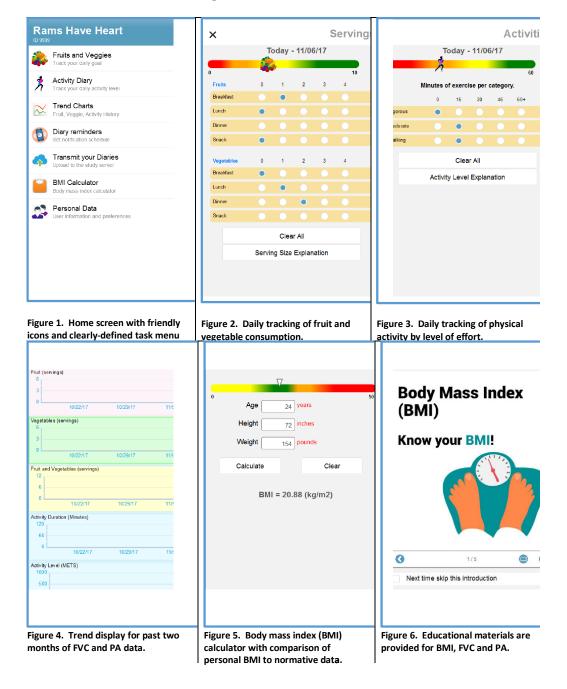
Teaching strategies included high impact practices to enhance student engagement and retention (Kuh, 2015). Written materials were developed to accompany the content of the intervention including lesson plans for the instructor/ interventionist and materials for the student participants. Written materials were to be read by students prior to the class meetings and homework completed after a topic was presented. Content themes for the CVD curriculum include: Who Is at Risk for CVD? What are CVD risk factors? The Role of Physical Activity, Healthy Eating: Fruits & Veggies, Clinical Treatment for CVD – the ABCS, Blood Pressure Control, Cholesterol Management and Smoking Cessation. Weekly experiential activities involved self-assessment to raise awareness and provide cues to action. Cooking demonstrations, guest speakers, weekly physical activity in the gym and numerous high impact activities made the class engaging and interesting. The use of e-learning and web-based technology were integral components of the intervention and were useful in the promotion of diet change and physical activity participation among the students.

In collaboration with Research Triangle Institute (RTI) a mobile app was designed as a tool for self-monitoring and self-motivation for healthy behaviors (Kizakevich, Hubal, Brown, et al., 2012; Kizakevich, 2011; Polishook, 2005; Ramsden, 2005). Students were able to use the app regardless of the type or style of smart phone they possessed. Mobile devices are particularly popular with this cohort and this greatly increased the likelihood that they would

carry it on their person to play music, videos, check email, surf the web, check up on their friends via Facebook and a dozen other things that are already popular with this demographic. College students arrive on campus with mobile devices and the sheer versatility and their inherent appeal to the younger adult population presented a very promising and exciting vehicle for behavior change and health education (Duren-Winfield, Onsomu & Case, 2015).

Rams Have Heart app has a simple menu structure for quick data entry (Figure 1a).

Daily tracking of fruit and vegetable consumption (FVC) (Figure 2) and physical activity (PA) (Figure 3) use similar data entry forms. Each has a dynamic graphic at the top with an icon that moves toward the recommended daily target level. As the user enters data through the day, the icon advances toward reaching his or her daily goal. Although users are requested to enter FVC and PA data throughout each day, experience demonstrated that they sometime may miss a day or two. We therefore included a method for entering recall data for up to two previous days. A trend charting feature provides a historical view of the past two months of data entry (Figure 4). Additional functions include daily reminder notifications, data transmission, and a body mass index (BMI) calculator (Figures 5 & 6), and educational materials (Figure 6).



DATA COLLECTION

Data collection consisted of student's reporting on the mobile app of their fruits and vegetable intake and physical activity at three end points: baseline, post and follow-up. Specific measurements of individual student's blood pressure, pulse, respirations, BMI (height and weight), waist circumference, cardiovascular fitness, lipids, glucose, and cholesterol obtained and self-report survey data were collected at the same end points. Anthropometric measurements were performed, and students completed self-report surveys: International PA Questionnaire (IPAQ), Perceived Stress Scale (PSS), and Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI). We will report on these items in the outcomes paper.

RESULTS/DISCUSSION

The Rams Have HEART, a 15-week CVD risk prevention and intervention program recruited n=124 AA students; two cohorts (n=63 cohort 1; n=61 cohort 2). Eight-six percent (86%) of enrolled students passed the course; 73% were female; intake of fruits and vegetables increased along with physical activity (specific outcome data will be reported elsewhere). We successfully developed and implemented a 15-week CVD prevention and intervention healthy lifestyle program that focused on diet and physical activity and the use of e-learning and web-based health resources. A "user friendly" mobile app was designed to capture fruit and vegetable consumption behaviors, and physical activity. In this sample of 124 AA college students aged 17-26, the most frequent modifiable risk factor was being overweight/obese. College students are mainly young adults who continue to identify some feelings of invincibility in spite of the accessible information and resources. Yet, we recognize CVD prevention in AA college-age students also has the goal of preventing obesity during adulthood and the avoidance of obesity-related comorbidities that develop later in life.

Students were asked to complete a course evaluation at the end of the semester. Listed are their affirmative responses about information learned and behavior changes attributed to the intervention course. Overall, a rating of 90% or higher was reported by students about their satisfaction with the course, how it impacted their attitude in a positive manner toward changing their behaviors and becoming more responsible for the outcome of their health.

- I would recommend this course to future students. 100%
- The course encouraged me to stay active and eat healthy. 95%
- Knowing the laboratory values for the blood lipid profile and glucose change my attitude towards maintaining a healthy lifestyle. 90%
- I will take action to improve my health to feel better and live longer. 100%
- I have most of the responsibility for my health than my healthcare provider. 100%

CVD risk factors were assessed by examining blood markers and anthropometric measurements. It should be noted that not all students participated in all aspects of the CVD screening. The Table 1.below describes anthropometric data: n=114 participants. The mean systolic blood pressure = 117; diastolic blood pressure = 69; age = 18; BMI = 27; weight = 162lbs.

 Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	
age	114	17	26	18.19	1.063	
SBP	114	93	159	117.21	12.453	
DBP	114	52	90	69.75	9.041	
height_cm	114	143.0	190.5	166.842	8.9976	
HR	112	49	115	74.81	11.725	
waist_cm	112	59.0	115.0	82.023	12.0394	
weight_kg	114	43.3	555.9	77.714	48.6631	
waist_in	114	.0	45.3	31.726	6.3405	
height_in	114	56.3	75.0	65.686	3.5424	
weight_lb	114	95.5	337.4	162.02	40.02	
BMI	114	16.3	205.4	27.886	17.7326	
PSS10	110	2	32	15.40	6.315	
Valid N (listwise)	106					

One of the approaches recommended by the American Heart Association to reduce the risk of developing CVD is knowing your cholesterol and glucose values. A lipid panel plus glucose was obtained from each participant to assess the blood markers as contributing risk for CVD. The result of blood markers assessments is found in Table 2. The results indicate the mean participant samples were within the reference range of the lipid profile and glucose blood markers for Cohort 1 and 2.

Table 2. Blood Marker Assessments

BLOOD MARKER	TC (Total Cholesterol)	HDL (High Density Lipoprotein)	LDL (Low Density Lipoprotein)	TRG (Triglycerides)	TC/HDL Ratio	Glucose
Optimal Range (fasting)	<170 mg/dL	≥ 50 mg/dL	<130 mg/dL	<100 mg/dL	≤4.5	<100 mg/dL
COHORT 1 Pre-intervention $N=58$ Mean (\bar{X})	141	52	72	82	3.2	90
COHORT 1 Post- intervention N = 18 Mean (\bar{X})	153	58	80	94	2.7	87
COHORT 2 Pre-intervention $N=59$ Mean (\bar{X})	149	52	81	95	3.0	90
COHORT 2 Post- intervention N = 51 Mean (\overline{X})	152	59	92	92	2.7	92

STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study involves the development and pilot testing of a CVD risk factor prevention program using an evidence-based curriculum and a combination of didactic and technology tools to enhance physical activity and healthy eating. Strengths indicate this approach could be applied to other settings with populations at high risk for CVD and its complications, so the potential for generalizability and impact is high. Students improved health behaviors and have the tools necessary to improve their own chronic disease risk profiles and be able to identify chronic disease symptoms and risk factors in others. Additionally, the ability to actually assess and record these blood marker and anthropometric measurements establishes a solid baseline for students.

The proposed study has the potential limitation of being affected by loss to follow up of students who do not return to school after the summer or winter recess. However, we made every effort to engage students to enhance collection of follow-up data and learned from the experience through process evaluation. We requested and were granted

approval from NIH to modify our research plan and to change the CVD assessment time points from baseline, 6 and 12 months to include three time points of collection during the academic year. This would avoid the summer months when students are not in school and not utilizing the mobile app to input data.

Another recognized limitation to the study is that we collected data at different time points for each cohort. Cohort 1 data collection was conducted at baseline, 6 and 12 months. The new time points implemented for cohort 2 allowed for two data collection periods to occur while students were enrolled in the course. Students were accompanied to the baseline and post screenings during their regular class period by their instructors while enrolled in the intervention and control course. Once the course ended, it was at the students' discretion if they would continue data entry and return for the final follow-up assessment. Because students were reluctant to continue data entry after the course ended, we came up a strategy to overcome this challenge. To maintain retention efforts for the follow-up collection, research assistants were assigned a specific group of students to deliver bi-weekly motivational text messages and email reminders to encourage data entry. Monthly incentives of \$20 gift cards were offered to the top three participants who entered the most data in the *Rams Have HEART mobile app*. In spite of our efforts, students, after completing the course were not as willing to continue entering the data. They indicated competing activities such as course load, studying, working an after-school job, extra-curricular activities, and such prevented them from maintaining data entry. However, students returned for the final follow-up assessment (cohort 1, n=18; cohort 2, n=51).

CONCLUSION

College students are a vulnerable population given the disproportionate manifestation of chronic disease particularly AA adults. There is a great need for interventions to help AA young adults understand the importance of CVD risk factors on their future health profile; to learn how to assess family history of CVD, obesity, health behaviors, and lifestyle choices and to develop self-efficacy to modify behavioral changes that improve life-long health. African American college students are a targeted population that could benefit from cardiovascular risk factor reduction programs especially since more than 50% of our study population had one or more CVD risk factors. The pilot testing of the *Rams Have HEART* assessment, prevention and health promotion intervention program proved to be achievable and acceptable to the participants. Further, we are fortunate that our university administrators recognized the need for such a program and has allowed the course *EXS1301 Healthy Lifestyle Behaviors for Heart Health* to remain a part of the General Education curriculum for all incoming freshman students.

The investigative team intends to develop a full-scale intervention using an R01 National Institutes of Health mechanism to potentially partner with other HBCUs to provide the full program.

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