

# UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA

# **FACULTY OF SCIENCES**

# DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATION STUDIES

The Impact of Education Level, Age and ICT on Voting Patterns in Botswana

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#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**4IR** - Fourth Industrial Revolution

**AF** - Afro Barometer

BAC - Botswana Accountancy College

BCA - Botswana College of Agriculture

BCP - Botswana Congress Party

**BDP** - Botswana Democratic Party

**BFP** - Botswana Freedom Party

**BIP** - Botswana Independence Party

BIUST - Botswana International University of science and Technology

**BMD** - Botswana Movement for Democracy

**BNF** - Botswana National Front

**BOCONGO** - Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organizations

**BPP** - Botswana People's Party

**BTV** - Botswana Television

**CIA** - Central Intelligence Agency

**CSE** - Civic and Social Engagement

**EAC** - European Advisory Council

**EVM** - Electronic Voting Machine

ICT - Information Communication Technology

**IDEA** - Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

**IDM** - Institute of Development Management

**IEC** - Independent Election Commission

MELS - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin Movement

NAC - Native Advisory Council

**NDF** - New Democratic Front

**SEAC** - Southern African Development Community's Electoral Advisory Council

**UB** - University of Botswana

**UDC** - Umbrella for Democratic Change

UK - United Kingdom

**USA** - United States of America

# **ABSTRACT**

This study sought to assess and examine how a citizen's level of education, age and social media use impacts voting and voting patterns in the context of Botswana. The study also intended to find out the extent to which Independent Electoral Commission embarks on voter education in order to find out if it was indeed delivering on its mandate. Purposive sampling was used in order to obtain a working sample of 51 respondents from the population with semi-structured questionnaires being administered to the respective respondents. A positive impact of education on voting was found which was indicative of a sense of civic duty. Moreover a higher youth voter turnout was reported, and the respondents concurred with the importance of social media in influencing how an individual votes, as well as its potential to improve voting and elections, more specifically, voter education.

# CHAPTER ONE BACKGROUND

#### 1.1 Introduction

The regular holding of elections has been viewed as the manifestation of democracy since the inception of democracy in civilised societies. Elections and voting signify voter expression of their voice through the election of their desired electoral candidate. Voters, by their nature, are often influenced by a variety of different factors since they are individuals, and individuals are part of society. Societies often tend to share similar view points, as well as ideologies and are influenced by similar phenomena (Blais, 2011).

The advent of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and WhatsApp has presented individuals who share these similar viewpoints a platform to interact with each other and share ideas (Jotia, 2018). This has also created an environment where politicians can be able to easily access these individuals in different societies, with the height of such politician access demonstrated by the Cambridge Analytica scandal (Srinivas, 2018). The Trump campaign team had hired Cambridge Analytica to assist them in running their campaign, and it later surfaced that the extensive and potentially intrusive data that they had acquired from Facebook was then used to create audience targeted Facebook ads which brought into question the fairness of the voting as well as the level of security of social media (Srinivas, 2018).

Moreover, societal influence can be seen in the nature of candidates elected in a certain area or region. Zimbabwe elections have been characterised by a majority win of the opposition vote in urban areas such as Harare and Bulawayo but a popular rural vote for the ruling party, Zanu-PF (Institute for Peace and Security Studies, 2018). The same phenomenon has also been observed in Botswana where opposition strongholds tended to be in urban areas. This phenomenon has been attributed to the level of education of the individuals who reside in the respective areas by researchers such as (Jotia, 2018). Furthermore, the effect of age has been shown to have an influence on voting and consequently voter apathy. Studies such as the study carried out by Ntau & Ntsabane (2000) have argued that the media is potentially very influential in spreading values and beliefs. The youth are relatively more educated than their parents' generation and better placed materially to access newspapers, radio, television and magazines.

Botswana has always been under the uninterrupted leadership of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) as Mokanedi and Botlhomilwe (2011) argue that there is nothing inherently undemocratic with people voting for the same political party provided the political playing field is level. Botswana's demography has changed over the years such that there are now more youths in the population who are, by virtue of the free education provided by the Botswana government, educated. This then raises the question of what could be influencing Batswana's voting patterns in the recent years. Moreover, it warrants an assessment of the IEC influence and effectiveness of its voter education and awareness.

# 1.2 Background of the study

According to Belinsky (2011) the subject of politics and education is one of the most consistently documented phenomena in history and their association is very influential in elections and voting. Authors such as Campbell (2006) point out that to understand the relationship between education and civic and social engagement requires delineating multiple dimensions of engagement, namely: political engagement, civic engagement, voting, trust, tolerance, and political knowledge.

To find out the effect of education on political participation, Persson (2014) noted that it should be a major concern for political behavior research to find out how education is related to political participation. The study by Milligan (2004) showed that education has a positive impact on voting in the US, but not in the UK. The suggestion is that there exists a mechanism linking cognitive ability and political behavior, such that educated people think more rationally and form more reasonable worldviews. The authors emphasized the point that this doesn't mean people with a lesser education are less clever or less likely to make informed decisions. However, there was evidence of education providing individuals with an open mindset vis-à-vis the traditional societal norm that tends to prevail.

Ntau & Ntsabane (2000) noted that while the overall voter turnout in most of Botswana's 1999 elections showed participation rates surging above 65 percent, there were lower levels of participation among the youth. Various literature show that voting trends have changed over the years in Botswana. Authors such as Mpabanga (2000) wrote that on average, only about 69.1 percent of eligible voters registered for elections between 1965 and 1994 and this number declined

to 67.6 percent when the 1999 figures were included. The trend showed that little more than 30 percent of potential voters tended not to register to vote in the eight Botswana elections prior to 1999. One of the reasons advanced by Mokhawa and Mpabanga (2013) for declining voter participation is that voters have to stand in queues to vote. This could, as advanced by the study, potentially deter the youth from voting or participating in elections. Moreover, as is posited by Quintelier (2007), younger people tend to be less engaged in formal modes of the democratic process, particularly the traditional voting set up of elections, and it is this traditional set up that still deters the youth from taking part in voting. This trend of lower youth participation was reduced in the 2014 elections where 84.75 per cent voter turnout was recorded (IEC, 2014).

The AfroBarometer study by Seabo & Isbell (2018) reported a decline in voter participation, both actively through voting as well as retro-actively through attending community meetings, contacting officials or joining others to raise an issue. Moreover, the self reported voting tended to be higher in rural areas. Moreover, the youth, taken as the 18-35 year olds were much less likely to have voted in the 2014 election. Furthermore, individuals with a secondary education or higher tended to be less likely to vote as compared to those with a primary or a non-formal education. The AfroBarometer study also revealed a decline of interest in public affairs, with the youth indicating that they rarely discuss politics with friends and family.

There has been an unprecedented rise in the use of social media that has been facilitated by the increased availability of cheap smartphones in the country. Statistics Botswana (2014), in their Household Access and Individual use of Information Technology survey found out that mobile phone usage had surpassed computer usage, with mobile phone usage rising from 40.5 per cent in 2003 to 94.1 per cent in 2014. As is argued by Jotia (2018), social media plays a large role in the dissemination of information as well as the expression of free thought and opinion that is neither uninhibited by nor heavily influenced by state control. As a result, more conventional ways of engagement such as community meetings are not only enhanced by the use of social media, but they are accessible to the youth, the demographic of the country that has the lowest voter participation rate in the country.

It is against this backdrop that the study is situated; the impact of the education levels on voting as well as the influence of age, more so considering the shift in the composition of the country's population which is considerably more youthful and makes considerable use of communication tools such as social media.

### 1.3 Statement of the problem

The Botswana Democratic Party has been in power since the independence of Botswana and this has raised questions about the implications of its dominance to Botswana voting citizens. Botswana elections have been, prior to 2009, been characterized by a relatively low youth voter turnout. This, as is argued by Ntau & Ntsabane (2000) could be attributed to the lack of appeal to youth of the conventional election messaging by politicians in the form of freedom squares. This, as has been demonstrated by the Statistics Botswana (2012) education report, is an issue since 60% of the population is composed of youth, defined as 15-35 year olds. Of further interest is the increase in youth voter turnout in 2014 as opposed to previous election years. Moreover, there has been an increase in the use of smart phones and consequently the use of social media in the country (Statistics Botswana, 2014). As a result, this brings forth the voting patterns and trends that prevail at present in Botswana as an area of research curiosity. This study seeks to find out how people's education, age and the use of ICT impact on their voting patterns.

# 1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to find out the impact of education level, age and ICT on voting patterns in Botswana.

#### 1.5 Objectives of the study

The objectives guiding this study were:

- a. To find out impact of age on voting patterns in Botswana.
- b. To examine how levels of education impact on voting patterns.
- c. To assess the influence of social media on voting patterns.
- d. To suggest ways to enhance voter participation in Botswana.

# 1.6 Research questions

Based on Maxwell (1994) definition, a research question is basically what you want to understand by doing your research.

The main research question for this research was to investigate Impact of Education Level, Age, and ICT on Voting Patterns in Botswana. It was also to find out:

- 1. Which age groups vote the most in Botswana?
- 2. How does level of education influence voting patterns?
- 3. To what extent does social media influence voting patterns in Botswana?
- 4. To what extent is IEC's voter education effective?

# 1.7 Significance and justification of the study

The literature on voter behavior and patterns in Botswana, although significant, often does not take into account social media. The study by Jotia (2018) illustrated how the use of social media can be and is a powerful tool to reduce the influence of government media from which perspectives are only limited to incumbent government's objectives and agenda. Furthermore, studies by Seabo & Isbell (2018) commissioned by AfroBarometer often focus on conventional voter participation (attending community meetings, joining others to raise an issue as well as joining a demonstration). The literature that is available then leaves out the use of social media and how its users interact with the world as well as how such interactions are influenced by age and level of education in terms of voting. Moreover, Botswana has spent considerable resources on the voter education of its citizens as is demonstrated by (IEC, 2009; IEC, 2014), but there is no definite data on how that has influenced their voting patterns.

This study seeks to contribute literature on the assessment of voters' educational background, age and social media usage and their relationship with voting patterns and trends in Botswana. Moreover, the study also seeks to investigate the influence the IEC has on voter turnout through their voter education.

#### 1.8 Hypothesis of the study

- a. There is a significant effect of age on voting patterns in Botswana.
- b. There is a significant effect of levels of education impact on voting patterns.
- c. There is a significant effect of the influence of social media on voting patterns.

# CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the different literature that relate to the research topic as well as the empirical literature both in a global context as well as in Botswana. The chapter shall begin with a global overview of democracy, electoral systems and elections and then discuss the factors that influence voter patterns and finally end with a discussion of Electoral laws of IEC and Voter education in Botswana.

### 2.2 Democracy, Electoral Systems and Elections

#### 2.2.1 Overview of democratic models

According to Adel (2003), in order for a country to be considered a modern democracy, it needs to fulfil some basic requirements which should be enshrined in a constitution. These include but are not limited to: a guarantee of basic human rights to every individual person, separation of powers between the institutions of the state, freedoms of opinion, speech, press and mass media as well as religious liberty, general equal right to vote (one person, one vote) and lastly good governance.

According to Held (2006) in a democratic theory there is a deeply rooted conflict over whether democracy should mean some kind of popular power (a form of politics in which citizens are engaged in self-government and self-regulation) or an aid to decision-making (a means of conferring authority on those periodically voted into office). This conflict has given rise to three basic variants or models of democracy. These models are presented in his book, *Models of Democracy* (1987:98), in which he presents models of democracies namely:

- Direct or participatory democracy which is a system of decision-making about public
  affairs in which citizens are directly involved. Claims of the state were given priority over
  those of the individual citizens.
- Liberal or representative democracy which is a system of rule embracing elected "officers" who undertake to "represent" the interests of views of citizens within delimited territories

while upholding the "rule of law." States must have a monopoly of coercive power in order to provide a secure basis on which family life, religion, trade, and commerce can prosper, but by granting the state a regulatory and coercive capability, the state also could and often did deprive citizens of political and social freedoms.

• One-party democracy which is a system where state is an extension of civil society, reinforcing the social order for the enhancement of particular interests.

# 2.2.2 Democracy and elections in Botswana

According to the CIA (2016); following the creation of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1889, the first elections took place in the territory at the start of the 1920s, following the establishment of the European Advisory Council (EAC) and the Native Advisory Council (NAC). Osei-Hwedie & Sebudubudu (2006) in their journal article, Pitfalls of parliamentary democracy in Botswana, state that the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has been in governance since independence. Botswana practices multi-party democracy with elections conducted every five years, an electoral system adopted from that of the United Kingdom which Molomo (2014) explains and identifies as the Westminster system of government. Elections in Botswana take place at national and local levels. Botswana is a multi-party democracy with the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) in power with a significant majority since independence. The National Assembly and Local Councils are elected when General Elections are held every 5 years.

Elections in Botswana take place within the framework of a multi-party democracy and a parliamentary system. Botswana's parliament has 61 seats, of which 57 are elected using a single-member district plurality system, meaning there are 57 constituencies, each electing a single member of parliament (MP) for a five year term; 4 more seats are reserved for the specially nominated members (Kadima & Shale, 2006). The national assembly is mostly directly elected, and in turn elects the president and some of its own members.

As Mokgala & Botlhomilwe (2017) pointed out, the responsibility of educating and sensitizing citizens of the country is that of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). According to Maundeni (2014) voter education in Botswana is a joint activity between many partners. It is spearheaded by the IEC and supplemented by religious organisations, women associations, the media, youth organisations and public service Associations.

Botswana has many political parties. However, there are three major political parties in Botswana; Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Botswana Congress Party (BCP) and Botswana National Front (BNF) (Phirinyane, 2013). In the early years after Botswana had gained independence, there was another formidable party called Botswana People's Party (BPP) - but it has since reduced in strength over the years (Maundeni, 2005). The other parties in Botswana are; Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM), New Democratic Front (NDF), Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin Movement (MELS), Botswana Freedom Party (BFP) and Botswana Independence Party (BIP) (Maundeni, 2014). A new party has been formed post-2009 general elections called Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), which is a break-away group of the BDP, and it was fast gaining popularity in the country (Knowbotswana, 2019).

The status quo in Botswana has recently changed dramatically with the likes of The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC), a political alliance in Botswana, together with Botswana Congress Party, Botswana Movement for Democracy and Botswana People's Party respectively suddenly forming a coalition that has greatly disturbed the current ruling party (Seabo & Isbell, 2018). Several factors have been attributed to this emerging trend by the IDEA (2015) report, such as levels of education of citizens, voter education by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the influx of social media, or if not, the use of communication and information technology (ICT) in the political arena.

#### 2.3 Factors that Impact Voter patterns

# a) Education

Campbell (2006) argues, through use of the question; what is education's impact on civic and social engagement, that the reason for this relationship is clear: education gives citizens the skills and resources needed to participate in politics. The study emphasizes that education not only directly increases levels of participation, but also allows citizens to acquire the civic skills necessary to effectively communicate their concerns to politicians; the higher the education, the greater the 'good' values of the variable. This phenomenon of education and the 'wise' voter is also exhibited in the study by Wolpe (2007), which was carried out in Kenya. The study revealed that women with higher education are more informed and more skeptical about politics and as such

are likely to vote wisely. Facer (2009) writes that education broadens horizons beyond family or tribe, provides access to media and information, and empowers people to act collectively to make demands on the state. As is pointed out by the study, Africa's 1990s democratization wave was believed in part, to have been driven by schooling investments made decades earlier.

The study by Runciman (2016) revealed that the best single predictor of Trump support in the Republican primary was the absence of a college degree. Education – or the lack of it – seemed to have propelled the Trump win. Moreover, the study also indicated that educational experience was the biggest single determinant of how people voted in the Brexit campaign referendum in the United Kingdom on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 2016.

In Botswana, the AfroBarometer report by Seabo & Isbell (2018) illustrates that 85 per cent and 86 per cent of the respondents who had attained an education up to primary and non-formal education self reported that they had voted. This was a significant factor to their more educated counterparts with post secondary and secondary education of whom 60 per cent and 59 per cent respectively, had voted. Furthermore, a higher percentage of the voters with less education (non formal and primary education) also reported that when they get home they discuss politics with friends and family (59 and 58 per cent respectively). However, only 39 and 20 per cent of the more educated voters (secondary and post secondary education respectively) had reported that they discuss politics at home or with friends.

### b) Age

According to the IEC (2014) data, electoral participation was higher in the ages between 21 and 39 years in Botswana. Statistics show the voting trend for the 2014 general elections as having had the highest number of youth voters as well the highest registration and voters in comparison to the previous 1999-2009 elections. The Revised National Youth Policy of Botswana defines a young person or youth as someone between the ages of 15 - 35 years.

The youth currently constitute over 60 percent of the population of Botswana. Statistics Botswana (2012) show that a total of 352, 579 (against a population of 2 million), young people registered to vote in the 2014 general elections and that the trend is also that the number of registered voters and actual voters has been increasing over the years. It seems the trend can be attributed to the use of technological platforms by political leaders and the growing interest in politics by the youth to easy accessibility of information on voting and registration.

Currently the number of youth has increased in parliament; it is the youth that also have high numbers of followers in the Medias. To evaluate what brings about this trend, Ntau & Ntsabane (2000) argued that the media is an important institution in political socialization. The media is potentially very influential in spreading values and beliefs. The authors write that the youth are relatively more educated than their parents' generation and better placed materially to access newspapers, radio, television and magazines, and to add to their list, social media such as WhatsApp, Twitter and Face book. Data from Seabo & Isbell (2018) also reveal that a high percentage (65.9%) of Botswana citizens possess an education level above primary school.

Moreover, Ntau & Ntsabane (2000) argue that for the youth, platforms such as freedom squares have proved to be of limited appeal to the youth; the timing and use of improper language may be the big turn off to the young voter and may appeal more to those already affiliated and not to the non-affiliated. The youth are relatively a better-educated generation of voters and seem to prefer the current election system over the older system of chieftaincy.

Furthermore, Ntau & Ntsabane (2000) reveal that youth voters follow their leaders or potential candidates through social media platforms. As a result, their interests are greatly wetted by this easy to interact situations making it easy for them to vote when it comes to the real participation of actually voting for the candidate. Youth perception about elections and the electoral system is important because it helps them to formulate views about their leaders and motivates them to go to the polls when so required.

### c) Social Media

According to IEC (2014), there was a significant increase in the use of social media platforms like Facebook and YouTube to reach out to voters as well as other stakeholders. The goal was to improve information dissemination and promote responsible dialogue with stakeholders and also get immediate feedback, which they demonstrate has assisted in a higher number of voter registration and turn out.

Seabo & Masilo (2015) note that Facebook was widely used by both the ruling party and opposition ranks. The study posits that "Facebook has democratized media access and has afforded people who have previously been side-lined by traditional media an important platform for political mobilization (p.110). Accordingly, Facebook has widened the democratic space and reduced the

disparities in the electoral arena. Most importantly, it has generated interest in politics among young people (p.110)." As such communication channels have immensely improved as responses are produced more quickly than in the past, allowing candidates to react rapidly to changes in the political environment. Data from the IEC (2014) also show that technology makes contacting voters seamless. Politicians use Face book and YouTube to reach out to stakeholders, hence the use of social media has the sophisticated ability to reach target individuals and the masses without much hassle.

However, Facebook came under heavy fire from US regulators after it was found that a third-party vendor (Cambridge Analytica) had collected data of users illegally (Srinivas, 2018). This personal data, as elucidated further by Srinivas (2018), was then used to influence the outcome of the 2016 USA presidential elections, indicating the crucial role that social media plays in today's politics. As users increasingly turn to social media to voice their opinions about social issues and share news and other information with their peers, they generate immense amounts of information. If analyzed intelligently, this information can provide a wealth of data about the pulse and preferences of voters (Panko, 2018).

# d) Electronic Voting

The general elections in Botswana over time have been consistently peaceful, due to the nature of Batswana being cultured and humble people (Thebe, 2006). This is usually attributed to a principle called 'BOTHO', translated to humility in English language. As a result, this has often resulted in high approval ratings by regional and international electoral observers, echoing confident sentiments on the Electoral Commission and the entire process (Thebe, 2006). Botswana had intended to take a leap into the global phenomena of information technology and introduce the use of electronic voting machines (EVM) to its citizens in the 2019 elections but reneged from their decision (Tiro, 2019).

The debates reported by the likes of BOCONGO Secretariat (2016) and Botswana-Politics (2017) clearly showed concern as to the credibility of the use of EVM but also points out those citizens that may not be educated or informed enough to venture into such technology which other countries having shunned it already. TheVotingNews (2016) also reported that the government believed that the introduction of EVM would lead to improvements covering the registration of

voters and preparation of rolls, including deleting provisions for supplementary rolls. However, opposition parties were concerned about the development and claim EVMs are open to security breaches and manipulation as clearly shown in the (BOCONGO panel discussion report, 2016).

The system of e-voting is therefore perceived to be democratic as it is inclusive of all individuals as well as the fact that it can save money that can be diverted to something else (IEC, 2017). Mpabanga and Mokhawa (2013) carried out research on the possibility of the use of e-voting in the 2014 general elections **and** alluded to the possibility that it could aid in luring the youth to participate in voting as it is different from the normal traditional queues set up.

#### 2.4 Electoral laws of IEC and Voter education in Botswana

In the year 1997, Batswana witnessed the introduction of the Independence Electoral Commission (IEC) by the government of Botswana, an independent body to run the elections Botlhomilwe (2011). The Independent Electoral Commission was to exist to facilitate the formation of democratically elected government by delivering transparent, free and fair elections in accordance with an established legal framework for Botswana and internationally accepted principles and standards. Tsie (2003) posited that voter education is a form of education in support of elections and a means of ensuring that voters are prepared and enabled to participate in electoral politics, essentially revolving around the mechanics of how to vote and why it is necessary to vote. Voter education programs aim to provide a basic understanding of election practices and procedures and knowledge of party symbols.

According to the IEC (2014) report, the commission is an autonomous, non-partisan body whose primary purpose is to conduct free, fair and correct elections efficiently and effectively in accordance with universally accepted electoral principles and practices. The commission has a number of initiatives that they do to educate people about voting. These include but are not limited to the use of Broadcasting Vans, Radio stations, Kgotla meetings, workshops, seminars, visits to schools, and primary, junior secondary, senior secondary as well as tertiary schools. Moreover, the Commission publishes a lot of materials, which encourage people to vote and distribute it to the public during voter education campaigns and workshops.

Electorates with special needs are catered for through the use of picture books, deaf sign language infused in television programs and during voter education or at workshops, content transcribed in Braille as well as a ballot paper template that is specially designed for them (IEC, 2014). Media, posters as well as billboards are also used to reach out to all in the country. As is revealed by the study by Phirinyane (2013), the IEC cannot be wholly credited as to the success of the IEC educational campaign or as to the high number of voter turnout as the electoral body is marred with a challenge that impedes it from fully engaging with stakeholders using the said platforms in the whole country. In 2014, the IEC Commission Secretariat commented on how they had failed to meet their 80 percent target of eligible voters as they had only reached 72.4 percent of their target. The Secretariat lamented that shortage of resources; both human and financial are the paramount obstacles that hinder IEC to fully drive voter education (IEC, 2014).

# 2.5 Summary

The purpose of this study was to find out the impact of education level, age and ICT on voting patterns in Botswana as well as the following research questions:

- 1. Which age groups vote the most in Botswana?
- 2. How does level of education influence voting patterns?
- 3. To what extent do social media influence voting patterns in Botswana?
- 4. To what extent is IEC voter education effective?

As such, the literature review sets out to provide context for the research questions through the discussion of as well as elucidation of previous literature and prevailing trends surrounding elections, both in Botswana and worldwide. The literature review was structured such that there was an overview of democracy, electoral systems and elections followed by a discussion of the factors that influence voter patterns as well as Electoral laws of IEC and Voter education in Botswana. This literature review has assisted in finding answers to the above research questions and has also assisted in identifying the need to have more researches and provide solutions as well as the IEC to possibly device ways to enhance voter participation in Botswana. The next chapter outlines the methodology applied in this research.

# CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology used in the study in a more detailed manner. The chapter outlines the research design, the study population and sampling, the methods of data collection, piloting, data management and analysis, the ethical considerations and the research limitations of the project.

# 3.2 Research Design

In order to meet the research intention, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed through 50 self-administered questionnaires as well as 1 oral interview. The mixed methods allowed harmonization of the two methods in the data collection process.

To deal with the questions posed in this study, descriptive purposive design was used. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. Mugenda (1999) described survey design as a process in which data is collected in order to test hypothesis or to answer questions concerning the current status of the subject under study. Descriptive survey research is designed as a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals to collect the information on their attitudes, opinions, and habits (Orodho &Kombo, 2002).

A mixed method approach converges findings and extend the breadth of inquiry (Creswell, 1994). Qualitative method was used as a tool in this study because of its broad approach towards understanding and explaining the meaning of social phenomenon in naturalistic setting (Marshal & Rossman, 1999). Quantitative method was employed to analyze based on Likert-scale 1-5 data presented on the survey questionnaires.

### 3.3 Study population and sampling

Sampling means selecting a given number of subjects from a defined population as representative of that population. Any statements made about the sample should also be true of the population (Orodho, 2002). Target population as defined by Best and Khan (1999) is the small portion of the population selected for observation and analysis. It is the population to which a study wants to generalize its findings. The study focused on the age voting population in Gaborone, and the respondents were given questionnaires in no order. In this study, purposive sampling was used in order to obtain a sample of 51 individuals from the population. Although the study initially intended to use eighty (80) respondents, in the end the participants of this study were fifty-one (51). They were from various backgrounds, teachers, students, white collar employees as well as gardeners and manual workers. One of the major shortcomings of small sample size is the lack of generalization of findings.

#### 3.4 Data collection methods and instruments

#### Primary Data

The primary data for this research was collected using qualitative method entailing the administration of 50 survey questionnaires. Qualitative data was collected with an interview and it was a structured interview. Interviews are an appropriate method when there is a need to collect in-depth information on people's opinions, thoughts, experiences, and feelings. Using Mugenda and Mugenda (1999)'s definition of questionnaire, items in the questionnaire addressed the specific research objective of the study, which was to found out the impact of education level, age and ICT (social media) on voting. The questionnaires (refer to the appendix) had both close and open-ended questions, the majority of which had a Likert scale of 1-5 which was used to determine the respondent feedback. The aim of using the open-ended questions was to allow respondents to freely express themselves on issues without limiting their responses. The close-ended questions were utilized as they were quicker and easier to complete while touching on a wider range of information.

The following were some of the sample questions posed in the interview:

- a) What is your level of education?
- b) What age group do you fall in/how old are you?
- c) Do you think social media influence how people vote?
- d) Do you think an individual's level of education influence how they vote?
- e) In relation to technology, do you think the e-voting machine should be used in the 2019 National General Elections?

Data Collection: Semi-structured Questionnaires

The study involved collection of data from fifty (50) respondents from the purposely sampled groups; Ipelegeng ground personnel in Gaborone at Broadhurst; Marang Junior secondary school, University of Botswana students, Teachers and non-teaching staff at Ledumang Senior, and Ledumang primary school.

Table 1 : Questionnaire Administration : Respondents, Date and Place

Sample Respondents Education		Method of data	Place	Date interviewed /
	Level	Collection		Questionnaire Given
Primary School Teachers	5	Questionnaires	Ledumang Primary School	January 2017
Secondary school Teachers	5	Questionnaires	Marang Junior School	January 2017
Senior Secondary School Teachers	8	Questionnaires	Gaborone Senior school and Ledumang senior school	January 2017
White Collar Employees	4	Questionnaires	Grant Thornton employees	February and March 2017
White Collar Employees	3	Questionnaires	Orange employees	February and March 2017
White collar Employees	3	Questionnaires	Acumen Employees	February and March 2017
Gardeners	1	Questionnaires	Block 8	February 2017
Gardeners	2	Questionnaires	Marang Junior school	January 2017
Gardeners	1	Questionnaires	Block 5 BHC flats	March 2017
Manual workers (Ipelegeng)	4	Questionnaires	Marang Junior school	March 2018
Manual workers (Ipelegeng)	3	Questionnaires	Block 7 BHC flats, grounds	March 2018
Manual workers	1	Questionnaire	Block 7 BHC flats, grounds	April 2018
Tertiary students	4	Questionnaires	University of Botswana and	March 2018
Tertiary students	5	Questionnaires	University of Limkokwing	March 2018
Tertiary students	2	Questionnaires	Botho College.	March 2018
Total	50			

As shown in table 1 above a total of 50 self-administered questionnaires were given to respondents. Due to their level of education, more explanation had to be carried out for 8 respondents to clarify issues in the questionnaire. Kotler (1998) states that the advantage of using a self-administered questionnaire is to ensure the respondents privacy; however, where necessary assistance was provided to explain the questionnaire to those who wanted clarification.

Table 2: Interviews: Respondent, Date and Place

Sample Respondents	Education	Method of data	Place	Date interviewed /
	Level	Collection		Questionnaire Given
IEC	1	Oral interview	IEC Offices,	April 2018
Total	1			

In this study a research permit was obtained (see appendix). For purposes of this study, only one office was visited, which is the IEC office where the Communications Officer responded to an oral interview, such that both qualitative and quantitative data were collected.

### 3.5 Piloting

The study enhanced reliability of the data collection tool (the questionnaire) by piloting the instrument to a group of selected sample units that had similar characteristics to the target population in Gaborone. Respondents were either given mock questionnaires or interviewed orally at random places in Gaborone. The piloting study did not result in not any major changes to the questionnaire as the pilot most respondents did not find any major difficulty in answering the questions. The draft questionnaire was revised accordingly after the piloting.

#### 3.6 Data Management and Analysis

The process of data analysis took a few months to conduct (December 2016 to May 2017). In most cases the respondents who had a higher level of education had no problem with responding to the questionnaires but the other respondents like the manual workers, gardeners who were often aged above 50 preferred to have the researcher's assistance in explaining the research questions and were able to respond to the questionnaire. Interview was analyzed and the questionnaires were managed accordingly and coded in order to facilitate using SPSS at a later stage.

The interview with the communications IEC officer took about 45 minutes as he responded to the questionnaire and interview questions relating to the role of IEC and voter education, as well as the use of ICT and social media in Botswana's general elections.

### 3.7 Data analysis

The study used the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 2.4. Initial data cleaning was carried out such that the errors that might have occurred during the research were noted and eliminated; the completed questionnaires were counted to check if there was any missing and there was a check to confirm that all questions were answered. After data cleaning, the data was analyzed using SPSS. The data collected was represented in the form of frequency, graphs, tables and percentages. As for open, ended questions, different views from respondents were closely examined and summarized. This approach made the data more meaningful and understandable.

#### 3.8 Ethical considerations

Informed consent was sought from all the participants and the purpose of the study was explained to them before the beginning of data collection. The respondents were either given the consent forms to read and were read to them before they agreed to the research. They were assured that the information given was treated confidentially and their names were not to be disclosed. A research approval was sought through introductory letter from the University of Botswana Office of Research and Development (see appendix).

#### 3.9 Research limitations

One of the major shortcomings of non-random and purposeful sampling method is the lack of generalization of findings. Hence the findings from this research cannot be generalized to different settings. Furthermore, some challenges that were encountered during this research; was that respondents were skeptical and reluctant to complete the survey questionnaire when the researcher explained what the research entailed. However, the respondents agreed once the purpose of research was explained to given them. There was also poor response rate as some respondents did not return the questionnaires on time, which reduced the sample size from the initial eighty (80) to fifty-one (51). Financial constraints were a challenge as well; as a self sponsored master's student, the researcher felt the implications of the need for transport to give out questionnaires, and the cost of making copies of the survey tool, including printing and binding of the research tool. Lastly but not least, the size of the sample was relatively small fifty-one (51) participants respectively though

initially the study had envisioned eighty (80) participants' as this would probably have enhanced the findings of this research.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR**

# **Data Presentation, Discussion and Interpretation of Results**

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of data collected from the field. It includes discussion, presentation and the interpretation of the findings based on the data collected during oral interviews as well as semi-structured self-administered questionnaires. Data was presented in form of frequency tables and percentages. The study variables were measured using Likert- scale, openended questions and other structured questions. The study was conducted based on specific objectives, which formed the research questions. The raw data was coded, evaluated and tabulated to depict clearly the results on influence of education in voting patterns in Botswana.

The study intended to find out how people's level of education, age and ICT use (social media) impact on voting patterns in Botswana. The study enabled the researcher to come up with various findings and recommendations, which are outlined in the following sections.

#### 4.2 Presentation of data

The data was analyzed the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 24. Data collection as aforementioned involved fifty-one (51) respondents from the purposely sampled groups; Ipelegeng ground personnel in Gaborone at Broadhurst; Marang Junior secondary school, University of Botswana students, Teachers and nonteaching staff at Ledumang Senior, and Ledumang primary school. The participants of this study were respondents from various backgrounds, mainly, teachers, students, white-collar employees as well as gardeners and manual workers.

Table 3: Gender of the Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentages (%)	
Male	28	54.9	
Female	23	45.1	
Total	51	100	

In Table three (3), the majority of the respondents were male representing 54.9% and the females constituting 45.1%. This indicates male dominancy in the categories of the respondents. However, this has no significant implication on the study.

Table 4: Age group of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentages (%)	
Below 21	4	7.8	
21-29	10	19.6	
30-39	17	33.3	
40-49	9	17.6	
50-59	6	11.8	
60-69	3	5.9	
70+	2	3.9	
Total	51	100	

Table four (4) illustrates that 86.2% of the respondents were between 21-49 age brackets. This result shows that the respondents were mature to make informed and independent decisions in regards to the questionnaire items. It also reveals that a lot of respondents fall in the category of youth that is, ages between 21-35.

Table 5: Academic Qualifications of the Respondents

Level of Education	Frequenc	y Percentages (%)
Primary school	7	13.7
Secondary school	8	15.7
Senior secondary	1	2.0
Certificate	3	5.9
Diploma	5	9.8
Degree	18	35.3
Postgraduate	9	17.6
Total	51	100

Table five (5) illustrates results on academic qualification, where 84.3% of the respondents had Secondary education and above. This indicates that the respondents were well educated to be able

to understand the questionnaire items. The respondents holding primary education shied away from answering questionnaires and preferred oral interviews instead.

Table 6: Does level of education influence how one vote?

Response	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Yes	33	64.7
	5	9.8
No Not sure	13	25.5
Total	51	100

The study findings from the table six (6) above revealed that (64.7%) of the respondents agree that level of education influences how one vote and 25.5 said they were not sure, while the rest of 9.8% said there was no relationship between the two.

#### 4.4 VARIABLES OF THE STUDY

This section presents data analyzed for the various variables in form of percentages and frequencies. It describes all the questions that were asked in the questionnaire item by item and shows the overall results as per variables.

Table 7: Reasons for voting

Statement	Yes (%)	No (%)
Have you voted before?	78	22
Interested in local politics	26	74
Have duty to vote	36	64
Elections are important	34	66
Average	43.5	56.5

Table seven (7) shows that close to eight in ten (78%) of the respondents had voted before; just over a quarter (26%) stated that they voted because they are interested in local politics; 36% of the respondents stated that they had a duty to vote while just over a third (34%) of the respondents revealed that elections are important.

Table 8: Why do you vote?

Statement	Yes (%)	No (%)
To have a change in the country	51.0	49.0
To support the political party	29.4	70.6
To show loyalty to the politician	5.9	94.1
I don't know	5.9	94.1
Never voted	7.8	92.2
Average	20.0	80.0

Table eight (8) revealed that just over a half (51%) of the respondents had voted because they wanted to have a change in the country; close to three in ten (29.4%) voted because they supported a political party while less than 10% of the respondents had never voted. Just 6% of the stated that they wanted to loyalty to the politician.

Table 9: Knowledge about the general election in the country?

Statement	Yes (%)	No (%)
Election notices	37.3	62.7
Botswana television	41.2	58.8
Politicians	5.9	94.1
Social media	29.4	70.6
Others	5.9	94.1
Average	23.9	76.1

Table nine (9) illustrates that the majority of the respondents stated that they had heard /known about the general election in the country through the national television, Botswana television (BTV) (41.2%), Election notices (37.3%), Social media (29.4%) and politicians (5.9%).

Table 10: Summary of Responses on voter education, EVM and Social media

Stateme	ent Str agr	ongly ree	Agree /disagree	Neither Disagr	ee disagree	Strongly know	Don't
	%		%	%	%	%	0/0
a)	There is enough vote	r education					
	17.6		19.6	35.3	7.8	5.9	13.7
b)	EVM is good for Bot	swana dem	ocracy				
	11.	8	2.0	11.8	25.5	19.6	29.4
c)	EVM should in 2019	National G	eneral Elec	ctions 2019			
	7.8		3.9	11.8	5.9	41.2	29.4
d)	Social media Influen	ce how peop	ole vote				
	41.2		23.5	9.8	2.0	2.0	21.6
Average	e 19.6	12.3	17.2	10.3		17.2 23.5	

From table ten (10) it can be revealed that close to two-fifths (37.2%) the respondents agreed that there was enough voter education. Over four in ten (45.1%) disagree that electronic voting machine (EVM) is good for Botswana democracy and a further 70.6% also disagree that EVM should be used in 2019 National General Elections. On the other hand 64.7% of the respondents agree that indeed social media influence how people vote. 55% of the respondents responded that they did not know.

Table 11: Respondents who voted before by age group

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Below 21	6	2.	
21-29	14	4	
30-39	26	8	
40-49	14	4	
50-59	10	2	
60-69	4	2	
70+	4	2	
Total	78	22	

Table eleven (11) illustrates that the age group that have voted most in the study were those aged 30-39 years (26%) followed by those 21-29 years and 40-49 years at 14% each. This implies that those aged 21-49 years accounted for 54% of those who voted most in the study.

Table 12: Respondents who voted before by Academic qualifications

Age	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Primary school	6	6	
Secondary school	10	6	
Senior secondary	2	0	
Certificate	6	0	
Diploma	10	0	
Degree	26	10	
Postgraduate	18	0	
Total	78	22	

Table twelve (12) illustrates that degree holders (26%) are respondents who had voted most before, followed by postgraduate holders. This indeed implies that those with a degree and above are likely to vote than those with lower qualifications.

Table 13: Responses on ways of improving voting and elections in Botswana

Statement	number of respondents	No (%)	
Have more election notices	8	15.7	
Botswana television	7	13.7	
Engage politicians	6	11.8	
Use social media	24	47	
Do house to house campaigns	6	11.8	
Average	51	100	

Table thirteen (13) shows the statements written by respondents on how to improve voting and elections in Botswana. 47% of respondents commented that the use of social media could improve voting and elections. The interpretation here is that people are very comfortable and prefer the use of technology as a medium of communication than the later since social media uses technology.

Table 14 Other comments and suggestions that individuals have about elections and voting

Comments made	Number of respondents	No (%)
Politics are for the educated	8	15.7
Nothing to say	8	15.7
No comment	1	1.9
Say no to EVM, Batswana not ready	34	67
Average	51	100

The high percentage from table fourteen (14) on other comments made with regard to the use of EVM is 67% on Table 13, a high number of respondents seem to have a strong feeling that there is need to educate people more before the use of the EVM can be introduced in elections. On further interpretation of the data on the questionnaires, it was discovered that a high number of these respondents were actually holders of a higher level of education. The 'no comment and 'politics are for the educated was mostly from the groups interviewed orally and who incidentally have a lower level of education.

#### 4.5 Discussions of results

The following questions and responses were analyzed in the data presentation chapter and drawing from the analysis the interpretations are as follows:

# 4.6 Respondents by gender

A majority of the respondents turned out to be male at (54.9 per cent) and the females constituting 45.1 per cent of the study. This indicates male dominancy but this had no significant implication on the study as the sample was purposive.

# 4.7. Respondents by age groups

a) To investigate and assess which age groups vote most in Botswana.

86.2% of the respondents were between 21-49 age brackets. They were all age voting citizens; this result shows that the respondents were mature to make informed and independent decisions in regard to the questionnaire items.

# 4.8 Academic Qualifications of the Respondents

Table 15: Academic Qualifications of the Respondents

<b>Educational level</b>	Number of respondents	Percentage (%)
Primary school	7	13.7
Secondary school	8	15.7
Senior secondary school	1	2.0
Certificate	3	5.9
Diploma	5	9.8
Degree	18	35.3
Postgraduate	9	17.6

The above table shows that 84.3% of the respondents had Secondary school education and above. This indicates that the respondents were well educated and able to understand the questionnaire items. The respondents holding primary education shied away from answering questionnaires and preferred oral interviews instead. During the study it also emerged that respondents with degree and post-graduate diploma (52.9%) tended to be willing to take the questionnaires than the other categories of primary to diploma.

# 4.9 FINDINGS BY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section presents data analyzed for the various research questions in the form of percentages and frequencies. It describes all the questions that were asked in the questionnaire item by item and shows the overall results as per variables.

# 4.9.1 Reasons for voting

The results obtained show that close to eight in ten (78%) of the respondents had voted before; just over a quarter (26%) stated that they voted because they are interested in local politics; 36% of the respondents stated that they had a duty to vote while just over a third (34%) of the respondents revealed that elections are important. The high percentage of the respondents who said they voted before indicates that citizens indeed participate in voting and elections and (36%) agree that they have a duty to vote as citizens.

# 4.9.2 Why respondents vote?

The above question revealed that just over a half (51%) of the respondents had voted because they wanted to have a change in the country; close to three in ten (29.4%) voted because they supported a political party while less than 10% of the respondents had never voted. Just 6% of the stated that they wanted to loyalty to the politician. The rest of the respondents that either responded 'I don't know or 'I never voted before' were actually respondents' with lower levels of education. As already mentioned in the literature review by Campbell (2006) concerning civic duty, this study also revealed that most respondents did not have a sense of civic duty, especially those with lower or limited education.

# 4.9.3 Knowledge about general election in the country

This question indicate that the majority of the respondents stated that they had heard /known about the general election in the country through the national television, Botswana television (BTV) (41.2%), election notices (37.3%), social media (29.4%) and politicians (5.9%). The interpretation is therefore taken to reveal that IEC does sufficient voter awareness through different sources that are available to the citizens. Television, election notices and social media have high percentages indicating that people use these platforms more frequently than other means provided by the IEC. However, none of the respondents mentioned the radio although the IEC indicated that a lot of people in the villages and rural areas actually get election information from the radio. Nonetheless, the researcher does acknowledge that the study was carried out in Gaborone, which is an urban area.

Table 16: Summary of Responses on voter education, EVM and Social Media (ICT)

Questions for the respondents.	Agree	Disagree	Do not now
There is enough voter education	37.2%	13.8%	55%
EVM is good for Botswana democracy	15.9%	45.1%	29.4%
EVM should be used in 2019 National General Elections	30%	70%	29.4%
Social media influence how people vote	64.7%	35.3%	30%

In the above table sixteen (16), the results revealed that close to two-fifths (37.2%) of the respondents agreed that there was enough voter education, cementing the responses from the above question which also show that IEC does sufficient voter education and sensitization. Over four in ten (45.1%) disagree that electronic voting machine (EVM) is good for Botswana democracy and a further 70.6% also disagree that EVM should be used in 2019 National General Elections, this can perhaps be interpretive that respondents were either afraid of change or they felt that they have not been educated enough about the use of this technological gadget. On the other hand 64.7% of the respondents agree that indeed social media influence how people vote, on further it emerged that respondents felt that the social media platforms actually make it easy to get information about electoral candidates and their constituencies as well as election information, this apparently gave them a chance to follow or comment on what politicians are planning or during their campaigns. Other findings, which echo the same sentiments, were those of the authors (Seabo & Isbell, 2018) and (Loader, 2014) concerning the use of social media platforms to engage citizen participation, especially the younger generation. These findings show the impact of social media or ICT on voting, for example the Trump campaign team in the USA used social media to influence voters, with assistance from Cambridge Analytica, where data acquired from Facebook was used to target voters(Srinivas, 2018).

# 4.9.4 Influence on the level of education on voting

This question is probably the most important in relation to this research as the study sought to assess the impact of people's level of education impact on voting in Botswana. The study used

respondents' level of education to assess if the impact of education on voting patterns. The results revealed that over three-fifths (64.7%) of the fifty-one (51) respondents agree that an individual's level of education influences how they vote. Over a quarter (25.5%) were not sure and about 10% of the respondents did not agree that one's level of education influences how one votes. The interpretation is that indeed one's level of education play a significant role in one's decision concerning voting and elections as indicated by 65% of respondents who were purposely sampled in the capital city.

To compare with other studies from authors such as Berinsky (2011) it may be concluded that people with high level of education have a higher sense of civic duty, and a stronger allegiance to the political system. Another author, Pande (2010)'s view is that higher levels of education improve a country's civic culture and citizens' ability to make rational electoral choices. The same author famously wrote, "The uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved a higher level of education" (p. 315). Hence results of this study support that high level of education influences one's voting pattern.

## 4.9.5 Voting by age group

The results indicate that the age group that voted most in the study were those aged between 30-39 years (26%) followed by the age brackets of 21-29 years and 40-49 years at 14% each. This implies that those aged 21-49 years accounted for 54% of those who voted. Of these respondents, the study show that 40% of these respondents fall below the age of 40, this age rage also fell in the high level of education category, as such it can be interpreted that this age category felt a sense of civic duty and participated more than the latter in voting and elections.

#### 4.9.6 Voting patterns by Academic qualifications

It emerged that degree holders were the highest number of participants (26%) who voted, they were also respondents who indicated they had voted before, followed by postgraduate holders. This indeed implies that those with a degree and above are more likely to vote than those with lower qualifications. This finding supports studies done by scholars such as Husby (2016), who illustrated that education enhances people's normative commitment toward the act of voting, as

well as their political skills and interest which in turn lead to a higher turnout. The notion of civic duty is reflected once again here.

Table 17: Suggestions on ways to Percentages Improving voting and elections in Botswana

The following table is a summary of suggestions stated by respondents in the open-ended question in the survey questionnaire.

Number of	Suggestions	%
Respondents'		
8	Use house to house and office to office campaigns.	15.7
13	Not applicable/did not suggest or respond to the question	25.4
5	Use of moving vehicles with loudspeakers (segoagowe)	9.8
24	Use of social media such as face book, WhatsApp and Twitter to campaign	47

Of the statements written by respondents on how to improve voting and elections in Botswana, 47% of respondents commented that the use of social media could improve voting and elections. The interpretation here is that people are very comfortable and prefer the use of information and communication technology (ICT) as a medium of communication than the later, since social media uses technology. It is easily accessible to them than other forms that are normally offered by the IEC. As this paper discusses. Education, voting and elections, it is only logical to discuss elections technology use as well; technology use is part of education as already noted in the literature review. From the above information a lot of graduates' actually responded to the comments and suggestions by either indicating that people should be educated about EMV, that they had some knowledge about EMV or suggested that the country was not ready for electronic voting.

The findings from this research emphasize the need to educate citizens. The high percentage of comments made with regard to the use of EVM was (67%), when added, a high number of the respondents seem to have a strong feeling that there is need to educate people before the introduction and the use of the EVM in general elections, validating research done by the likes of Anwar (2009) and Mokhawa & Mpabanga (2014) who outlined the advantages and disavantages of the use of electronic voting machines and the need to educate the public before implementing e-voting system. Studies from scholars such as Husby (2016) demonstrate that public education

enhances people's normative commitment toward the act of voting, as well as enhancing their political skills and interest, which in turn could lead to a higher voter turnout; and this is a rationale enough to assume that level of education or schooling changes one's perception of politics and political participation or voting. The discussion brings to attention the important role of the IEC, including ICT in part of their voter education campaigns as it seems that some citizens are shying away from the use of technology that they are not knowledgable about.

Furthermore, results suggest that a high number of these respondents were actually holders of a higher level of education, 68.6% to be precise, as such it can be assumed that they were knowledgeable about the technology based voting but felt that they needed further sensitization and education on the subject. Responses of 'no comment and 'politics are for the educated' was mostly from the respondents had a lower level of education, they seemed not to want to respond to the question.

#### **Results of the Interview Data**

## Voter Education Strategies

As indicated in the methods chapter, there was one interview conducted with the representative from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). Below is the presentation of the data and it is summarised according to the questions in the interview tool. The questions were mainly about voter patterns, participation and voter education. Regarding efforts of the IEC to promote voter participation, it emerged that there is normally extensive stakeholder engagement. IEC further informed the researcher that in terms of the approach to voter participation to citizens with different educational levels, they have a stakeholder base which is diverse, ranging from the cattle post to academics. Furthermore, the IEC uses all media platforms, Television, Radio, Print media, kgotla meetings, workshops, school visits and recently opened/created a Facebook page to cater for the IT savvy stakeholders. When asked about the effectiveness of strategies used, the respondent said that judging by the increasing stakeholder participation in the electoral process, it can be said they are working.

#### Effectiveness of Voter Education Strategies

When asked to expand on the effectiveness of voter education strategies, the IEC representative said that the flooding of media with information leaves no room for information gap particularly were they use the 'tie-up' approach. Voter turnout is indication that information reached them. Regarding how the IEC educates people living with disabilities (blind, deaf) about elections and voting, the respondent said that the IEC's programmes for television are infused with sign language and they we have developed a braille template for voting. On the issue of political parties as stakeholders in election processes also have a responsibility to educate voters and whether the IEC happy with their input in voter education, it was said that sometimes political parties distort messages or counteract on efforts by the EIC, particularly if they feel the effort might work against them.

#### The use of ICT in General elections

Regarding the use of Electronic Voting Machines (EVM) in the coming 2019 General Elections, the IEC presentative indicated that some Batswana have their reservations while others welcome it as a positive development. With the possibility of the use of EVM becoming more and probable in the 2019 General Elections, and how has IEC made sure the laws are friendly and accommodating to the disabled for them to use of EVM, it was said that the IEC implements the law and therefore cannot change any law for practicality, the existing laws have provisions to cater for the disabled.

Moreover, measures are in place to ensure the e-voting system would be transparent as evident that transparency is in the law which should be implemented to the latter. Implementation of the electoral laws accommodate discretion. Regarding the question on what contingency plans are in place for worst-case scenarios, the response was that the law is specific on the handling of EMVs and it also caters for situations where there is technical information. In terms of whether there are any electoral laws in place about e-voting offences, it was revealed that the existing law on electoral offences is all inclusive, if you commit any offence related to the electoral process, you would be subjected to the existing law.

Regarding the existence of any social media strategy to promote voter participation, the respondent said that the IEC uses Facebook and YouTube to engage stakeholders and that goals of the strategy were that social media has a specific purpose, to improve information and interactive

communication. The goal is to promote dialogue with stakeholders (responsible dialogue) and t this would give immediate feedback.

#### **CHAPTER 5**

#### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

#### 5. 1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the main conclusion and findings from the study. Section 5.2 contains the study summary and conclusion and section 5.3 contains the research implications and recommendations. Section 5.4 contains limitations of the study and the chapter will be concluded with possible areas of further research that can be derived from this study in Section 5.5.

#### 5.2 Summary and Conclusion

Elections are the foundation of modern democracy, and it is of interest to understand what drives voter's decisions. This study focused on how age, education and social media affect voting patterns. It also sought to understand the effect of voter education provided by the IEC on voter turnout. A total of 50 respondents from the Gaborone area were interviewed through the use of questionnaires, with 1 respondent being interviewed orally, making a total of 51 respondents. In seeking to delineate the research, the following research objectives were formulated and the main research question and related questions being, the impact of education level, age, and ICT on voting patterns in Botswana as well as. The following are specific research questions.

- Which age groups vote the most in Botswana?
- How does the level of education influence voting patterns?
- To what extent does social media influence voting patterns?
- To what extent is IEC voter education effective?
- What can be done to improve voter participation in Botswana?

The following section is a summary of research results by main research questions.

#### a) Voting Patterns by Age and Education

From these research questions, the study results indicated that the 21-49 age groups accounted for 54 per cent of the people that reported that they voted. Moreover, of these respondents, 46 per cent of the respondents fell below the age of 40 and were in the highly educated category. This implied a higher youth voter turnout in this sample, which correlated with the IEC (2014) reports of an increase in youth voter turnout. Furthermore, in response to whether the respondents believed

education influences how one votes, 64.7 per cent of the respondents agreed that this is the case. Moreover, of the 51 respondents, 60% of the respondents were certificate holders or above, a result that is in line with the study by Pande (2010) who asserted that education improves a country's civic culture.

### b) The Influence of Social media on Voting

The study also sought to understand the influence of social media on voting patterns. The results show that 29.4 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had heard about the general election through social media. Most of the respondents had heard about elections through Botswana television and Election Notices provided by the IEC (41.2 and 37.3 per cent respectively). However, 64.7 per cent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that social media has an influence on how people vote. Of note was the result that reflected that 47 per cent of the respondents believed that in order to improve voting and elections in Botswana, the use of social media would be more tenable as compared to other media outlets. The respondents cited ease of use and accessibility as reasons for the desired use of social media to improve elections.

#### D) Effectiveness of the IEC in Voter Education

In terms of the effectiveness of IEC voter education, there were 37.3 per cent of the respondents who had known about the election through IEC election notice boards. Furthermore, only 37.2 per cent of the respondents believed that there is enough voter education in the country. This result reflects a need for IEC to increase their efforts in a more effective manner. The results from the interview data also indicated that the IEC strives to provide voter education to all its stakeholders using various strategies including social media and media.

#### 5.3 Research implications and recommendations

#### a) The use of ICT in Voting

Although Botswana has always had ICT being taught as part of curriculum at Junior schools and senior schools, it upped the ICT use in the whole country in 2015 and companies and government departments were set for the improvement of the ICT landscape in the country Churu(2015).

According to Churu (2015) report on Botswana's commitment to spreading ITC in schools, Botswana has expanded both infrastructure and services to guarantee every child of school going age, 10 years of basic education. This was coupled with a reviewed curriculum in line with the philosophy of strengthening ICT component by introducing computer education at all levels. In addition, setting up of computer labs in all secondary schools, refurbishment of computers for distribution to primary schools as well as making sure that all secondary schools were connected to broadband and increased access to ICT services at community level such as libraries, Kitsong centers and post offices to name but a few (Churu, 2015). This effort should therefore be intensified including voter education using ICT in schools.

#### b) Enhanced Education and Civic Participation in Voting

Berinsky (2010) affirms that educated citizens are likely to take part in voting than their low education level counterparts. Therefore, it is recommended that Botswana adopts that stand of investing highly in educating its citizens from primary to tertiary in the hope that they will take part in future elections, especially the youth.

#### c) Enhance Electoral Laws and the use of ICT in elections

The 2019 findings of this research have revealed that the IEC had indeed made some progress regarding the use of information technology to enhance the electoral process, but not enough to say they are technologically ready to fully use ICT in the whole voting process. According to Mpabanga and Mokhawa (2013) it emerged during their research regarding e-voting that the IEC indicated that there were no laws, strategies or policies developed in 2013 to guide e-voting and e-participation in the country. The 2013 research revealed that the IEC developed a voter's roll which has been computerized and can be accessed by all citizens and political parties through the use of personal computers and that the voters' roll can be accessed through the internet and the data can be down-loaded into a memory stick. However, this was still not enough effort to support e-voting initiatives, hence showing that the IEC was not ready for a fully take advantage of using ITC to enhance voter participation. Hence these recommendation of this research for the IEC to enhance electoral laws and strengthen efforts to encourage stakeholders to use ICT to improve voter participation in Botswana.

#### d) Increase Voter Education

It is recommended that the IEC should take the lead in educating and encouraging the eligible people to vote. The IEC should also advocate for the inclusion of voter education at primary level, from a young age and ensure that ICT or technology is inclusive of their voter education, not just in theory but in practice. It should be mindful of the older generation voters when proposing the use of information technologies to avoid leaving out older citizen participation, especially those legible to vote. The voter education should encompass both the younger and older generation in order to increase voter participation Campbell (2006) suggested that civic education has direct impact on levels of participation. Furthermore Wolpe (2007) suggested that education can be beneficial in broadening the horizons beyond family or tribe, as well as provide access to media. and information, in the end empowering people to collectively act together to make the state accountable.

#### e) Increase access to ICT in Schools

This study further recommends that the government of Botswana should intensify the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) as well as ensure it is part of primary and secondary school curriculum, as this initiative will equip the future citizen voters with the technological knowhow and skills at a young age and will be knowledgeable by the time they reach tertiary levels. Panko (2018) affirms that the younger generation is technologically savvy than the older generation, as such it would be ideal to carry out outreach programs on the use of ICT and social media in voting and elections, and the electoral body, which is the IEC should play a significant role to empower all citizens across all sectors of the community. As pointed out by the UN (2015) no one should be left behind in exercising their civic duties.

#### f) IEC to Strategize in the use of ICT to enhance Voter participation

Although the Government of Botswana allows the use of social media platforms, it should consider providing it to the less privileged citizens by providing for and availing affordable ICT related education in schools, internet services as well as providing facilities that will enhance access to not only voter education, but to education in general.

#### g) Citizen Empowerment

Gluckman et al (2015) argues that the empowering potential of education at an early age can translate into increased political participation at a later age and as such this would contribute to the quality of public policies and to democracy. Likewise, this research suggests that the importance of civic education and the need to encourage participation in elections should start at primary level. Political socialization should also be emphasized at primary school level as well as at home to enable easy integration of the young adult. In this case the youth of Botswana should be the focal point as results from this research show that majority of voters fall under the category of the youth who constitutes more than 60% of the total number of respondents purposely sampled.

#### h) IEC and the use of ICT in the Fourth Industrial revolution (4IR)

Lastly, considering that we are living in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, (4IR) which is described as the blurring of boundaries between the physical, digital, and biological worlds. It's is said to be a fusion of advances in artificial intelligence (AI), robotics, the Internet of Things (IoT), 3D printing, genetic engineering, quantum computing, and other technologies Schwab, K. (2016) It is therefore imperative that the IEC join the bandwagon and ensure that it puts into place proper measures that will ensure that they are up to date with current technological trends and as such possibly have a high number of voter participation. Furthermore, there should be proper and further consultation rolled out to citizens on the use of, advantages and disadvantages of information technology in voting and elections, especially in relation to the electronic voting machine (EVM) as it is evident from the national debates reports perused that citizens need more sensitization and education on the subject.

## **5.4 Limitations of the Study**

As aforementioned in the research methods chapter, one of the major shortcomings of this research is generalization of findings as this research was based on small purposely sampled respondents. Furthermore certain challenges were encountered during this research, as it is often the case with social research, people were skeptical when the researcher explained what the research entailed,

some felt that they were not ready to participate because of their lower level of education. The other challenge was that some respondents did not want to participate due to lower education; hence the researcher had the questionnaire in the local language helped as the researcher read out the questions and explained them for clarity. Another challenge was the ow response rate as some respondents who were given questionnaires never returned them, which reduced the sample size from the initial eighty (80) to fifty (51), including one oral interview. Financial constraints were a challenge as well; as a self-sponsored master's student, the researcher felt the implications of moving from place to place to give out questionnaires, constant printing limited the research to the capital city as opposed to sampling of respondents in rural areas.

#### 5.5 Future Research

More vigorous research work is needed on how to robustly capture the impact and outcomes of citizen involvement or participation in voting and politics. This research has contributed in finding out the impact of levels of education, ICT (social media) and age on voting patterns in Botswana. The research also found out that data is very limited about voting patterns in Botswana and the education levels of its citizens, which presents a gap in the literature. As much as this study found a positive impact of education on voting, a higher youth voter turnout as well as general agreement on the importance of social media in influencing how an individual votes, it would be ideal to do research further on how education, ICT and general voter education done by the IEC could improve voter participation in Botswana.

However, to enhance generalization of findings, further investigations should embody an extension of this study with a larger sample size spread out across the country of Botswana, with inclusion of rural areas. Increasing the sample size will enhance generalization of findings. Future research on the impact of education, technology is needed to find out the impact of IR4 on voting patterns in Botswana in and globally in general.

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ANNEXURE 1: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PROJECT TITLE: A critical assessment of voter patterns and voter education in Botswana:

the case of Gaborone

Principal Investigator Alice Kakale Borupile

Phone number(s): 72430066/73421518

Course code **POL 718** 

Phone number (s) 72430066/73421518

Email: alibrups@gmail.com

Supervisor: Professor D. Mpabanga

Department of social science.

What you should know about this research study:

• We give you this informed consent document so that you may read about the

purpose, risks, and benefits of this research study.

• You have the right to refuse to take part, or agree to take part now and change your

mind later.

• Please review this consent form carefully. Ask any questions before you make a

decision.

• Your participation is voluntary.

**PURPOSE** 

You are being asked to participate in a research study of the Impact of Education on voting

patterns in Botswana. The purpose of the study is to contribute to the voter education and

sensitization of the country. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of

being an age voting citizen of Botswana. Before you sign this form, please ask any questions

on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you. You may take as much time as necessary to think

it over.

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#### PROCEDURES AND DURATION

If you decide to participate, you will be invited to

#### RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

None envisioned

#### BENEFITS AND/OR COMPENSATION

To add to available data on voting patterns and trends.

#### **CONFIDENTIALITY**

The data from this investigation will be confidential and none of these will be used for commercial use or any other inappropriate use.

#### **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this study, your decision will not affect your future relations with the University of Botswana, its personnel, and associated institutions. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Any refusal to observe and meet appointments agreed upon with the central investigator will be considered as implicit withdrawal and therefore will terminate the subject's participation in the investigation without his/her prior request. In this event the subject will be paid what if owed to him/her or forfeit a proportionate amount of relative payment mentioned earlier in this document. In the event of incapacity to fulfill the duties agreed upon the subject's participation to this investigation will be terminate without his/her consent and no compensation will be offered under these circumstances.

#### **AUTHORIZATION**

You are making a decision whether or not to participate in this study. Your signature indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above, have had all your questions answered, and have decided to participate.

Name of Research Participant (please print)	Date	

Signature of Staff Obtaining Consent	Date
(Optional)	

#### YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM TO KEEP.

If you have any questions concerning this study or consent form beyond those answered by the investigator, including questions about the research, your rights as a research participant; or if you feel that you have been treated unfairly and would like to talk to someone other than a member of the research team, please feel free to contact the Office of Research and Development, University of Botswana, Phone: Ms Dimpho Njadingwe on 355-2900, E-mail: research@mopipi.ub.bw, Telefax: [0267] 395-7573.

ANNEXURE 2: FOMO YA TUMALANO YA GO TSAYA KAROLO

SETLHOGO SA PATLISISO: Tshekatsheko le kamanyo ya go nna morutegi kana go sa rutega

mo ditlhopong tsa sepolotiki sa Botswana, mo Gaborone.

Mogolwane wa Dipatlisiso

: Alice Kakale Borupile

Nomoro ya moithuti: 200002740

Tatelano ya dithuto: POL 718

Nomore ya mogala : 72430066/73421518

Se o tshwanetseng go se itse ka patlisiso e:

Re go neela pampiri e ya tumalano ya go tsaya karolo gore o ka bala ka mosola, dikgwetlho

le dipoelo tsa patlisiso e.

• O na le tshwanelo ya go gana go tsaya karolo kana go dumela jaanong kana go fetola

mogopolo mo tsamaong ya nako.

• Tswee tswee bala pampiri e ya tumalano ya go tsaya karolo ka kelotlhoko. Botsa dipotso

dipe fela pele ga o tsaya tshwetso.

• Go tsaya karolo ga gago ke ga boithaopo.

BOTLHOKWA/MOSOLA WA PATLISISO

O kopiwa go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong ya go sekaseka seabe sa dithuto mo mekgweng ya go

tlhopha ga batho mo ditlhophong tsa sepolotiki mo Botswana. Botlhokwa jwa patlisiso e, ke go

batla go itse gore ke batho ba dingwaga dife ba ba tlhophang kana batsaa karolo mo ditlhophong

tsa setshaba sa Botswana, ke go batlisisa gape gore a thuto tse banang natso dina le seabe mo

ditshwetsong tsa bone tse ba di tsayang fa ba tlhopha kgotsa jang. O tlhophilwe jaaka moitseanape

ka go bo o le dingwaga tse di letlelesegang go tsaya karolo mo ditlhophong tsa sepolotiki ebile o

le monni wa Botswana. Pele ga o ka baya pampiri e monwana, tlhomamisa gore o botsa ka ga

sepe fela se o sa se tlhaloganyeng ka patlisiso e. O ka tsaya nako ya gago go akanya ka yone.

TSAMAISO LE SEBAKA

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Fa o dumela go tsaa karolo mo potsolotsong e, o itse fa o tla bodiwa ka dingwaga le dithuto tsa gago. Sebaka sa dipotso go solofetswe gore e ka nna metsotso e metlhano kana go sa feta metsotso e metlhano.

Fa o tsaya tshwetso ya go tsaya karolo, o tla lalediwa go itse ka:

## DITLAMORAGO LE DIKGORELETSI

O itse fa o tla bua ka dithuto tsa gago. O itse gape gore go na le kgonagalo ya gore mogolwane wa dipatlisiso o ka go kopa go mo fa sebaka sa go go botsolotsa morago ga dinako tse di tlwaelesegileng tsa pereko, ka ntata ya ditshwarego tsa tiro kna mabaka a tiro. Kontle ga moo, gagona ditlamorago dipe mme go nale le kgonagalo ya gore din ne teng tse di sa itsiweng.

#### DIPOELO LE/KANA DIKATSO

Ga dio

#### TSHOMARELO SEPHIRI

Tshedimosetso ya dipatlisiso le dipotso tse di amanang le patlisiso e ke sephiri se se tla somarelwang, ga sena go dirisiwa mo thekisong kgotsa sepe se sa letleleseng. Patlisiso e ga e itsege gape ga e na e baa kitsiso epe ka wena kana kitsiso tse di ka tlagisang gore o itsege mo patlisisong e. Fa go ka diragala gore go kwalwe dikwalo tse di tlhokanang le gore o itsiwe mo go tsone, o tla neelwa sebaka sa go sekaseka dikwalo tse pele di ka kwalwa ka wena.

#### GO ITHAOPA GO TSAYA KAROLO

Go a ithaopiwa go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong e. Fa o tsaya tshwetso ya go seke o tsee karolo, ga go kake ga ama tirisano ya gago le University of Botswana mo nakong e e tlang kgotsa le makalana a a amanang le yone. Fa o tsaya tshwetso ya go tsaya karolo, o gololesegile go ka boela morago nako nngwe le nngwe ntleng ga tuediso epe. Ga o ka gana go kopana le mmatlisisi ka nako e le e dumalaneng, go tla a tsewa e le sesupo sa gore o ikgogetse morago mme ka jalo kamano ya gago mo patlisisong e e tla busediwa morago le fa o sa fa kopo epe. Fa o palelwa kgotsa o retelelwa ke go diragatsa ditumalano tse di dumalanweng tsa go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong e, kamano ya gago mo patlisisong e e tla emisiwa o sa rerisiwa e bile o sa fiwa phimola keledi epe.

## **TESELETSO**

O dira tshwetso ya go tsaya kgotsa go sek	te o tsee karolo mo patlisisong e. Monwana wa gago o
supa fa o badile e bile o tlhalogantse ditlha	aloso tse o di filweng fa godimo, e bile dipotso tsa gago
tsotlhe di arabesegile, gape o tsere tshwets	o ya go tsaya karolo.
Leina la mo tsaya karolo (kwala)	Letsatsi
Monwana wa mo tsaya karolo kana moem	edi
Kamano le mo tsaya karolo	
Monwana wa mosupi	Monwana wa mmereki yo o tsayang tumalano

#### O TLA A NEELWA PAMPIRI E NNGWE YA TUMALANO GORE O E BEE SENTLE

Fa o na le dipotso tse di amanang le patlisiso e, kgotsa tumalano e ntleng ga tse di arabilweng ke mmatlisisi, ga mmogo le dipotso ka ga patlisiso e, ditshwanelo tsa gago o le mo tsaya karolo; kana o akanya gore g

a o a tsewa sentle, ka tswee-tswee utlwa o gololesegile go ka ikgolaganya le ba ofisi ya patlisiso le ditlhabololo (Research and Development) ko University ya Botswana, mogala: Mme Mary Kasule mo 355 2911/2900, Email: mary.kasule@mopipi.ub.bw Telefax (0267) 395-7573.

## **ANNEXURE 3: INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear citizen, thank you for taking your time to fill out this quick 5-10-minute survey. The objective of this research is critical assessment of voting awareness in Botswana; case study of Gaborone. You will be asked only for information and opinions. This survey is completely anonymous and no information can be traced back to you. This survey is designed to get feedback on the Impact of Education on voting patterns in Gaborone. The attached survey instrument has been designed as part of Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters in Politics and International Relations, University of Botswana.

## A. Please tick ( $\sqrt{\ }$ ) to indicate your response.

#### Table 18: Gender

Male	
Female	

## Table 19: Age group

18<	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+

#### **Table 20:**

# 1. Please choose your level of education by ticking ( $\sqrt{}$ )

Primary School	
Junior Secondary	
Senior Secondary	
Certificate	
Diploma	
Degree	
Postgraduate	

B.	Voting	awareness
	1 0 0111	a ii ai ciicoo

## Table 21

## 2. Please answer the questions by ticking ( $\sqrt{}$ ) Yes/No

	Yes	No
Have you voted before		
Interested in local politics		
Have duty to vote		
Elections are important		

# 3. Why do you vote? Please tick ( $\sqrt{}$ ) one or more of the reasons below Table 22

To have change in the country	
To support the political party	
To show loyalty to the politician	
I don't know	
Never voted	

## Table 23

# 4. How did you hear/know about the general election in the country? Tick ( $\sqrt{}$ ) from the listed applicable media below

## Through:

Election Notices (IEC)	
Botswana Television	
Politicians	

Social Media	
Others	

Table 24

# C. Voting, education and technology

		Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree	
	Questions	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Do you think the e-voting machine should be used in the 2019 National General Elections?					
6.	Do you think social media influence how people vote?					
7.	Do you think an individual's level of education influence how they vote?					

## Table 25

## D. Additional comments

8.	Please ways voting or elections could be improved in Botswana.				
_					
_					
9.	Are there any other comments that you may have about elections and voting?				

# Thank you

## **ANNEXURE 4: IEC QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear citizen, thank you for taking your time to fill out this quick 5-10-minute survey. You will be asked only for information and opinions. This survey is completely anonymous and no information can be traced back to you. This survey is designed to get feedback on the Impact of Education on Voting patterns in Botswana. The attached survey instrument has been designed as part of Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters in Politics and International Relations, University of Botswana.

What is IEC doing to promote voter participation?
Citizens of different educational levels require different approaches from IEC when promoting voter participation. Please elaborate on how IEC is promoting voter participation to these voters?
Are these strategies used by IEC to promote voter participation working?
Please elaborate, why they are working/not working?
How does IEC educate people living with disabilities (blind, deaf) about elections and voting?

Political parties as stakeholders in election processes also have responsibility to educate voters. IEC happy with their input in voter education? Please elaborate.
What is the response of Batswana towards the use of Electronic Voting Machines (EVM) in th coming 2019 General Elections?
With the possibility of the use of EVM becoming more and probable in the 2019 General Elections how has IEC made sure the laws are friendly and accommodating to the disabled for them to us of EVM?
What measures are in place to ensure the e-voting system would be transparent?
What contingency plans are in place for worst-case scenarios?
What electoral offences have been created for e-voting?

One of	f the most powerful	l marketing tools	is Social	media. Does	IEC have an	y social med
strate	y to promote voter p	articipation?				
If yes	please state the goal	s of the strategy.				
If no,	state the reasons, wh	y there is no socia	al media str	ategy		
Than	k you.					