

Unemployment and the Attributes of the Unemployed in Botswana

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Abstract

The 2011 Botswana Population and Housing Census (PHC) indicate that the country's unemployment rate stands at 17.8% which is significantly high. This rate of unemployment, as is conventionally calculated, excludes the discouraged job seekers and could as such be considered an underestimation of the real rate of unemployment. This article is geared towards finding out the areas of expertise (as defined by areas of study or specialisation) most affected by unemployment. This paper is therefore intended to establish the degree to which various areas of expertise are affected by unemployment. This paper uses the 2011 census data and the concepts and variables as defined therein. The whole analysis is based on the questions and answers from the census. Of all the unemployed tertiary graduates 8.73% of them were in Accounting. The other most popular programmes or areas of expertise were Computer Science, Typing/Shorthand and Business/Commerce at 7.14%, 6.36% and 5.33% respectively. All these popular programmes were dominated by females at 55%.

Introduction

From being one of the poorest economies in the world to one of the richest in a predominantly poverty stricken sub-Saharan Africa, Botswana has defied odds to become an upper middle economy within forty years of independence. This is also noted as an exception within sub-Saharan Africa (Siphambe 2003:480). The country's phenomenal economic growth was driven largely by the mining sector, in particular diamonds. Botswana has been second to the Russian Federation in terms of diamond production (Hope 1996). This phenomenal performance needs to be construed within the proper developmental economic context. It is within this developmental context that we will be able to place Botswana's economic record into relevant economic perspective.

At independence in 1966 Botswana was one of the poorest economies in the world with agriculture, which was largely subsistence, accounting for 40% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The share of the sector dropped substantially and has been oscillating between 1.8 and 2.9 percentage points of GDP in the decade ending in 2012. The drop in the share of agriculture to total GDP could be construed in two fronts. Firstly, it could be a result of the sector's failure to cope with the growth rate of the economy, particularly the diamond mining, whose revenue generation was significantly higher than that for agricultural products. This is even more profound in view of the non-commercialisation of agriculture.

The second reason, which might in part explain this development, is the failure by government to transform the agricultural sector through effective and efficient policy interventions. It is important to differentiate between livestock farming and arable farming in our pursuit to better understand the dynamics surrounding the agricultural sector. Livestock farming, particularly cattle farming, has been a major foreign income earner for the country coming second after minerals for most part of post-independence Botswana. However, this agricultural sub-sector just like mining is not labour intensive and could not be a significant source of employment creation. Notwithstanding its marginal employment generation capacity, the sector could have helped in employment creation if most of the by-products associated with beef production were utilised to the optimum. However, the country's emphasis seems to have been on beef production with little or no attention on by-products such as leather and others.

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The beef sub-sector has been well nurtured by government over the years and has done generally well. The recent corruptive tendencies within Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) might be the major blemish to the beef industry since its establishment and may undermine its existence and thereby the livelihood of many Batswana. The flouting of well-established governance standards by commission occasioned by lack of political will to redress the situation has been detrimental to the profitability of BMC (Malema 2014:7).

The arable sub-sector has not contributed significantly to the economy as has done the livestock sub-sector. A number of factors are most likely to be instrumental to such a scenario. Whereas government has over the years come up with programmes to propel the sub-sector forward, the expected yields seem to have been frequently futile. A number of initiatives have been implemented by government such as Arable Lands Development programme (ALDEP), Accelerated Rainfed Arable Programme (ARAP) and lately the Integrated Support Programme for Arable Agriculture Development (ISPAAD) programme which is more of a marginal improvement of the now phased out ARAP.

The major undoing for most of these programmes was their failure to address the problems besetting agriculture, which has predominantly been the drought. Lack of adequate water is more profound for the arable sub-sector than the Livestock sub-sector. The programmes, particularly ARAP and ISPAAD, used substantial amounts of money with the latter being more significantly expensive. However, it is economically not rational to invest so heavily in an environment in which the probability of success is around zero. The fact that Botswana is a drought prone country calls for the identification of water sources for an improved likelihood of increased yields in arable farming through the use of irrigation. The provision of underground water though also expensive will in all likelihoods enhance the potential for increased yields for the arable sub-sector.

Irrigation would increase the success rate of government initiatives aimed at enhancing the agricultural production especially the arable sub-sector. The country does have a few rivers which flow when there are heavy rains and could be dammed as has recently been done with most of them. The water from the dams could then be used for irrigation purposes so as to ensure improved success rates of the arable agricultural sub sector.

The failure to transform the rural traditional subsistence agriculture to a modern commercialised agricultural sector defies the Arthur Lewis structural transformation model of economic development. This model was very influential in the 1960s and was in part a historical account of what the most developed countries experienced in their industrialisation transition. Such a transition had an inherently inbuilt mechanism of employment creation (Todaro and Smith 2009). A failure on our part to harness the rural economy as we were carried over by the capital intensive mining industry explains the current social ills of unemployment, poverty and inequality that the country is facing. We experienced economic growth rates which were far above the economy's labour absorptive capacity. This resulted in unemployment and the concurrent problems of inequality and poverty. While a notable degree of poverty reduction has been noted recently, such a rate at 19.3 currently is quite high for a country which for most part of the post-independence era basked in the glory of phenomenal economic growth. While Botswana was able to register enviable economic growth rates, the basis upon which this outstanding growth was based needs proper understanding. It was a product primarily of the mining sector and the fact that the country started off with a marginal GDP as the denominator, meant that any marginal increases to our national income were bound to translate into significant rates.

This impressive growth rate did not translate at least at the same rate to the betterment of national welfare as reflected by the high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment which have the potential to destabilise the political economy (Hope 1996). The drivers of poverty in Botswana are limited formal sector employment opportunities, low remunerations for those employed and limited opportunities for income generation to augment wage income of those employed (BIDPA 1997 and Siphambe 2004:356).

There is an emerging concern that despite her exceptional high economic growth rates, Botswana's success should be interpreted as one of pre-modern growth without development (Hillbom 2008:191-192). He further espouses the view that Botswana did not experience 'modern economic growth' which is characterised by structural changes in production, social and political establishments. This is reflected by high rates of poverty and unequal distributions of income and resources, amidst plenty (Hillbom 2008). Since this paper is on unemployment, even though the other two economic evils are equally important and related to unemployment, it is the latter which is of great interest at the moment. We, therefore, focus solely on unemployment and occasionally make reference to inequality and poverty.

Unemployment

Unemployment is a serious problem in Botswana and its rates have been fluctuating from a low of 10.2 percent in 1981 to a high of 25.3 percent in 1984. The rates have been fluctuating since then and by 1994 unemployment was 21 percent as attested to by Table 1 below. These are national rates which are not segregated into any particular attributes like sex, area or any other considerations.

Table 1: Unemployment Rates

Year	Unemployment Rate (%)
1981	10.2*
1984	25.3*
1985	19.9*
1986	16.0*
1987	12.7*
1991	13.9*
2001	19.6
2002/3	23.9
2004	24.5
2004/5	17.8
2008	26.1
2009/10	17.9
2011	19.9
2013	20.0

Source: Hope (1996:58) and Statistics Botswana (2011)

Batswana men have generally enjoyed high levels of education than their female counterparts and this has culminated in relatively lower unemployment rates for males (Hope 1996). However, he further goes on to argue that even in cases where females were better educated than males, there seemed to be indications that they encountered barriers to labour force entry. Females were less represented in the formal sector and over represented in the informal sector at 36 and 75 percentage points respectively according to Jefferis (1993) and Hope (1996).

There has been a notable migration from the rural subsistence agriculture, a factor that has significantly brought down the sector's employment contribution to the labour force from 33% in 1984 to 15% in 1991 (Hope 1996). This share dropped to a further 10% of the labour force by 1996 (Jefferis and Kelly 2007). Jefferis and Kelly note that it is believed in some quarters that if this migration had not taken place, national unemployment would have been zero and it would have not reached the double rates for which it is currently cited. We are of the view that the basis of this belief defies all manner

of economic understanding and is not in consonance with the dynamics underlying the historical economic development process. They conclude by pointing out that rapid economic growth would not guarantee sufficient job creation. The decline in the agricultural sector has had adverse consequences both in terms of income generation and employment generation (Jefferis and Kelly 2007; Curry 1987).

The problem of unemployment has been identified as the primary determinant of poverty in Botswana even though there are some other factors which are instrumental in the high poverty levels experienced in the country albeit within a declining poverty trend (Jefferis and Kelly 2007). These analysts attribute the unemployment problem among other things to the decline in the agricultural sector and the economy's inability to generate adequate employment opportunities both within the formal and informal sectors. It has also been noted that there is a positive correlation between land and cattle ownership and the poor often seek to sustain themselves by seeking wage employment from large farm operators and by migrating to urban areas in search of employment in mines both in Botswana and South Africa (Curry 1987:74). Curry points out that in spite of Botswana's achievements, the job seekers remain unemployed, thereby leading to poverty and waste of skills of those who received some training. The failure by the economy to generate employment opportunities both within the public and private sectors has been recently reiterated by the President Ian Khama (Malema 2013). The problem of unemployment has also been noted to be correlated with the size of government both in the developed and developing economies. Furthermore, this relationship is applicable in addition to the overall labour force—to women and youth (Feldman 2010:289–292). It is the contention of Feldman that if Botswana's government sector was as small as that of Mexico, the level of unemployment would have been relatively smaller than is now currently the case for both the women, youth and total labour force (Feldman 2010:291). Botswana's unemployment rate in the 1990s might have been exacerbated by the higher growth rate of the labour force relative to that of formal sector employment (Siphambe 2003:481).

Analysis

This paper seeks to investigate the unemployment observed within Botswana's labour force and how such could be analysed across various socio-economic attributes. This is considered instrumental in getting to understand the nature of unemployment and its attributes with the hope that such might help in informing the formulation of relevant, effective and efficient policy interventions. The analysis of the data has been entirely based on tabulations.

School Attendance

Education plays a central role in one's probability to secure employment. Therefore, it is important that we analyse the nation's performance in this regard. Table 2 below seeks to determine the country's level of participation in school attendance as per the 2011 census. We have a total of 1336413 people whose school attendance is given. We note that 50.91% have left school whereas 30.53 percent are still attending. This gives a total of 82.44% of the respondents who have ever attended school. However, 18.26% of the respondents have never been to school whereas the educational status of 0.30% of the respondents is unknown.

Table 2: School Attendance

School Attendance	Frequency	Percent
Still at School	587,291	30.53
Left School	979 398	50.91
Never	351 239	18.26
Not Stated	5 776	0.30
Total	1, 336,413	100

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Areas of Educational Expertise

Areas of educational expertise have been one of most challenging areas when it comes to the analysis of fields of study. This emanates from the 170 classification of educational areas of expertise that have been recorded in the study. To try to simplify the analysis it was resolved to look at the areas in which most of the training has been undertaken. To do that we looked at the programmes or areas of education, which accounted for at least one percent of the total graduates. Using the criterion we arrived at 30 areas of expertise which were the most popular amongst the 170 that have been recorded. These are given in Table 3 below.

The most popular area of expertise is Accounting and Auditing which was done by 8.59% of total respondents. Of all those who did this programmes 62.76% of them have worked for at least an hour in the seven days prior to the interview. The next most popular area of expertise was primary teachers training at 5.52%. This area has a high rate of those who worked for at least an hour at 81%. The least popular of the 30 areas was electrical programmes which were done by 0.98% of respondents of which 65.52% of them had worked. The police work programmes were marginally more popular than the defence force programmes at 2.41% and 2.21% respectively. However, in terms of the employment absorption capacity, the defence force programmes were marginally ahead of the police force programmes at 99.34% and 98.05% respectively. These are just a few of the programmes for which the employment levels have been considerably high. It might also be that in the case of these two programmes, the trainees could be trained whilst under the employ of both the military and the police services. The rest of the programmes could also be interpreted in like manner, where the fourth column reflects the popularity of the programme whereas the last column captures the percentage of those who have worked. However, that the people worked in their areas of expertise is assumed and this may give an incorrect indication of the employment potential of the programs.

Table 3: Field of Education for Tertiary Graduates and work done for at least an hour

Education	Worked	Total	% of total	% working
Accountancy/Auditing	13274	21151	8.59	62.76
Primary Teachers Training	11092	13589	5.52	81.62
Business/Commercial	6088	10481	4.25	58.09
Computer Science Pro	5144	10420	4.23	49.37
Secondary Teachers T	8295	10179	4.13	81.49
Typing/Shorthand/Sec	6314	9933	4.03	63.57
Radio/Electronics/Co	2979	6661	2.70	44.72
Masonry and Bricklaying	3796	6272	2.55	60.52
Basic Nursing Programme	4617	6219	2.52	74.24
Other Humanities Courses	3628	6028	2.45	60.19

Police Work Programs	5826	5942	2.41	98.05
Defence Force Programs	5412	5448	2.21	99.34
Labour Studies, Including Personnel Ad	3126	4984	2.02	62.72
Motor Mechanics	3263	4878	1.98	66.89
Carpentry/ Joinery Programs	2644	4633	1.88	57.07
Management, General	2777	4455	1.81	62.33
Marketing/Sales Courses	2534	4166	1.69	60.83
Electrical Engineering	2489	3510	1.42	70.91
Mechanical Engineering	2531	3387	1.38	74.73
Tailoring/ Textile Trades	1673	3317	1.35	50.44
Tourist Trade Programs	1369	3286	1.33	41.66
Other Natural Sciences	1623	3222	1.31	50.37
Social welfare/ Social Work Programs	1857	3126	1.27	59.40
Public Administration	2072	3068	1.25	67.54
Advanced Nursing including Midwives	2302	2980	1.21	77.25
Other (Professional)	1904	2915	1.18	65.32
Civil Engineering	2266	2906	1.18	77.98
Business machine operation	1658	2854	1.16	58.09
Other Teacher/Training	1795	2738	1.11	65.56
Electrician Programs	1582	2411	0.98	65.62
Not Stated	3121	6347	2.58	49.17
Others		64807	26.31	
Total		246322	100	

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Activities Done by the Population Since Independence

Of the 1 484 943 respondents more than half a million were engaged in non-seasonal paid activities. They accounted for 33.96% of all the respondents followed by students at 21.67%. The seasonal paid respondents amounted to 6.19%, thus making total paid employees account for 40.15% of total respondents. Job seekers amounted to 11.15% of all respondents. This does not reflect the unemployment rate since it is denominated by all the respondents of which some were outside the labour force. Once all this is adjusted for, the unemployment rate could then be calculated which will be in excess of 11.15 percent as demonstrated in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Type of Activities done since independence by the Population

Activities by Population	Freq.	Percent
Non-seasonal -Paid	504,284	33.96
Student	321,716	21.67
Home maker	241,857	16.29
Job seeker	165,589	11.15
Seasonal-Paid	91,978	6.19
Seasonal Unpaid	46,113	3.11
Non-seasonal-Unpaid	45,991	3.1

Sick	37,208	2.51
Retired	22,045	1.48
Not stated	4,104	0.28
Prisoners	3,927	0.26
Other (NEC)	131	0.01
Total	1,484,943	100

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Labour Force (18 years +) Participation Since Independence by Type of Work

Of 605 765 members of the labour force, 90.52% of them have at some point been to school with only 9.44% having never gone to school. The employees who were paid in cash were 82.43% of the population. On the basis of these alone, notwithstanding its limitations, one could grossly estimate the unemployment rate at 17.57%. However, we do have some other categories, which though not being a part of the employed were engaged in some activities which appear quite challenging to classify as unemployed or employed. Those who were self-employed with no employees and the ones who were working in their cattle posts or lands were 7.86% and 5.25% of the labour force respectively. These above statistical and additional ones are captured in table 5 below.

Table 5: Labour Force (18years +) participation since Independence by type of work

Working as during the past 7 days	Labour Force (18 years +)			
	Left School	Never attended	Not Stated	Total
Employee Cash	460,885 (76.08)	38,264 (6.32)	194 (0.03)	499,343 (82.43)
Employee_Inkind	2,346 (0.39)	732 (0.12)	2 (0)	3,080 (0.51)
Self-employed (no employees)	41,708 (6.89)	5,885 (0.97)	17 (0)	47,610 (7.86)
Self-employed with employees	18,557 (3.06)	934 (0.15)	12 (0)	19,503 (3.22)
Unpaid family helper	3,166 (0.52)	608 (0.10)	1 (0)	3,775 (0.62)
Working at own lands/cattle post	21,089 (3.48)	10,684 (1.76)	5 (0)	31,778 (5.25)
Not Stated	568 (0.09)	87 (0.01)	21 (0)	676 (0.11)
Total	548,319 (90.52)	57,194 (9.44)	252 (0.04)	605,765 (100)

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Employment Distribution by Industry

The subsistence agricultural industry employs the majority of the employed as it accounts for 12.69% of the employed. It is followed by central government and local government at 10.78% and 7.11% respectively. When these two arms of government are summed together they contribute 17.89% to total employment thus making the government sector the majority employer in the economy. Construction employs 6.14% followed by retail trade at 4.62%. The rest of the distributions are as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Main Product, Activity or Service Engaged in at Work in the past 7 days

Industry	Freq.	Percent
Traditional or Subsistence agriculture	82,144	12.69
Central Government Administration (S)	69,739	10.78
Local Government Administration (S)	46,038	7.11
Construction of Buildings and Houses -	39,718	6.14
Retail trade through informal outlets:	29,914	4.62
Private households with employed person	28,938	4.47
Primary education (including pre-primary)	21,583	3.34
Secondary education	19,469	3.01
Security Organizations	19,146	2.96
Business activities not elsewhere class	18,869	2.92
Human health activities (Hospitals etc.)	18,736	2.9
Retail stores specializing in goods exc	15,635	2.42
Maintenance and repair of motor vehicle	11,197	1.73
Non-specialized retail trade e.g. Gener	11,123	1.72
Building installation work - Plumbing,	9,965	1.54
Other services activities (including dr	9,148	1.41
Copper/Nickel mining	7,858	1.21
Retail stores specializing in food, beverage	7,488	1.16
Diamond mining	7,401	1.14
Hotels and other short stay accommodation	7,085	1.09
Construction/Civil Engineering - Roads,	6,771	1.05
Clothing and other wearing apparel (inc	6,706	1.04
Taxis/Combis sole or small operators on	6,461	1
Restaurants, cafes and canteens	6,061	0.94
Note Stated	6,815	1.05
Others	132, 924	20.54
Total	647,149	100

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Activities of the Unemployed Labour Force

Table 7 below gives a summary of the statistics for those who were reported as not working at the time of the 2011 census. Since the labour force estimation is based on those aged between 17 years and 65 years exclusive, the presence of the information on students may be a reflection of the inconsistencies in our data. It may also reflect cases of either part-time students or workers or/and both, in which workers are also students. There is nothing wrong with having students in our data since they are part of the not economically active part of the population which is used to calculate together with the retired, sick, etc the labour force participation rate.

Table 7: Activities of the Unemployed

Activities of the Unemployed	Labour Force (18 years +)			
	Left School	Never attended	Not Stated	Total
Actively seeking work	142,442 (33.41)	9,181 (2.15)	52 (0.01)	151,675 (35.58)
Home work	195,654 (45.89)	43,738 (10.26)	77 (0.02)	239,469 (56.17)
Students	1,310 (0.31)	60 (0.01)	7 (0)	1,377 (0.32)
Retired	7,492 (1.76)	1,609 (0.38)	9 (0)	9,110 (2.14)
Sick	12,732 (2.99)	7,802 (1.83)	53 (0.01)	20,587 (4.83)
Other (NEC)	3,064 (0.72)	933 (0.22)	8 (0)	4,005 (0.94)
Not Stated	111 (0.03)	9 (0)	4 (0)	124 (0.03)
Total	362,805 (85.1)	63,332 (14.85)	210 (0.05)	426,347 (100)

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

The Unemployed

The unemployed are often referred to as the part of the labour force, which is not working. They are considered to be those who are actively seeking employment. Knowing who they are is quite important in guiding effective and relevant policy formulation. The reduction of the unemployment rate through employment creation rather than discouragement is key in fighting the three evils of poverty, unemployment and inequality. It is, therefore, our intention to make a concerted effort in trying to microscopically interrogate the nature and attributes of unemployment in Botswana. This part of the paper is geared towards dissecting the unemployment attributes as a betterment of our understanding of the unemployment phenomenon.

Sex Distribution of the Unemployed

The response to the question which sought to find out the number of those actively seeking employment availed a total of 157 654 respondents. Of these respondents 48.97% were males and the remaining 51.03% were females. Students are normally excluded from the labour force. However, the above figures included 2 434 respondents who were still going to school. Given that strictly speaking such are not considered to be part of the labour force we effectively had 155 220 respondents once the appropriate adjustments were made as shown in table 8 below. The latter being the numerical that we have since used in the rest of the analysis. Upon using this new figure we realised that 50.99% were females and the remaining 49.01% were males.

Table 8: Sex Distribution of the Unemployed

Sex of Respondents	Numbers	Percentage
Male	76,070	49.01
Female	79,150	50.99
Total	155,220	100

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Geographical Distribution of the Unemployed by Sex

The geographical distribution is divided into the urban areas, which comprises cities and towns only and

not urban villages contrary to common practice. Table 9 below shows that 21.53% of the respondents were in urban centres of which 54.24% were females representing 11.68% of all the unemployed and 45.76% were males representing 9.85% of all the unemployed.

The remaining 78.47% of respondents are in rural areas and 50.01% of all the rural respondents were females while the remaining 49.99% were males. The rural distribution by sex is almost equal for both the males and females at almost 50%. The disaggregated data shows that Kweneng East had the highest unemployment rate at 14.38% followed by Gaborone at 10.35%, with Serowe/Palapye coming third at 7.99%. In all cities and towns, the majority of the unemployed were females, while in rural areas the results are mixed.

Table 9: Unemployment Distribution by Area and Sex. Percentage of Total Job Seekers

Area	Sex of Respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
Urban	15,272 (9.85)	18,101 (11.68)	33,373 (21.53)
Rural	60,696 (39.16)	60,941 (39.31)	121,637 (78.47)
Total	75,968 (49.01)	79,042 (50.99)	155,010 (100)

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Unemployment by Marital Status and Sex

The never married had the highest proportion of the unemployed as 66.36% of them were unemployed and this marital classification is the only one for which males were in the majority. The cohabitants and the married constituted 24.63 and 7.49 percentage points of the unemployed respectively. In both cases unemployment was more amongst females than males as table 10 below demonstrates.

Table 10: Unemployment by Marital Status and Sex

Marital status	Active Job Seekers by Sex		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Married	4,548 (2.93)	7,073 (4.56)	11,621(7.49)
Never Married	55,469 (35.74)	47,533 (30.62)	103,002 (66.36)
Living together	15,215 (9.8)	23,012 (14.83)	38,227 (24.63)
Separated	241 (0.16)	323 (0.21)	564 (0.36)
Divorced	274 (0.18)	418 (0.27)	692 (0.45)
Widowed	315 (0.2)	789 (0.51)	1,104 (0.71)
Not Stated	8 (0.01)	2 (0)	10 (0.01)
Total	76,070 (49.01)	79,150 (50.99)	155,220 (100)

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Unemployment Distribution by Age and Sex

Table 11 below shows the unemployment by both sex and age. The greatest constituency of the unemployed was the 20-24 age group at 29.93% of all the unemployed followed by the age group 25-29 at 24.76%. In total the youth whose upper age limit in this case is 34 accounted for 79.7% of the unemployed. Females were the most dominant of the youth age groups save for the 15–19 in which more males were unemployed. However, for all the non-youth age groups more males were unemployed relative to females.

Table 11: Unemployment Distribution by Age and Sex

Age Groups of Respondents	Sex of the Respondents		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
15-19	8,266 (5.33)	7,820 (5.04)	16,086 (10.36)
20-24	21,890 (14.10)	24,566 (15.83)	46,456 (29.93)
25-29	17,923 (11.55)	20,508 (13.21)	38,431 (24.76)
30-34	10,807 (6.96)	1,936 (7.69)	22,743 (14.65)
35-39	7,023 (4.52)	6,754 (4.35)	13,777 (8.88)
40-44	4,010 (2.58)	3,347 (2.16)	7,357 (4.74)
45-49	2,819 (1.82)	2,177 (1.40)	4,996 (3.22)
50-54	1,692 (1.09)	1,076 (0.69)	2,768 (1.78)
55-59	1,054 (0.68)	651 (0.42)	1,705 (1.1)
60-64	586 (0.38)	315 (0.20)	901 (0.58)
Total	76,070 (49.01)	79,150 (50.99)	155,220 (100)

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Unemployment by Expertise and Sex

Table 12 below gives the ranking of the most popular tertiary programmes of the unemployed. There were in all 20 661 unemployed respondents who had done tertiary studies. We have picked the programmes which have at least 400 graduates and they were 14 in total. Accounting/Auditing stands out as the most popular programme not only amongst the unemployed but rather the overall labour force. Of all the unemployed tertiary graduates 8.73% of them were in this field, of which 67.55% were females. The other most popular programmes or areas of expertise were Computer Science programmes, Typing/Shorthand and Business/Commerce at 7.14%, 6.36% and 5.33% respectively. All these popular programmes have been dominated by females. Therefore, it is not surprising that 54.94% of the unemployed with tertiary education are females. It is also worth noting that the tertiary graduates accounted for only 13.31% of those who were actively seeking employment at the time of the census. It could, therefore, be concluded that the remaining 96.69% of the respondents were therefore not tertiary graduates.

Table 12: Unemployment by Expertise and Sex

Area of Education	Sex of the Respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
Accountancy/Auditing	585	1,218	1,803
Computer Science Programme	683	793	1,476
Typing/Shorthand/Sec	110	1,203	1,313
Business/Commercial	363	738	1,101
Masonry and Bricklaying	786	132	918
Radio/Electronics/Co	447	466	913
Not Stated	401	369	770
Carpentry/Joinery Programme	610	151	761
Tourist Trade Programme	224	509	733
Labour Studies, Incl	135	364	499
Motor Mechanics	424	68	492

Marketing/Sales Cour	214	269	483
Business machine Ope	133	326	459
Tailoring/Textile Tr	41	409	450
Management, General	147	274	421
Others	4 006	4 063	8 069
TOTAL	9 309	11 352	20 661

Source: Author's own calculation bases on 2011 Census

Discussion

As has been discussed previously the problems of unemployment in Botswana along with the concomitant evils of poverty and economic inequality may be deep rooted in the country's economic structure. Botswana's economy has been largely driven by the capital intensive mining sector which has culminated in a narrow economic base in which the economy has not been diversified (Malema 2012). Livestock farming has also been instrumental as a foreign income earner both before and after independence and just like mining its labour intensity is largely suspect. These main drivers of the economy are not major employers and much as they have fundamentally influenced economic growth, they have not been instrumental in helping in job creation opportunities.

The way to employment creation has been to diversify the economy. The government has made economic diversification one of its priority areas and for more than three decades, their initiatives seem not to have borne fruit (Malema 2012). The promotion of foreign direct investment (FDI) which has been one of the vehicles through which government intended to diversify the economy has not been as beneficial as would have been expected as evidenced by an economy which remains undiversified. The FDI inflows in the country have tended to be biased largely towards the mining sector from which the government intended to diversify away from (Malema 2008). On the basis of this inflow into mining it could be concluded that the attraction of FDI into this sector is a result of some natural resource(s) which the country has. Indeed ownership of a resource is one of the determinants of FDI attraction. The other determinant is the availability of the market, which Botswana cannot boast of, unless we consider the broader Southern African Development Community (SADC) to which the country happen to be centrally located.

A number of considerations are important in determining the inflows of FDI and Botswana has not done well in attracting significant FDI to non-mining sector. The role of FDI in economic diversification is on the basis of the FDI flows very bleak in the facilitation of the attainment of a broad based economy for Botswana. In light of this observation it could be concluded that the pursuit of FDI as a means to economic diversification is not likely to bear fruit and in the absence of robust alternative measures, unemployment, poverty and inequality may remain. This has serious implications for economic policy designed for employment creation.

Recommendations

The recommendations are a product of the economic environment prevalent within the country's economy. Firstly, in the absence of substantive FDI inflow into the country we are of the view that the government of Botswana should take a significant role in productive investment in the economy beyond the investments in physical and social infrastructure. The role of Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) should be intensified and government should demonstrate unequivocal commitment in ensuring that interruptions as has happened with Fygiene Glass project in Palapye are kept at the minimum. The elimination of corruptive tendencies which have tended to destroy the Palapye glass project and blemish Botswana Meat Commission are economic undesirables, which if left unattended will render this initiative of productive investment into the economy by government counterproductive and costly.

The political will to curb corruptive tendencies which have been a threat to most underperforming parastatals have greatly eroded in recent times and this undermines the potential of this initiative to be a success.

In the absence of corruption this initiative holds the keys to economic diversification with great potential for employment generation. The government political will to uproot corruption is key to the success of this recommendation.

Secondly, there is a need for the agricultural sector to be revamped. The continued importation of large quantities of food stuffs from countries such as South Africa is an indication of the availability of a local food market that can be tapped into. Government should divert the heavy investments she has made into agriculture, in particular through the integrated support programme for arable agriculture development (ISPAAD), into initiatives with a high propensity of availing yields by addressing the water challenges faced by the arable agricultural sector. The sector may not require any excessive expertise than that which could be locally sourced.

Thirdly, and very much related to the second recommendation is for government to consider allowing the importation of farm labour from our neighbours, in particular Zimbabwe. This is important for the success of the agricultural sector as Batswana are generally considered averse to working in farms. They could then work in food processing factories. As much as this provides immediate solution for undersupply of local agricultural labour, the move has the potential to cripple the agricultural sector in the event the Zimbabwean farm workers decide to go back to their home country owing to the improvement of economic circumstances in their own country.

Lastly, we do suggest that stakeholders and experts frequent meetings be convened for the sharing of ideas as to what would be best in addressing the problems of unemployment. It is in the meetings of great minds that the best measures for employment creation initiatives could be identified.

Conclusion

In this paper we used primarily the question which sought information on those who were actively seeking employment at the time of the census. This became the number for the unemployed. On the basis of it we were able to discover that the youth aged 15-34 were faced with serious unemployment problem. They amounted to almost 80 percent of the unemployed at 79.7%. Unemployment was also a major challenge in the rural areas with 78.47 percent of those actively seeking employment resident in rural areas. Whereas in the urban areas women seemed to be more affected by unemployment, the sex distribution was almost even in rural areas.

Employment and education are expected to be closely related. It is unfortunate that with the exception of the tertiary graduates, the educational attainment of the remaining 86.69% of the respondents and their educational distribution remain unknown. This is a serious shortcoming in view of the fact that educational is a major primary determinant of employment.

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