50 years of Democracy in Botswana

The study of the democratic consolidation from 1965-2015

Bachelor thesis in Political Science
Abstract

Botswana's democracy has been labeled as ‘the African Miracle’ by the international community. However, in its 50 years of independence, there has been no change in government from the ruling party and the opposition is institutionally weak. The purpose for this study is to analyze the extent of democratic consolidation in Botswana and to try to analyze the challenges in the processes of democratic consolidation.

In order to answer the research questions that are put forth in this study, Linz and Stepan’s theoretical framework were used against empirical evidence about Botswana from its independence in 1965 to 2015.

The results show that in Botswana the democracy is not consolidated and point toward a more stable democracy than a deeply consolidated democracy. Stable democracy is centered upon the actual functions rather the depth of democracy. The main challenges for further democratic consolidation is the constitutional framework that lack accountability for the executive, the longevity of a dominant party system, the uneven ‘playing field’, the weak opposition, the restrictions and limitation upon the independent media and the civil society. Botswana’s exceptional reputation is exaggerated, while the country have had uninterrupted elections, the depth and quality of the democracy is shallow.

Keyword

Botswana, democratization, democratic consolidation, stable democracy, consolidated democracy, Linz & Stepan, five arenas, three dimensions.
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1. Introduction

In the early 1990's, many sub-Saharan African countries have seen democratic development and establishment of democratic institutions (Gyimah-Boadi, 2015: 101-103). However, for nearly a decade that progress has slowed and in some places reversed. Among the foremost obstacles is the waning commitment to democracy from the political elites where the accountability has become increasingly limited (Gyimah-Boadi, 2015: 101-103) (Mengisteab, 2014: 184).

Botswana is one of the countries in Africa that is deemed to be one of the most democratic countries in the continent. Since it gained its independence in 1966, Botswana has regularly held multiparty elections that have been perceived as free and fair elections (Good, 2010b: 280).

Freedom House has rated Botswana as a free country with a relatively liberal democracy. (Good, 2010b: 280). However, Botswana's democracy has always been illusionary. The president is chosen indirectly by the ruling party and the parliament is depended on the presidency, while the president has the power to dismiss the legislature, the legislature does not have the same power. In its 50 years of independence, there has been no change in government from the ruling party and the opposition is institutionally weak (Good, 2010b: 281). This point to a more stable democracy than a consolidated democracy. Stable democracy refers to a more superficial aspect of democracy in which its focus is upon the actual functions rather the depth of democracy (Bolin, 1998: 130-132).

Botswana has been long considered to be a success story of the African continent, labeled as 'the African Miracle' however this success has been labeled inadequate and has brought forth questions of what occurs beneath the façade in Botswana (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 2010: 454-455) (Good & Taylor, 2008: 750).

1.1 Purpose and research questions

The purpose for this study is to analyze the extent of democratic consolidation in Botswana and to try to analyze the challenges in the processes of democratic consolidation. This is interesting research because Botswana has long been considered
to be one of the ideal democratic countries in Africa, however Botswana seem to lack the democratic consolidation. The reason this subject is interesting to research is mainly because there seem to be a trend with African countries that have started the process of democratization only to have that progress slowing down and in some places even reversed. The study does not want to diminish Botswana’s success rather to explore and receive an in-depth view on the democratic development in Botswana.

These are the following research questions:

- Why have Botswana not consolidated their democracy?
- To what extent is Botswana a stable/consolidated democracy?
- What are the challenges for further democratic consolidation?

2. Previous research and theories

First presented in this chapter is the previous research on Botswana's democracy. After the previous research, the theoretical part of this study, in which the theories that will be used to answer the research questions will be presented.

2.1 Previous research

There is some research about the democratic transition and democratic consolidation in Botswana. Kenneth Good is a prominent professor and has worked at the University of Botswana for fifteen years before he was exiled in 2005, namely for criticizing the minimal democracy in Botswana thus resulting in the restriction and limitation of the freedom of expression (Taylor, 2006: 101-116). Good writes in his article *Botswana: A Minimalist Democracy* from 2008, that the electoral democracy in Botswana is limited and has not developed beyond its initial transitional stage. He explains that Botswana has consolidated a limited electoral democracy and it faces with challenges by very low participation rates, a stagnant civil society and increasing illiberalism. The shallow democracy is characterized by a high-handed, centralized power and a weak opposition (Good & Taylor, 2008: 750-763).

Mpho G. Molomo and Gloria Somolekae are both prominent in the research regarding Botswana and democracy. They analyze the democracy in Botswana in their report
Sustainable Electoral Democracy in Botswana from 2000 (Somolekae, 2005: V). This report brings forth positive developments that include the establishment of an independent electoral commission, lowering the voting age and a more participatory and inclusive electoral system. The weaknesses include a weak civil society, a small private press, and a weak opposition mainly due to lack of financial resources and the winner-take-all system that favors the incumbent party. The report concludes with stating that there is evidence of a stable democracy in Botswana that has increasingly become institutionalized. However the shortcomings in Botswana's democracy need to be improved (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 142 -143).

The previous research presented both focus upon the democratic institutions in Botswana. Good's article focus on the electoral process but also on the processes revolving around the process such as the civil society and liberal rights. Molomo and Somolekae focus upon the policy making that strive to ensure participation and inclusion and focuses on the civil society. This study will also focus upon these aspects however this study will also focus upon the economic and judicial sphere. The theoretical framework will be presented next.

2.2 Key concepts

In order to analyze the democratic consolidation in Botswana from a maximalist perspective, there need to be theoretical definitions of democracy, democratization and democratic consolidation including a theoretical perspective. This section will first present definitions of the key concepts; democracy and democratization. Then follows a discussion of stable and consolidation democracy theories. Lastly, there will be a presentation of the chosen theoretical framework of the consolidation theory which will be the basis of this research study.

2.2.1 Democracy

There are different models of democracy (Potter, 1997: 6). Electoral democracy is a democratic model with a minimal perspective where democracy is viewed through the establishment of free and fair elections. Schumpeter advocate for a minimal democratic definition in which democracy is a mechanism for political leaders to compete for votes.
The periodic election legitimizes the government and keeps the leaders’ accountable but outside of that, the participatory role for the individual is severely limited (Held, 1997: 223). Participatory democracy extends the electoral and liberal democracy and takes an extreme maximalist position in which the citizens can participate rather than simply appoint political representatives in elections (Potter, 1997: 5).

Another democracy model is liberal democracy and is influenced by Dahl’s Poliarchy model. This paper will focus on the liberal democracy. Liberal democracy is somewhere in between electoral democracy and participatory democracy and has a maximalist approach. Liberal democracy is a form of democratic system where binding rules and policy is made by representatives, not the citizens, and are accountable to the citizens through elections. The elections are to be secured by free, fair and competitive elections with full participation of adult women and men that also have the right to campaign for their politics. The citizens have secured liberal rights such as the freedom to express themselves on political matters such as criticizing officials, the government, the socioeconomic order, and the regime without the danger for severe punishment and have the right to independent associations of organizations including different political parties and interest groups (Potter, 1997: 4).

2.2.2 Democratization

Democratization along with liberalization and consolidation are key concepts in this research paper with a focus on the latter concept. Potter defines democratization as political change that moves in a democratic direction. From the democratic terminology, movement in democratic direction can be characterized as movements over time from less accountable to more accountable governments, from non-existent or less competitive decision making to fairer, freer and competitive elections, from non-existent or restricted political and civil rights to better protected rights (Potter, 1997: 3, 6). Liberalization with a nondemocratic setting is a set of processes of policy and social changes, such as less censorship of the media with greater room for autonomous organizations and for opposition to take place in the contestation, and measures for improving the distribution of income. Democracy requires among others free and fair elections and open contestation for the right to govern. With these definitions, it is
obvious that there can be liberalization without democratization (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 3).

2.3 Stable and consolidated democracy

To asses consolidation can be similar to the classification of democracies in such that one can apply a narrow maximalist or a wide maximalist approach. The minimalistic approach assesses consolidation with basic simple measurable factors and that can be regular elections (Schelder, 1998: 91). This is the same as the electoral democracy that is a minimalist approach that measures democracy with the frequencies of election, however the liberal rights is limited (Held, 1997: 223). The maximalist approaches include liberal democracy where democracy is measured with a higher amount of criteria such as the liberal rights (Potter, 1997: 4). Schelder explains that the different ways of measuring consolidation has led to the term becoming diffuse (Schelder, 1998: 91).

Schedler explains that the term consolidation was introduced as a shallow concept, meaning that the concept addressed the challenges of regime stabilization rather than a deep democratic consolidation (Schedler, 2001: 66-67).

Using encyclopedias, Anna Bolin explains that the term stability is referred to more or less 'unchangeable' while the term consolidation is referred to 'strength' and 'density'. She explains that consolidation is about the democratic systems density and the strength and depth in the link that hold the system together. The degree of consolidation should therefore aid to answer why a system is exhibiting a stabile system or less stabile system (Bolin, 1998: 122-127).

2.3.1 Stable democracy

Bolin explains that the term stable democracy is measured through the democratic institutions and principles endurance over time and the regularity in its functions. An unstable democracy can therefore be a system that exhibit constant and changing governments with cancelled elections or re-elections or a system that goes through recurrent and unjustifiable changes of the democratic principles and rules (Bolin, 1998: 130). Huntington's two-turner test can be used to measure the democratic stability. Huntington explains that a democracy may be consolidated/stabilized when the party or
group that initially won the first election and later on loses an election consequently hands over the power peacefully to the winner and on a later election that party can peacefully hand over the power to the party that won. The first turnover holds symbolic significance. The second turnover can help illustrate that two major political groups are able to have fair elections and are committed to democracy to surrender their power. The generation test can also be used to measure stability where the institutions should be able to work for a whole adult generation (Huntington, 1991: 266-267).

2.3.2 Consolidated democracy

A consolidated democracy is a democratic system that constitutes the phrase 'the only game in town' where the democratic institutions and principles not only have widespread support among the societies actors, but where the support is integrated to a degree where democracy is considered as the obvious choice (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 3-5) (Bolin, 1998: 129). Bolin further explains consolidated democracy by explaining, that a consolidated democracy has extensive legitimacy and is institutionalized where significant groups, such as the elite and political leaders, regard democracy as the superior form of government. In order to become consolidated the democracy need to have won a value in itself, meaning that the ideal of democracy and governance is considered important to keep, even if the country where to have an economic or social crisis (Bolin, 1998: 128-130).

The difference between stable democracy and consolidated democracy is that consolidation regards the depth of democracy concerning the relationship between the democratic system and the society and citizens. Stable democracy refers to a more superficial and minimal aspect of democracy in which its focus is upon the actual functions rather the depth of democracy. Not all stable democracies have been consolidated however consolidated democracies are dependent upon a pre-existing stability. Consolidation is about people's attitudes and ideal and when it becomes the 'only game in town' (Bolin, 1998: 130-132) (Huntington, 1991: 265-266).

These terms can be used to analyze democratization in Botswana. This paper will use the democratic consolidation in order to analyze the depth of democracy in Botswana and to do so it is more fitting to use democratic consolidation rather than to use stable democracy.
Schedler identify and distinguish three perspectives that differ in the analysis of the concept consolidation: behavioral perspective, attitude perspective and structural perspective. He explains that they form a chain of causation. The behavioral perspective focuses on the behavior of the political actors, specifically to observe if the political actors conform to the basic rules of democracy. The attitudinally perspective focuses on the political actors attitudes toward democracy and democratic legitimacy. The structural perspective observes and studies the strength of the structural foundations and focuses on the possibilities that socioeconomic factors can have an effect on democratic consolidation (Schedler, 2001: 70, 75-76, 80).

2.3.3 Criticism of the concept of democratic consolidation

There is much criticism aimed at the concept democratic consolidation. The concept democratic consolidation was originally about how to prevent the democratic transition from backsliding to authoritarian rule. The concept has become much diffused over time since almost all social problems can be traced to consolidation problems (Nilsson, 2005: 91-92).

Another criticism is that the concept of consolidation does not specify what democratic model that ought to be consolidated resulting in confusion (Nilsson, 2005: 92-93). The different models generate different results since some models have a minimal perspective on democracy, with a superficial focus, and other have a maximal perspective, with a deeper analysis (Held, 1997: 223) (Potter, 1997: 4-5) (Nilsson, 2005: 92-93). Nilsson explains that there is risk for the maximalist perspective on democracy to be considered extreme, if a minimal perspective regarding democracy only consider to legitimize the electoral process and democratic institutions resulting in consolidating a shallow democracy that regard the maximalist perspective as extreme. The democracy cannot be consolidated with this approach to democracy since it is an approach that only focuses upon superficial aspects rather than a deep consolidation (Nilsson, 2005: 93).

This research paper will use a maximalist approach to democracy and use Linz and Stepans conditions for democratic consolidation in order to analyze the extent and depth of democracy in Botswana.
The next section will present the transition- and consolidation theory as Linz and Stepan presents and explains in the book *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. This will be the theoretical framework for this paper. This theory will be used against empirical findings from Botswana, in order to analyze the democratic consolidation.

2.4 Conditions for consolidated democracy

After the democratic transition within a state, Linz and Stepan explain that after a democratic transition is completed there are dimensions and conditions that need to be established for democratic consolidation where democracy can be regarded as 'the only game in town'. Linz and Stepan identify three dimensions for a democratic consolidation:

- **Behaviorally**, a successful democratic consolidation is when there is no significant political, national, social, institutional, economic actor that spend a large amount of resources in order to reach their goals or to stem the democratic process where the objective is to create a nondemocratic regime or attempts to separate from the state by foreign intervention or by the force of violence.

- **Attitudinally**, a successful democratic consolidation is when the majority of public opinion strongly regard that the democratic institutions or procedures are the best way to govern the state and when anti-democratic forces are a small and rather isolated group.

- **Constitutionally**, a successful democratic consolidation is when governmental and nongovernmental forces are habituated in conflict resolution in accordance with established democratic institutions, norms and laws and perceive these to be the best way to handle conflicts (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 3-6).

Linz and Stepan identifies five conditions for democratic consolidation. They declare that a consolidated democratic state consists of five different arenas that interact and reinforce each other. These five arenas are following:
Civil society, consolidation can occur when there are existent conditions for a free and vibrant civil society. Civil society refers to the arena where non-governmental organizations such as religious groups, women's groups and trade unions etc. are formed and are able to express and promote their interests.

Political society, political society refers to the political organizations that compete for the right to govern over the state. In order to achieve democratic consolidation there need to be a normative consensus among the citizens, ergo a positive perception and high value of basic democratic institutions such as elections, electoral rules, political parties, laws, etc. These institutions must obviously exist since they are the prerequisite of a democratic transition.

Rule of law, rule of law must always prevail, meaning that laws should apply equally to all regardless of resources and political affiliations. Political actors must respect and uphold the rule of law. The rule of law is fundamental for both the civil society and political society especially with the objective that these arenas must be independent. There must be a consensus that the democratic constitution cannot be changed in exception for exceptional majority, ergo that it is very difficult to change the democratic constitutions.

State bureaucracy, the bureaucracy should work because the bureaucracy will be able to protect citizens' rights and provide necessary services the citizens may require. In order to provide for governmental services, a state treasury in which the government has a tax compulsion to finance these services, need to exist. A democratically elected government must have the ability to determine, regulate, and to extract and to do this requires a well-functioning state bureaucracy.

Economic society, Linz and Stepan explains that the economic arena should be characterized with a combination of market and plan economy. There takes a certain degree of market economy to create the independence and vibrancy needed in civil society. A pure market economy cannot survive without government intervention because the market needs laws, regulation of the stock market, protection of property etc. in order to survive (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 7-15).
In conclusion, Linz and Stepan explains that a modern consolidated democracy is regarded to obtain these five interrelated arenas. Democracy is more than a regime, it is an interacting system. The arenas cannot function without the other, they are interwoven and for a successful democratic consolidation, all five arenas need to thrive in the state. These arenas affect each other, for example, the civil society is affected if the rule of law does not support and guarantee the right for association. These arenas are needed for a successful democratic consolidation (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 14-15).

3. Method and material

After the previous sections presented the study's purpose, issues and theory it has now come to introduce the method that will be used to implement in the study. When the paper's research method has been presented, a short briefing of the material will be explained and a further explaining of how the material will be used and the validity and reliability issues will be explained.

3.1 Method

Since democracy and democratic consolidation is the focus of this study, the design of the study will become theory consuming. The meaning of theory consuming, is the use of previously known theories of democracy and democratic consolidation to set them against the empirical evidence and material about Botswana. Theory consuming studies are also theory trying because the outcome affects our confidence in the theory (Esaiasson et al, 2012: 41-42). This study is also an explanatory one as it will use previous descriptions of Botswana in order to try to answer the research questions. It is only through a good overview through previous descriptions, that it is possible to examine Botswana's form of governance (Esaiasson et al, 2012: 26-27).

The method that will be used in the study is a qualitative case study. The reason this method have been chosen is because it fits with what this study wants to research. The central approach in qualitative case study is that certain cases such as events, policies, institutions are studied by one or more method or theories (Esiasson et al, 2012). This paper will try to answer the research questions in the result part where the empirical material will be used to set against Linz and Stepan's consolidation theory in order to try
to answer the research questions. The analysis will focus on the period from Botswana’s independence in 1965 to 2015. The period will be divided into three sections; the first section is 1965 - 1980, the second section is 1980 - 1999 and the third section is 1999 - 2015. This research paper will analyze the three sections with Linz and Stepans conditions for democratic consolidation. Linz and Stepans conditions for democratic consolidation will be used, in the three sections, to try to analyze the conditions for democratic consolidation and to reveal to what extent these sections are characterized by the conditions.

Since it is a qualitative study it suffer from various reliability problems, where it is difficult to know whether the author of the source used is impartial in his writing, or if the author is influence of their own feelings or is getting pressure from outside sources. An unreliable source, for example, would be a writer from Botswana that writes too favorably about the regime in the country. In order to fend off this kind of problem, the material chosen need to have been examined by several leading authors in the same field to ensure the validity of what was written. Another reliability problem may be that the method gives the author independence in interpreting the texts meaning that the same text can be interpreted in different ways by different people with different background or knowledge. The study's conclusions gives much independence to self-interpret the results in comparison to quantitative analysis where data is used to present exactly how one comes to a certain conclusion which is harder for qualitative texts. To counter these reliability problems it is important to clearly explain how the results have been interpreted and to explain clearly how one came to those results.

3.2 Material

The material collected is mainly in book and academic article format since it was relatively easy to find books and academic articles about democracy, democratization and democratic consolidation. The articles that were collected from the internet were mostly from Linnaeus University catalogue that was peer-reviewed and from Academic Search Elite to ensure reliability. This paper also used reports from International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance which is an intergovernmental organization that support sustainable democracy around the world. Its main goal is to share knowledge and experience in support of democracy by supporting stronger democratic institutions and process and a sustainable, effective and legitimate
democracy (International IDEA, 2015: 1-4). This is a reliable source of information regarding the democracy and electoral process in Botswana.

In order to analyze the democratic consolidation in Botswana this research paper will use the theoretic framework and focus on the period from 1965 – 2015 including the first election that took place in 1965 to the recent election in 2014. The electoral process is important to analyze and with the theoretic framework this paper will not only analyze the electoral process but also the events and processes surrounding the elections such as the civil society.

Linz and Stepans theory on democratic consolidation can be used to analyze Botswana's democracy and democratic institutions and see if they meet these criteria's and to understand and see what development Botswana is headed. These criteria's will be set against the democratic institutions in Botswana in order to answer the research questions (Esiasson, 2012: 220).

4. Background and results

Now that the purpose of this study, the research question, previous research, theories and the research methods have been presented, the study will be commenced. There will first be a brief historical review of the Botswana's government in order to receive a historical context to the political situation in Botswana. Next is the results section where the theory will be set against these empirical facts.

4.1 Background

It is important to review Botswana's historical and ethno-cultural context in order to understand the country's relative political and economic development through the past decades. Three Tswana chiefs traveled to London in 1885 in order to request British protection against the encroachment of the Germans from the west and the Afrikaner from the south and east (Molutsi, 2004: 160-161) (Parson, 1984: 19-20). The British government declared, in 1891, the territory as a British protectorate (Molutsi, 2004: 161). The administrative system allows the chiefs to govern as they had within the existing tribal territories (Parson, 1984: 20-21). This new entity created a central
authority, that was unknown before, by the entity's effect of linking all tribes and community leaders (Molutsi, 2004: 161). The traditional 'Kgotla democracy' is a system of governance consists of a chief that ruled as an autocrat (Molutsi, 2004: 162-163).

Within the tribal territories, systematic discrimination and exclusion was subjected to women, minority groups and even enlightened tribesmen. The framework within the relatively cultural homogeneity resulted in discriminations towards the minorities such as the minority San people in the Kalahari Desert. This blanket application to different minorities and cultural groups illustrate that the simple majority principles of democracy can undermine the cultural rights of minorities when it seeks to promote the same principles and values and ignores the cultural rights of minorities. Nation building and national unity cannot justifiably compromise the rights of minorities and cultures (Molutsi, 2004: 162-163).


Meanwhile, at the same time the as the political change occurred, the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP) and the Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP) was formed (Parsons, 1984: 30). The BPP advocated for the abolition of chieftainship, for the end of colonial rule and attacked racist policies. Their politics were not well accepted since the peasant supported the chieftaincy and the small European settlers were uncomfortable about the politics that put them at a disadvantage (Somolekae, 2005: 8). The BDP was formed by well-educated elites with liberal democratic values (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 27). The BDP with Sereste Khama as leader and, who was a chief for of the largest Tswana tribe, advocated for the need for multiracialism. The party also called for a rule that builds upon a combination of traditional rule of chieftaincy and modern education, life and protection of property (Parson, 1984: 31) (Somolekae, 2005: 9). Their politics were well accepted by the peasants that supported the chieftaincy and the small European settlers that were worried about their property (Somolekae, 2005: 9). Botswana's democratic transition proceeded with speed and was largely determined by the colonial rule and their support for the BDP (Good & Taylor, 2008: 754). The
government held the first Assembly election in 1965 in preparation for the independence in 1966 (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 25).

4.2 Results

Now that the background has been presented, it is time to start with the actual study. First there will be a presentation of the first section with the time frame from 1965 - 1980 with a focus on the theoretical framework. Then there will be a presentation of the second section with the time frame from 1980 - 1999 with a focus on the theoretical framework. Lastly, the third section will be presented with the time frame from 1999 - 2015 with a focus on the same theoretical framework. The realities of Botswana will be set against the theoretical framework in order to analyze the democratic consolidation.

4.3 1965 – 1980

A republican constitution was adopted in Botswana in 1965, which operates a unicameral Westminster-style parliamentary system based upon the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system and change of government every five years (Molomo, 2005: 30). There is no presidential term limit set at this period (The Monitor, 2007). New government bodies such as the parliament, town and district councils were established that replaced the traditional system and chiefs and transferred the authority to the modern state (Good & Taylor, 2008: 756). The parliament, which is called the National Assembly, has 31 seats, at this point, that are elected by the citizens. The country adopted the British constitution and electoral laws at the time of independence (Molomo, 2005: 30).

The Westminster constitution that was adopted contained the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights guarantees individuals rights to freedom. These include the freedom of expression, freedom to receive exchange and distribute information and freedom of assembly and association as well as guarantees protection of law and protection from discrimination, for every person (Othhogile, 2006: 3). This legal culture has a relatively strong link towards the civil society. This point towards a rule of law that respects the citizens’ rights to life, liberty and property. The constitution provides conditions for a thriving civil society especially when the rule of law provides the citizens with their
rights for a civil society (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 7-8, 10, 16). However, the state actively limited the local power, trade unions and nongovernmental organization (Molutsi, 2004: 166). The civil society help control the state power with public scrutiny that contributes to exposing abuses and violations of the law. A vibrant civil society is, therefore, more essential for consolidating democracy than for the initiation of democracy (Diamond, 1994: 7). For the civil society to grow, there need to be an organizational development to the point where civil group leaders are able to exercise influence over government. This type of institutionalization gives room for the civil society to exercise and influence the government (Holm & Molutsi & Somolekae, 1996: 43-44). However, the institutional limitations results in a non-existing independent civil society in this period (Maundeni, 2007: 26). In looking at Botswana's history, it is clear that the autocratic system, the 'Kgotla system of governance', have affected the civil society, in this period. The Tswana political culture limited almost all community issues to adult Tswana males, with the dependency of the chiefs. The women, youth and minorities were excluded from political participation and limited to service-oriented participation while their issues where conveyed by male representatives (Holm & Molutsi & Somolekae, 1996: 47-48).

Botswana’s parliamentary system has a president that heads the parliamentary system (Molomo, 2005: 37). The president was originally elected by the citizens, however in 1972 president Khama, changed the constitution in order to accommodate the indirect elections of the president where the president is elected by parliament. This was seen as the first step towards autocracy (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 29-30 The president wields extensive executive powers which come directly from the constitution rather than from parliament (Molomo, 2005: 37). This means that the president, that is indirectly elected, is constitutionally empowered to act alone and holds in his hands all military, civil and surveillance powers. The parliament is limited in autonomy and is depended on the presidency for its finances and administration and while the president has the power to dismiss the legislature, the legislature does not have the power to impeach the president (Good, 2010b: 281). The president has also direct control of the public service and control over the media that at the time was state owned (Good, 2003: 9).

The first election that took place was in March 28th in 1965 (Parson, 1984: 31). The voting age was from 21 years and there were no electoral commission to monitor the election rather it was monitored by the government (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 142).
The BDP won the first election with 28 of the 31 seats with Sereste Khama as president (Parson, 1984: 55).

The executive is strongly tied with the parliament in Botswana and leads the governmental system. This could be argued that the system can help promote corruption and unaccountability (Maundeni et.al. 2007: 11-13).

The legislative branch contains the whole parliament, including the all member of the executive branch. The judiciary branch operates by the Judicial Service Commission whom all but one is appointed by the president. The executive branch is constitutionally empowered to arrest and detain, prosecute, and to acquire property which has the potential for endangering their civic rights. The judiciary is empowered to guarantee the civic rights, freedom and right of property. However, this means that the courts are able to enforce all sections of the constitutions, even if some are discriminatory. This can also be argued to hinder the democratic processes towards a deeper democratic consolidation (Maundeni et.al. 2007: 12, 18-19, 21). These centralistic tendencies later on led to a development of paternalistic governance that restricted among other the labor movement (Molutsi, 2004: 166).

The country at independence in 1966 was a very poor and weak state with very poor resources that was based in the cattle industry that was dominated by predominantly illiterate rural people with a half a million people living in a country of about 582,000 km² (Good & Taylor, 2008: 751). The government balanced their paltry budget by becoming dependent upon foreign-aid from the British government. The absence of a strong opposition in parliament made it possible for Khama's government to implement new policies without an opposition to overturn their policies. This made it possible to implement a marked-oriented development strategy and this helped the transition to democracy (Good & Taylor, 2008: 756).

The discovery diamonds brought about a fiscal revolution (Maundeni et.al. 2007: 42). The revenues from the mining of diamonds contributed to the development of infrastructure such as transport and communications and a social investment in health and education, moving the country from underdeveloped to middle-class status (Good, 2010b: 280). The government was able to provide social welfare programs that helped increase the lifespan, increase education and employment in Botswana. The government spent close to 40 percent of its annual budget in improving education and health
resulting in an enormous development in education and health. The government was characterized, from 1970 and forward, with the highest growth in GDP (Molutsi, 2004: 168, 170-174). The government also allows for a private sector which is regulated by state laws to provide a framework for businesses (Maundeni et.al. 2007: 47). The economic society and state bureaucracy as prescribed by Linz and Stepan in Botswana exists, although the private sector is small and the GDP and government are heavily dependent on the diamonds (Good & Taylor, 2008: 760, 763).

The election in 1969 was won by the BDP and they gained 24 seats in parliament while the new opposition party, the Botswana National Front (BNF) gained 3 seats and BPP also gained 3 seats in the parliament (Somolekae, 2005: 9-10).

**Table 1: The BDP’s election results in 1969, 1974 and 1979**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Voting Age Population</th>
<th>Total Registered</th>
<th>Total Voted</th>
<th>Percent (voter-turnout)</th>
<th>Percent (seats)</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>205 200</td>
<td>140 428</td>
<td>76 858</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>244 200</td>
<td>205 050</td>
<td>64 011</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>290 033</td>
<td>230 231</td>
<td>134 496</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The assembly election in 1974 and 1979 was both won by the BDP and with Sereste Khama as president after each election. The election in 1974 gained BDP 27 seats and BDF and BPP gained 2 seats each. The election in 1979 gained BDP 29 seats and the BDF gained 4 seats while BPP gained 1 seat (Somolekae, 2005: 10) (Molutsi, 2004: 167). However, the election in 1974 marked the lowest voter turn-out in Botswana's political history with only 26 percent of the eligible voting population cast their vote. Yet the party won the election and gained 84 percent of the seats in parliament (Molomo & Molefe, 2005: 103). Although it is legitimate it is hardy fair for the weak opposition. This has led to criticism of the first past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system that remains a key hindrance for opposition parties to represent in parliament (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 237-238). The FPTP system exhibit authoritarian tendencies by excluding the opposition rather than rule by consensus (Molomo, 2005: 40).

In this period, the only available media was state owned media with direct control by the president (Good, 2003: 9). The state controlled media was considered uncritical of
the government and with slanted reporting of the opposition, if the opposition was covered at all. Another hindrance for the opposition is that, in Botswana, there is no state funding for political parties. This puts the opposition at a disadvantage since most of their funds are from membership fees, contributions from representatives and sometimes from foreign institutions. In the undiversified economy, the BDP has strong support from private companies, something the opposition does not have. The government have enormous spending power especially when the government share revenues of the diamond industry that amounts of 40 percent of the GDP, something that all business people are aware of and consider their interest to be on BDP's good side. Most funding to the BDP has, therefore been from private sponsors especially when the law does not require political parties to identify their sponsors resulting in questions revolving corruption and influence (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 239-241).

The political society as prescribed by Linz and Stepan exists to an extent where an electoral system exists with electoral rules and constitutional rights for citizens to become politically active and is able to establish parties (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 16). However, as discussed above the political society has severe limitations to the consolidation of democracy in Botswana. The presidential power is enormous with extensive executive powers that comes from the constitutional rather than from the parliament, in which the president has the power to dismiss the parliament, the parliament does not have the power to dismiss the president (Molomo, 2005: 35, 37) (Good, 2010b: 281). Another limitation is a weak opposition mainly because of the lack of funding and resources, lack of access to media and the electoral system that make it near impossible for opposition parties to represent in parliament (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 237-241). These are the political limits to development for a further and deeper democracy in Botswana.

For a democratic consolidation where democracy is regarded as 'the only game in town' Linz and Stepan identify three dimensions; behaviorally, attitudinally and constitutionally. The behavior dimension does not exist although the electoral process is executed with no actor that is actively trying to dismiss democracy (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 6). However, the limitation within the behavior dimension is the extensive state resources that are used by the BDP in order to meet their needs (Good, 2010b: 281) (Good, 2003: 9). The opposition is institutionally weak, with no independent media that covers their politics, no state funding and with an electoral system that makes it near

The attitude dimension exists to an extent where there are no anti-democratic forces that want to reverse the democratic development. However, the limitations lay in the low voter turnout that exists in Botswana. The last three elections had an average of 36 percent of the eligible population that voted for the elections. This threatens the governments’ legitimacy especially when the FPTP system allows the BDP to receive, on average, 84 percent of the seats with 36 percent of the popular vote (Molomo & Molefe, 2005: 107). Although it is too early to pinpoint tendencies, the low voter turnout threatens the attitude dimension where democracy is to be regarded as the best way to govern the state (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 6).

The constitutional dimension, where conflict resolution is resolved through the democratic institutions and laws, does not exist (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 6). The main limitation is the lack of accountability for the president, in which he can execute his will without the parliament being able to remove the president. Another main limitation is the FPTP system that excludes the opposition from being able to oppose the decisions that are implemented by the ruling party (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 237-241).

The extent of the democratic consolidation in this period can be viewed with the arenas. In an overview of the prerequisites for democratic consolidation over the period 1965-1980, the economic society and state bureaucracy are considered to be fulfilled. The political society is considered to be partially fulfilled with regular elections but with an unequal 'playing field' for the opposition. The rule of law is also considered to be partially fulfilled in which a constitution that guarantees individual rights to freedom, freedom of expression, to receive, distribute information and a constitution that provide conditions for a vibrant civil society. The civil society does not exist because of the institutional limits that are in place.

4.4 1980 – 1999

The president Sereste Khama died in 1980 and the Vice-president, Quett Masire assumed the presidency (Parson, 1984: 55) (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 29). Masire has been the vice-president since the first election that took place in 1965 and was also a founder
The election in 1984 was won by the BDP and they gained 28 seats of 34 and the opposition parties and BNF gained 5 seats (Molomo & Molefe, 2005: 100, 104). This election had a voter turnout 54 percent, which will be the second highest in Botswana's political history. Masire became the second president in Botswana (Molomo & Molefe, 2005: 100, 104, 107). However, the opposition heavily criticized and argued for the elections to be administered by an independent body rather than the government (Molutsi 2004: 168).

The opposition complained about the election transparency and expressed that the electoral administration is not independent from the ruling party (Lekorwe & Tshosa, 2005: 50-51). The opposition claims that the election was rigged by the civil servants and called for an autonomous body to administer the elections. The opposition parties also criticized the voting age and suggested the state to lower the age from 21 to 18, presumably because most of their supporters are young. They also heavily criticized the no limit term for the president and called for a limit of two-terms of five years. However, the ruling party was opposed to these reforms (Molutsi, 2004: 168).

The mining industry made Botswana one of the fastest growing economies in the world where the average annual growth was 11 percent. Masire established more social programs with more schools, health facilities, roads and dams which helped the private sector as well as the local government sectors. The governments’ social programs helped increase the level of employment and the government became the largest employer of labor, enlisting 40 percent of the work force. However, these sectors became heavily dependent upon the central government as their major and main client. This period introduced more economically and politically relaxed reforms with the introduction of more privatization with lower taxes for people and companies, and a number of labor restrictions were removed. The economic society and state bureaucracy as prescribed by Linz and Stepan exist with a government that is able to extract taxes and provide basic social services in order to improve the lives of the citizens, and with a growing private sector that is encouraged to flourish (Molutsi, 2004: 167-169, 172).

The privatization that occurred led to an establishment of the first independent media in Botswana in the mid 1980's. Independent media is necessary for a democracy in which it helps provide the checks and balances on the activities conducted by the government (Somolek ae, 1998: 17). The independent media has helped the transparency in uncovering different scandals over the years, scandals that were not covered by the state.
owned media (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 107). The constitution guarantees the freedom of expression; however it does not provide protection for freedom of the press basically meaning that citizens have the right to be informed, hold question but it has limitation such as interests of defense, public safety, public morality and public order. These limitations are widely drawn with the effect of stifling the essential content of the freedom of expression (Somolekae, 1998: 17).

The election in 1989 showed support for the BDP, where they gained 31 out of 34 seats and BNF gained 3 seats (Mpabanga, 2000: 49). This election was considered one of the most controversial election (with 1984) since there were also many petitions trying to nullify the election results. The opposition was not satisfied with the lack of transparency regarding the electoral proceedings. They called, again, for an independent electoral commission that would administer the elections (Sebudubudu, 2005: 68).

The civil society has started to emerge in 1990's, albeit a weak civil society. Gender discrimination in Botswana has been one of the weaknesses in Botswana's democracy. The under-representation of women can be seen in almost all levels of decision-making (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 17). The constitution forbids discrimination on different reasons but it does not include sex (Somolekae, 1998: 18). This situation coupled with a gender discrimination that is rooted in Setswana tradition, have led to gender discriminations in Botswana (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 117). Many international organizations brought this issue to attention in international conventions. However, it was not until 1991, that actual change occurred. A woman, Unity Dow, took the state to court challenging the Citizens Act in the constitution and complained that the state denied her the right to pass on citizenship to her children on the basis that she married a foreigner and stated that this was discriminatory. She won the case which led to the state conducting a nationwide study to review all laws that discriminate against women. The state also ratified international instrument that forbids gender-based discrimination (Somolekae, 1998: 18). This change in the constitution to include gender points towards a strengthening in the rule of law that respects all citizens’ rights. The constitution provides conditions for a thriving civil society especially when the rule of law provides the citizens with their rights for a civil society (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 7-8, 10, 16).

Another major weakness in Botswana's government is the discrimination against minority groups such as the San People of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). The ethnic homogeneity that has been over-emphasized by the Tswana elite since the
independence have systematically repressed minority groups and treated them as second-class citizens. The San People living in the CKGR have suffered forced removal, restrictions of movement, harassment and ill-treatment (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 480). Since the discovery of diamonds in the Kalahari Reserve the government has done everything to expel the San People (Survival International, 2015). The Survival International demonstrated in support for the San People, their systematical discrimination and argued internationally that the diamonds extracted from Botswana are 'conflict' diamonds. (Good, 2003: 6). The civil society is weak in relation to the state, although there has been a great stride in gender discrimination and representation. The civil society has been known to be concerned with promoting the members interests rather than with their relationship with the state (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 108-109, 117-118). The civil society in Botswana is starting to emerge although it is weak (Holm & Molutsi & Somolekae, 1996: 49).

In 1991, the economic growth dropped to 4.8 percent from an average 11 percent, which affected the public sector employment growth, especially when the main form of employment was the public sector (Molutsi, 2004: 167, 169). The diversification of economy was small with a diamond dependency instead of a more diversified economy. Since, the mining industry amount to almost half of the GDP, slowed diamond input leads to a slow economic growth (Good, 2010b: 238) (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 486).

The election in 1994 could be seen as a turning point in Botswana's history. The opposition party BNF became stronger than ever, almost gaining half the seats in the parliament. The seats in the parliament increased from 34 to 40 (Mpabanga, 2000: 54). The BDP received 27 seats and the BNF gained 13 seats in the parliament. The BDP obtained 57 percent of the popular vote which is a decrease in 9 percent, from the election in 1989. The opposition managed to obtain 37 percent of the popular vote, an increase amounting to 28 percent (Molomo, 2005: 32-33).

The opposition party had also threatened to boycott the election in 1994 because of their requests in establishing an autonomous electoral commission that would administer the election (Somolekae, 1998: 16). This pressure from the opposition contributed to the new political reforms that president Masire underwent (Molutsi, 2004: 168). In 1995, the Ombudsman was established in order to investigate and recommend action in cases of maladministration in public institutions. The Ombudsman has the power to investigate, the procedure to be followed and have access to government files. However,
the Ombudsman can only recommend remedial actions but they do not have the power to enforce compliance or take further actions. (Mpabanga, 2009: xv xvi, 1).

Following a referendum, an autonomous electoral body was established in 1997, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) which was regarded as an improvement in the transparency and independence of the electoral procedure (Molutsi, 2004: 168) (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 36). The body was established to address the criticism that has been expressed by the opposition (Lekorwe & Tshosa, 2005: 52). However, while the IEC is still the most independent body, it is still vulnerable to manipulation as the president appoints the IEC's secretary and chief executive. The IEC may be independent at this points, it does not mean that it will be independent in the future; it depends on who is office (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 37).

President Masire also lowered the voting age from 21 years to 18 years, in order to include more youth in the political system (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 119). President Masire also limited the presidency to two periods of five years (Molutsi, 2004: 168). These reforms were put forth to strengthening the democracy in Botswana (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 119). The president allowed for an automatic succession of the vice-president upon retirement, death or incapacitation of president. This was a backward step for the democracy in Botswana because this automatic succession set the ruling BDP out of the succession power and enabled the president to choose his successor (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 30).

Due to the growing amount of support for the opposition party, BNF, many saw them as a possible winner. However, before the election in 1999, BNF suffered from major factionalism and internal splitting (Somolekae, 1998: 8). Before the election in 1999, president Masire retired and the vice-president, Festus Mogae, took over and became president (Molutsi, 2004: 1969). The election in 1999 was won by the BDP and gained 33 seats out of 40 and the opposition BNF received 6 seats (Molomo, 2005: 32).

Table 2: The BDP’s election results in 1984, 1989, 1994 and 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Voting Age Population</th>
<th>Total Registered</th>
<th>Total Voted</th>
<th>Percent (voter-turnout)</th>
<th>Percent (seats)</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>522 900</td>
<td>367 069</td>
<td>250 487</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>31*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The assembly elections in 1984, 1989, 1994 and 1999 was won by the BDP with Quett Masire as president for the first three terms and in 1999, vice-president Mogae took over. There is a decline in voter participation from 54 percent, the second highest voter turnout, to 41 percent in the election in 1999. The FPTP system makes it difficult for the opposition to compete in the elections, although the election in 1994 was the most competitive yet. However, with the average of 47 percent of voter turnout, the BDP still manage to gain, on average, 80 percent of the parliamentary seats (Molomo & Molefe, 2005: 107) (Mpabanga, 2000: 49). The FPTP system has encouraged a predominant party system and has amplified the weaknesses of the opposition parties. This has resulted in the government forming legislative bodies that are not reflective of the popular vote and the will of the people. The BDP is benefiting from the FPTP system compared to the proportional electoral system and this runs against the principles of representative democracy. Therefore, the FPTP system exhibit authoritarian tendencies by excluding the opposition rather than rule by consensus (Molomo, 2005: 40).

The political society as prescribed by Linz and Stepan exists to an extent where electoral systems exists with electoral rules and constitutional rights for citizens to become politically active and are able to establish parties (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 16). This period is markedly more evolved than the period before. The privatization has led to the establishment of independent media that actually covers the opposition parties. However, there are limitations in the private media since the constitution does not provide protection for freedom of press (Zaffiro, 1993: 12) (Somolekae, 1998: 17). The Masire administration also made great stride in meeting the opposition’s criticism and made political reforms that could help consolidate the democracy including establishing the Ombudsman and IEC, lowering the voting age and limiting the presidency to two terms (Mpabanga, 2009: xv xvi, 1) (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 119) (Molutsi, 2004: 168). However, as mentioned in the previous section, one severe limitation is the presidential power that has enormous extensive executive powers that comes from the constitutional rather than from the parliament (Molomo, 2005: 35, 37) (Good, 2010b: 281). These are severe limitations for consolidating the democracy in Botswana. The separation of power has become blurry. The ruling party has dominated the political
sphere and this dominance has blurred the lines between the state and the ruling party which enables the ruling party to use state resources to service the ruling party. This has, therefore, questioned the competitiveness of the electoral system (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 26). This minimal democracy that have merged, exhibit authoritarian tendencies by centralized power and by excluding the opposition and civil society groups from influencing the government (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 237-241) (Molomo, 2005: 40).

The behavior dimension is fulfilled in this period with Masire administration making great strides in consolidating the democracy, with the political reforms. Although, these reforms contain limitations they point to the ruling party being able to meet the opposition's critiques. This period have shown more electoral competition. This period also show more independent media, where the opposition is covered and a growing, albeit weak, civil society (Mpabanga, 2009: xv xvi, 1) (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 119) (Molotsi, 2004: 168).

The attitude dimension exists to an extent where there are no anti-democratic forces that want to reverse the democratic development. The voter turnout is still a low turnout that affects the legitimacy of the government with an average of 47 percent of voter turnout and the FPTP system resulted in the BDP gained on average 80 percent of the parliamentary seats (Molomo & Molefe, 2005: 107) (Mpabanga, 2000: 49). The low voter turnout threatens the attitude dimension where democracy is to be regarded as the best way to govern the state (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 6).

The constitutional dimension exists to an extent. This period show a development in the constitutional development with the introduction of the IEC, establishment of the Ombudsman and limiting the presidential term. Although, these reforms contain limitations they point toward a development of more accountability for the members of parliament, and president and a transparency in the electoral process that strengthen the legitimacy of the government (Mpabanga, 2009: xv xvi, 1) (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 119) (Molutsi, 2004: 168).

The extent of the democratic consolidation in this period can be viewed with the arenas. In an overview of the prerequisites for democratic consolidation over the period 1980-1999, the economic society and state bureaucracy are considered to be fulfilled. The political society is improved from the last period; however it is still partially fulfilled. Although, the electoral competition has improved from the last period, the uneven
playing field still exists that hamper the opposition. The rule of law have also improved, strengthening women's rights, however the limitation lays in the independent media. The civil society is partially fulfilled with an emergence of civil society; however the institutional limits makes it difficult for the civil society to thrive.

4.5 1999 – 2015

The election in 1999 was won by the BDP with the president, Festus Mogae. President Mogae favored, inexperienced eldest son of Sereste Khama, Lieutenant General Ian Khama, as his vice-president. Ian Khama became vice-president but refused to give up his chieftaincy of the largest ethnic group, Tswana, thus violating the constitutional reform that was put in place by the former president Khama (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 30). Khama was clear that he would assume the vice-presidency under his conditions especially when he knew that the BDP that was suffering from factionalism needed his support in order to revive the party. This lead to him making his own decisions and assuming more power than the previous vice-president (Good, 2010b: 290).

The BDP polled 54 percent of the popular votes and won 83 percent of the seats while the BDF polled 25 percent of the popular votes and only gained 15 percent of the seats. The opposition regards the FPTP system as unfair and it prompted the opposition to lobby in government for reform of the electoral system. The FPTP system affects women and youth candidates since they do not normally perform well and find it difficult to represent in parliament. It is in this sense that the electoral system is deemed undemocratic by the opposition. Since the electoral system does not reflect the political preferences of the electorate it leads to a sense of exclusion among those who vote for the opposition (Sebudubudu & Osei-Hwedie, 2005: 8-9).

Botswana has had high growth over the last forty years which enabled the government to establish development programs that helped increase the lifespan, education and employment (Molutsi, 2004, 172) (Taylor, 2003: 215). However, the economy is still undiversified. In 1991, the economic growth dropped to 4.8 percent from an average 11 percent, which affected the public sector employment growth, especially when the main form of employment was the public sector (Molutsi, 2004: 167, 169).
The diversification of economy is small and since the mining industry amount to almost half of the GDP, slowed diamond input leads to a slow economic growth (Good, 2010b: 238) (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 486). The diamond industry has limited and restricted other economic revenues. Diversifications of the economy into the manufacturing industry have not been seriously attempted (Good, 2005: 28, 30, 34). The economic society and state bureaucracy as prescribed by Linz and Stepan in Botswana exists, with the government being able to provide services and extract taxes and with an economic society that have both a private sector with state control and regulations (Molutsi, 2004: 168, 170-172). However, there are limitations in the economic society with little diversification and a diamond dependency that is unsustainable (Good, 2005: 28, 30, 34).

The huge diamond industry in Botswana has also affected the civil society. The absence of manufacturing have limited the civil society as there are severe restrictions on trade unions and work-oriented political parties (Good, 2005: 34). Organized working class bodies, such as trade unions, have been treated with severe restrictions and systematic limitations rather than outright oppression (Taylor, 2003: 226-227).

It is very difficult to register new unions and strikes are severely constrained. Legal strikes are difficult to conduct, while they are theoretically feasible they require a series of extensive and exhausting arbitrary process that makes it impossible to conduct strikes. It is also illegal to conduct sympathy strikes. There has never been a legal strike in Botswana but there have been a series of 'illegal' strikes. These restrictions results in a limitation for the workers to organize themselves (Taylor, 2003: 226-227). The civil societies in Botswana are few and very weak to address the structural violence. The absence of development in manufacturing and the very capital intense nature of diamond mining have resulted in a political and economic culture that makes it difficult for civil groups to emerge and thrive (Good, 2005: 45).

The diamond industries have also affected the San People, as described before. Since the discovery of diamonds in the CKGR the government has done everything to expel the San People (Survival International, 2015). Survival International noted that the San People's 'resettlement' from the CKGR does not respect their cultural, political, economic and social rights. The EU declared their support to the San People and declared that they should be accorded the same rights, including land rights. (Good, 2005: 42, 45). This controversy that occurred in Botswana led to the longest and most
expensive court case in Botswana. This court case reflects the government's failure to uphold the human rights especially in consideration to marginalized groups. The San People won the case; however the government has not cooperated in following through which raises many questions regarding the democratic process in Botswana (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 455-456).

The main issues raised in the election in 2004 were the level of unemployment, poverty, inequality as well as AIDS/HIV that plagued the country. The seats in the parliament were increased from 40 to 57. The election was won by the BDP and they gained 44 seats out of 57 while the BNF, gained 12 seats. President Mogae was declared the winner, for his second term. The BDP received 53 percent of the votes and 77 percent of the seats in parliament, the BNF received 23 percent of the votes and gained 21 percent of the seats. The FPTP system has promoted a stable government but as argued before it has its disadvantages. The FPTP has enabled the ruling party to dominate the multiparty democracy in Botswana. With the control, the ruling party can pass any bill without any opposition being able to stop their policies (Sebudubudu & Osei-Hwedie, 2005: 20, 34-36).

Although there is independent media in Botswana, it is the state owned media that is dominant. In 2005, two foreign journalists as well as Kenneth Good that had critiqued the government were deported in 2005. President Mogae stated that Good was a 'prohibited immigrant' and exercised his presidential right to forgo any explanation for his decision (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 476-478). The government uses an outdated National Security Act to supposedly fight against terrorism but it has only been used against trade unionists and journalist (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 241). The government have since done very little to promote diverse media and has, instead, introduced restrictions and limitations for the independent media (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279). Journalists in Botswana has, for the first time, seen unlawful detentions and police harassment which has sparked international debate and worrisome over the development in Botswana (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 241).

Before the election in 2009, the BDP and the BDF suffered serious factionalism. The vice-president, Ian Khama assumed the presidency before the election since president Mogae's term had ended. The BDP and the BNF, both had disputes over leaderships within the parties. In both cases, the president of the parties tried to circumvent the primary elections. The factionalism within BDP created supporters for president
Khama, the A-team as they were called, and a pro-democratic group called Barata Phathi (Party Loyalists). The Barata Phathi had members such as Gomolemo Motswaledi that worked to endure that the constitution was an extension of democracy. The election in 2009 showed, surprisingly, that the support for BDP had increased and they received 45 seats of the parliament (EISA, 2009). The BDP won 79 percent of the seats, however they only received 53, 3 percent of the popular vote (Good, 2010a: 356).

President Khama issued a law that ministers can no longer hold senior party positions on the basis that they should focus on their positions as ministers to serve Botswana better. This occurred, while Khama himself remained the president of the state as well as the party, which deviated with his own rule (Good, 2010a: 352).

The Barati Phathi members became the majority in the central committee with Motswaledi, a newly elected central committee that criticized the president. The confrontation between the president and Motswaledi went further when he was suspended for 60 days. President Khama stated that Motswaledi's actions were deliberate with aims to 'undermine my authority'. Former presidents Masire and Mogae tried to persuade Khama to reinstate Motswaledi, however Khama would not budge (Good, 2010a: 352-353). The Barata Phathi, with Motswaledi, decided to split from the BDP in 2012 established the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) that is a three party alliance made up of the newly Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), the Botswana People's Party (BPP) and the Botswana National Front (BNF) (Africa Monitor, 2010: 4) (Political Risk, 2014: 11).

The political climate before the election in 2014 was very insecure. The UDC alleged that the ruling party had a hit list in order to eliminate threats to the president's re-election. This statement from the UDC seemed far-fetched, until the vice-president of the UDC, Motswaledi died in a suspicious car crash. His history, position and the election period fueled the suspicion among citizens and the independent media. President Khama received criticism from the former president Mogae stating that the present regime does not respect the rule of law (Poteete, 2015: 445).

The election in 2014 went smoothly, despite the tensions before the election. The BDP won the election, ensuring president Khama's second term, with 46 percent of the popular vote and gained 37 seats (64 percent of the seats) (Poteete, 2015: 445-446). The BDP received less than 50 percent of the votes, which is the first time in Botswana's
electoral history, a result that suggests that a united opposition may threaten BDP’s ruling dominance in the election in 2019 (Political Risk, 2014: 15). The UDC received 30 percent of the popular vote and gained 17 seats (Poteete, 2015: 445-446). The declining support for BDP is reflected by the lack of competition in the electoral process, corruption scandals that emerged within the government and a public disenchantment to Khama’s restrictions of the private media, giving validity to the oppositions’ charges that he is authoritarian by inclination (Political Risk, 2015: 15-16).

There is a clear risk for further factionalism within the BDP and this split can fuel the support for the opposition in the upcoming election in 2019. Since Khama is not eligible to run for the next election, it has been customary for the sitting president to turn over the presidency to the vice-president one year before the official end of the term, ensuring 'automatic succession' and the vice-president to campaign for the presidency as the incumbent. Therefore, there is high probability that the person that fills the vice-presidency will take over as president in the upcoming election, assuming that the BDP wins. President Khama has been angling for his brother; Tshekedi Khama to fill the vice-presidency, however there is opposition within the party that does not support this dynastic plan. Reportedly, the president tried to remove the secret ballot voting regarding the vice-presidency in order to ensure that his brother could assume the vice-presidency, efforts that failed. When this effort failed, the president’s plans also failed and the Education Minister Mokgweetsi Masisi was elected the vice-president (Political Risk, 2014: 16).

Table 3: The BDP’s election results in 2004, 2009, 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Voting Age Population</th>
<th>Total Registered</th>
<th>Total Voted</th>
<th>Percent (voter-turnout)</th>
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<td>723 617</td>
<td>555 078</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>45*</td>
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<td>2014</td>
<td>1,500 000</td>
<td>824 073</td>
<td>698 409</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>37*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The assembly elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 were all won by the BDP. The voter turnout has started to rise from the last period, although it is still relatively low.
Although the FPTP system makes it difficult for the opposition to compete, the united opposition UDC contributed to a higher level of electoral competition in the 2014 election. On average, the FPTP system has given the BDP 73 percent of the parliamentary seats with a 53 percent voter turnout (EISA, 2011). The BDP won the election with less than 46 percent of the popular vote and gained 64 percent of the seats (Poteete, 2015: 445-446).

The political society as prescribed by Linz and Stepan exists to an extent where electoral systems exist with electoral rules and constitutional rights for citizens to become politically active and are able to establish parties (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 16). However, there is clearly a backward development in this period in the democratic consolidation. The suspicious death of Motswaledi has raised the political insecurity among the opposition, their rights to be politically active and to be able to criticize the president and the ruling party (Poteete, 2015: 445). The limitations for further democratic consolidation have been the restrictions on the private media (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279). Journalists in Botswana has, for the first time, seen unlawful detentions and police harassment (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 241). Another limitation on further democratic consolidation is the president's centralized power that lacks accountability. The parliament is limited in autonomy and is depended on the presidency and while the president has the power to dismiss the legislature, the legislature does not have the power to impeach the president (Good, 2010b: 281). The president has also direct control of the public service and control over the state owned media (Good, 2003: 9). These autocratic tendencies have allowed both president Mogae and Khama to without accountability to put restrictions on the private media, exiled people without justification, have independent journalists faced unlawful detentions and suspend the Khama critical Motswaledi with no justification (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279) (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 241)(Good, 2010a: 352-353). The concentrated power within the presidency has severely limited the democratic consolidation in Botswana.

Botswana has developed a dominant single party system within a procedurally democratic regime with regular elections. The single party has ruled since the independence with no opposition overturning the ruling party. This system is different from genuine multiparty systems due to the ruling party's dominance which has a prevalent influence of the policy making and influence in the media. Dominant party
systems vary in their degree of freedom and can be classified as liberal and illiberal dominant party system, placing them into a 'grey zone' neither autocratic nor democratic with a halting democratic transition. Long term party dominance is almost always characterized with 'uneven playing field' where the ruling party does not need to resort to election fraud or violence because the uneven playing field makes it difficult for the opposition to compete. The ruling party therefore wins because of the skewed electoral competition where the ruling party abuse the state power with access to state resources and media making it difficult for the weak opposition to compete. This have resulted in the ruling party in Botswana have a dominance that blurs the separation between the state and the ruling party questioning the competitiveness of the electoral system (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 25-26).

The behavior dimension has regressed from the last period. Although there is no actor that is actively trying to dismiss democracy the autocratic tendencies in this period have reverted the development in the behavioral dimension. The limitations are within the presidential power where both president Mogae and Khama can carry out their actions that go against the constitutions without accountability or the need to justify their actions (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279) (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 241)(Good, 2010a: 352-353).

The attitude dimension exists in this period with a rise in voter turnout. Although the voter turnout is still relatively low, it has increased from the last period and with a higher electoral competition (EISA, 2011).

The constitutional dimension does not exist in this period and have regressed from the last period. The main limitations are again within the presidential power that gives him the power to suspend and export critics as well as break his own laws without any justification or accountability. Another main limitation has been with the restrictions and limitations for the independent media and the harassment that journalists have faced in this period (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279) (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 241) (Good, 2010a: 352-353).

The extent of democratic consolidation in this period is weak and can be viewed with the arenas. In an overview of the prerequisites for democratic consolidation over the period 1999-2015, the economic and state bureaucracy are considered to be fulfilled to an extent with the limitation being the undiversified economy. The political society and
rule of law have regressed in this period, and is partially fulfilled. The limitations have also been the autocratic tendencies of the presidential power. The civil society is partially fulfilled with limitations being that the political and economic culture makes it difficult for civil society groups thrive.

5. Conclusions

The purpose for this study is to analyze the extent of democratic consolidation in Botswana and to try to analyze the challenges in the processes of democratic consolidation.

Botswana has developed a dominant single party system with stable and regular elections (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 25-26). The democracy in Botswana is minimal with an electoral democracy that includes a weak civil society, low voter participation and increasing restrictions on the liberal rights (Good & Taylor, 2008: 752). The democracy that has consolidated in Botswana is stable democracy with a minimalist perspective that makes the democracy in Botswana shallow (Good & Taylor, 2008: 752).

Botswana was able to avoid complete authoritarianism with the democratic transition that was formed by the colonial rule and the liberal elite BDP (Good & Taylor, 2008: 754) (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 27). The first period does not meet all dimensions and conditions for a democratic consolidation. The attitude dimension, the economic society and state bureaucracy is the only dimension and conditions that exist in this period. The political society and the rule of law partially exist while the civil society is non-existent in this period (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 6-16). The main limitations for further democratic consolidations are the extensive presidential powers from the constitution, the lack of accountability, the FPTP system, the uneven ‘playing field’ for the opposition and the restrictions on the independent media and civil society (Molomo, 2005: 35, 37) (Good, 2010b: 281) (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 237-241). This period is characterized by an electoral democracy where democracy is viewed by the electoral procedures. This model uses a minimal perspective on democracy where democracy is a mechanism for the political elite to compete for votes and the election results help legitimize the government while the participatory role for the individual is severely limited with limited liberal rights (Held, 1997: 223).
The second period sees a development toward democratic consolidation, although not all dimensions and conditions exist as Linz and Stepan prescribes for a democratic consolidation. The behavior dimension, the economic society and the state bureaucracy exits in this period. The attitude dimension, constitutional dimension, the political society, the rule of law and the civil society are partially fulfilled (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 6-16). The reforms made in this period, such as the limit of the presidency, independent electoral commission, establishment of Ombudsman, lowering the voting age to 18, the emergence of independent media and civil society are seen as a step towards transparency, accountability and the government’s meeting the opposition, overall towards democratic consolidation. This progress point toward a development in the behavior dimension where the Masire administration made great strides to consolidate the democracy (Molomo & Somolekae, 2000: 119) (Molutsi, 2004: 168) (Mpabanga, 2009: xv xvi, 1). However, the limitations for further democratic consolidation, as mentioned before, lay in are the extensive presidential powers from the constitution, the lack of accountability, the FPTP system, the uneven ‘playing field’ for the opposition and the restrictions on the independent media and civil society (Molomo, 2005: 35, 37) (Good, 2010b: 281) (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 237-241). This period have consolidated a stable democracy with a minimal perspective on democracy and is characterized by an electoral democracy where the citizens participation is limited to the voting ballot (Held, 1997: 223) (Bolin, 1998: 130-132).

The third period sees a backward development toward authoritarianism. The behavioral and constitutional dimension does not exist in this period when they did the last period. The economic society and the state bureaucracy exist. The political society, the rule of law and the civil society exist partially although there have been a negative development in these conditions (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 6-16). The major backward development have been the political insecurity that has risen since harassments of journalists, the further restrictions on the independent media, the suspension and death of vice-president of the united opposition UDC as well as the centralized presidential power that lacks accountability (Poteete, 2015: 445) (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279). This minimal democracy that have been consolidated in this period, exhibit authoritarian tendencies by centralized power and by excluding the opposition and civil society groups from influencing the government and restrictions on the independent media (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 237-241) (Molomo, 2005: 40) (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279).
The main challenges for further democratic consolidation, throughout the periods from 1965-2015, is the constitutional framework that lack accountability for the executive, the longevity of a dominant party system, the uneven ‘playing field’, the weak opposition, the restrictions and limitation upon the independent media and the civil society (Cook & Sarkin, 2010: 278-279) (Jager & Meintjes, 2013: 241) (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 43). The minimalist perspective on democracy that has been developing in Botswana makes it difficult for a further consolidation with a maximalist perspective since the maximalist perspective is considered to be extreme. The democracy cannot be consolidated with this minimal approach to democracy since it is an approach that only focuses upon superficial aspects rather than a deep consolidation (Nilsson, 2005: 93). There is no democratic consolidation in Botswana and the development points to a stable democracy where the democracy is minimal and refers to a more superficial aspect of democracy with a focus on the actual functions rather than the depth of democracy (Bolin, 1998: 130-132). The five arenas cannot function without each other, and they affect each other and for a successful democratic consolidation, all arenas need to thrive in a state (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 14-15).

Botswana has been praised in being the ‘African Miracle’ with high growth and operates as a liberal democracy since independence. Botswana’s exceptional reputation is exaggerated, while the country have had uninterrupted elections, the depth and quality of the democracy is shallow with a centralized political power and a structurally weak opposition (Jager & Taylor, 2015: 25, 44).
References

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