Inequality in Botswana

An analysis of the drivers and district-level mapping of select dimensions of inequality

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Foreword

Jacinta Barrins
UNDP RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE

This study was commissioned by UNDP, in an attempt to assist Botswana in understanding the drivers of inequality beyond income and to assist Botswana to achieve its SDG 10 targets

The adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the associated Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 shone a spotlight on the achievements that the world has made in raising living standards. However, the process has also served to highlight the extent of the challenge remaining, including addressing the issue of inequalities. Sustainable Development Goal 10 aims at reducing inequality within and among countries. This goal calls for reducing inequalities in income as well as those based on age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status within a country. The 2020-2021 COVID-19 pandemic has further exposed and exacerbated inequalities, undermining the previous gains made in achieving sustainable development.

At UNDP, we have long committed to generating an evidence-driven understanding of inequality. Many factors contribute to creating and re-creating inequalities across societies and over time, as highlighted in our annual global Human Development flagship reports.

Unfortunately, Botswana is currently one of the most unequal countries globally, having the 9th highest Gini coefficient, indicating the degree of inequality of incomes, according to the most recent UNDP report (2020). Both theoretical and empirical studies have shown the negative effect of inequality on long-run growth, poverty reduction, social and political stability.

The issue of inequality in Botswana has received limited attention historically from both research and policy perspectives. This study was therefore commissioned by UNDP, in an attempt to assist Botswana in understanding the drivers of inequality beyond income, as part of Botswana's commitment to implement SDG 10 targets.

The study aims at assessing and mapping inequality across districts using advanced techniques to identify the determinants of, and contributors to, inequality as Botswana's economy pivots and evolves. It charts the spatial distribution of consumption inequality including the defining of a Gini coefficient by district. Subsequent sections reveal the structure and drivers of inequality including the role of tertiary education, public and parastatal bodies, as well as the linkages between land ownership, demographic factors and inequality. Gender, disability, migration and ethnicity are also analysed with key findings outlined in the Executive Summary.

The report intentionally stops short of drafting recommendations as this will require many consultations to identify the transformational changes required to address the complexities of the interlinkages of the drivers but it does provide a clarion call to action.

UNDP looks forward to being an active and engaging partner in this next step of identifying and implementing the path to a fairer and more inclusive society in Botswana.

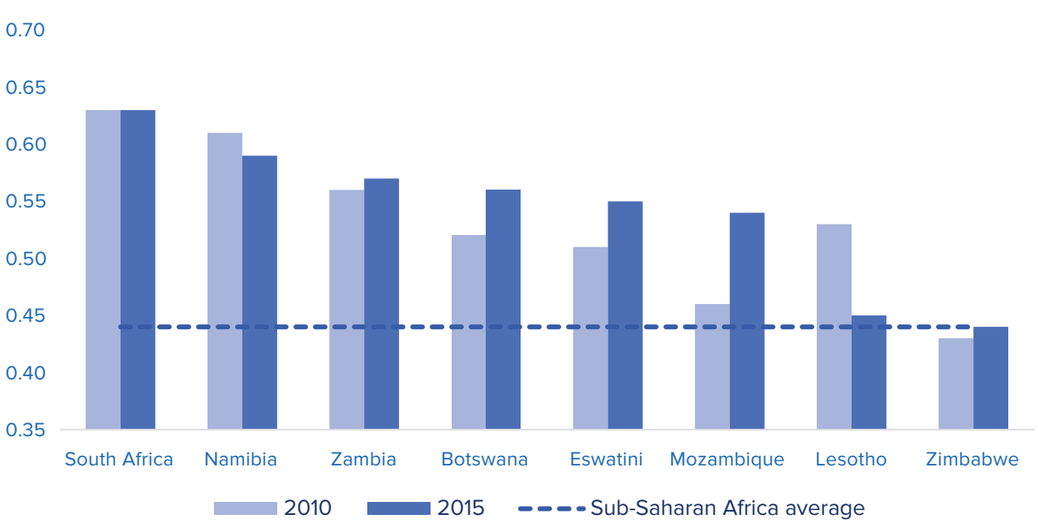
Jacinta Barrins
UNDP RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE
July 2021

Executive Summary

Botswana is, presently, one of the most unequal countries globally with the 9th highest Gini coefficient according to the most recent UNDP report (UNDP, 2020).

For the past five decades, Botswana's economic growth and relative political stability has received accolade from the international community. Above ground, Botswana is endowed with a natural landscape that has made it a mainstay on the tourist trail, while below ground diamond deposits have made significant contributions to Botswana's economic wealth. Despite decreases in the poverty headcount in recent years, concerns have been noted about inequality. Inequality has been a pressing policy concern in Botswana since it peaked and subsequently plateaued in the 1970s, overlapping approximately with the transition of Botswana's economy from cattle dependence to diamond dependence. Of pressing concern to policy makers, consumption inequality has increased over the recent years. The average Gini coefficient is 0.50 for Botswana which is higher than the African average of 0.44 and the OECD average of 0.32 (Figure 1).[1]

Figure S1. Evolution of the Gini coefficient in the Southern African countries



Note: Gini values based on the following years: South Africa (2010, 2014), Namibia (2009, 2015), Zambia (2010, 2015), Eswatini (2009, 2016), Mozambique (2010, 2014), Botswana (2010, 2015), Lesotho (2002, 2017) and Zimbabwe (2012, 2017). Source: World Bank (2020) data and authors calculations using the CWIS 2009/10 and the BMTHS 2015/16.

[1] The Gini coefficient is a common measure of inequality which runs from 0 to 1 with 1 indicating perfect inequality.

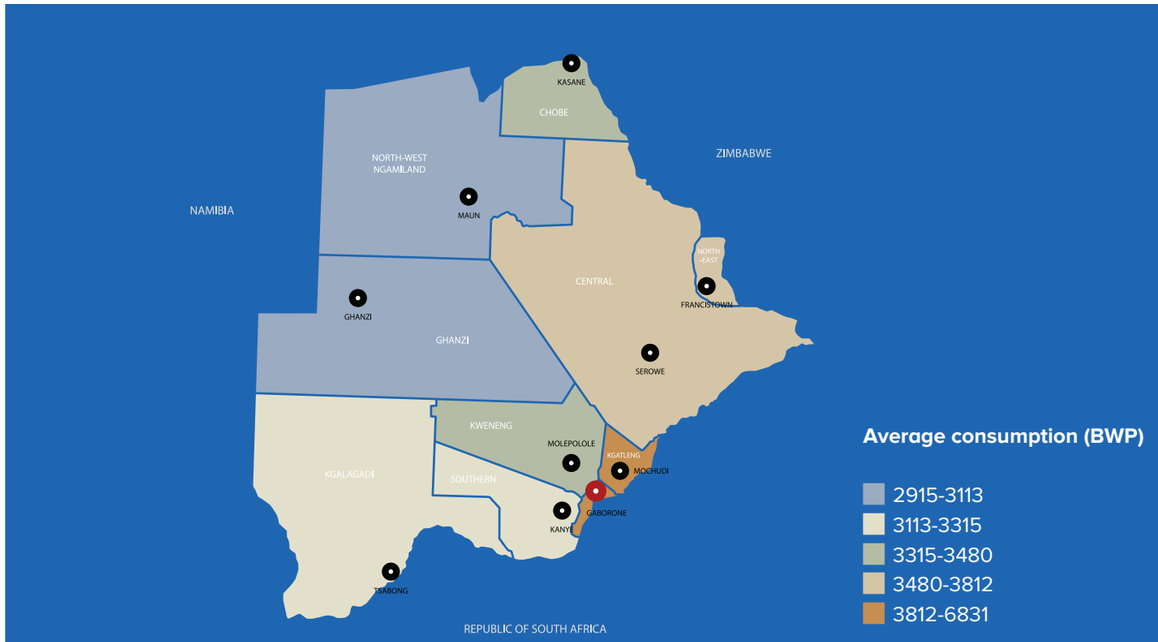
The uneven distribution of the benefits of economic growth and prosperity warrants thorough investigation of levels and trends of inequality; the findings are an important ingredient in the formulation of policies to foster a more inclusive society. To this end, ***this study aims at assessing and mapping inequality in Botswana*** and using advanced techniques to identify the determinants of and contributors to inequality as Botswana's economy pivots and evolves. In order to meet this remit, three datasets have been assembled to overcome limitations in the scope of each dataset alone including the Census 2011, Core Welfare Indicator Survey 2009/10 and the Botswana Multi-Topic Household Survey 2015/16. In addition, primary qualitative research was conducted with key informants from across Botswana; existing academic and policy research have been drawn on to provide triangulation and insight.

This report is timely and long overdue for a number of reasons. First, the issue of inequality in Botswana has received limited attention historically from both research and policy perspectives. Second, both theoretical and empirical studies have shown the negative effect of inequality on long-run growth, poverty reduction, social and political stability. This report is also timely due to the increased emphasis that the international community has placed on inequality, underscored by the prominent inclusion of reduction of inequality in the Sustainable Development Goals. A comprehensive investigation of inequality and its determinants is strategically important to meet these goals in the next decade.

Part 2. consumption and inequality mapping in Botswana

A spatial examination of consumption shows significant differences between rural and urban areas and across districts. Differences in living standards are very pronounced in the country, ***with urban areas consuming 76% more than rural areas***. Consumption appears to be concentrated

Figure S2. Average consumption in Botswana by district (2015-16)



Source: Authors` calculation based on BMTHS 2015/16.

in the districts that play host to the capital city Gaborone – home to financial services and the headquarters of the 10 largest corporations in Botswana – but also in areas where the large-scale mines are located (Figure 2). ***Households which report the highest consumption are not evenly distributed.*** Of households in the top 10% of the consumption distribution, 40% of households in the top consumption decile live in the South East district, while 24% live in Central district. Meanwhile, fewer than 1% of the highest-consumption households live in Ghanzi. The wealthiest districts such as South East and Central appear to be the most unequal ones but also the districts that contribute the most to inequality at a national level.

Part 3. inequality trends in Botswana

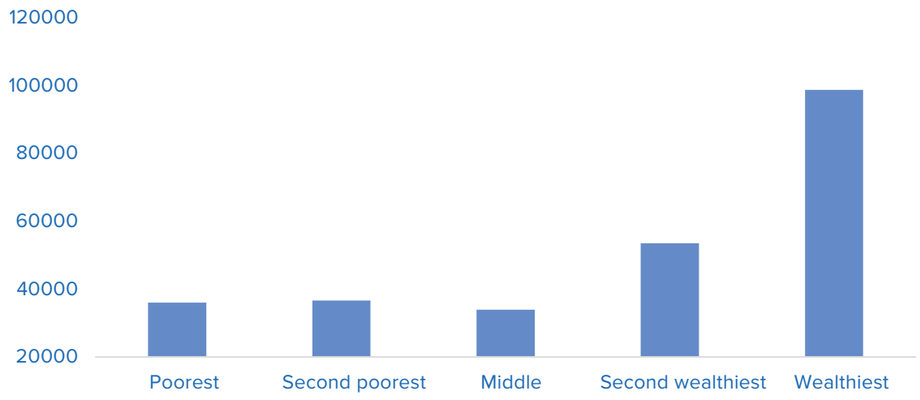
Botswana's economic composition and recent changes to this composition may play an important role in determining inequality. As in other developing countries, Botswana is experiencing a process of structural transformation with a premature tertiarization of the economy. ***The importance of mining to the economy has waned, ceding its position to the hospitality and trade sectors and FIRE sector.*** However, the services, trade and financial sectors are characterized by high income inequality, a finding which may explain the recent increase in inequality.

Disaggregating inequality by household characteristics showed that those ***households with members employed in the public sector, living in urban areas, and with higher education showed both higher consumption and contributed more to overall inequality.*** Public and parastatal employees tend to report higher wages, fuelling inequality. The role of tertiary education as a major contributor to inequality is also clear from the analysis. Individuals with university-level education, who are for the majority English-speaking and non-nationals (34% of non-nationals have a university degree, as compared to 18% of non-nationals), show much higher levels of consumption expenditure. The costs of sending children to school, both direct and indirect, are higher (in proportion to their average consumption) for rural and less affluent households, and become prohibitive the higher the level of education.

Part 4. land inequality

Ownership of land, particularly valuable freehold land, is a cultural and economic topic that has a complicated history with legacies of colonial administration embedded within contemporary policies and holdings. There are significant concerns about the distribution of valuable lands, particularly those suitable for large-scale cattle grazing, agriculture and game reserves – among the most culturally important and economically important activities in Botswana. Freehold land in particular plays an outsized role in the conversation on land in Botswana: there appears to be a relationship between the average price per unit of land in each district and the proportion of freehold landowners that reside in that district. Moreover, ***the concentration of land shows uneven patterns.*** Per unit, the land held by households in the wealthiest consumption quintile is worth more than double that held by households in the poorest consumption quintile (Figure 3). ***Districts with higher land values are also those with a strong concentration of land among very few people***, perhaps indicating an aristocracy of large-scale, high-value land owners.

Figure S3. Land value (Pula) and consumption quintile



Source: BMTHS, 2015/6, author's own calculations

Part 5. inequality, migration and ethnicity

Inequality is also viewed through a citizenship lens. While non-nationals appear to consume significantly more, on average, than nationals, ***there is significant in-group inequality among non-nationals.*** This may indicate the presence of a high-skilled group and low-skilled group of migrants in Botswana. Low-skilled migrants are among the most vulnerable in Botswana: socio-political exclusion means poor coverage by essential social protection programmes; poor access to health services; physical exclusion may mean migrants reside in poor-quality housing at the periphery of urban areas.

Concern has been expressed by commentators and academics on the role of ethnicity in inequality and discrimination in Botswana. Data show differences in unemployment levels, employment in the public sector (a sector with a high consumption share), and education levels. The most penalised groups appear to be those that speak Sesarwa (residing mostly in the Ghanzi and Central districts) and the Seyeyi (residing mostly in the Ngamiland). The areas in which these groups reside are the poorest and most rural of the country, hence the high level of unemployment among them. Concerningly, two-thirds of households that speak Sesarwa have a household head that reported never attended school. This may confirm exclusion based on language due to the languages in which education is offered in Botswana.

Part 6. gender inequality and disability

Gender inequalities at a political and economic level may contribute to persistently uneven outcomes for women, particularly rural women. ***Female participation in the labour force is uneven*** – 56.5% of women and 64.6% of men – with a higher unemployment rate among women (23.5%) relative to men (21.7%). The persistence of the gender pay gap may be explained by segregation of women into lower-paid and low-value sectors of the labour market. While the distribution of public officials is gender balanced, males overrepresent in key ministries, and the percentage of men earning at the highest pay-scale is significantly higher than women. ***Women are further underrepresented in the political sphere.*** Key informant interviews concur that gender sensitivity analysis in policy making is limited, and gender-expert knowledge ought to be included in policy-making to ensure gender dimensions are adequately included.

Discrimination and exclusion on the basis of sexual identity continues to present an obstacle to full participation and the achievement of capabilities. Key informants report that access to public services remains difficult for LGBTIQ+ individuals despite formal legal changes. Bullying and violence may prevent LGBTIQ+ and trans youth participating fully in education, which may later affect their life-course outcomes. Disability similarly presents a significant hindrance to individuals. ***One-third of persons with disabilities (PWD) have attended school and the unemployment rate is 70%.*** Households with PWD rank lower than average households in property of assets, practice of dietary diversity, and access to health care.

Introduction

The Republic of Botswana is a landlocked country bordering South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. The majority of its territory is covered by the Kalahari Desert, with the most of the population and agricultural land concentrated in the south and south-east of the country. Since independence in 1966, Botswana has been mostly peaceful and ethnic conflicts were kept to a minimum thanks to effective inclusion policies. Botswana has exhibited high economic growth for the past 60 years, with an average growth rate of 4.3% between 1980 and 2010 (although rates were above 10% between 1966 and 1980), increasing real GDP per capita from $3,500 to $12,000 (IMF, 2012). Moreover, the country's original dependency on agriculture and later on mining - thanks to the discovery of large kimberlite deposits between 1967 and 2002 - is partially reduced by the increasing role of services. Poverty has also reduced drastically over the past few decades. The share of people below the national poverty line went from 59% in 1985, to approximately 16% in 2015 (IMF, 2012; Statistics Botswana, 2018).

However, Botswana's economic model has not always been inclusive, and it has disproportionally benefitted a small portion of the population (IMF, 2012). Botswana is, presently, one of the most unequal countries globally with the 9th highest Gini coefficient according to the most recent UNDP report (UNDP, 2020). Figure 1 shows that the Gini index of consumption in Botswana was 0.52 in 2009/2010 – a value substantially above the sub-Saharan African average, but similar to other southern African nations.[2] Data from 2015/16 shows that consumption inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient has increased over time, rising from 0.52 to 0.56 (detailed in later sections of the report)[3]. Among Southern African Customs Union (SACU) countries, only Eswatini has exhibited rising inequality over time, though neighbouring non-SACU countries including Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe have all demonstrated rising inequality.

[2] The selected Southern African countries are either part of SACU or belong to the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and share common socio-economic, historic, and geographical characteristics, making them the most adequate group to compare Botswana's inequality with.

[3] Income inequality has followed a different trajectory, a topic that will be explored in more detail in the extension to this document (forthcoming).

Inequality in Namibia and Lesotho has decreased over time, with South Africa's inequality remaining constant.

Disparities between districts, occupation, gender, and educational levels remain evident in Botswana and economic differences have been increasing over the recent years, as will be shown in later sections. Therefore, this document will examine the dimensions and (spatial) distributions of consumption and inequality in Botswana and define any recent trends in inequality. The document will interrogate datasets, along with the evidence from key-informants, to explore to what extent inequality and consumption patterns are associated with changes in the economic structure, land ownership, gender, disability and migration trends.

This study was commissioned to investigate the status of inequality in Botswana and to answer to these questions. For this purpose, it makes use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. First, it uses the most up-to-date survey data from the Botswana Multi Topic Household Survey of 2015/16 and compared trends in inequality and consumption expenditure with data from 2009/10. It also maps the trends and current picture of land value using the same sources and land ownership using the Census (2011). Where possible, the report includes information from additional sources to triangulate findings and develop hypotheses on the determinants of inequality in Botswana. Since the available data only gives a limited snapshot of the current situation of vulnerable groups in Botswana, the document uses qualitative information, based on a desk review of relevant academic and grey literature. To get a thorough understanding of what causes or contributes to inequalities among vulnerable groups in Botswana, this research was complemented by semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders. The remainder of this study will first map consumption by district and show the urban/rural divide (Chapter 2). Subsequently, the study will look at the structure of inequality in the economy and at its determinants (Chapter 3), and the interlink between inequality and land ownership (Chapter 4), ethnicity and migration (Chapter 5), and gender and disability (Chapter 6). Conclusions are reported in the final section of the report (Chapter 7).

Consumption mapping in Botswana

Botswana's pre-colonisation economy was mainly based on cattle and the cattle sector further developed by the British colonial administration. The contribution of the mining sector to national GDP was very low prior to independence. The discovery of diamonds in 1967 had important consequences on the structure of the economy. The contribution of the mining sector increased rapidly reaching a GDP share above 10 percent by 1973 (Hillbom, 2014). Thanks also to these changes, the country experienced rapid economic growth until the 1990s (Hillbom, 2008). The improvement in its macroeconomic indicators allowed it to be considered one of Africa's best economic performers, with an annual growth rate of its GDP of 10.7 per cent between 1966 and 1999.[4] Since the 2000s, economic growth has slowed (World Bank, 2015).

Despite positive achievements over the past decades, the country remains dependent on minerals – largely diamonds - and on developments in the tertiary sector. With a weak private sector, strong dependence on the public sector and on revenues from the South African Custom Union (SACU) revenue pool, and also a high level of structural unemployment,[5] the country faces significant vulnerability when dealing with external shocks (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2020; World Bank, 2015; IMF, 2012). While the positive economic growth and the expansion of welfare programs[6] contributed to decreased poverty incidence in the past decades, progress in reducing differences in living conditions across areas has been modest (IMF, 2020; Statistics Botswana, 2018). Analysis conducted in the 1990s highlighted the challenges faced by rural communities in diverse domains including access to water, sanitation, access and quality of education, adolescent pregnancy, shelter, access to public services (Hope and Edge, 1996). Recent analysis into natural hazard vulnerability in Botswana has highlighted the importance of household size, social assistance receipt, disability and low levels of education in explaining vulnerability to hazard – the majority of these indicators exhibiting higher levels in more rural areas (Dintwa et al. 2019).

This chapter describes and assesses patterns of consumption in Botswana along different axes of comparison. The use of consumption instead of income to measure household well-being in developing countries is strongly established in the literature and helps overcome the issue of volatility related to income in areas where employment opportunities are limited (Meyer and Sullivan, 2013). Information are from the 2009/10 Botswana Core Welfare Indicator Survey (BCWIS) and from the 2015/16 Botswana Multi Topic Household Survey (BMTHS), as well as the national Census of 2011.[7] These datasets represent the most up-to-date, nationally representative statistical tools available for Botswana and allow for a comparison of consumption in the country at different points in time. Information on average monthly total consumption expenditure are reported in Botswana Pula (BWP). To allow for cross-year comparison, 2015/16 consumption expenditure is standardised using the consumer price index (CPI) from 2010 as baseline.[8]

This chapter is structured as follow: Section 2.1 discusses the level of consumption and investigates the differences between urban and rural areas; Sections 2.2 investigates differences at a more granular levels looking at the level of consumption across districts.

2.1. urban and rural divide

Table 1. presents average consumption at national level for 2009/10 and 2015/16 and disaggregates it by rural and urban areas. The results show that the standardised average monthly consumption expenditure in the country was BWP 5,861 in 2015/16. Monthly consumption expenditure increased significantly from 2009/10, continuing a trend observed between 2002/3 and 2009/10 (IMF, 2012). The increase in consumption expenditure has brought about a reduction in poverty rates between 2009/10 and 2015/16, although this reduction was driven by urban households: the poverty headcount reduced from 19.3% to 16.3% in urban areas, while poverty in rural areas remained stable (Statistics Botswana, 2018). As shown in the Table 1, place of residence discrepancies are indeed very pronounced in the country, with urban areas consuming BWP 6,882 on average, 76% more than rural areas (BWP 3,918). Statistics show that, although an improvement was registered on overall consumption expenditure through time (average consumption expenditure was BWP 3,912 in 2009/10), differences between urban and rural consumption expenditure became starker, as urban households were consuming 62% more than rural households in 2009/10. Similar trends are shown when using per-capita consumption instead of household consumption.

Table 1. Average total consumption at the national level and by location

AREA LEVEL	2009/10	2015/16
Average consumption (BWP)		
Urban (U)	4, 654	6, 882
Rural (R)	2, 871	3, 918
National	3, 912	5, 861
Average per capita consumption (BWP)		
Urban (U)	2, 153	2, 961
Rural (R)	1, 390	1, 816
National	1, 835	2, 566

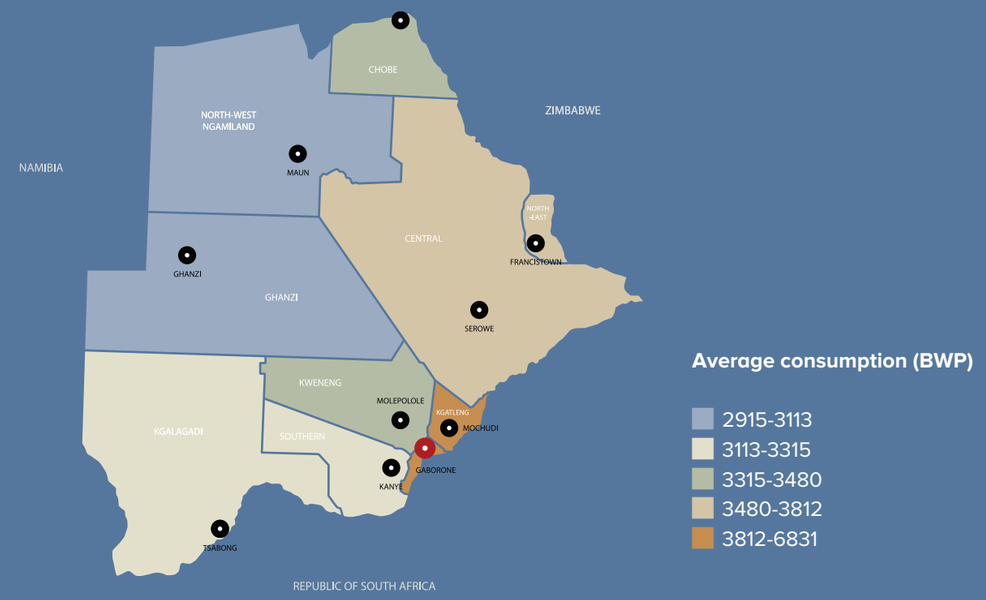
Note: Urban areas correspond to cities/towns and urban villages; Rural areas correspond to rural villages. Total consumption expenditure calculated using sample weights.
Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

2.2. consumption across districts

Botswana has been historically characterised by an urban-rural divide in growth and development (Hope and Hedge, 1996), having also clear disparities in poverty patterns between the northern and the eastern and southeast parts of the country (World

[4] Information from World Bank national accounts data available at https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=1999&locations=BW&start=1966.
[5] Structural unemployment refers to the disconnect between the skills offered by potential workers (supply) and the skills required by the job market (demand)..
[6] More information about the set of poverty reduction policies realized in the country can be found in Magombeyi & Odhiambo (2017).
[7] BMTHS represents an updated and improved version of the BCWIS and it has replaced the latter as the key nationally representative household survey in Botswana. See Botswana Statistical Office, Botswana Multi-Topic Household Survey Report 2015/16, December 2018.
[8] This is operationalised by considering CPI for 2010 as equal to 100 and running the following calculation: *standardized consumption exp. = (consumption exp. * CPI_{2016}) / CPI_{2010}*
CPI from 2016 is estimated at 136.62 by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Figure 2. Average consumption in Botswana by district (2015-16)



Source: Authors` calculation based on BMTHS 2015/16.

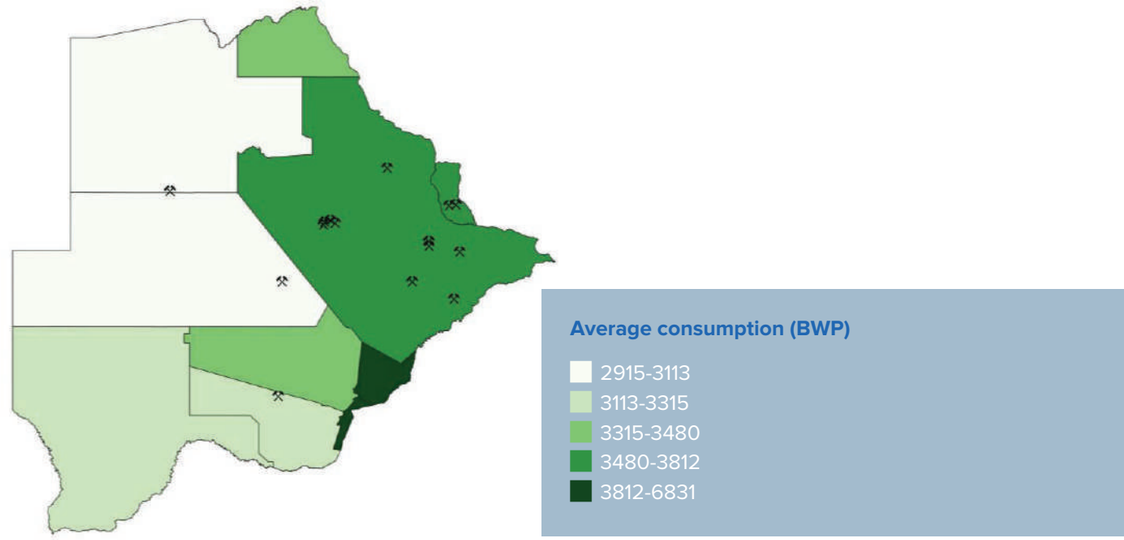
Bank, 2015). This divide might be rooted in deeper regional differences. The country is characterised by an uneven distribution of natural resources (such as fertile soil, water, mineral deposits, wildlife, and forest reserves) and differences in climate conditions, which affects both employment opportunities and settlement patterns (Majelantle & Letamo, 2012). With that in mind, we investigate further geographical differences in consumption expenditure by conducting analysis at district-level - the first-level administrative area in Botswana.

A map containing information about the average consumption expenditure in the country by district is illustrated in Figure 2. The map is based on BMTHS 2015/16 consumption expenditure data. Households' location is recorded at Sub-district level in this dataset; therefore, positions were collapsed at sub-district-level to perform the analysis.[9] Average consumption expenditure disaggregated by Sub-district is presented in Table A1 in Annex II. The districts of Botswana with the highest average monthly consumption expenditure in 2015/16, expressed in nominal value (i.e. not corrected by inflation)[10], were those located in the eastern areas: South-East (BWP 6,831) and Kgatleng (BWP 4,527), followed by the North-East (BWP 3,634) and the Central district (BWP 3,519).[11]

The districts of Botswana with the highest average monthly consumption expenditure in 2015/16, expressed in nominal value (i.e. not corrected by inflation), were those located in the eastern areas: South-East (BWP 6,831) and Kgatleng (BWP 4,527), followed by the North-East (BWP 3,634) and the Central district (BWP 3,519).

These differences across districts may be driven by several factors. Approximately 10 percent of total population lives in Gaborone, the capital, where better infrastructure, services and manufacturing industries are present.[12] Moreover, all of the top 10 business performers in Botswana have their headquarters in Gaborone,[13] together with banks and other financial services that have experienced enormous growth over the last years (banks and financial services represent about 16% of total GDP in 2020). Gaborone hosts the Botswana Stock Exchange (BSE), the value of which has increased steadily since its inception in 1994, and more than doubled between 2010 and 2016, although its value has subsequently decreased.

Figure 3. Average consumption and mineral deposits by district



Source: Authors` calculation based on BMTHS 2015/16.

[9] The combination was done as follows: 1) Central district (Central Bobonong, Central Boteti, Central Mahalapye,Central Serowe/Palapye, Central Tutume, Selibe Phikwe, Orapa, Sowa Town and Central Serowe). 2) North-East district (North East and Francistown); 3) South-East district (South East, Gaborone and Lobatse); 4) Ngamiland district (Ngamiland East and Ngamiland West); 5) Kgalagadi district (Kgalagadi North and Kgalagadi South); 6) Kgatleng district (Kgatleng); 7) Kweneng district (Kweneng East and Kweneng West), 8) Ghanzi district (Ghanzi); 9) Chobe district (Chobe); 10) Southern district (Jwaneng, Barolong, Ngwaketse, Ngwaketse West and Southern)

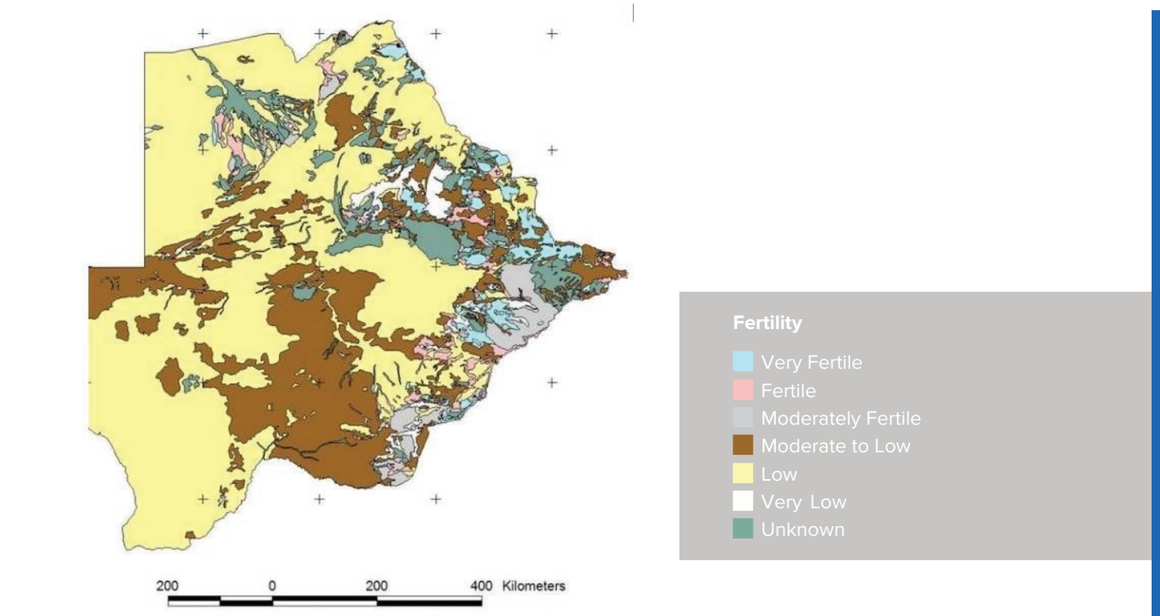
[10] In this case, since no between-year comparison is undergone, there is no need to correct consumption expenditure for inflation, and nominal values can be reported instead.

[11] A table containing the average consumption of all districts in Botswana is provided in Table A2 in Annex II.

[12] As presented in Table A7 in the Annex, South-East and Gaborone, together with Central and Kweneng, represent the most populous areas of the country.

[13] Namely: Debswana Diamond Company, Botswana Development Corporation, Bank Of Botswana, Botswana Housing Corporation, Botswana Insurance Holdings Limited Group, Sefalana Group, Turnstar Holdings, Cresta Hotels, Botswana Unified Revenue Service, Kgalagadi Breweries Limited.
Source: https://www.knowbotswana.com/top-businesses-in-botswana.html

Figure 4. National fertility soil map



Source: Kolawole (2020)

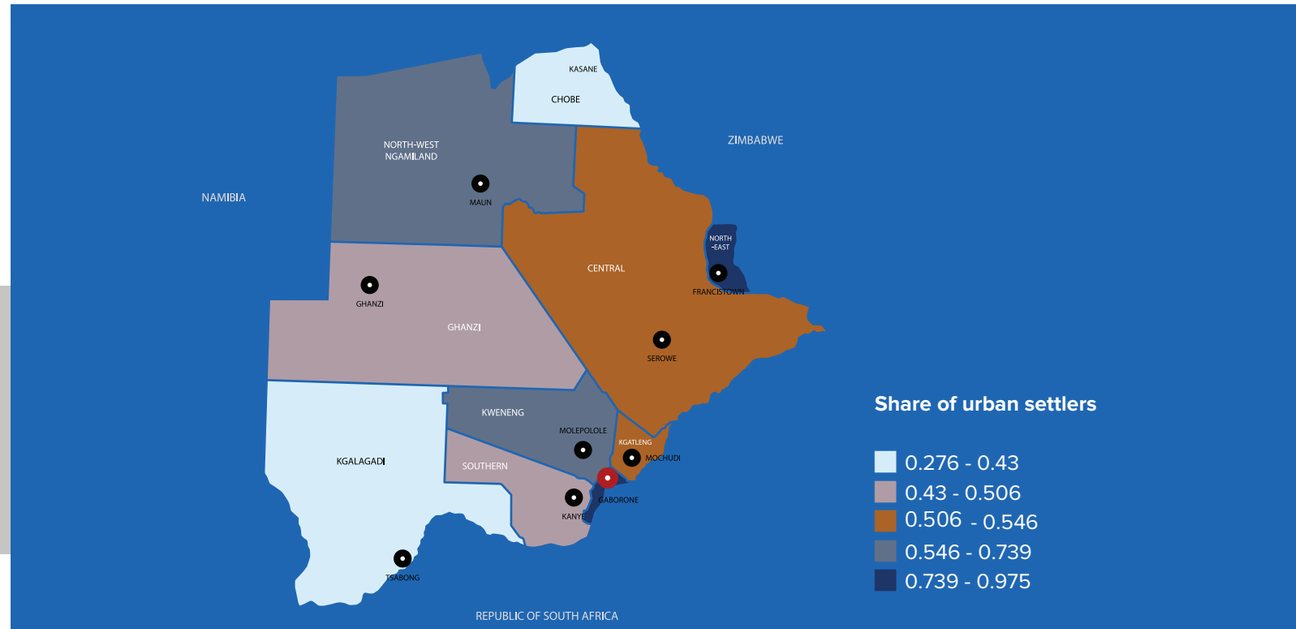
Additionally, it is crucial to add that Botswana's eastern region has extensive mining presence (Majelantle & Letamo, 2012). The Orapa diamond mine – in Central district - is the largest area of diamond-bearing kimberlite pipes in the world extending over 112 ha (Gwebu, 2013). This mine was founded in 1967 and production began in 1977 - under the Debswana Diamond Company - contributing to the transformation of Botswana's economy. Figure 3 clearly show that there is a high correlation between mining location and average consumption.

At the other end of the spectrum, Ghanzi was the district presenting the lowest average monthly values of consumption expenditure (BWP 2,915). This district is located on Botswana's western side, a region characterised by a harsh semi-desert climate with little surface water and low population density (Majelantle & Letamo, 2012). Figure 4 below shows that fertility in the district is between low and moderate-to-low, making it one of the soils most difficult to cultivate in the country.

All of the top 10 business performers in Botswana have their headquarters in Gaborone, together with banks and other financial services that have experienced enormous growth over the last years (banks and financial services represent about 16% of total GDP in 2020).

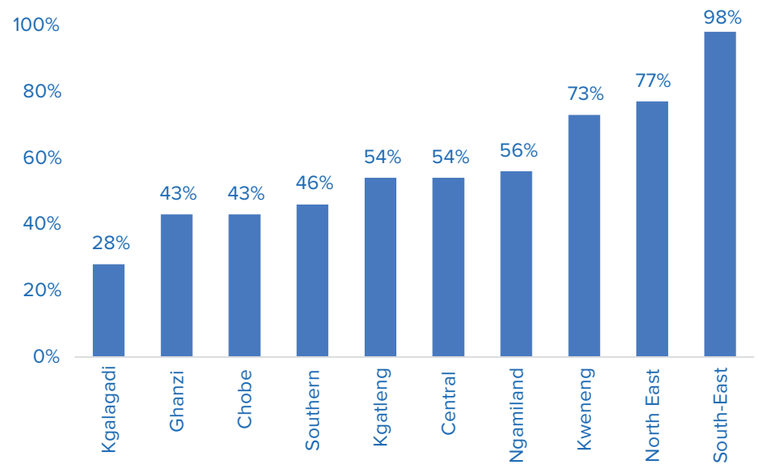
Last, Figures 5 and 6 below also shows another important fact related to the concentration of urban population by district in Botswana; the South-East (home to Gaborone) and North East (home to Francistown) districts are not only among the richest areas but they are also the most heavily urbanised areas. By contrast, Ghanzi is less urbanized than other areas. While these facts further contribute to understand the differences between rural and urban areas, the specific contribution of urbanisation to wellbeing and inequality will be analysed empirically in Section 3, and in particular in Table 7.

Figure 5. Urban population by district (2015-16)



Source: Authors` calculation based on BMTHS 2015/16.

Figure 6. Share of Urban Population by districts



Source: Authors` calculation based on BMTHS 2015/16.

Inequality trends in Botswana

Having assessed regional differences in consumption expenditure at both national and district level, the following section analyses the extent of and trends in inequality. Consistent with previous sections, data are from the 2009/10 Botswana Core Welfare Indicator Survey (BCWIS) and from the 2015/16 Botswana Multi Topic Household Survey (BMTHS), as well as the national Census of 2011.[14] To quantify inequality, we present information on average monthly total consumption expenditure in Botswana Pula (BWP) as the primary measure of welfare, as well as on the Gini coefficient, one of the most commonly used inequality indices.[15]

This chapter is structured as follow: Section 3.1 will discuss the level of consumption inequality both national and sub-national levels. However, in order to better understand the dynamics of consumption inequality, Sections 3.2 investigates and identifies explanatory factors and the drivers of inequality in the period 2009/10 to 2015/16.

3.1. inequality at different geographical levels

Table 2. presents national-level information on consumption expenditure inequality in Botswana. Inequality is measured using the Gini coefficient (see footnote 2 for more details). As the results suggest, consumption inequality increased since 2009/10 from 0.52 to 0.55. To give an idea of the order of magnitude of this increase, in the Gini can be expressed in monetary terms by saying that while in 2009/10 the average difference in standardised consumption expenditure between two individuals taken at random was BWP 4,068, this difference increased to BWP 6,447 in 2015/16.[16]

Table 2. Consumption inequality indicators in Botswana

AREA LEVEL	2009/10	2015/16
Gini coefficient - consumption		
Urban (U)	0.52	0.55
Rural (R)	0.47	0.52
National	0.52	0.56
Gini coefficient - income		
Urban (U)	0.59	0.60
Rural (R)	0.59	0.61
National	0.59	0.61

Note: Urban areas correspond to cities/towns and urban villages; Rural areas correspond to rural villages. Total consumption expenditure calculated using sample weights.
Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

[14] BMTHS represents an updated and improved version of the BCWIS and it has replaced the latter as the key nationally representative household survey in Botswana. See Botswana Statistical Office, Botswana Multi-Topic Household Survey Report 2015/16, December 2018.

[15] The Gini measures the extent to which the distribution within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution, ranging from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality) (Jenkins & Van Kerm, 2011).

[16] The calculation used to compute these figures is the following: *Avg.difference* = (Gini *2) **Avg.consumption expenditure* (Bourguignon, 2015)

Additionally, when disaggregating the indicators by locations, all inequality measures shows that urban areas experienced slightly higher inequality than rural areas in both periods, a common finding in sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world (Sahn and Stifel, 2004). Our findings are consistent with previous evidence on inequality in consumption in Botswana, which also determined that the rise in inequality is due to the increased burden of non-food spending in household budgets which tends to be more unequal than food spending and is more applicable to urban households compared to rural households (Statistics Botswana, 2018; Mookodi, 2019). Results show that income inequality is higher than consumption inequality (see Table 2), although no increasing trend is found between 2009/10 and 2015/16. This result is not surprising since poorer households tend to consume a higher share of their income on consumption as compared to richer households. However, differences between urban and rural households become almost irrelevant.

A map containing information about consumption expenditure inequality by district in the country is illustrated in Figure 5. The figure shows that high levels of inequality are present throughout the country, with Gini coefficients above 0.4 in all districts. The districts with the highest inequality in 2015/16 were Kgatleng (0.61) and South-East (0.60), which were also those that had the highest consumption levels and some of the highest urban population. In contrast, the North-East (0.44) and Ngamiland (0.45) were the districts experiencing the lowest inequality levels.

To provide a better understanding of the extent of inequality in these districts, other indicators such as median consumption expenditure are considered. In Kgatleng and South East, the most unequal districts in Botswana, median consumption expenditure (i.e. the most common consumption expenditure level) is BWP 2,163 and BWP 3,327 respectively, or almost half of average consumption in the same areas. In contrast, median consumption in North-East is about two-thirds of average consumption (i.e. BWP 2,437 versus BWP 3,634). Figures for median consumption expenditures demonstrate the extent to which high-consumption households are skewing average values at district-level. Two additional indicators that can clarify how richer individuals skew district consumption averages are the share of households in the top 10% of the consumption distribution and the share of households below the average consumption level in each district. Approximately 40% of households in the top 10% of consumption expenditure live in South-East, while 24% live in Central. In comparison, Ghanzi, the district showing the lowest levels of consumption expenditure, hosts less than 1% of the richest households. These figures show that the majority of rich households are concentrated in only a few districts, which show a more urbanised population but also a higher level of inequality (see Table 3).

The share of households below the average consumption level in Kgatleng and South East - the most unequal districts in Botswana - is 81.5% and 75% respectively. In less unequal districts like North-East and Ngamiland, the share decreases to 70%, showing that consumption expenditure is more fairly distributed.

Taking together Figure 2 and Figure 5, we can observe that the richest areas (i.e. with higher consumption expenditure) are also the most unequal. The composition of the economy in these districts may be a causal determinant; as reported previously, mining and financial services are primarily, though not exclusively, located in the Central and South East districts. However, these activities are also highly concentrated making the distribution of resources in these districts more unequal. Although these regions are on average richer than others, this confirms the worrying assumption that resources are concentrated in the hands of very few citizens. In the remainder of the report, we will investigate further the characteristics of the most unequal districts and sectors to shed and uncover the

Table 3. Share of urban population by district

DISTRICT	SHARE OF URBAN POPULATION OVER TOTAL
Kgalagadi	28%
Ghanzi	43%
Chobe	43%
Southern	46%
Kgatleng	54%
Central	54%
Ngamiland	56%
Kweneng	73%
North East	77%
South-East	98%

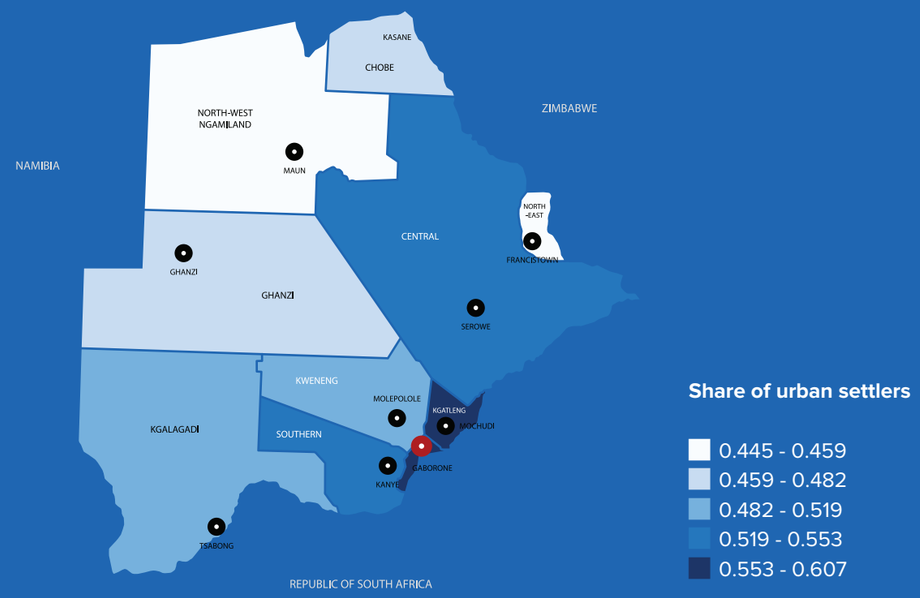
Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

contribution that each of them gives to the overall inequality in Botswana.

3.2. inequality decomposition

This section computes the specific contribution of location, economic sector and socio-demographic characteristics to the level and the changes of inequality over the period 2009/10 and 2015/16. In doing that, this section follows the methodology suggested by Rao (1969) and applies micro-decomposition techniques reporting consumption share (i.e. the share of total consumption expenditure held by households in each category), concentration index (i.e. the measure of how consumption is distributed in each category - with higher values indicating more inequality), and the relative contribution to inequality (i.e. a 0-to-1

Figure 7. Consumption inequality in Botswana by district (2015-16)



Note. All values are calculated using sample weights. **Source:** BMTHS 2015/16.

indicator of how much each category contributes to overall inequality) of each of the characteristics mentioned above. A methodological note on Rao's approach is detailed in Annex I.

3.2.1. decomposition of inequality by location

Analysis in previous sections highlighted the spatial dimensions of consumption inequality, and that the districts with the highest consumption levels were the most unequal. These high-consumption-high-inequality districts are those which are reported to contain the mines and/or financial services sector. This section extends the inequality analysis presented at the beginning of Section 2 and quantifies the extent to which each district contributes to overall inequality in Botswana. To do that, the overall Gini is decomposed into the weighted sum of the concentration coefficients. The weight is represented by the consumption share over total consumption of each district.

Figure 6 illustrates graphically the relative contribution of each district to total inequality. Interestingly, distribution of the relative contribution across districts mimics the Gini coefficients by district seen in Figure 5. However, Figure 6 adds an additional piece of knowledge to the understanding of inequality in Botswana showing that not only the richest areas are the most unequal ones, but also that these districts are those contributing more to the high level of inequality recorded in Botswana.

Table 4 presents more detailed information of the decomposition results for Botswana's districts between 2009/10 and 2015/16.[17] Conspicuously, the total absolute consumption expenditure inequality ("AC" columns) estimated with this method for both 2009/10 and 2015/16 are almost identical to the Gini coefficients estimated previously, and results confirm that there has indeed been an increase in inequality over the period of analysis. Results also show that the districts that contributed most to inequality in 2015/16 were South East, the Central, and Kweneng ("RC" column), which also represent the three districts with the highest consumption share ("CS" column). The positive relationship between consumption expenditure and inequality found in previous analysis presented earlier in this document is confirmed here. However, it is also interesting to note that several districts have increased their relative contribution to inequality between 2009/10 and 2015/16. The districts with the most significant increases are: South East, including Gaborone (also a major contributor to overall inequality), Kweneng and Kgatleng. The worrying findings indicates that inequality is widening in the most unequal districts.

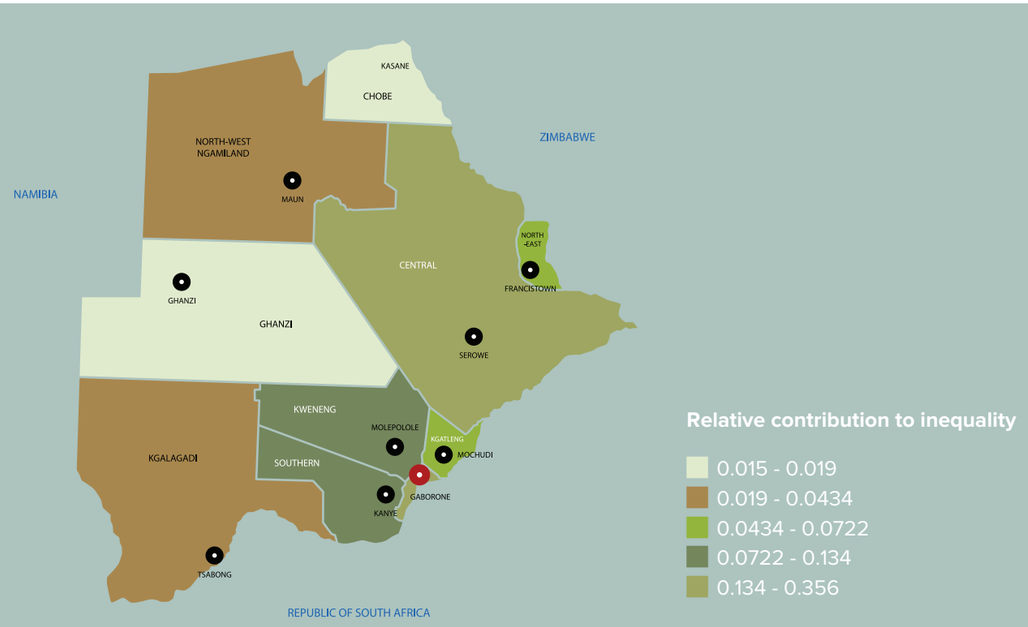
More significant decreases in the concentration index ("CI" column) and consumption shares were found in the North-East district, which is the region previously found to have one of the smallest Gini coefficients of the country and one of the most rural. It is followed by Ngamiland and Southern districts.

These results seem to be explained by the nature of the economic activity characterizing these areas. The next section will focus on a decomposition analysis by economic sector which is expected to advance further our understanding on the issue of inequality in Botswana.

3.2.2. decomposition by economic sector

The economic structure of Botswana has changed significantly in the last 50 years. In the late 1960s, the country was heavily dependent on farming and livestock, usually conducted as subsistence activities. In that period, Botswana was also an exporter of cheap labour for mines in South Africa (Zdenek, 1970). All of this changed in 1967 when mineral deposits were discovered in the country. Botswana's labour force experience in mining and foreign investment helped in making the best use of the new resources. In this period, Botswana also started receiving development aid, further boosting its economic growth. Unfortunately, infrastructure development was not even across districts in Botswana, and by the second half of the 2010s the mining sector also started to cede its economic relevance to the service sector (the most recent mineral deposit was discovered in the

Figure 8. Districts' relative contribution to inequality



Note: All values are calculated using sample weights. **Source:** BMTHS 2015/16.

Table 4. Decomposition of the Gini coefficient between 2009/10 and 2015/16 by district

district name	2009/10 CS	2009/10 CI	2009/10 AC	2009/10 RC	2015/16 CS	2015/16 CI	2015/16 AC	2015/16 RC	ΔRC (2015 – 2009)
Central district	0.295	0.475	0.14	0.267	0.263	0.477	0.126	0.227	-0.040
North East district	0.095	0.597	0.057	0.109	0.071	0.471	0.034	0.061	-0.048
South East district	0.262	0.680	0.178	0.340	0.314	0.743	0.234	0.422	**0.082**
Ngamiland	0.060	0.454	0.027	0.052	0.046	0.373	0.017	0.031	-0.021
Kgaladi	0.030	0.565	0.017	0.032	0.023	0.408	0.009	0.017	-0.015
Kgatleng	0.037	0.431	0.016	0.031	0.05	0.582	0.029	0.053	**0.022**
Kweneng	0.098	0.388	0.038	0.072	0.124	0.473	0.058	0.105	**0.033**
Ghanzi	0.012	0.295	0.004	0.007	0.014	0.346	0.005	0.009	**0.002**
Chobe	0.017	0.478	0.008	0.016	0.012	0.431	0.005	0.009	-0.007
Southern district	0.094	0.414	0.039	0.074	0.082	0.452	0.037	0.066	-0.008
Total			**0.524**				**0.554**		

Note: CS = consumption share; CI = concentration index; AC = absolute contribution; RC = relative contribution. All values are calculated using sample weights.
Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

[17] A table with the decomposition by sub-district in Botswana is provided in Table A5 in Annex II.

country in 2002). Currently, agriculture contributes only 2% of GDP, employing 23% of the population (World Bank, 2018). The industrial sector contributes almost 30% of the country's GDP (World Bank 2019) and employs 18% of Botswana's population; the sector is dominated by diamond processing, food processing (mostly beef), textiles and mining. It is the service sector that now dominates the economy in Botswana, with tourism being the most important sector (accounting for 11% of GDP in 2017), followed by the financial sector - the Botswana Stock Exchange is among the best performing stock exchanges in Africa.

How might these changes in the economic structure have affected inequality? Unfortunately, there are few studies looking at the relation between structural changes and inequality in the context of Africa. Cornia (2017), for example, shows that inequality might be expected to fall following an increase in the share of agriculture, construction, and manufacturing sectors, while it clearly rises following a "surge in the value-added share of capital and/or skilled labour-intensive mining, FIRE, government services, and community and personal services (that include domestic services)" (Cornia, 2017: 33). This section contributes to this discussion, investigating how changes in the economic structure of Botswana have contributed to inequality and show trends in consumption share and sectors' concentration.

For this purpose, households' consumption expenditure and participation in economic sector are paired based on the declared consumption source of each household head.[18] By comparing the changes in relative contributions between 2009/10 and 2015/16, the sectors that explain the increase of the overall Gini coefficient can be observed.

Overall, it seems that the recent increase in inequality is mostly explained by the growing role of FIRE (Financial, Investment, and Real Estate) and professional activities, which experienced a notable increase in consumption.

Table 5 shows that the economic sectors that hold the highest consumption share in 2009/10 were public administration and agriculture. This picture changed slightly in 2015/16 as education replaced agriculture in the top-two industries with the largest share of consumption. Together with agriculture, more traditional sectors like construction and manufacturing, saw their relative contribution decrease substantially. Also, the contribution of public administration decreased even though its value-added share is still very high.[19]

Overall, it seems that the recent increase in inequality is mostly explained by the growing role of FIRE (Financial, Investment, and Real Estate) and professional activities, which experienced a notable increase in consumption as a proportion of their 2009/10 share (i.e. a 120% increase) and more than doubled their relative contribution to inequality. Similarly, the trade and hospitality sector show an increase in their share of consumption in 2015/16 as compared to 2009/10, and a notable increase in relative contribution to inequality. Notably, these two sectors are also among the most unequal sectors in the economy in 2015/16, with a concentration index of 0.885 for FIRE and 0.847 for trade and hospitality, as compared to 0.604 of agriculture. The increase in relative contribution to inequality of the education sector, which is also one of the most unequal sectors in the economy with a concentration index of 0.802, is worth noting. Findings appear to indicate that a structural transformation in the economy of Botswana occurred between 2009/10 and 2015/16, with the FIRE and hospitality and services sectors acquiring more prominent roles and higher shares of total consumption. A tertiarization of the economy, supported by the globalization of value chains, has been happening throughout the developing world (Bourguignon, 2015; Cornia and Martorano, 2017). It appears that Botswana has not been exempt from this process. Unfortunately, services, finance, and ICT are among the economic sectors in which income is more unequally distributed (Bourguignon, 2015) and require well designed policies to ensure a more inclusive process of modernization.

The most recent nationally representative household dataset dates from 2015/6. However, as described in the introductory part of this section, data shows that the importance of previously dominant cattle and diamond sectors has waned, with the importance of the services sector (notably FIRE and tourism) growing. We present in Table 6 the share of country-level total aggregated value by economic sector between 2010 and 2019/2020. The share of agriculture has continued to drop, reaching 2% of total aggregated value. Manufacturing followed the same path. Notably, mining's share has been decreasing, from 19% in 2010, to 18% in 2015, and ultimately to 13% in 2019/20. This drop has been to the benefit of other sectors, namely Finance and Business Services, and Trade, Hotels and Restaurants. The latter sector rose from 15% to 19% of aggregated value share, becoming the most relevant sector in the country's economy.

Looking at these figures, it is possible to speculate that overall contribution to inequality further decreased for mining but increased for services, tourism, and the FIRE sectors.

Table 5. Decomposition of the Gini coefficient by economic sector

Sectors	2009/10 CS	2009/10 CI	2009/10 AC	2009/10 RC	2015/16 CS	2015/16 CI	2015/16 AC	2015/16 RC	ΔRC (2015 – 2009)
Agriculture/Forest/Fishing	0.137	0.455	0.062	0.092	0.081	0.604	0.049	0.064	-0.028
Mining	0.053	**0.782**	0.041	0.061	0.054	0.835	0.045	0.059	-0.002
Manufacturing	0.066	0.684	0.045	0.067	0.054	0.691	0.038	0.050	-0.017
Construction	0.085	0.706	0.060	0.089	0.067	**0.885**	0.060	0.079	-0.010
Trade, hotels, and restaurants	0.100	0.620	0.062	0.093	0.113	**0.847**	0.096	**0.126**	**0.033**
Transport and communication	0.041	0.730	0.030	0.045	0.044	0.775	0.034	0.045	0.000
FIRE	0.049	**0.852**	0.041	0.062	0.110	**0.895**	0.098	**0.129**	**0.067**
Public administration	0.223	0.715	0.160	0.238	0.196	0.710	0.140	**0.184**	-0.054
Education and health	0.130	**0.782**	0.102	0.152	0.170	0.802	0.137	**0.180**	**0.028**
Other	0.116	0.590	0.068	0.102	0.110	0.570	0.063	0.083	-0.019
Total	1.000		**0.672**	1.000		1.000	**0.758**	1.000	

Note: FIRE = Finance, Insurance and Real Estate; ICT = Information and Communications Technology.
Also, CS = consumption share; CI = concentration index; AC = absolute contribution; RC = relative contribution.
All values are calculated using sample weight.
Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

[18] Income sources are categorised based on economic sector by the research team following Botswana international standards for industrial classification. See https://bit.ly/37PIBUw

[19] According to the Botswana Multitopic Household Survey of 2015/16, about 20% of currently employed people in Botswana works on the public administration and defence sector. The districts with the biggest share of people employed in the public sector are Kgalagadi (59%), Southern (56%) and Chobe (56%), while Kweneng is the district with the smallest proportion of public employees (28%).

Table 6. Economic sectors' share of total aggregated value

Economic sectors	2010	2015	2019-2020
Agriculture	2.5	2.2	2.1
Mining	19.2	17.8	13.4
Manufacturing	6.4	5.8	5.3
Construction	5.8	6.6	6.8
Trade, hotels and restaurants	15.1	16.2	19.1
Trade	9.2	10.2	13.4
Hotels and restaurants	5.8	6.1	5.7
Transport and communications	5.1	5.9	6.0
Finance and business services, of which:	13.4	14.7	14.8
Banks and insurance	5.2	4.8	4.5
Real estate and business services	5.8	7.1	7.8
General government	15.4	15.4	16.2
Social and personal services, of which:	6.0	5.9	5.8

Source: Bank of Botswana

3.2.3. decomposition by socio-economic characteristics

This section examines households' socio-economic characteristics to identify predictors of inequality and how much each of the selected characteristics contributes to inequality. Analysis in this section follows the strategy employed by Cornia and Martorano (2017) in applying a regression-based decomposition of consumption inequality based on 9 household characteristics listed in Table 7. This type of analysis allows for the identification of relevant determinants of consumption expenditure levels and their relative contribution to overall inequality among sampled households in 2009/10 and 2015/16. The analysis also serves as empirical evidence to confirm the intuitions obtained via descriptive statistics in previous sections on the role of urbanisation and education as predictors of higher consumption and higher inequality.

Results from Table 7 show that in 2015/16, the household characteristics that contributed the most to consumption expenditure inequality were working in the public sector (as in the past), living in urban areas, and whether the household head has tertiary education. These three characteristics will be discussed more in detail in the next page.

A descriptive analysis of wages by employment sector reveals that the average last salary obtained by individuals in the public sectors was BWP 8,754 in 2015/16, compared to BWP 3,674 for private sector employees.

Additional characteristics contributing to inequality are household size and gender. By contrast, owning cattle is less relevant in explaining inequality in 2015/16 than in the past.

Works in Public Sector. It is perhaps not surprising that employment in the public sector is among the household characteristics that contributes the most to inequality. It is also shown to contribute to higher consumption expenditure, confirming the trend witnessed in Subsection 3.2. A descriptive analysis of wages by employment sector reveals that the average last salary obtained by individuals in the public sectors was BWP 8,754 in 2015/16, compared to BWP 3,674 for private sector employees. A more detailed breakdown of salaries for public employees reveals that positions at the local level are the lowest paid (BWP 5,889 on average), while member of the central government and parastatal employees appear earn much more (BWP 8,928 and BWP 13,036 respectively) confirming previous evidence on the topic (Statistics Botswana, 2020). Several parastatal organisations (which are at least owned at 50% by the state) are present in Botswana with the aim of augmenting governmental efficiency. A few examples of these companies are Water Utilities Corporation, Botswana Power Corporation, National Development Bank, Botswana Telecommunications Corporation, and Air Botswana. However, the poor performance of these companies coupled with their huge financial losses in the past have forced the government to question their effectiveness and led to adoption of the Privatisation Policy in 2000 (Mothusi and Dipholo, 2008). The process of privatising parastatal entities is currently ongoing, although many of their employees remain highly skilled individuals that receive higher-than-average wages throughout their careers. In any case, higher wages in the public sector are common in developing countries (Gindling, 2019). However, a recent study has shown that citizen's satisfaction with the Government of Botswana remains low (Botlhale, 2019).[20]

Table 7. Regression-based inequality decomposition of the Gini of consumption inequality

	2009/10		2015/16		ΔRC
Determinant	RP	RC	RP	RC	(2015 – 2009)
Female - headed	- 484.018 ***	0.014	- 905.999 ***	0.021	0.007
Household size	289.786 ***	0.041	409.892 ***	0.079	**0.038**
Lives in urban areas	745.009 ***	**0.055**	1411.575 ***	**0.091**	**0.036**
Primary education	780.269 ***	- 0.021	1453.874 ***	0.004	**0.025**
Secondary education	1626.879 ***	0.030	44.702	- 0.000	- 0.030
Tertiary/University	4810.568 ***	**0.372**	7331.542 ***	**0.455**	**0.083**
Works in Public Sector	1268.946 ***	**0.075**	1610.391 ***	**0.080**	0.005
Works in Private Sector	883.932 ***	0.010	95.512 ***	- 0.000	- 0.010
Owns cattle	1250.918 ***	0.031	857.609 **	0.008	- 0.023
Unexplained residual		0.393		0.263	- 0.130

Note: RP = regression parameter; RC = relative contribution. All values are calculated using sample weights.
Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

Lives in urban areas. Living in urban areas is also a positive predictor of higher consumption and large contributor to inequality, and its relevance increased between 2009/10 and 2015/16. Urban areas are concentrated in the most affluent districts, such as South East, for example, which might explain their relevance in contributing to consumption and inequality. Moreover, the main economic activity in rural areas is usually agriculture, which has been shown to be one of the lowest contributors to overall inequality. Data from 2015/16 shows that average consumption expenditure in urban areas is almost double the one of rural areas (i.e. BWP 6,734 as compared to BWP 3,752). Higher income in urban centres is common throughout sub-Saharan Africa, and rural households in Botswana have been shown to send household members to the city in search of work to provide remittances to the rural homestead (Lucas and Stark, 1985).

[20] There is also a gender dimension to public sector employment, but this will be further investigated in Section 5.3.1.

However, evidence from other countries has proved that higher urban food consumption has not always been associated with better nutrient-rich food intake, and might be related to higher costs more than better living conditions (Cockx, 2017).

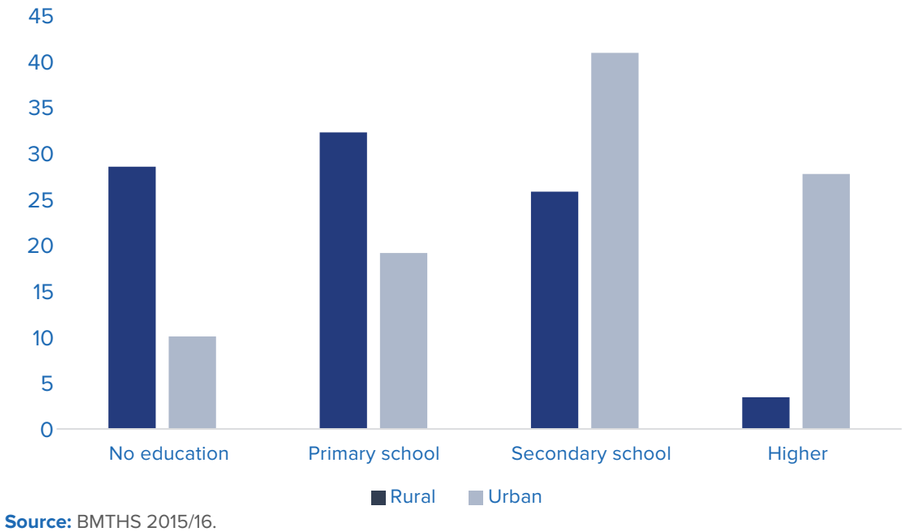
Tertiary/University education. Education in general appears to have a positive effect on consumption levels, although having a university degree has an incredibly high relative contribution to inequality (which is increased between 2009/10 and 2015/16). Indeed, the shift towards more skill intensive activities is expected to increase the demand of skilled workers. When this process is not supported by an increase in the supply of skilled workers, we can observe a rise in wages for the same groups of workers and a rapid increase in the level of inequality (Acemoglu, 2002; Card and di Nardo, 2002).

Education in general appears to have a positive effect on consumption levels, although having a university degree has an incredibly high relative contribution to inequality (which is increased between 2009/10 and 2015/16).

In spite of Botswana's former Development Plan Vision 2016 which envisioned a high-quality education system able to face the information age and transition the country into the current era, and the high levels of spending on this item, Botswana's faces challenges that limit this achievement (Makwinja, 2017). In 2019, COFOG functional expenditure on education was 7.3% of GDP, and 22% of total expenditure, higher than expenditure levels in Namibia and South Africa (International Monetary Fund, 2021).

Nonetheless, the country still faces educational challenges such as lack of access and dropout in remote areas, early marriage and teen pregnancy and adequate teaching infrastructures (Makwinja, 2017; KI: Education expert from UNESCO). Figure 7 reports differences in education between urban and rural areas. Rural areas report a much larger share of uneducated people as compared to urban areas, while most of individuals with higher education reside in urban settlements.

Figure 9. Education by urban/rural



Source: BMTHS 2015/16.

The lack of increase of labour supply might also be explained by inequality of access to education (i.e. rich households can afford to send their children to school, who will in turn form the rich households of the future). Recent evidence has shown that minority groups in Botswana face challenges in accessing higher education due to their marginalisation (both physical and cultural) and exhibit poorer performance against economic indicators (Makwinja, 2020). Data shows that households with greater consumption expenditure have a substantial share of respondents with tertiary education (i.e. 54%). In contrast, low-consumption households show the exact opposite pattern, with very few people moving beyond secondary education and a higher share of individuals without any education.[21] Those results are not surprising, as although access to education in Botswana is universal, education may still represent a burden for lower-income families through costs of uniforms, transport costs, and also indirect costs associated with the long distances to get to the closest school (World Bank & UNICEF, 2019).

Access to tertiary education is particularly costly for households in Botswana. Well-performing students (i.e. those with a Junior Certificate Examination score above 36/48) can qualify for a scholarship (Government of Botswana, Department of Tertiary Financing, 2021). However, funds available for these scholarships appear to be lower than necessary and insufficient grants are available *(KI: Final year Law student at Botswana University)*.

In contrast, high-income families will not only more easily overcome those burdens but will also have access to more sources of knowledge and learning support such as computers, the internet, television, or books. The role of these external sources would be particularly crucial in mitigating the learning loss experienced during school closures implemented as part of the raft of measures implemented to prevent the spread of COVID-19 (Angrist et al., 2020). BMTHS data from 2015/17 reveals that use of the internet is particularly high among richer households, among which 90% reports having some type of access compared to 10% among the poorest. As pointed out by a key informant, having access to internet is beneficial, as it can give more information of life opportunities (KI: Education expert from UNESCO).

Investing more on the supply of education, reducing costs of access to education or easing of current access criteria (i.e. the obtainment of high marks in the national examination) might allow poorer families to access higher education and reduce inequality.

[21] Full results for this analysis are shown in Table A6 in Appendix II.

Land inequality

Land is one of the most fundamental ingredients for economic growth, livelihoods and a sense of cultural and individual identity and has therefore been a contentious issue throughout history.

This notwithstanding, mapping a descriptive portrait of unequal distribution of land ownership or access to land is important when land is considered as both a welfare and livelihood determinant. The initial distribution of assets has been found to be an important determinant of whether growth – both agricultural and non-agricultural – benefited the poor and more generally that the initial distribution of assets (which might include land) was an important determinant of whether those living in poverty benefited from later growth (Ravallion, 1997; Gugerty and Timmer, 1999; Jayne et al., 2003). In a recent study from South Africa, Akanbi (2016) finds that there is a symbiotic relationship between non-income measures of poverty (typically social measures of deprivation) and land inequality; an increase in land inequality is likely to increase non-income poverty and vice versa (Akanbi, 2016). Land reform for poverty reduction and development is an oft repeated mantra, with some justification. Land, when considered as a productive asset, can increase incomes among the poor, but also reduce food insecurity and reduce income inequality (Agrawal, 1994; Stewart, 2008; Lipton, 2017; Odusola, 2017). The concentration of lands has been found to increase inequality and reduce farm output. In Uganda, land degradation and land access were found to be significant determinants of transitioning in and out of poverty (Krishna et al., 2006).

Of particular pertinence to Botswana, the transition from large, private, cattle ranches with low employment to smaller farmers increased employment while notably increase the count of heads of cattle, partially attributed to their utility as draught animals (Scoones, 2011).

This section commences with an historical overview of the issue of land in Botswana. Subsequently, the trends and current picture of land value and ownership are mapped using the Botswana Multi-Topic Household Survey (2015/16) and the Census (2011). Each of these sources contain relevant variables to conducting a mapping exercise, though unfortunately a consistent set of variables is not present in both datasets. Finally, literature from Botswana and Southern Africa with key-informant interviews conducted with experts in Botswana are brought together to discuss the identification of components of the relationship between economic inequality and land-holding inequality that are not identified in extent datasets.

4.2. some historical facts to understand land inequality in Botswana

The institutionalisation of inequality in Botswana began in the latter stages of Botswana's period as a British protectorate with the formation of a commercial cattle export industry. While cattle had always been the currency of the rural economy, the development of a commercial market for Botswanan beef drove the formalisation of land policies, the inequalities of which are still felt. Upon the transition of Botswana from a British protectorate to an independent nation in 1966, the continuity of the holders of high political office and the reliance on cattle exports for export earnings (cattle exports formed 85% of foreign export earnings) resulted in stasis rather than dramatic structural transformation. The vested interest of the cattle-owning political class contributed to the development of the gatekeeper state in controlling access to land and by cementing institutionalised inequalities (Hillbom, 2014). The focus of the colonial government in the 1930s on developing grazing land in Botswana as a means of increasing government revenues from the export of beef resulted in the sinking of boreholes across rangeland in water-scarce Botswana. However, these boreholes were handed to wealthy syndicates given the expenses involved with maintaining boreholes and their spatial patterns began the process of privatising access to these boreholes and creating property rights (Hillbom, 2014; Peters, 1994). Ultimately, these investments institutionalised and privatised access to land which had now risen in value, cementing the foundations of later inequality. Subsequent efforts by the colonial government to codify customary laws is attributed with facilitating the land-grabbing by elites in areas previously governed by unwritten customs (Hillbom, 2014).

The post-independence legislation initially codified the pre-colonial structure of land held in common with individual access rights granted by a gatekeeper – the major divergence caused by the 1968 Tribal Lands Act being the individual access rights were now granted by the state rather than tribal leadership (Hillbom, 2014). However, the 1975 Tribal Lands Grazing Policy caused more significant divisions, with the zoning of lands into communal, commercial and reserved grazing areas in order to prevent the overburdening of existing water resources. Expanses of land in the west of the country were made available, along with boreholes, for the establishment of large ranches. Unfortunately, a loophole in the policy permitted the owners of herds of cattle on commercial ranches to continue accessing the communal boreholes, while those holding cattle on common grazing lands are forbidden from accessing boreholes on the commercial grazing lands (Buckham-Walsh & Mutambirwa, 2014).

The effects of the price of beef in the 1930s still shape the distribution of the most valuable and viable lands in Botswana and as a result, may have an effect on the economic outcomes of those dependent on land for their livelihoods. Other land issues – like the continued holdings by often unknown non-citizen land-owners of vast tracts of Tati district (in the north east of the modern state of Botswana) since the colonial period – remain unresolved (Manatsha, 2020). This process of dispossession by settlers of land held under customary laws in the pre-colonial period was not resolved in the post-colonial period by either legislation or forced dispossession as witnessed in neighbouring Southern African nations. The result is that high value land – with the high value presumed to be as a partial result of the latent quality of the land – remains outwith the ownership of the original pre-colonial ancestral users and not part of the land available for distribution under the Land Boards on which lower consumption quintiles are reliant for land distribution.

4.3. mapping land inequality

This section will explore two important issues related to the land in more recent years i.e. land value and land ownership. Table 8, for example, reports some important information about the value of land in Botswana. In particular, it shows the average value of land in each district as well as a measure of urbanity – whether on average more households were categorised as urban or rural. Figures indicate that, on average, land values in rural areas were more valuable than those in urban areas (56,740 Pula and 38,452 Pula respectively). However, when the price per acre value is accounted for the differences appears to disappear, with the average price per acre in rural areas given as 4985 Pula and 4630 Pula in urban areas.

Table 8. Land value by district and average urbanity

district	Mean land value (Pula)	Mean land holding size(acre)	Average price per acre	Predominantly urban or rural
Chobe	15028	8	1820	Rural
Ghanzi	17306	5	3742	Rural
Kgalagadi	26223	21	1231	Rural
Kgatleng	66082	41	1597	Rural
Ngamiland	110986	9	13083	Rural
Southern	104814	12	8443	Rural
Central	46886	10	4956	Urban
Kweneng	46250	7	6848	Urban
North - East	27392	8	3297	Urban
South - East	33281	10	3422	Urban

Source: BMTHS (2015/16), author's own calculations.

Analysis of inequality in the value of land holdings paints a concerning picture.

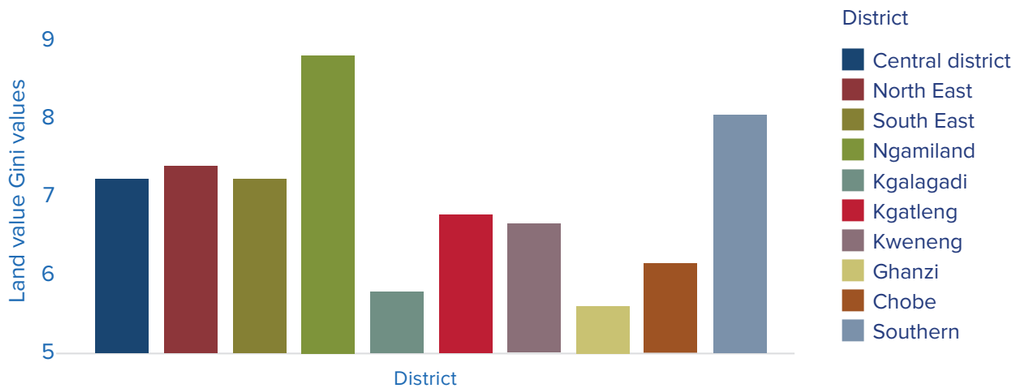
Moreover, Table 8 indicates that the most valuable land is to be found in the Ngamiland and Southern districts (110,987 Pula and 104,814 Pula respectively). The higher value of urban land may be due to pressures caused by a shortage of housing in the main cities of Gaborone and Francistown caused by a sluggish market response in the form of both ready-built housing units and low-income housing but also buoyed by foreign demand. However, changes to the transfer duty chargeable to non-citizen investors may reduce this pressure.[22] Land in Ngamiland is also highly valuable due to its fertility and the richness in wildlife.

Analysis of inequality in the value of land holdings paints a concerning picture. The Gini coefficient for land value is 0.75 indicating the presence of high inequality. A coefficient of 0.75 indicates that each equal percentage share of the population does not own an equal proportion of land value, with much of the value accruing to a small proportion of the population.

As Figure 9 represents, there is a degree of variation in the inequality of land holdings by district, however with Ngamiland and Southern districts exhibit markedly higher inequality than other districts while inequality is lower in Ghanzi and Kgalagadi. The presence of the highest value land in the districts

[22] See https://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Africa/Botswana/Price-History.

Figure 10. Land value Gini coefficients by district



Source: BMTHS (2015/16), author's own calculations.

with the highest Gini coefficient of land value is a significant policy concern when land is viewed as a welfare and livelihoods tool.

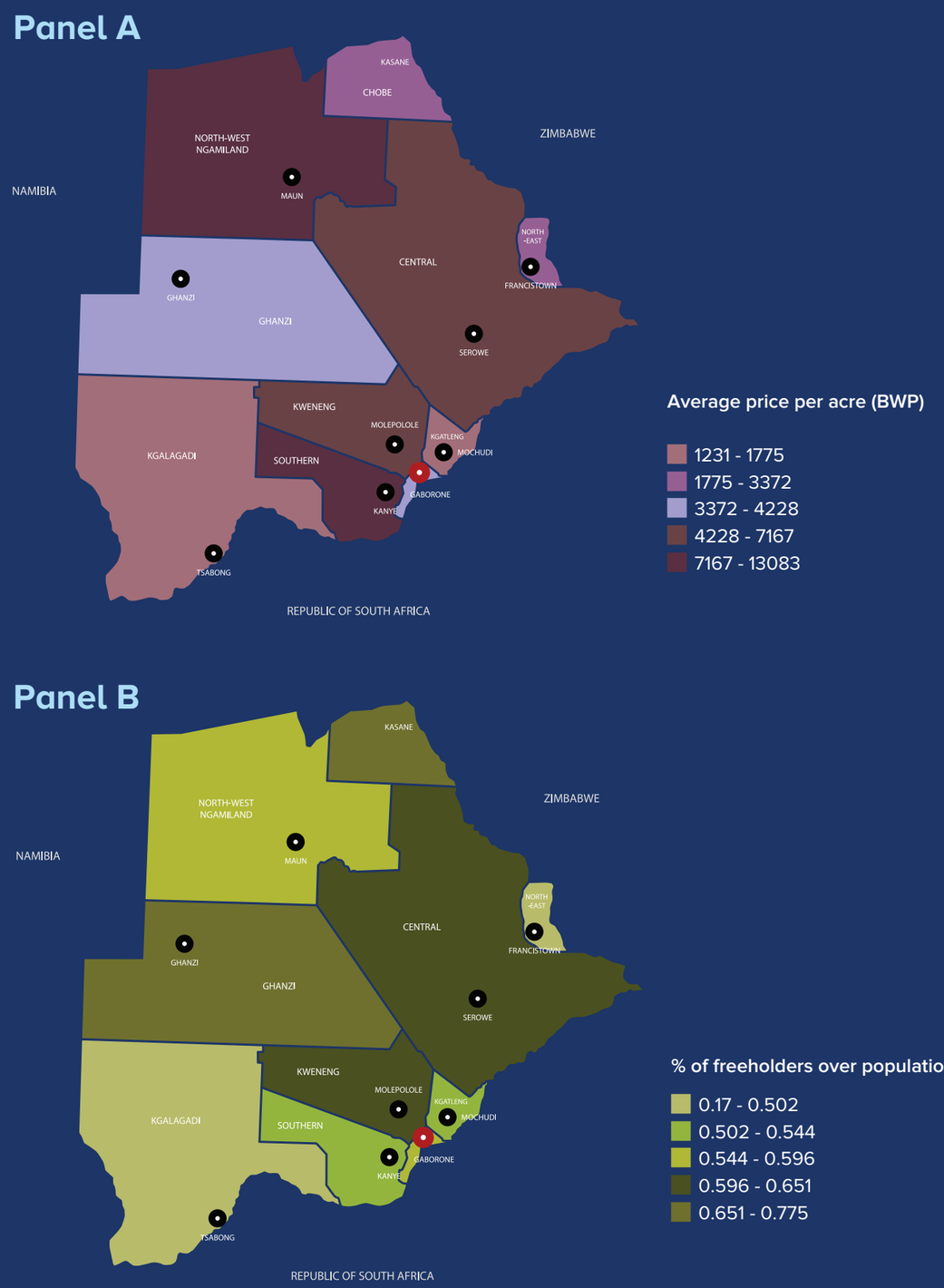
Figure 9 demonstrates visually the strong relationship between land value and inequality in land value – districts that have higher land values tend to be those districts with the strongest concentration of the value of land among very few people. This is particularly noticeable in Ngamiland and Southern districts.

In Ngamiland, pastoralists and large ranches have a tumultuous history which may result in the present concentration of lands in the hands of relatively few. A series of catastrophic droughts in the decades after independence resulted in migration towards the river delta which resulted in significant cattle overcrowding. During this same period, the government's Tribal Lands Grazing Policy was implemented to overcome issues such as this, and tracts of allegedly unused land was converted to ranches – ranches of up to 6,300 hectares in size were created (UNDP, 2016). However, qualitative research has indicated that the land converted to ranch use was a significant livelihood protection tool for managing periods of drought, and that private ranches had continually encroached on communal grazing lands, increasing the proportion of land concentrated in the hands of few. Aerial data suggests in Hainaveld, the majority of the cattle are concentrated in the northern and western areas of the farm block, perhaps indicating an uneven distribution of cattle and land (UNDP, 2016). Moreover, the process of establishing a ranch requires significant financial resources (up to $25,000 USD) which puts it out of the hands of poor pastoralist famers and puts larger tracts of valuable land in the hands of a few wealthier individuals (Basupi, Quinn & Dougill, 2017). Several of the farms in the farm block have been converted to-game ranches over time (UNDP, 2016); the accessibility of operating game concessions to all has been called into question (Moyo, 2008).

Land and consumption quintile. This section draws on data from both the BMTHS 2015 to provide an insight into how economic power is associated with land ownership. Data from the 2015 BMTHS provides some important information about consumption and land ownership. Therefore, it is possible to investigate if there is any correlation between consumption and land value. To do that, we created consumption quintiles and then consider the average value of land own by each quintile.[23] This will give us an alternative measure of land inequality.

[23] The consumption quintile was created by dividing the sample into five approximately equal groups according to their total reported consumption, with groups ranging from the group that consumes the least through to the highest consumption group.

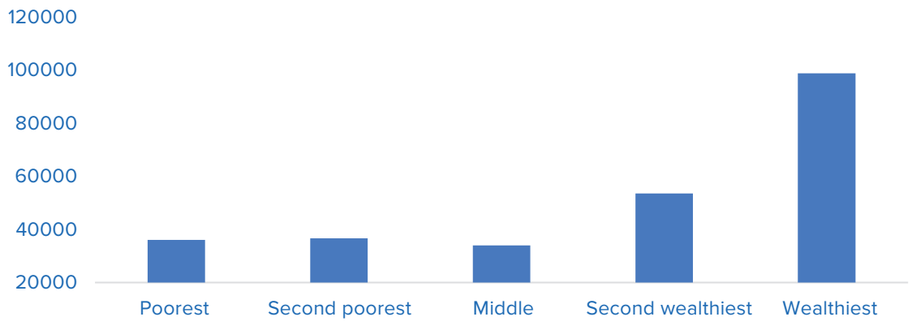
Figure 11. Land value (panel A) and land inequality by district (panel B)



Source: Data for panel A is drawn from the Botswana Multi-Topic Household Survey and author's calculations; data for panel B is drawn from the Census 2011 and the author's own calculations.

Results are mainly summarized in Figure 11. First, evidence does show that there is significant variation in the value of land owned by each consumption quintile. In particular, households in the poorest quintile owned land approximately one-third of the value of the land held by households in the wealthiest consumption quintile. An examination of the average size of land holding in each consumption quintile precludes the conclusion that the difference in value is due to differences in the size of holdings. Instead, the variation in the price per acre in the highest and the lowest consumption quintile illuminates more about the issue of the inequality: per acre, land held by the wealthiest consumption quintile is worth double that held by households in the poorest consumption quintile.

Figure12. Land value (Pula) and consumption quintile



Source: BMTHS, 2015/6, author's own calculations

4.4. land acquisition

The problem of land concentration seems to be rooted in the process of land acquisition. The system of designating land in three different categories is inherited from the colonial era. Land in Botswana is categorised as either freehold land, state land (formerly crown land) and tribal land. All three categories have come under scrutiny and the allocation thereof have caused controversy since Botswana's period as a British protectorate. The majority (71%) of land in Botswana is held as tribal land, distributed to all citizens of Botswana regardless of tribal affiliation, upon application presented to the relevant Land Board. State land comprises the next largest category (26%) and consists both of land designated as national parks and land in urban and peri-urban areas that is often provided as Fixed Period State Grants (FPSG) for residential or commercial purposes (AFDB, 2016). Freehold land occupies the smallest portion of Botswana's surface area (3%), however offers the securest tenure with the highest degree of freedom with regards to disposal. Freehold land is among the most valuable land in Botswana and is often agricultural land or used for cattle ranching – several ranches over 100,000 hectares are freehold land (Kampamba, 2019; Malatsi & Finnstrom, 2011; USAID, 2010).

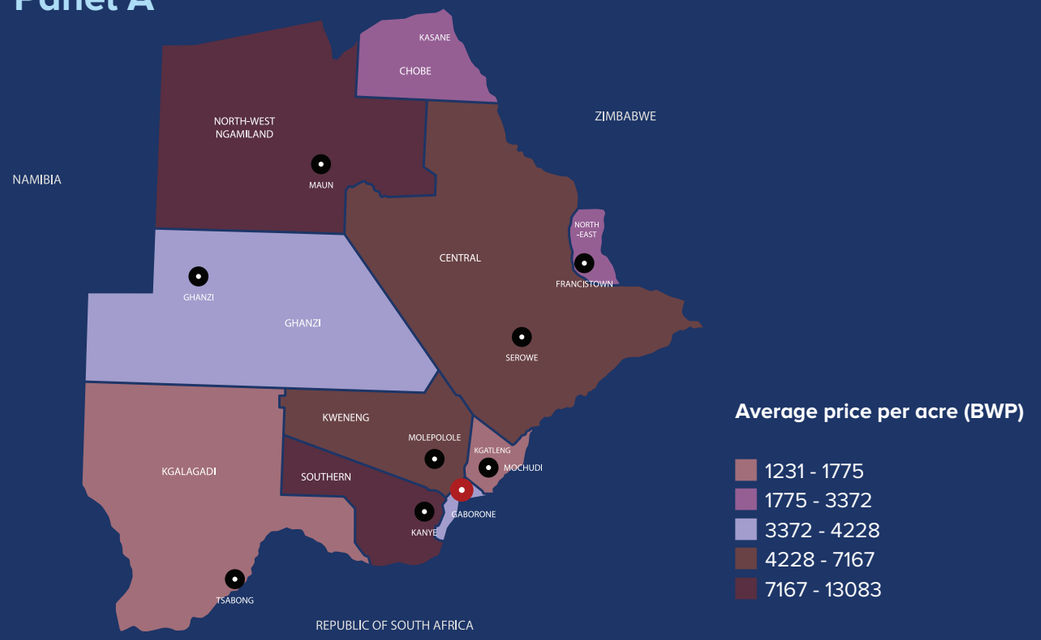
Table 9. Land tenure categories by proportion of land over time

Year	Tribal land	State land	Freehold land
1966	48.8	47.4	3.7
1979	69.4	24.9	5.7
1998	70.9	24.9	4.2
2009	70.9	24.9	4.2
2013	71	26	3

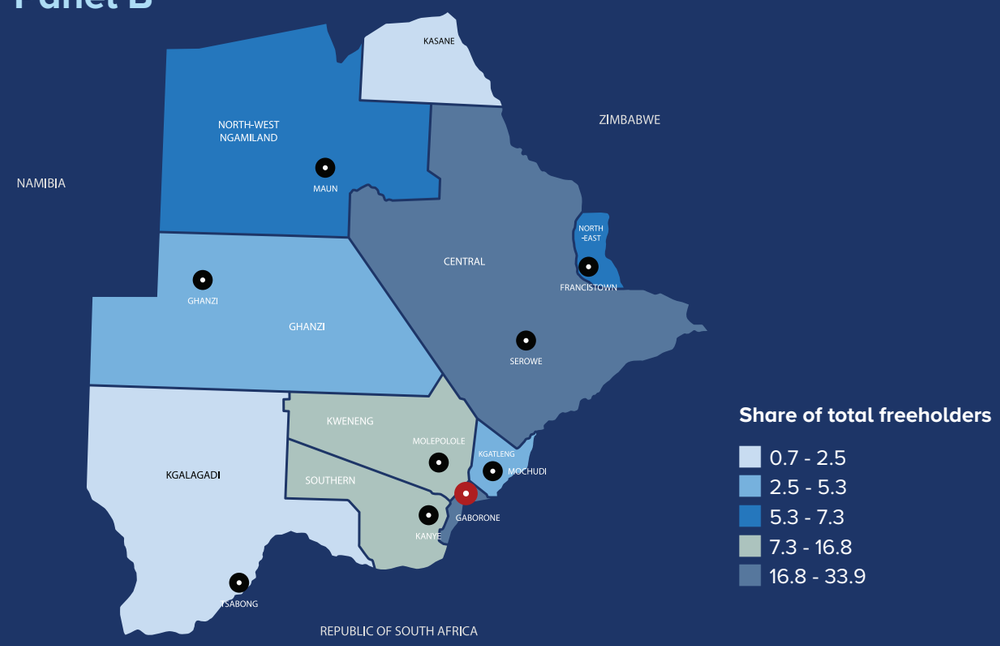
Source: AFDB, 2016

Figure 13. Land value (panel A) and share of total freehold landowners by district (panel B)

Panel A



Panel B



Source: Data for panel A are drawn from the Botswana Multi-Topic Household Survey and the author's own calculations; data for panel B are drawn from the Census 2011 and the author's own calculations.

The acquisition method may serve as a proxy for determining land value and land concentration in each district. While the majority of land in each sub-district was acquired using land boards, the distribution of freehold lands does not follow an equal pattern, with the following districts reporting the highest share of freehold land: Central, Kweneng, Southern and South East. In particular, there appears to be a clear relationship between the average price per unit of land in each district and the proportion of freehold landowners that reside in that district (Figure 12). The Central district is among the districts in which the highest proportion of freehold land owners reside, and in the second highest category of land values; Ngamiland is in the highest category of land values with a relatively high proportion of freehold land owners residing within the district; the Southern district has among the most valuable land along with a relatively high proportion of freehold land owners.

Land acquisition and wealth inequality. This section investigates the strength of any relationship between economic power and method of land acquisition. The 2011 Census provides information on the method of acquisition of land holdings along with information that can be used to construct a wealth index that ranks households from the wealthiest to the poorest by means of principal component analysis. These findings indicate that households in the wealthiest quintile of the running wealth index are more likely to own freehold land than those in the lower quintiles. It is not possible to determine from the available data whether these households are wealthy because of their ownership of freehold land or whether they are able to own freehold land because they were previously wealthy. However, inferring from literature it would appear that this land is in the hands of wealthier households because of their ability to purchase this land on the free market.

Concentration of less valuable lands in the hands of the poorest consumption quintiles may be explicable through examination of acquisition method by consumption quintile. Table 10 appears to show that land allocated by the land board and tribal authorities is concentrated among the poorest wealth quintiles, while freehold land appears to be concentrated among the wealthiest quintile.

Table 10. Proportion of owned land by acquisition source and wealth quintile

	POOREST	SECOND POOREST	MIDDLE	SECOND WEALTHIEST	WEALTHIEST
Land board	28.45	20.44	17.95	16.64	16.52
Tribal/communal	25.74	24.53	19.22	16.08	14.42
Inheritance	19.12	21.52	18.09	19.57	21.70
Freehold	24.53	16.11	14.95	13.13	31.28
Lease	11.90	10.58	12.37	18.13	47.03
TGLP	26.26	21.72	17.17	16.67	18.18
Syndicate	22.56	20.30	18.80	16.17	22.18
Employer/relative	26.12	22.45	18.29	16.81	16.34
Self-allocation	63.83	16.19	9.54	6.38	4.06

Source: Census data (2011)

Data do not permit analysis of the quality of land held under each acquisition method. However, there are several problems highlighted during key informant interviews and the literature. Planning rules – according to a key informant – mean that agricultural land issued by the land board must be distinct from land allocated for the homestead. In some circumstances, particularly as urban centres become more populated, this may mean a rural household's agricultural land is more than a day's walk from their homestead. There may, therefore, be a symbiotic relationship between land allocated by land boards and poor households. Moreover, the distribution of land through Land Boards does not automatically confer a common law lease which affects the ability to borrow against the property for improvements.

4.5. land and citizenship

The emotional and cultural resonance of land may exacerbate issues of land acquisition, ownership and accumulation of land by non-citizens. While this is not a new issue in Botswana, nor has the problem extinguished itself over time either naturally or by means of legislation and the problem extends from large-scale commercials farms or ranches to tracts of urban lands around Francistown and Gaborone.

The use of legal loopholes in the 1980s permitted the acquisition of a vast number of plots designated as tribal lands by non-citizens in an area close to Gaborone. Two decades later, a similar pattern emerged, leading to the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into State Land Allocations in Gaborone. It was noted that in areas around Gaborone, syndicates of non-citizens made spot purchases in cash of tracks of land, making moderate improvements to increase the value of land and subsequently selling it on to other syndicate members from abroad (Manatsha, 2020). Furthermore, the current legal arrangements do not prevent the transfer of developed tribal land to willing non-citizen buyers, with no prohibition on the size of holdings (Manatsha, 2020). Key informant interviews confirmed that the transfer of tribal land holdings to non-citizens was a persistent problem due to the vastly higher purchasing power of non-citizens. Despite legislation to require priority to interested Botswanans over non-citizens in the transfer of tribal land being approved in 2017, it remains unimplemented (Manatsha, 2020).

The land on which national parks and nature reserves are located has been the source of concern. Such reserves in Botswana are located on state land, including land from minority tribes such as the Basarwa who are now experiencing a land shortage, or in some cases are unable to perform hunting and gathering on their ancestral grounds, significantly impacting the livelihoods of these communities. Concern has been further expressed that the livelihood opportunities that do stem from the development of high-end tourist sites in national parks are not distributed among tribes whose land was dispossessed, rather concessions were granted to non-nationals (Moyo, 2008; Kalabamu, 2019).

Inequality, Migration and Ethnicity

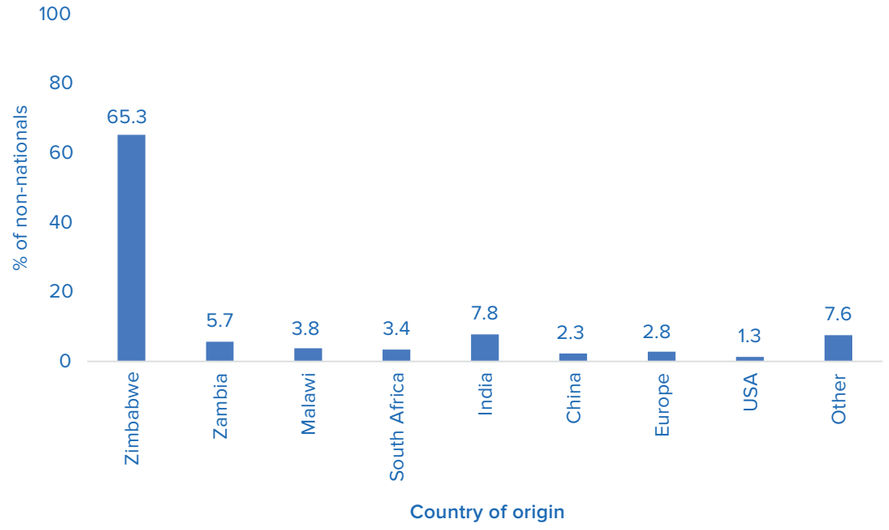
Even when society as a whole is getting richer, certain groups are frequently left behind. Therefore, to get a proper understanding of the problem of inequality in a society, analysis should move beyond the traditional way of understanding disparities such as economic differences between the 'rich' and the 'poor' (vertical inequality) and also consider differences between social groups (horizontal inequality). Horizontal inequality refers to differences "among groups with a shared identity" (Stewart, 2016: 51), such as ethnicity, nationality or gender. This aspect of inequality has a lot of relevance for economic, social, and political development. Indeed, where different forms of inequalities overlap and intersect with different groups, they tend to reinforce each other, leading to the most severe forms of exclusion and disenfranchisement (Kabeer, 2016).

This chapter discusses the intersection between inequality and two important dimensions such as migration and ethnicity using both quantitative – Census 2011, CWIS 2009/10, BMTHS 2015/16 - and qualitative data in the form of key informant interviews conducted with informed sources in Botswana in the early months of 2021. In particular, Section 5.1 discusses about the link between inequality and nationality. Section 5.2 focuses on the ethnicity dimension and investigates how this dimension intersects with inequality.

5.1. consumption and inequality by nationality

This section focuses on presenting an analysis of consumption expenditure and inequality disaggregated by households' nationality. According to 2015/16 BMTHS figures, approximately 4.5% of the population in Botswana is non-national, born mostly in Zimbabwe (65%, or ca. 70,000 people), Zambia (5.7%, or ca. 6,000 people), and Malawi (3.8%, or ca. 4,000 people) (see Figure 12). A large Indian community (7.8%, or ca. 8,000 people) is also present, while residents from Europe and the US taken together represent approximately 4% of the population, or approximately 4,000 people (Figure 12).

Figure 14. Share of nationality over total non-nationals

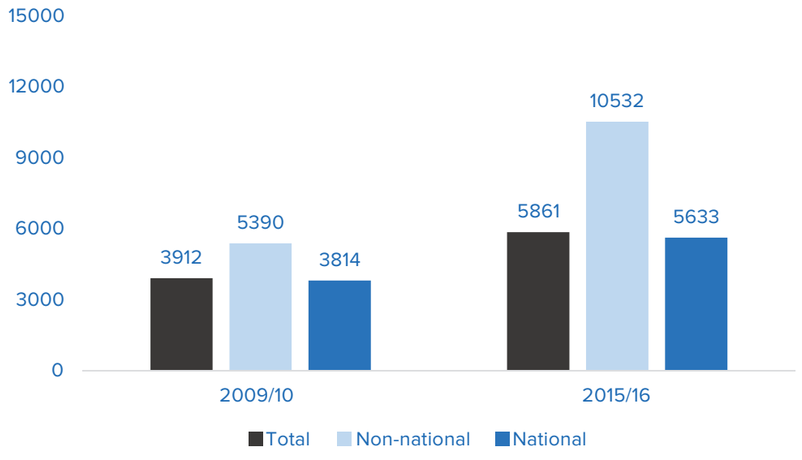


Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

Figure 13 shows the average consumption expenditure in Botswana by national/non-national status. The disaggregation suggests that non-national households (less than 5% of the total population) consumed, in the period of 2015/16, an average of BWP 10,532 per month, 87% more than nationals (BWP 5,633). When comparing with the period of 2009/10, the results suggest an increase in the distance between the two groups' average consumption (i.e. from 41% to 87%).

Our results appear to be in line with previous studies theorising the presence of a "labour aristocracy" in Botswana: highly skilled foreign workers earning significantly higher wages than local workers (Mogalakwe, 2008). Indeed, taking a look at the most recent labour statistics, it seems that this difference might be driven in

Figure 15. Total consumption expenditure by nationality



Source: CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

Table 11. Key indicators disaggregated by nationality (2015/16)

	NON-NATIONAL	NATIONAL
Below average consumption	58%	74%
Unemployed	45%	52%
Working public sector	6%	21%
Working private sector	48%	27%
No education	1%	17%

Source: BMTHS 2015/16.

These findings appear to show that, while some non-nationals might be high-paid foreign experts, there is also a large portion of non-nationals without employment and below average consumption.

large parts by a few male non-nationals earning drastically more than citizens in the same position (Statistics Botswana, 2020, p.88f.) The difference is particularly stark in the Education sector, Finance and Insurance Activities, Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities and especially Activities of Extraterritorial organisations (Statistics Botswana, 2020, p.89 Table AE3). Interestingly, these are also the sectors identified as the most unequal ones in decomposition analysis reported in Section 3.2.2.

To better understand whether non-nationals represent a privileged group in Botswana, analysis investigating additional characteristics of nationals and non-nationals in 2015/16 was conducted. Results, presented in Table 11, appear to indicate that non-nationals are better off in terms of education, and participate more in the private sector as compared to nationals. However, they still present high levels of unemployment (i.e. 45%, compared to 52% for nationals) and approximately 58% of them have a consumption expenditure below the country average (although nationals still present the highest share, with 74%).

Taken together, these findings appear to show that, while some non-nationals might be high-paid foreign experts, there is also a large portion of non-nationals without employment and below average consumption. In order to test this hypothesis, the level of inequality among national and non-national households needs to be investigated further.

When considering the inequality indicators, results show that in both 2009/10 and 2015/16, higher inequality was present among Botswana's non-national population.

Table 12. Consumption inequality in Botswana by nationality

NATIONALITY	GINI COEFFICIENT	
	2009/10	2015/16
Total Non-national (NN)	0.56	0.62
Total National (N)	0.51	0.55

Note: Total consumption expenditure calculated using sample weights. **Source:** CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

While the Gini coefficient within the subgroup of national households was 0.55 in 2015/16, the Gini for the non-nationals was 0.62 in the same period (Table 12). Furthermore, inequality grew by 0.06 points from 2009/10 for non-nationals, while it only increased by 0.04 points for nationals. This confirms that, while the previously mentioned theory of "labour aristocracy" might not be incorrect, among non-nationals there exist significant differences in consumption levels between low-skilled immigrants, who are among the most vulnerable people living in Botswana (IOM, 2017), and high-paid foreigners. The following sections focus more on describing the former group and some migration-related issues.

5.1.1. migrants as a vulnerable population

This section will focus on two groups of migrants that are particularly vulnerable: (i) international, low-skilled and undocumented migrants, and (ii) internal labour migrants.

International (undocumented), low-skilled migrants.[24] Asylum seekers, migrant workers, and trafficked persons flows also make Botswana a key transit and destination country, particular for low-skilled individuals. The main countries of origin of migrants in Botswana are neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and Zambia (UNICEF, 2013).

Two relevant areas of discrimination of international migrants that were highlighted by IOM (2017) are: 1) the limited migrants' knowledge of available legal provisions, and 2) the absence of clear guidelines on service provision to migrants. While migrants in Botswana do not know which rights they are entitled to, and their corresponding responsibilities in relation to those rights, it is also noted that Botswana service providers often do not know whether to extend services to migrants, especially at district level (IOM, 2017). In some cases, service providers can find themselves in the position of going against set institutional requirements to assist undocumented vulnerable migrants. For instance, health care workers of government facilities can be faced between the choice of assisting migrants in need or not, because the outstanding unpaid bills of hospitals (IOM, 2017).

The current legislation of employment and immigration does not regulate unlawful recruitment and employment activities of migrants, failing to protect the rights of migrant workers. The limited legal context causes economic migrants to move through irregular channels and end up inevitably working in the informal sector, suffering for additional stigmatization, and possibly being prosecuted as criminals (IOM, 2016). Key informants especially highlighted the precarious employment situation for irregular migrants, where protection from abuse is weak and payments are often below minimum wage or even withheld. The interviews also highlighted how regular migrants often end in precarious working conditions. Working permits contain a sector that they are valid for, e.g., farm work. However, as a key informant highlighted people will go where employment opportunities are available, e.g., household help. Many women end up as nannies or live-in household help rather than farm workers. Since they are breaching their working permits, they are also more exposed to exploitation and abuse. One way the government has recently tried to address this issue is by punishing both the employer and the employee when a migrant is employed in a sector that they do not have a work permit for. Before this change, only the employed migrant would be punished which lead to even more abuse by employers.

Internal Labour Migrants. Internal migrants also face specific challenges. As key informants highlighted, the current system is not enough to support internal labour migrants and their families. Unfortunately, no recent data on internal migration is available. However, some trends have been observed over the last decades. Much of the internal labour migration in Botswana goes to areas with mining activities. Working in a mine has been linked to serious negative health outcomes, in particular lung disease (Kistnasamy et al, 2018), but also TB, silicosis and hearing loss. One major issue is the lack of (health) support once people leave the mines, where "the mine does not take any responsibility even though the diseases that they are suffering from are caused by their working conditions in the mines" (KI: Cindy Kelemi, Bonela) This leads to many miners not being able to sustain themselves once they leave the mines.

Key informants also highlighted other issues that deteriorate the wellbeing of internal labour migrants. One issue that was raised by multiple informants was access to services. While internal migrants, as citizens, have access to services and financial support, this support is often linked to their home communities. Hence, they would have to go back to their home communities to claim these benefits. One key informant gave the example of the mining town of Jwaneng in the south, where a settlement called Sese has formed around the mining town. People that live in these settlements will come to Jwaneng looking for work during the week, however many children in the settlement do not attend school because they are not budgeted for in Jwaneng, but rather in their home communities.

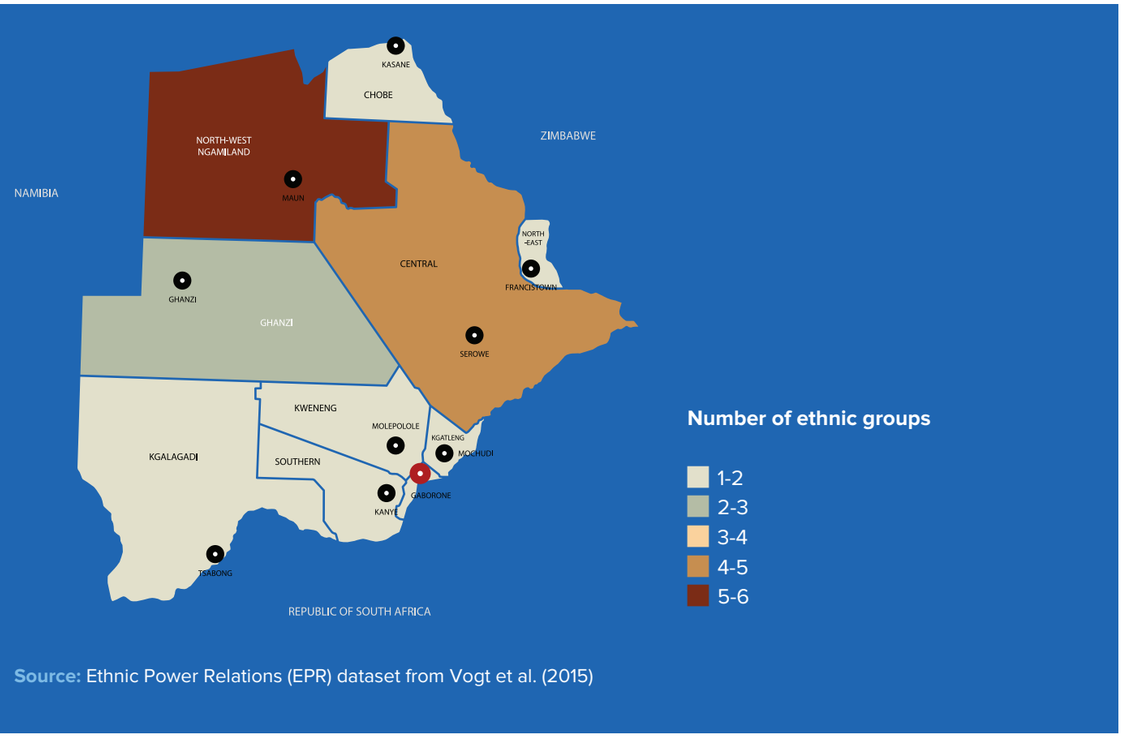
5.2. ethnic inequality

Even though stark inequalities exist in the distribution of resources, as discussed in section 3, Botswana has managed to remain one of the most peaceful post-colonial Sub-Saharan African nation, and this was mostly because of the country's commitment to work toward national unity among the different ethnic groups inhabiting its land (Dryden-Peterson and Mulimbi, 2017). The country's policy on ethnic conflicts has been to some extent to render ethnicity invisible, which has brought both positive and negative consequences (Mayersen & Mcloughlin, 2011). Assimilation and identity management were the main strategies of the elites to buffer the negative effects of ethnicity on resource distribution (Gapa, 2017).[25] The avoidance of politicizing ethnicities certainly reduced the risks and vulnerability to ethnic conflicts, but also facilitated the continuation of practices marginalizing ethnic minorities (Mayersen & Mcloughlin, 2011). After independence in 1966, Botswana constructed national unity around Tswana culture and the Setswana language through education in schools. More recently, this strategy has proven to be perceived as lacking recognition of other minorities, perpetuating horizontal inequalities (Dryden-Peterson & Mulimbi, 2017). For example, the distribution of key agricultural resources such as water and cattle became polarized over the colonial era: "some social classes turn out to be dominated by one ethnic group, such as small- and medium-scale cattle holders (Tswana), while others such as the cattleless represent a mix of ethnic groups (for example, Tswana, Sarwa, and Kgalagadi)" (Bolt & Hillbom, 2016:5). To Tswana officials San underdevelopment and poverty still is interpreted

[24] Many Batswana migrate within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) for work. A major issue has been highlighted when they return – within SADC, labour migrants have no right to the portability of social security entitlements which causes the loss of social protection from both the country of origin and destination (KI: Maria Machailo-Ellis, ILO Senior Specialist). Similarly, a common SADC Qualification Framework (SADCQF) is missing, which causes labour migrants to have limited to skills-demanding jobs. However, both the portability of social protection rights and the SADCQF are currently being discussed and developed (KI: Maria Machailo-Ellis, ILO Senior Specialist).

[25] Assimilation refers to the process whereby a minority group gradually adapts to the customs and attitudes of the prevailing culture and customs. Identifying individuals in a system and controlling systematic resource access by associating user rights and restrictions with an established identity.

Figure 16. Number of ethnic groups by district



Source: Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset from Vogt et al. (2015)

as a manifestation of their hunting and gathering culture. Therefore, ethnicity is an ideological factor that naturalizes poverty and inequalities (Sylvain, 2015).

Historically, however, tribal territories were autonomous entities under independent chiefs. Chiefs established a social structure based on clans, sub-tribes, and a political culture of authority which fostered inequality. This legacy has brought a culture of male dominance, embedded in the kgotla (community council) allowed for limited consultative democracy, and has become the distinctive feature of Botswana's modern democracy (Sebudubudu, 2011) and that is a concurring part in the gender inequality that will later be described in this section.

5.2.1. distribution of ethnic groups

The Tswana people is predominant throughout the country and represents the only ethnic group in the southern districts (together with the Kgalagadi) and part of the northern ones (Figure 14). Central districts, on the other hand, host a more varied array of ethnic groups (Tswana, Birwa, Tswapong, and Kalanga), with Ngamiland being the most ethnically fragmented one, with a total of six ethnic groups (Tswana, Kalanga, Herero/Mbanderu, Yeyi, Mbukushu, and San). Several ethnic groups are also present in the Ghanzi district (Tswana, Kgalagadi, and Herero/Mbanderu). In any case, even the most ethnically fragmentated districts still have Tswana as the majority group. Non-tswana ethnic groups are only dominant in certain sub-districts such as Ngwaketse, Ngamiland, Ghanzi, and Kgalagadi.

5.2.2. assets, education, employment and inequality by ethnicity

Although Botswana represents an example of peaceful ethnic cohabitation, as part of the analysis of ethnic inequality it is important to identify whether belonging to a specific ethnic group precludes the fulfilling of individuals' capabilities, as described by Sen (1989). The best source of information to conduct such an analysis is 2011 Botswana Census data, which represents the most complete survey of the country's population. Unfortunately, due to data limitations, we are not able to investigate ethnicity per se and have instead to resort to a proxy: spoken language.[26] By making use of Census data on households' main language, we analyse economic conditions, education levels and occupation types based on spoken language.[27] Spoken language and, by association, ethnicity might influence students' access to and participation in education (e.g. by imposing language barriers or, depending on the area in which the ethnic group is located, physical barriers) and, consequently, affect their position in the labour market. Moreover, certain language or ethnic groups might be penalised when looking for employment due to cultural discrimination.

Table13. Asset index by language spoken

LANGUAGE	AVERAGE ASSET INDEX	% IN BOTTOM QUINTILE OF ASSET INDEX	% IN TOP QUINTILE OF ASSET INDEX
Setswana	2.530	18	21
English	2.937	15	29
Sekalanga	2.478	19	20
Shekgalagadi	2.090	26	14
Sesubiya	2.114	20	12
Sesarwa	1.080	54	3
Seyeyi	1.737	35	8
Sembukushu	1.394	40	4
Afrikaans	3.134	15	34
Ndebele	1.371	46	7
Zezuru/Shona	1.526	38	6
Seherero	2.682	14	21

Note: Figures represent percentage shares. **Source:** Census 2011.

[26] A table relating Ethnicity and Language in Botswana is presented in Table A4 in Annex II of this report.
[27] Education and occupation are themselves proxies of capabilities as they allow individuals to aim for better lives (Sen, 1989).
[28] The asset index is built as a principal component analysis of several assets owned by households. Nominally: cattle, goats, sheep, poultry, donkeys, bike, car, cart, bicycle, wheelbarrow, refrigerator, desktop, laptop, radio, tv, and telephone.

Since Census data does not present information on consumption or income, we proxy for economic conditions using an asset index.[28] Our asset index ranges between 0 and 10.22, with higher values represent larger asset-wealth (i.e. ownership of assets). Together with disaggregated figures for the index, we report in Table 13 the percentage of households in the bottom quintile of the national asset index for each language. The highest levels of asset wealth are shown by Afrikaans and English speakers, which also report the lowest share of households in the bottom quintile of the index. On the opposite side, Sesarwa (corresponding to the ethnic group of Mosarwa), Ndebele, and Sembukushu (Mombukushu ethnic group) have the lowest average asset index and the highest share of households in the bottom quintile, with Sesarwa reaching 54%. Households speaking the main language, Setswana (and, most probably, belonging to the Tswana ethnic group), present an average asset index of 2.530, which is slightly higher than the national average (i.e. 2.447).

Table 14 reports the household head's educational attainment and spoken language. Households speaking the Setswana language present approximately 20% of household heads with no education, 25% with primary education, 32% with secondary education, and 24% with beyond secondary education. The language showing the lowest levels of education is the Sesarwa, with more than 63% of household heads reporting never attending school, and only 16% with secondary or higher education. This was also the group with the largest share of households in the bottom quintile of asset wealth. It is followed by the Seyeyi language (corresponding to the ethnic group Moyei), with 53% of household heads reporting no education. The most educated group is the English-speaking one, with over 63% of the sample reporting beyond secondary education.

Table 14. Education in Botswana by language spoken

LANGUAGE	NEVER ATTENDED	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	BEYOND SECONDARY
Setswana	18.8	24.9	31.7	24.5
English	1.7	4.2	30.7	63.4
Sekalanga	14.8	32.2	32.9	20.1
Shekgalagadi	34.7	23.4	29	12.9
Sesubiya	14.3	29	36.5	20.2
Sesarwa	63.2	20.7	13.6	2.6
Seyeyi	52.9	19.3	18.1	9.6
Sembukushu	47.7	22.3	24	6
Afrikaans	11	27.8	33.4	27.8
Ndebele	5.4	22.7	56.9	15
Zezuru/Shona	7.1	6	58.7	28.1
Seherero	24	23	35.7	16.8

Note: Figures represent percentage shares. **Source:** Census 2011.

The two languages that presented the lowest educational levels, Sesarwa and Seyeyi, also show the highest level of unemployment among household heads (45% and 40% respectively).

The analysis of between-spoken-language inequality continues by addressing the issue of employment (Table 15). Here, it is interesting to analyse not only if any particular language shows higher rates of unemployment but also if certain groups disproportionally occupy jobs in the public sector (i.e. public administration at local and national level). First of all, we find that the two languages that presented the lowest educational levels, Sesarwa and Seyeyi, also show the highest level of unemployment among household heads (45% and 40% respectively), together with the Sembukushu language (43%). The dominant language, Setswana, presents a share of unemployed household heads of 31%. Our analysis also shows that the Sesubiya (Mosubia ethnic group) language has the highest percentage of heads employed in the public administration (21%), followed by the Shekgalagadi (16%) and Setswana (14%) languages.

From these findings we can safely conclude that differences do exist in educational attainment and labour force participation depending on language spoken (and, most probably, ethnicity). The most penalised groups appear to be those that speak Sesarwa (residing mostly in the Ghanzi) and the Seyeyi (residing mostly in Ngamiland). The areas in which these groups reside are the poorest and most rural of the country, which could explain the high level of unemployment for ethnicities leaving within their borders. As previously mentioned, rural areas are also those in which access to education is more difficult.

Table 15. Occupation type in Botswana by language spoken

LANGUAGE	UNEMPLOYED	PUBLIC SECTOR	PRIVATE SECTOR
Setswana	31	13.6	55.3
English	13.4	5.7	80.9
Sekalanga	32.9	11.1	56
Shekgalagadi	39.2	16.1	44.7
Sesubiya	27.7	21.5	50.7
Sesarwa	45.4	9.9	44.7
Seyeyi	40.2	6.9	52.9
Sembukushu	42.8	6.9	50.3
Afrikaans	26.9	8.7	64.4
Ndebele	19.8	1.8	78.4
Zezuru/Shona	20.3	1.1	78.7
Seherero	36.8	12	51.2

Note: Figures represent percentage shares. Only working-age household heads (i.e. between 16 and 64 years old) are included in the analysis. **Source:** Census 2011.

Gender Inequality and Disability

This section extends the discussion on inequality investigating the role of Gender and disability. Gender by itself is not a marker of poverty but in combination with other dimensions, it can explain why women and girls often face more disadvantages (Arauco et al., 2014). Gender inequalities are systematic and happen at every level of society, and Botswanan women are manifestly disadvantaged in economic outcomes. Poverty is more incident among women, and they are more vulnerable to external shock such as financial and epidemic crises (Botlhale, 2011).

Since the available data only gives a limited snapshot of the current situation of vulnerable groups in Botswana, this part of the study will add **qualitative** information, based on a desk review of relevant academic and grey literature and semi-structured interviews with key informants. The desk review is organized around the thematic area of social inequalities in Botswana. The research of literature was done by using several combinations of search terms such as *"inequalit*"*, *"social, "gender"*, *"LGBT*"*, *"homosexual*"*, *"labour participation"*, *"labor participation"*, *"labour"*, *"education"*, and *"access to education"* in combination with *"Botswana"*. Results were discarded if published before 2010. We also searched (or received from UNDP and Key Informants) grey literature documents from relevant organizations which were also included in the discussion.

To get a thorough understanding of what causes or contributes to inequalities of vulnerable groups in Botswana, research was complemented with semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders (see Annex III for an overview of all interviews and the interview protocol). Possible stakeholders were identified by UNDP, based on the literature review and through snowballing. They include representatives of the government of Botswana, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, journalists, scholars and citizens that are active in one of the research areas. All interviews were conducted virtually[29]. The Informants could choose whether they wanted to remain anonymous for the purpose of this report.

[29] Where possible MS Teams was used to ensure GDPR compliance for sensitive information. Depending on possibilities and preferences of the interview partners some interviews were also conducted via WhatsApp, zoom or phone.

Overall key informants agreed that there is a lack of gender sensitivity analysis for many policies and more expert knowledge should be included in the policy designing stage to ensure that the gender dimensions are adequately provided. In addition, lack of implementation and proper funding render existing policies ineffective. In the public opinion, women's empowerment is seen as begetting divorce and social ills. Moreover, women advocating for increased gender equality are pictured as single, divorced, or married to foreigners, hence the issue of gender inequality is labelled as external to Botswana's cultural norms and traditions (UNDP, 2012). Key informants interviewed by the team continued to highlight that there is no larger societal conversation about the importance of gender sensitive policies and the need to include more women in higher positions of power. The gender activists interviewed for this report unanimously agreed that this is a major factor in holding back women's empowerment in Botswana.

The rest of this section will discuss the interaction between gender and other dimensions as well as the role of disability in explaining inequality in the Botswana`s society.

6.1. gender and labour

While equal rights are granted to women and men under the constitution, access to employment by gender remains significantly different. Women participation in the labour force stands at 56.5%, men at 64.6%. Additionally, the unemployment rate is higher among women (23.5%) than men (21.7%), although not among youth. Moreover, the average monthly earnings of women employees are 68% of those of men employees (International Labour Organization, 2019). The main reason explaining the

The average monthly earnings of women employees are 68% of those of men employees (International Labour Organization, 2019).

gender pay gap appear to be the segregation of women in lower-paid and lower valued sectors of the labour market *(KI: Maria Machailo-Ellis, ILO Senior Specialist; KI: Final year Law student at Botswana University),* and women's double burden that constrains time and participation *(KI: Maria Machailo-Ellis, ILO Senior Specialist).* Additionally, physical violence, unsecure locations, adverse weather conditions, crime, and threat of forced closure are all factors hampering women's businesses outcomes (Cherchi & Kirkwood, 2019). While many run small businesses they are often not as successful as men's. Multiple reasons have been identified for this, including the fact that women are overburdened with caring responsibilities, and that they lack an adequate amount of business skills, e.g. in accounting (KI: Valencia Mogegeh).[30]

Women in the public sector. Highly skilled women find employment in the public sector (70% of women with tertiary education). However, while the distribution of public officials in the central government is balanced (49% males, 51% females), males are overrepresented in key ministries and there is an evident vertical segregation of gender. The percentage of men earning at the highest scale is significantly higher than women's (UNDP, 2012). Key informants agreed that one major reason for women to choose the public sector is the job security and stability provided by employment there. At the same time, gender norms that see men as leaders and women as inferior lead to less women in leadership positions. *"A team of oxen is never led by females, otherwise the oxen will fall into a ditch – men are natural leaders" Setswana Proverb* (UNDP, 2012). Key informants also reported that, according to their opinion, women often do not think themselves capable of taking on leadership roles.

Women in the private sector. Women were found to be more disadvantaged in accessing various forms of employment.[31] Many poorer and less educated employed women work in the private sector including clerical occupations, unpaid family work, plant and machine operations. Women's self-employment in SME and micro-businesses has been increasing in the last decade, while this has had positive effects on employment and income generating activities, these jobs are mostly informal and do not entitle them to relevant social protection schemes such as maternity leave, pension, and severance schemes This horizontal segregation holds also if intervening variables such as age, education level and marital factors are taken into account (Ncube, Lufumpa & Vencatachellum, 2011). Despite government programs being available to support income-generating activities the success rate is very low. Many key informants agreed that there is a lack of skills for women in the informal sector sustaining a business. In combination with the care activity that is expected of women resources are often not enough. "Even if the generated income is spread so thin on the ground that at the end of the day, the business just collapses." (KI: Valencia Mogegeh)

Rural women have been identified unanimously in the interviews as particularly disadvantaged. One limitation for rural women that was brought up repeatedly are lack of infrastructure and concentration of services and capital in the big cities. This makes it difficult for the rural population in general but even more so women to access health, education, and financial services. Lack of access to information, health education and sexual and reproductive rights further deepen these inequalities for women. Multiple key informants highlighted that many rural women marry very young and have many children. Not having access to finances and education for herself or her children many families are trapped in a cycle of poverty. This is exacerbated by the existence of many female headed single parent households.

6.2. gender and land

Disaggregating ownership of land by sex of household does not reveal a particularly stark pattern of discrimination: 52% of male-headed households reported owning agricultural land compared to 48% of female-headed households. However, analysis of the value of land holdings does show a clear pattern. The average reported value of land in male-headed households is 65,685 Pula compared to 35,778 Pula in female-headed households; moreover, the maximum value of land in male-headed households is more than double that of female-headed households. Unfortunately, questions on the acquisition method of land was not included in the BMTHS. Land acquisition has a chequered history in Botswana (and key informant interviews continued to raise this is as a prescient issue: the same acreage may have different value depending on the means by which it was acquired. Male-headed households were found to own land which was worth, on average, 27,102 Pula per acre compared to 18,722 Pula per acre in female-headed households.

Without more detailed information, it is not possible to draw conclusions about the factors that determine the differences in value. However, there are significant economic implications. Land plays a plurality of roles as a heritable item, an asset against which capital can be raise, a livelihood source and livelihood buffer (Scoones, 2011). The value of land is therefore relevant for predicting the welfare of future generations, the ability of a household of raising the capital needed for investment in agricultural productivity, and may proxy for quality of holding. If land is poor quality it may not provide adequate yield for a household to protect consumption and the

[30] This lack of training in business skills was highlighted by multiple key informants both for women owning small businesses and female farmers.

[31] Mainly, i) craft and related occupations; (ii) self-employment without employees; (iii) self-employment with employees; (iv) legislature/managerial occupations; (v) professional occupations; (vi)agricultural employment; and (vii) paid employment.

Table 16. Land attributes by sex of the household head

52% 48%	Both male and female headed households were approximately as likely to own land.
65,685 Pula 35,778 Pula	**Land owned by male-headed households was nearly twice as valuable as that owned by female headed households**
27,102 Pula/acre 18,722 Pula/acre	Per acre, land owned by female-headed households is over **40% less valuable than male-headed households**

Source: BMTHS (2015/16)

revenue from sale in the event of a livelihood shock is also diminished.

This may be also explained by the process of land acquisition. Until recent case law rectified the situation, women were prohibited or limited in inheriting or owning land with obvious implications for livelihoods and welfare. Despite the prima facie gender blindness of Land Boards, there are reports of bureaucratic discrimination against applications from women (Hovarka, 2012). While women are free to own freehold land, their position in the labour market means access to this land – which is governed by capital – is limited by their economic position (Hovarka, 2012). This was also highlighted by Lembie Tlhalerwa, one of the few large scale female farmers in the country. According to her, while the rules now allow for land acquisition by women, many still fall through the cracks, particularly when it comes to commercial land. The public tender for commercial land requires that the buyer shows that they have the financial means to develop the land, which women more often than men are not able to do.The situation is similar for getting a bank loan to buy land, where the bank asks for a collateral which women typically do not have. Government policy supporting women and youth to acquire land has been identified as not being decisive enough as only a minimal number of plots were allocated to women and youth.

Female farmers also face more threats for their animals and themselves. As rearing animals in towns and villages are not allowed women have to bring their animals further away to graze. If they return back to the villages by night their animals might get stolen while they are gone and if they stay with them they face the threat of (sexual) abuse – this makes the situation for female farmers with life stock much more difficult (KI: Valencia Mogegeh).

Key informants from FAO also indicate that gender inequalities in terms of land and cattle holding have implications for their ability to benefit from government-lead programmes to enhance rural livelihoods. in order to benefit from government horticultural programmes a borehole is required, but in order to obtain a borehole a person or household would need up to 60 head of cattle. Given the cultural dissonance involved with women owning cattle, this reduces the number of women able to benefit from such programmes – figures presented by the key informant indicates that 73% of boreholes are owned by men, 27% by women.

6.3. women participation in the political arena

Women are under-represented in political decision making and political participation. Leadership of women in political movements is not actively promoted in the national Constitution, where it is non-discrimination that is regulated. At the moment 11% of Members of Parliament are female [7 out of 65 MPs].[32] While the National Policy on Gender and Development reinforces the messages of inclusion, the active implementation is still challenged. Women's under-representation in the political sphere can be due to competing priorities including domestic responsibilities and community services, which per se already signify exclusion and discrimination, and to the "first past the post" electoral system, that automatically strengthens and replicates exclusion. Among political parties' strategies, gender-neutral legislation and regulation are preferred, and when quotas are prescribed, those are limited to non-decisive institutional roles. Moreover, funding for women's campaign and participation is decisively more limited than for their men counterparts (Emang Basadi, 2018).

Interestingly, while the majority of interviewees highlighted the importance of including more women in political decision making, they also agreed that on a larger societal level the conversation around this issue is not happening. This in combination with a lack of consciousness of some of the women in positions of power to think about the fact that they carry with them a mandate to think about what is good for women, are some of the main reasons why the push for more female representation is not showing to be successful (KI: Valencia Mogegeh).

6.4. gender and access to justice

In Botswana, gender-based violence (GBV) is rooted in social norms accepting gender inequalities and discrimination, and often condoned, while leading to vicious cycles of poverty, inequalities, and dependency (Karim & Baxter, 2016). Most key informants highlighted that GBV is a serious issue in Botswana that is not getting the necessary attention from the responsible authorities. Access to justice for women victims of GBV is a matter of concern: often cases of violence are not reported to authorities, because women are reluctant to do so (KI: Peloyame Lesilo, UNDP). Even if the national penal code regulates and pursues GBV there are legal, structural, economic, and social factors that obstacle reporting of cases of GBV to the justice system. A relevant obstacle is the "Forgive and forget syndrome" which sees officers of the traditional court system encouraging women to not pursue the legal action and forgive violent relatives.

Other two relevant issues that limit women access to justice are overlaps and unalignments between the national constitution and customary courts (related to tribal groups or communities) that reduce the possibilities to appeal the judicial system and weaken women's legal representation and protection. Moreover, there is a general deficiency in the legal prosecution and definition of crimes such as marital rape.

As in many countries the current Covid-19 pandemic has worsened the situation for many women and girls. Key informants reported that GBV has increased and due to the lockdown many women do not have access to services for escaping this situation.

6.5. gender and health

In Botswana, structural factors such as poverty, poor education and gender violence affect women's choice or chances to access to protected sexual practices (GoB, UNFPA, UNDP, Gender Links, 2018; Loutfi, et al., 2019). Additionally, cultural and religious norms, such as parents avoiding discussing sexual practices, the need for parental consent for youth seeking access to treatments, or the unfriendly nature of health care settings decisively hamper access to health care provision (Durojaye, 2012). As a result, one-fifth of the adult population in Botswana is infected with HIV, females being 1.4 times more at risk than males. (Kandala et al., 2012; Loutfi et al., 2019) The probability of infection for women raises additional 1.2 times if associated with Intimate

[32] See Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). (2021). Botswana https://www.ipu.org/parliament/BW

partner violence (IPV), and 1.5 times for women with controlling male partners (Karim & Baxter, 2016; GoB, UNFPA, UNDP, Gender Links, 2018).

Gender inequalities are also a consequence of misused public investments. While many services are free for nationals, this does not automatically mean that they are accessible free of cost for all. For example, gender inequality and discrimination impede women's access to health services, thus limiting their ability to respond to the consequences of ill-health

6.6. sexual orientation and gender identity

Individuals are frequently still excluded and discriminated against because of their Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) in many parts of the world. It has been well documented that this exclusion often leads to poverty, limited access to services, security, health care, social participation, and wellbeing (Izugbara et al., 2020, p.101). Botswana has in the last decade made significant progress in protecting the rights of sexual and gender minorities[33] (Müller, Daskilewicz, and the Southern and East African Research Collective on Health, 2019), yet the key informants in this study confirmed that LGBTIQ persons still face discrimination, stigma and violence in Botswana, which causes and increases economic inequality (Muzenda, 2016).

Access to services is also still an issue for many LGBTIQ individuals, even though in 2016 The Court of Appeal of Botswana "affirmed that sexual orientation offers no grounds for denying citizens their rights to dignity, freedom, and access to resources and services in Botswana" (Izugbara et al., 2020: 105). Yet, LGBTIQ youth face many obstacles in their education and key informants unanimously agreed that the education system is not given equal access to opportunities to those that identify as LGBTIQ. Many youths face bullying and psychological and physical violence which leads to a high school dropout rate among LGBTIQ (Key informants). Especially trans youth are often denied education. Interviewees reported of cases where students were not allowed to take part in educational activities because they did not dress according to the gender on their identity card. Key informants reported that LGBTIQ face many obstacles when accessing health care. Even though The Second National Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS 2010-2017/2018 highlighted that access to health and social support services must be given regardless of sexual orientation (Müller, Daskilewicz, and the Southern and East African Research Collective on Health, 2019), key informants report that LGBTIQ frequently encounter ridicule and lack of support in the health sector. This often leads to dangerous self-medication and lack of medical services. And LGBTQ+ frequently face stigma associated with HIV and recently also Covid 19. (UN OHCHR, 2020).

Most key informants agreed that discrimination based on SOGI also has a dire effect on the employment opportunities of individuals. Many LGBTIQ are unemployed or underemployed in jobs that are below their qualification level. (Key Informant) As one key informant explained: "You have to be willing to have a double life, where you present one way when you're at work, and when you're at home you present differently". According to the interviewees for this study, this is particularly acute for transgender person.

According to the key informants, many LGBTIQ persons also face violence outside and within their families. "Violence against LGBTI persons [...] stems from a heteropatriarchal socio-cultural norms that consider homosexuality and gender-non-conforming gender binary expressions of as deviating from gender" (Iranti, 2020: 9). A situation that has been exacerbated by COVID-19, where individuals are stuck with abusive family without access to resources or safe spaces. While the domestic violence law is gender neutral and does cover IPV also among same-sex relationships, the police often does not protect the individuals or take accusations seriously.

6.7. disability

Disability prevalence in Botswana in 2016 was 6.4 % (United Nations Statistics Division, 2021). Only 60% of persons with disabilities (PWD) have ever attended school versus 88.3% in the general population, and 70% of them are unemployed (SINTEF, 2016). Households with PWD rank lower than average households in property of assets, practice of dietary diversity, and access to health care. Moreover, the incidence of poor physical and mental health is significantly higher among PWD (SINTEF, 2016). Women and girls with disabilities are also facing the intersectional risk of violence and abuse. Multiple kind of violence such as emotional, psychological, economical, physical and sexual violence were frequently reported by the key informants. Violence towards female PWD can include IPV, family negligence and social exclusion from community, health and educational workers (USAID et al., 2018b). Violence predominately takes place at home, or at work. In the cases of sexual violence, there is a widespread belief among perpetrators that women with disabilities would not be able to identify them (USAID et al., 2018b). Indeed, *"prosecution and conviction of perpetrators of violence against people with disabilities is hampered by lack of access to services and facilities"* (USAID et al., 2018a). The Association of the Deaf in Botswana in particular highlighted the lack of sign language interpreters and that the emergency call system not being available for the deaf as a reason for many to not report incidences to the police.

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Due to the structural lack of access to economic resources and health protection, when women and girls with disabilities are faced with violence and abuse, their poverty, poor living conditions and dependency status increase. This creates a vicious circle of exclusion from basic rights such as education (USAID et al., 2018a). On top of all the risks and vulnerabilities mentioned so far, PWD also face general discrimination and stigmatization. For instance, normative views on PWD that assume them being sexually inactive lead to exclusion from basic sexual and reproductive health services and information. Healthcare workers themselves can be unaware of the particular needs of women and girls with disabilities (USAID et al., 2018b). Girls with disabilities report significant lower assertiveness skills, and knowledge about rights, making them easier targets for abuses of any kind, but also less confident individuals that are unnecessarily dependent on others. The negative attitudes towards PWD impact the way they are treated when seeking access to basic services. PWD themselves, are often

[33] The last ground-breaking ruling was by the country's High Court in 2019 which ended the criminalization of private consensual same-sex sexual conduct. However, the Attorney General is currently taking the case on appeal and the law has thus far not been amended.

[34] Particularly the two disability organizations interviewed repeatedly highlighted several issues that hinder inclusive policy making for PWD: 1) the lack of inclusion of PWD in the policy process 2) the lack of funding for organizations and programmes

not knowledgeable of the policies and rights they could invoke (USAID et al., 2018b).

Education is still a challenge for many children with disabilities. All key informants agreed that children with disability are overall still marginalized in schools. Often schools refuse to accommodate needs, even though they are legally required to (KI: Cindy Kelemi, Bonela). In addition, many specialized schools, e.g., for the deaf or blind are located far away from a child's home community. Which leaves many children to struggle without loved ones, or not being able to attend schools (Key Informants). Key informants highlighted that while some disabilities are starting to get more support in schools many still do not. Multiple interview partners highlighted that children with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) do not get any support in schools and are often dropping out or staying at home for prolonged periods of time. One key informant reported of schools refusing to provide basic accommodations for exam settings for children with physical disabilities unless organisations intervene. All key informants agreed that even for those PWD that successfully finish education, the work environment is difficult, and many remain unemployed. Challenges identified went from access to buildings to accommodations in offices, to most employers are not being equipped to deal with the needs employees with a disability might have. Hardly any information is also available in Braille and sign language interpreters are a scarcity.

To conclude, Botswana has a large body of laws specifically on the issues of people with disabilities, or other bills either explicitly or implicitly including PWD issues (GoB, UNFPA, 2013; International Labour Organization, 2020). Nonetheless, it has been proven challenging and difficult to mainstream effectively PWD issues.[34] These difficulties are mainly caused by (GoB, UNFPA. 2013):

- General societal beliefs and attitudes e.g. view of PWD as unproductive citizens.
- Physical accessibility to service premises.
- Low priority in governments' agenda.

Conclusion

In this study, we analyzed inequality in Botswana at a national and sub-national level, disaggregated its components, and tried to identify its causes and drivers. Botswana has made remarkable progress in reducing poverty and fostering economic growth in the past 60 years. This has allowed it to become one of the fastest-developing countries in Africa and an example of post-colonial success in maintaining peace and reducing ethnic conflicts to a minimum.

Inequality in Botswana peaked in the 1970s. Inequality still remains alarmingly high to the extent that Botswana is one of the most unequal countries in the world (ranking 8th in the world, according to the most recent figures). Data from nationally representative surveys in 2009/10 and 2015/16 show that consumption inequality increased over that five-year period at national and sub-national levels. More populated and urbanized districts, as South East, Kgatleng and Central display highest consumption levels on average as well as the highest level of inequality. The South-East district – home to the capital Gaborone - hosts approximately 10% of total population, the country's financial centre, and most of the top-performing businesses. Central district, on the other hand, plays host to important diamond mines, including the Orapa mine. Districts where the soil is less fertile and where population (and urban centres) are sparse, like Ghanzi, show lower levels of consumption expenditures as well as lower inequality.

An examination of the contribution of each district to overall inequality shows that the wealthier districts and those districts with high consumption inequality such as South East and Central are also the districts that contribute the most to inequality at a national level. Findings confirm that these districts' contribution to inequality has increased over time, indicating that inequality is widening in the districts with the highest level

of consumption inequality.. Disaggregation by economic sector shows that, between 2009/10 and 2015/16, the importance of mining to the economy has waned, ceding its position to the hospitality and trade sectors and FIRE sector. These trends are confirmed also by more recent figures on value-added by each sector. Data from 2019/20 indicate that the trade and hospitality sector is now the largest sector in the economy, contributing approximately 20% of added value, with mining relegated to fourth place. The last two decades has witnessed the tertiarization of the economy of many developing countries. However, the services, trade and financial sectors are characterized by high income inequality, a finding which may explain the recent increase in inequality.

Finally, disaggregating consumption inequality by household characteristics showed that those households with members employed in the public sector, living in urban areas, and with higher education showed both higher consumption and contributed more to overall inequality. Public and parastatal employees usually earn higher wages, contributing to fuel inequality. The analysis also appears to show that certain ethnic groups are more likely employed in the public administration (i.e. Mosubia, Shekgalagadi, and Tswana). The role of tertiary education as a major contributor to inequality is also clear from findings presented in this report. Individuals with university-level education, who are for the majority English-speaking and non-nationals (34% of non-nationals have a university degree, as compared to 18% of non-nationals), show much higher levels of consumption expenditure. The costs of sending children to school, both direct and indirect, are higher (in proportion to their average consumption) for rural and less affluent households, and become prohibitive the higher the level of education. Key informants reported that current grant programs for less wealthy students are not functioning properly and leave many without the possibility of receiving a proper education.

Different inequalities overlap and intersect with different groups leading to the most severe forms of exclusion. We investigated disparities between groups defined according to nationality, ethnicity, gender and disability. Interestingly, we observed substantial differences among non-nationals between high-paid foreigners and low-skilled migrants, who are among the most vulnerable people living in Botswana. Internal migrants also face specific challenges. An important share of internal labour migration in Botswana goes to areas with mining activities. Working in a mine has been linked to serious negative health outcomes, in particular lung disease, TB, silicosis and hearing loss. Although Botswana represents an example of peaceful ethnic cohabitation, findings permit the conclusion that differences do exist in wealth, educational attainment, and labour force participation depending on language spoken (and, most probably, ethnicity). The most penalised groups appear to be those that speak Sesarwa (residing mostly in the Ghanzi and Central districts) and the Seyeyi (residing mostly in the Ngamiland). The areas in which these groups reside are the poorest and most rural of the country, hence the high level of unemployment among them. Gender, in combination with other dimensions, can explain why women and girls often experience a greater number of deprivations. While policymakers addressed gender inequality by designing sensitive policies in recent years, the implementation of these policies is severely lacking. Botswana remains a patriarchal society, impacting access to opportunities for women and girls as well as their ability to participate in the labour market and in the political arena.

Land ownership remains an important driver of the economy in Botswana. Although the country has moved away from its dependency on cattle herding, land as an asset is shown to represent an important component of households' wealth. The analysis indicates that the Southern and Ngamiland districts represent the ones with the highest average land value. Moreover, although inequality in land ownership is relatively low, land value is much more unequally distributed among the population (reaching a Gini coefficient of 0.75, compared to the Gini of 0.56 for consumption expenditure and 0.61 for income). Additional analysis reveals that the wealthiest households in the datasets are those who own the majority of the land, and also report higher land values. This might be explained by unequal land acquisition processes. Land allocated by the land board and tribal authorities appears to be concentrated among poorer households, while the richer households usually own freehold land (including valuable urban freehold land and valuable large-scale ranches and farms). Moreover, key informant interviews have revealed that certain land boards have not been allocating land for several years.

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9 Annexes

Annex I - Methodological note on Rao (1969) micro-decomposition

In Rao (1969)'s approach, after eliminating all zero observations from the surveys, the overall Gini at time t (G_t) is decomposed into the weighted sum of the concentration coefficients of inequality of sectoral consumption per capita (C_it) of each sector i weighted by the share of each sector consumption (s_it) in the total value added (equation 1).

$$G_t = \sum s_{it} C_{it} \quad with \quad \sum s_{it} = 1$$

This approach allows identifying both the absolute and relative contribution of each sector's concentration coefficient and value-added share to overall inequality. The contribution of each sector to total consumption inequality at time t is given by s_{it} and c_{it}

Annex II – Additional tables

Table A1. Average consumption in Botswana by region and location (2015-16)

	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
Barolong	3250	3373	3222
Central Bobonong	2295	2791	1883
Central Boteti	6286	9837	2848
Central Mahalapye	2992	4093	2189
Central Serowe/Palapye	3623	4219	2855
Central Tutume	3355	4030	2925
Chobe	3559	3796	3381
Francistown	4128	4128	n/a
Gaborone	7578	7578	n/a
Ghanzi	2873	2825	2909
Jwaneng	8500	8500	n/a
Kgalagadi North	3625	2117	4124
Kgalagadi South	2752	2523	2850
Kgatleng	4861	6179	3324
Kweneng East	3837	4079	2719
Kweneng West	2180	3960	1772
Lobatse	4611	4611	n/a
Ngamiland East	3612	4217	2260
Ngamiland West	2096	2503	1887
Ngwaketse	2525	2944	2015
Ngwaketse West	1991	n/a	1991,76
North East	3028	2792	3132
Orapa	7524	7524	n/a
Selibe Phikwe	4570	4570	n/a
South East	6564	5075	19028
Sowa Town	4198	4198	n/a
National	**4289**	**5037**	**2867**

Note: Urban areas correspond to cities/towns and urban villages; Rural areas correspond to rural villages. Average consumption values are calculated using sample weights. **Source:** BMTHS (2015-16)

Table A2. Gini coefficient and average consumption in Botswana by districts (2015-16)

DISTRICT	GINI COEFFICIENT	AVERAGE CONSUMPTION
Central district	0.52	3518.72
North-East district	0.44	3633.81
South-East district	0.60	6830.67
Ngamiland district	0.45	3021.98
Kgalagadi district	0.49	3135.42
Kgatleng district	0.61	4527.17
Kweneng district	0.52	3454.99
Ghanzi district	0.46	2915.1
Chobe district	0.46	3332.94
Southern district	0.54	3287.67

Note: For this table, some of the districts/subdistricts present in the Core Welfare Indicator Survey were combined to display the values for the 10 Botswana districts. The combination was done as follows: 1) Central district (Central Bobonong, Central Boteti, Central Mahalapye, Central Serowe/Palapye, Central Tutume, Selibe Phikwe, Orapa, Sowa Town and Central Serowe). 2) North-East district (North East and Francistown); 3) South-East district (South East, Gaborone and Lobatse); 4) Ngamiland district (Ngamiland East and Ngamiland West); 5) Kgalagadi district (Kgalagadi North and Kgalagadi South); 6) Kgatleng district (Kgatleng); 7) Kweneng district (Kweneng East and Kweneng West), 8) Ghanzi district (Ghanzi); 9) Chobe district (Chobe); 10) Southern district (Jwaneng, Barolong, Ngwaketse, Ngwaketse West and Southern). **Source:** BMTHS (2015-16).

Table A3. Consumption inequality indicators in Botswana by region and location

	GINI COEFFICIENT		
	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN
Barolong	0.55	0.48	0.60
Central Bobonong	0.42	0.45	0.37
Central Boteti	0.68	0.54	0.67
Central Mahalapye	0.50	0.44	0.51
Central Serowe/Palapye	0.49	0.50	0.46
Central Tutume	0.52	0.52	0.49
Chobe	0.45	0.45	0.43
Francistown	0.45	n/a	0.45
Gaborone	0.58	n/a	0.58
Ghanzi	044	0.48	0.38
Jwaneng	0.54	n/a	0.54
Kgalagadi North	0.46	0.46	0.37
Kgalagadi South	0.50	0.53	0.39
Kgatleng	0.61	0.47	0.67
Kweneng East	0.51	0.54	0.50
Kweneng West	0.48	0.45	0.39
Lobatse	0.54	n/a	0.54
Ngamiland East	0.47	0.35	0.47
Ngamiland West	0.37	0.33	0.40
Ngwaketse	0.45	0.48	0.40
Ngwaketse West	0.44	0.44	n/a
North East	0.42	0.43	0.39
Orapa	0.54	n/a	0.54
Selibe Phikwe	0.45	n/a	0.45
South East	0.63	0.77	0.53
Sowa Town	0.34	n/a	0.34

Note: Urban areas correspond to cities/towns and urban villages; Rural areas correspond to rural villages. All inequality indicators are calculated using sample weights. **Source:** BMTHS (2015 - 16).

Table A4. Ethnicity and Language in Botswana

Ethnicity	English	Afrikaans	Setswana	Sesarwa	Sekgalaga	Sesubia	Ikalanga/ Sekalaka	Seherero	Sembukush	Sebirwa	Sengologa	Seyei	Other
Mokgatla	0	0	12.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mokwena	0	0	12.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongwato	6.6	0	15.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongwaketse	31.1	0	11.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Motlokwa	0	0	1.71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moherero	0	0	0.19	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
Morolong	0	0	4.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mosarwa	0	0	1.13	87.22	8.87	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mkalanga	0	0	6.44	8.96	0	0	98.98	0	0	0	0	0	17.37
Mosubia	0	0	0.12	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Motawana	0	0	2.19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mokgalagadi	0	0	2.71	0	91.13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moyei	0	0	1.47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
Mohurutshe	0	0	1.37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mokhurutshe	13.29	0	4.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.02
Mmirwa	0	0	4.68	0	0	0	0	0	0	86.27	0	0	0
Mongologa	0	0	0.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0
Mombukushu	0	0	0.38	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
Molete	15.37	0	3.65	0	0	0	1.02	0	0	0	0	0	0
Motswapong	19.24	0	8.37	0	0	0	0	0	0	13.73	0	0	7.61
Motlharo	0	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No answer	14.39	100	4.99	3.82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67.99

Table A5. Decomposition of the Gini coefficient by subdistrict

district name	2009/10 CS	2009/10 CI	2009/10 AC	2009/10 RC	2015/16 CS	2015/16 CI	2015/16 AC	2015/16 RC	ΔRC (2015 – 2009)
Barolong	0,018	0,334	0,006	0,011	0,02	0,413	0,008	0,015	0,004
Central Bobonong	0,032	0,367	0,012	0,022	0,017	0,182	0,003	0,006	-0,016
Central Boteti	0,017	0,307	0,005	0,01	0,04	0,704	0,028	0,05	0,04
Central Mahalapye	0,047	0,393	0,018	0,036	0,04	0,363	0,014	0,026	-0,01
Central Serowe/Palapye	0,071	0,482	0,034	0,066	0,071	0,468	0,033	0,059	-0,007
CentralTutume	0,063	0,418	0,026	0,051	0,048	0,432	0,021	0,037	-0,014
Chobe	0,012	0,54	0,006	0,013	0,012	0,44	0,005	0,009	-0,004
Francistown	0,078	0,625	0,049	0,094	0,049	0,518	0,025	0,045	-0,049
Gaborone	0,208	0,719	0,15	0,289	0,237	0,764	0,181	0,325	0,036
Ghanzi	0,015	0,242	0,004	0,007	0,015	0,307	0,005	0,008	0,001
Jwaneng	0,01	0,589	0,006	0,011	0,021	0,791	0,016	0,029	0,018
Kgalagadi North	0,007	0,321	0,002	0,005	0,009	0,457	0,004	0,007	0,002
Kgalagadi South	0,017	0,622	0,011	0,021	0,008	0,317	0,003	0,005	-0,016
Kgatleng	0,035	0,428	0,015	0,029	0,05	0,593	0,03	0,054	0,025
Kweneng East	0,123	0,456	0,056	0,109	0,128	0,502	0,064	0,115	0,006
Kweneng West	0,015	0,194	0,003	0,005	0,012	0,187	0,002	0,004	-0,001
Lobatse	0,023	0,509	0,012	0,023	0,016	0,587	0,009	0,017	-0,006
Ngamiland East	0,034	0,559	0,019	0,037	0,034	0,457	0,016	0,028	-0,009
Ngamiland West	0,013	0,205	0,003	0,005	0,012	0,078	0,001	0,002	-0,003
Ngwaketse West	0,005	0,509	0,002	0,005	0,003	0,094	0	0,001	-0,004
North East	0,031	0,555	0,017	0,033	0,017	0,337	0,006	0,011	-0,022
Orapa	0,01	0,795	0,008	0,015	0,008	0,766	0,006	0,011	-0,004
Selibe Phikwe	0,029	0,455	0,013	0,025	0,032	0,568	0,018	0,033	0,008
South East	0,042	0,522	0,022	0,042	0,069	0,712	0,049	0,088	0,046
Southern	0,04	0,346	0,014	0,027	0,032	0,256	0,008	0,015	-0,012
Sowa Town	0,005	0,795	0,004	0,008	0,002	0,515	0,001	0,002	-0,006
Total			0,517				0,557		

Note: CS = consumption share; CI = concentration index; AC = absolute contribution; RC = relative contribution. All values are calculated using sample weights. **Source:** CWIS 2009/10 and BMTHS 2015/16.

Table A6. Education and consumption quintile in Botswana

Consumption quintile	Never attended (%)	Primary (%)	Secondary (%)	Tertiary/University (%)
Poorest	28,0	31,5	33,3	7,2
Second poorest	19,7	29,2	41,6	9,5
Middle	17,6	26,2	41,9	14,3
Second wealthiest	13,3	22,7	37,6	26,4
Wealthiest	5,5	11,0	29,2	54,3

Note: Figures represent percentage shares. All shares calculated using sample weights.
Source: BMTHS (2015/16).

Table A7. Population, area, and density by district

district	Population	Area (km2)	Density (/km2)
Gaborone City	231,592	169	1,370
Francistown City	98,961	79	1,253
Lobatse Town	29,007	42	691
Selebi-Phikwe Town	49,411	50	990
Jwaneng Town	18,008	100	180
Orapa Town	9,531	17	561
Sowa Township	3,598	159	22.63
Southern district	197,767	28,470	6.9465
South-East district	85,014	1,780	47.76
Kweneng district	304,549	31,100	9.793
Kgatleng district	91,660	7,960	11.515
Central district	576,064	142,076	4.054619
North-East district	60,264	5,120	11.77
Ngamiland district	152,284	109,130	1.39544
Chobe district	23,347	20,800	1.1225
Ghanzi district	43,095	117,910	0.365491
Kgalagadi district	50,752	105,200	0.48243
Total	2,024,904	570,162	3.551454

Source: Census (2011).

Annexes III

Overview of Key Informants and interview guide

Position, Organization
LEGABIGO
BONELA
Senior Gender Officer FAO Regional Office for Africa, FAO
Botswana Council for the Disabled NGO
IOM Botswana
Gaborone City Council Planning Committee (inter alia)
Botswana Labor Migrants Association (BOLAMA)
Farmer
Gender, Health Management Consultant
Botswana Human rights defender & lawyer
ILO
Final year Law Student, UB
ILO
Youth
Mid-level and senior staff, Botswana Association of the Deaf
Architect
Civil society representative
UN Women
Journalist
FAO
FAO
Ministry of Land
Moralo Designs

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