











GENDER
AND
MEDIA
DIVERSITY
JOURNAL






SOCCER 2010
SCORE
A GOAL FOR GENDER EQUALITY

# Gender, media and sport

**Gender and Media Diversity Centre**

The Gender and Media Diversity Journal is an output of the Gender and Media Diversity Centre. The GMDC is a physical and virtual resource centre based in Southern Africa, with linkages in Africa and across the globe. The centre envisages media that are diverse, representative, responsive, and professional, and a citizenry, women and men, who are empowered to engage critically with their media. It facilitates the collection, connection and dissemination of information and resources relating to gender, media and diversity. The centre also collaborates on research, education and training.

The GMDC is a consortium of media NGOs and tertiary institutions. Working with an advisory group, Gender Links and the Gender and Media Southern Africa Network manage the centre. The advisory group includes:

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- Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, Pan African (Shehnaaz Bulbulia)
- Inter Press Service, Pan African (Paula Fray)
- Media Institute of Southern Africa, SADC (Jennifer Mufune)
- Media Monitoring Africa, South Africa (William Bird)
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The objectives of the GMDC are to:

- Promote more analytical, responsive and contextual journalism.
- Develop and share a body of knowledge on gender and media diversity.
- Publicise the work of media scholars, students and practitioners.
- Provide resources that make the links between media theory and practice.
- Create a space for participatory discussion and debate on gender and media diversity.
- Develop global and local partnerships with strategic organisations.
- Become a centre of excellence on new approaches and fresh thinking.

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# EDITORIAL



## Editorial

By Deborah Walter

From 11 June to 11 July 2010, South Africa will host the FIFA World Cup. An estimated 2.7 million spectators will watch the global mega-event's 64 matches played around the country. And when the final is shown, a television audience of up to 28 billion people will have their eyes on South Africa. One of the most popular sports in the world, known both as soccer and football, the "beautiful game," is at the centre of the region's agenda right now.

Yet the event's impact goes far beyond this one month. Preparations have been underway for years, including the building of new stadiums, improving infrastructure, enhancing transport systems, and beautifying cities. Small businesses are also getting ready for the massive influx of tourists, adding new items on their menus, adding new stock to their shelves, extending accommodation spaces, etc.

Moreover, it is not just South Africa, but the whole region that is getting ready, with the expectation that tourists to the southern part of Africa will take the opportunity to stay a while, and enjoy the region's many tourist treasures. There has been much talk about the potential "legacy" impact of holding such a massive worldwide event, such as improved infrastructure left behind, new international business connections, increased investment interest in the region, and an added sense of regional unity.

Though there has been much discussion about linking social development and economic empowerment to the event, a crucial part of the equation has been missing – a gender perspective. Gender has been missing from the discourse around 2010, including in the media. As a matter of coincidence, at the same time this issue of *the Gender and Media Diversity Journal* was being conceptualised, the media frenzy about 18-year old 800-metre runner Caster Semenya's "gender test" burst onto the global sporting stage. This solidified the urgent need for more dialogue around gender, sport, and the media.

This issue of the *Gender and Media Diversity Journal* on Gender, Media, and Sport was initiated as a small step to help fill the huge gap that exists related to gender, sport, and media, both for 2010 and beyond. As Cora Burnett proposes in her contribution, making gender count for and beyond 2010 relies on "major stakeholders to firstly report on the achievements of men and women equally, whilst profiling a wide spectrum of sport in which female role models and powerful athletic bodies might transcend gender stereotypes."

Saida Ali seconds this sentiment, when she found during her research with girl footballers in Kenya that this lack of media coverage around women in sport leaves young women with few female role models to follow. Part of the problem, as Colleen Lowe Morna, Pat Made, Kubi Rama and Dumisani Ghandi found during research for *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern African Newsrooms,* is that sports reporting is still a beat dominated by men.

Yet sport goes far beyond the competition, it is in fact very big business. Doreen Gaura questions whether women will profit from 2010, while Anne Hilton points out that the entrepreneurship opportunities the event offers may be fewer for women, as lack of finance is a challenge for women in business. And again, according to Glory Mushinge, media is missing the scoop when it comes to reporting on women, business and 2010.

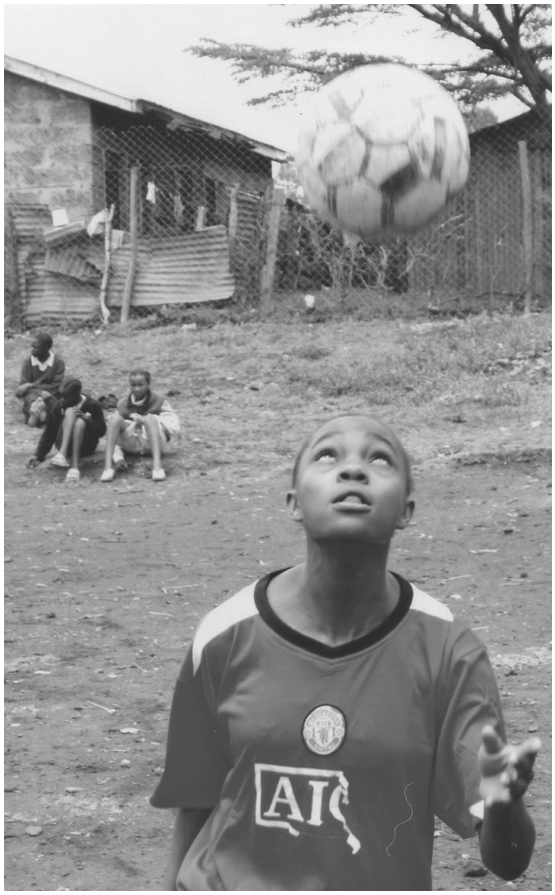
Getting ready for 2010, the region's human rights activists have continually proposed that in a region such as Southern Africa, a human rights approach is needed. Marlise Richter explores the heated debate around legal reforms related to sex work. As well as exploring fears that increased demand for sex work will lead to gross violations of human rights in the form of human trafficking. Limpo Nicolette Chinika contends that this is a concern for Zambia, and in Malawi Cedric Nkungula explains that this country has instituted a counter–trafficking campaign.

The case of South African Caster Semenya also provides some food for thought. Jennifer Elle Lewis discusses the complexity of sex / gender, while Carolyn M. Byerly questions whether the media discourse surrounding Semenya was a kind of homophobia. According to Glenda Muzenda, media missed the real scoop, choosing to focus on the sensational rather than the issues at hand.

The final "Media Watch" section moves away from the focus on sport. Pinkie Mekgwe and Muna Ndulo highlight worrying trends of persecution of individuals in and through the media, a practice that can harm the causes of gender, human rights, and freedom of expression. Antoinette Basson explores how using new media is on the rise among youth.

As we move closer to World Cup 2010, it is important that we continue the dialogue around how gender plays a role in sport and in the media that covers it. We hope that this edition of the journal will inspire discussion. We invite comments and feedback on this issue, as well as contributors for future issues.

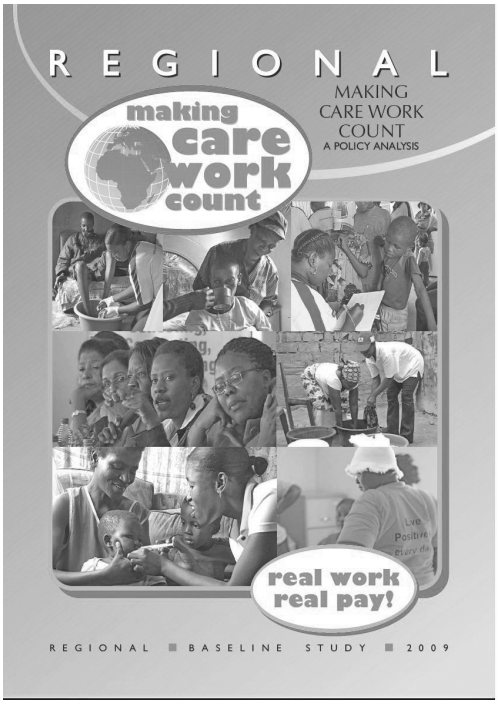
For information about upcoming themes and contributors guidelines, please contact the editor on: editor@genderlinks.org.za.



Keeping an eye on the ball Photo: Saida Ali

# NEWS BRIEFS

## Making care work count




GEMSA launched a regional and Democratic Republic of Congo country report of their survey *Baseline Research on Making Care Work Count-A Policy Analysis* during the Heads of State Summit 2009. The reports show that care work is not receiving enough attention and support from governments. Recommendations proposed include compensation, training, and support to care workers, who are mostly women. According to the report, at least 90% of women working in this sector are not recognised or remunerated for their work; material and logistical support is unheard of in many countries in the SADC region. The report states that unless national and global responses to the pandemic accelerate, trends project a bleak vision of the future: more and more women living with HIV; still more exhausted from caring for the ill and dying; children left to fend for themselves or rely on their elderly grandparents. The changing face of the HIV and AIDS means that women, especially young women, will continue to be the most vulnerable, the least able to protect themselves and the last to get treatment and care.

*Source: GEMSA*

## AMARC 16 Days Broadcast 2009

From 25 November to 10 December, the Women's International Network of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC-WIN) will participate in the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence with an internet campaign to denounce gender violence in the media and transform media into a catalyst to end violence against women. Community radio producers from Asia-Pacific, Middle East, Africa, Europe, North America and Latin America and the Caribbean will dedicate these 16 days to highlighting the efforts of women and men working to put an end to gender violence. Audio files of some of the participating community radios and production groups in the 16 Days AMARC-WIN will be available at www.amarc.org/16jours. The programmes featured will include documentaries, interviews, debates, poetry, music and much more. This multilingual broadcast campaign mobilises community radios around a global issue and encourages them to use new communication technologies such as the internet to extend the reach of their voices.

*Source: http://win.amarc.org/*

## Worrying times for the Botswana media

The African Media Barometer report released in mid-October suggest that the Botswana media is in a dire state, with several laws having been passed that impact negatively on citizens' right to information. The study reveals that Batswana are increasingly becoming much more unwilling to express their views, while government information is becoming harder to access. The report indicates that the executive has become the sole centre of power with the presidency at its apex. The Media Practitioners Act alongside a battery of other laws like the DIS Act and the National Security Act make the "security" apparatus answerable to only the executive with no provision for an oversight body.

*Source: http://www.journalism.co.za*

**100 Dúvidas (100 Doubts)**



100 Dúvidas (100 Doubts), a BBC World Service Trust programme in collaboration with Trocaire and Radio Ecclesia, was launched in July 2009, designed to improve government accountability and give a voice to citizens in Angola. The radio programme, which will run until January 2011, seeks to promote debate, discussions, and understanding between government authorities and citizens through an interactive weekly radio programmes, and through the project website.

*Source: BBC World Service Trust*

**Rwanda may ease regulations for journalists**

Journalists from East Africa may soon work in Rwanda without having to pay accreditation fees - currently set at US$1,000, according to the All Africa Web site. According to Ignatius Kabagambe, the Director General of the country's Ministry of Information, scrapping the fee will prove that his government supports press freedom in Rwanda. "Journalists should be able to come down here and operate and see for themselves what is on the ground, without having excuses of high accreditation charges and all that," he told All Africa. The proposal would also allow foreign journalists to extend their stay in Rwanda.

*Source: All Africa.com*

**iLife radio drama series**

Launched in August 2009, ABC Ulwazi, with support from the United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), produced the iLife Radio Drama to promote HIV and AIDS prevention, as well as encourage listeners to embrace voluntary counselling and testing (VCT). The project hopes to build capacity within community radio stations and individuals to understand and spread information about HIV and AIDS. Produced in four of South Africa's official languages (English, isiZulu, seSotho, and Afrikaans), the 14-episode drama series is being broadcast on approximately 40 community radio stations across South Africa. The organisers say the drama falls in line with the government's HIV and AIDS and STIs Strategic Plan for South Africa. The drama focuses on prevention and encouraging counselling and testing, and delivers messages about prevention of mother to child transmission (PMTCT) and the reduction of multiple concurrent partners (MCP).

*Source: ABC Ulwazi*

**Women's Energy and Climate Change Forum**




Earthlife Africa, a non-governmental organisation working for "a better life for all people without exploiting other people or degrading their environment," launched the Women's Energy and Climate Change Forum on August 27, 2009 in Johannesburg. Earthlife says that climate change is the single greatest environmental threat to life on earth, it not only affects the environment physically and economically, it affects people socially and economically. For South Africa to address its devastating impact, current energy systems need to be reviewed.

The Women, Energy and Climate Change Forum is a space where women came together to mobilise, educate and empower each other to agitate and advocate for pro-environmental justice changes to the energy sector. The aim of the forum was to increase women's voices and participation within policy debates through capacity building, raising awareness and discussion forums. As things currently stand in energy debates, policy decisions and economic choices poor women suffer the worst effects of energy poverty. With progressive aims and policies, this need not be the case.

*Source: Sangonet*

**AfricaAdapt**

Ahead of the December 2009 United Nations Climate Change Forum, AfricaAdapt was launched to facilitate the flow of climate change adaptation knowledge for sustainable livelihoods between researchers, policy makers, civil society organisations, and communities who are vulnerable to climate variability and change across Africa. Funded by the UK Department for International Development and Canada's International Development Research Centre, the bilingual network (French/ English) is a collaboration between the UK-based Institute of Development Studies and three African organisations: Environment and Development in the Third World (ENDA), the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA), and the IGAD Climate Prediction and Applications Centre (ICPAC). The network uses an interactive web-based information portal, as well as other media such as community radio, mobile phones, and print publications to share information.

*Source: Soul Beat Africa*

**TckTckTck campaign for climate change**




The TckTckTck campaign is a global alliance of civil society organisations, trade unions, faith groups and people calling for a fair, ambitious, and binding climate change agreement. The TckTckTck website is the hub for mobilising civil society support for an historic agreement on climate change in Copenhagen in December 2009. TckTckTck is embracing an Open Campaign organising model, where organisations or individuals can use take the campaign's branding and toolset in their campaigns to educate and encourage their supporters to demand action on a climate change agreement. TckTckTck is a project of the Global Campaign for Climate Action (GCCA), a bold, new initiative involving a growing number of national and global organisations in support of a single goal: to mobilise civil society and to galvanise public opinion in support of transformational change and rapid action to save the planet from dangerous levels of climate change.

*Source: http://tcktcktck.org/*




## Score a goal for gender equality! Kicking off the campaign

Across the region and around the globe people are abuzz with 2010 and its implied possibilities for Africa. New roads are being completed, entire cities spruced up, and million dollar stadiums erected. There is much discourse on how this event will potentially forever change the face of Africa in the global community. But in all of this fervor, where are the women?

Soccer and the World Cup globally generally fall within a male-dominated and regulated sphere. Across the region, women are rarely encouraged to participate and are often seen as intruders into this space. This can be seen in the way women are discredited as "fake" supporters and men as "genuine" supporters. Newspaper articles tend to justify that women attend soccer tournaments simply to ogle the bodies of the players.

Although FIFA does host a Women's World Cup, this will not transpire along with the 2010 ardour and is bound to be far less of a worldwide spectacle. The 2010 World Cup clearly poses problems for women and girls, but it also presents great prospects. While this epoch on the African continent is depicted by the media as enabling new financial opportunities for "Africa," it has not yet looked at how this might present opportunities for women. The media in Southern Africa has a great role to play in 2010 if the positive portrayal of women in this sphere is to ever be achieved.

Women play soccer and are even football fans. They are vendors and small business owners. They can transform their houses into guest houses, their cars into taxis, and offer their services as tour guides. They are artisans and craft makers. They fight for change and democracy. They spearhead development projects and are community organisers.

SADC governments must ensure that women are able to participate fully in this opportunity, to gain economically and to participate in the development of the region. SADC governments must also enforce legislation to protect women from GBV during the World Cup, particularly in regards to sex work and human trafficking.

Gender Links has been a leading advocate of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which comprises of 28 substantive time-bound targets to be achieved by 2015; many of which relate to Soccer 2010. Among its provisions the SADC Gender Protocol commits member states to:

- Review national trade and entrepreneurship policies, to make them gender responsive.
- Review, amend and enact laws and policies that ensure women and men have equal access to wage employment in all sectors of the economy.
- Enact and adopt specific legislative provisions to prevent human trafficking and provide holistic services to the victims, with the aim of re-integrating them into society.
- Take measures to promote the equal representation of women in ownership of, and decision-making structures of the media, in accordance with Article 12.1 that provides for equal representation of women in decision-making positions by 2015.

**Getting the ball rolling:**
**Launch of the campaign on 10 December**

From the Sixteen Days of Activism, to the event itself and long after the stadiums are silent and the fans have left, Gender Links and the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) will be spearheading awareness raising campaigns, producing publications and hosting seminars around gender and 2010.

Under the overall theme "Score a goal for gender equality" Gender Links will kick off these efforts on Human Rights Day, December 10th, 2009 (also the last day of the Sixteen Days of Activism campaign) with a call to "Strike a ball and not a woman." The kick-off event, will take place at the FNB stadium (Soccer City) on the outskirts of Soweto on 10 December 2009, and will simultaneously be hosted across the region in sister events in Botswana, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

**New perspectives**

Some of the key questions the campaign is urging the region to consider are the following.

- How are women benefiting economically from 2010?
- Are there specific sectors where women dominate in regards to 2010? Which ones and what are the reasons for the dominance of women in some sectors?
- Do targets exist in terms of access to employment, procurement and trade opportunities for women in the FIFA Soccer World Cup 2010? What migration patterns might develop as a result of World Cup 2010?
- How is the advent of the regional visa for the World Cup likely to affect women?
- In what ways could the long-distance transport sector enable the sexual exploitation of women during the World Cup? Which other sectors could perpetuate the trafficking and sexual exploitation of women?
- In what ways can the FIFA Soccer World Cup 2010 exacerbate the occurrence of gender based violence?
- Which specific types of gender based violence are likely to be most prevalent?
- In what ways could a major international event of this nature be used to galvanise support for ending gender violence?

For more information see:
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# Media, sport and 2010




800-meter runner Lurdes Mutola being interviewed at a track and field event for children organised by her Foundation in Maputo *Photo: Lurdes Mutola Foundation*



## Making gender count beyond 2010

By Cora Burnett

**Abstract**

The political rhetoric surrounding the 2010 FIFA World Cup is mediated as an African homecoming in the global embrace of economic and political super powers. The media's role in perpetuating commercial sport, and particularly football, as a male bastion finds expression in the symbolism of this mega sports event. It is largely left to "sport plus" national and international initiatives to promote a more "human face" of football, and to address social issues such as gender equality. Various national studies and hegemonic discourses provide evidence of gender logic in sport that perpetuates the marginalisation of girls and women from grass roots to national level (such as within Banyana Banyana in South Africa). Editors, broadcasting agents and sport journalists should reflect on the gender web they so persuasively weave through exciting stories and beautiful pictures, entrenched in a brotherhood of untouchable supremacy.

**Key words**

gender, media, sport, FIFA World Cup

## Introduction

Much political rhetoric surrounds the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, echoing the dream of an African Renaissance and vividly capturing the promise of prosperity and the arrival of African nations on the world stage of global co-existence (Aina 1997). This has included espousing the benefits of building of world-class facilities and estimations of an injection of about R1 billion into the local economy through hosting this event. Organisers have profiled professional sport as an influential market force in international marketing and contributing to the General Domestic Product (GDP) of nation states. However, the envisaged capital gain is mainly in the political engineering of nation building (healing racial divides and redressing class inequalities), and showcasing South Africa and Africa as a continent ready to join the league of the super powers (SASCOC 2005). The inter-play between sport and global forces and the clustering of world powers to cooperate and compete are thus contextualised and expressed by political capital earned

through hosting such prestigious mega sporting events (Harvey and Houle 1994).

Mega sporting events also provide a platform for global movements to advocate for a development agenda. There is evidence of a measure of success in international accomplishments relating to environmental protection (Lenskyj 1998), opposing hegemonic gender power relations, structures and ideology (Birrell 2000; Hall 1996) as well as racial discrimination (Bose 1994; Rees 1996). These global movements very much rely on the media for advocacy and visibility to debate controversial issues (Lee and Maguire 2009). However, such issues would stand little chance of being inherent in the event symbolism, given the symbolic imagery of profiling of African countries coming together in a brotherhood of anti-imperialism as subtext.

The global trend of public spending on "sport for all" or "mass participation," as well as philanthropy or Corporate Social Investments (CSI) also found expression in sport for development work. The United Nations' declaration that 2005 be deemed the International Year for Sport and Physical Education (Resolution 58/5) provided the global, yet separatist recognition for the role of sport as vehicle for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations 2005 and 2006). Gender equity, as encapsulated by the third Millennium Development Goal focusing on the empowerment of women, featured prominently in envisaged outcomes of the German Development Cooperation or Deutsche Gesellschaft for Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the Nike's Sport for Change Network programmes (Burnett and Hollander 2009).

The legacy of the FIFA World Cup as envisaged by Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA), the national department in partnership with major international stakeholders such as GTZ in collaboration with multi-national stakeholders including the European Union,



Cora Burnett (with note book) conducting fieldwork

Photo: Cora Burnett

non-governmental organisations and multileveled government sectors, will be discussed as focusing on rights and development issues. This includes gender inequality, peaceful co-existence (with reference to xenophobia or war torn regions) and the reduction of deviance and anti-social behaviour in impoverished communities of up to 10 selected African countries (GTZ/YDF 2009a). However, the question remains - to what extent will media cover the "do good factor through sport" compared to the "soccer war" waged among the (male) football warriors, in addition to the political significance of recognising African countries as members of the global football community?

It is against this background of the social construction of gender and prioritising it in the sporting context, that the roles of stakeholders, particularly the media, are reflected upon. Sport is a social construct and created by people with power, and thus cannot be viewed or understood in isolation (Burnett 2001). It inevitably reflects broader social issues, influenced by ideologies, discourses, debates and happenings in the wider society. The potential of utilising the 2010-hype for addressing engendered sport in the South African and African context is a complex and interrelated social issue laden with political and cultural baggage and stereotyping in which the media has a key role to play. Just as sport is no homogeneous phenomenon, gender is also a biological and social construct to which individuals are socialised in particular context and historical periods.

**The South African scenario of engendered sport**

The post-1994 democratic dispensation in South Africa paved the way for addressing gender inequalities at all levels within the corporate and government sectors. The call for equal representation of men and women in decision-making positions found expression in setting first a 30%, and later 50%, women in political leadership for the SADC (South African Development Community) region. South Africa has boasted the best record of accomplishment in the region, reaching 42% women's representation in parliament in 2009. Yet, despite the wide implementation of the Employment Equity (Act 55 of 1998) that endeavours to eradicate the inequalities in the marketplace, race was prioritised and gender-discriminatory practices still persisted (Chisholm and September 2005; Suraj-Narayan 2005).

External forces as much as internal ones contribute to the continued marginalisation of women in the South African sporting arena. Gender equality propagated from international and national forums, protected by the "national bill of rights" and feminist praxis, has done little to address male hegemonic values, structures and discriminatory practices prevailing in society and in sport (Hargreaves 1997; Jones 1998). The under-representation of women in elite sports and the marginalisation of "female" or "Cinderella" sports reflect women's socio-economic positioning and lived realities (Holland-Muter 1995).



Tanzanian Footballer Rose Chipa gets ready for World Cup 2010
Photo: Gender Links

In a national study, *The status of SA women in sport and recreation 1994-2004,* undertaken in the aftermath of ten years of democracy, it was evident that main areas of female disenfranchisement exist in terms of unequal resource distribution, unequal access to power structures, decision-making positions and leadership roles. Qualitative and quantitative data obtained from a purposive sample of 488 research participants in all nine provinces in South Africa, representing 14 different sport and recreation sectors, substantiated the powerful influence of hegemonic masculinity as it was manifested in various structures in the SA sporting fraternity (Burnett 2007a). Research by Pelak (2005) underscores the diversity of gender experiences and expectations in the absence of a common "sisterhood." Yet, despite socio-political, economic and/or racial differences, ideology, cultural beliefs and lack of political will perpetuate discriminatory gender practices. Gender stories should be told and understood in all the nuanced versions of how people are "doing gender" in more "feminine" and traditionally "masculine" sports such as football and rugby (Hartmann-Tews and Pfister 2005).

Women's football mainly began among white women who had relatively greater access to facilities. However, as coloured and black women increasingly formed soccer teams, they started dominating the female soccer scene which is currently stratified along class, racial (being predominantly black) and political affiliation lines (Roberts 1992). As a traditionally male sport, the women's version has always struggled for recognition, funding and against the cultural stereotyping that it is a male sport where the national female squad (Banyana Banyana) is vastly overshadowed by the male squad (Bafana Bafana) (Burnett and Africa 2007). Women's football in South Africa is still to make inroads on the national scene, despite having about 300 registered teams and a structured league system in most of the 25 regions of the South African Soccer Federation (Rulasha 1999; Ndibi 2004).

A real threat to South African women's participation in football relates to the assumptions that stereotype women and girls who play football as "pseudo men" (Clough, McCormack and Traill 1996). Homophobia seems to be a powerful cultural factor that has, among other things, discouraged many women and girls from playing football (Cox and Thompson 2001). Sports women continually face challenges to resist and transform their sexuality to avoid prejudice and discrimination and find a balance between athleticism and gender (Bartly 1990). This is particularly evident in the widely published media campaign spearheaded by Ria Ledwaba to "feminise" the Banyana Banyana players by grooming them through "etiquette classes that focus on how to walk and talk like women and project themselves in a more feminine way" (Russouw 2005, 2). The gender discourse in football centres on homophobic notions and heterosexual norms (Theberge 2000). This presents a double-edged sword as female players need to present themselves as feminine for wider acceptance, yet forfeit the more masculine traits that could empower them as athletes in the display of physical prowess (Burnett and Africa 2007).

In South Africa, male team sports such as football and rugby continue to receive official sanctioning, and have become powerful symbols of uncontested male supremacy to enhance national prestige and collective identification. The fact that most respondents during research conducted by Rule and Struwig (2005) who indicated that they had a role model or favourite sports person cited male soccer players is further testimony of the engendered space of South African football and sport in general. The lack of media coverage is most certainly linked with the absence of female role models – a phenomenon that is perpetuated by sponsorships and the visibility of male athletes and sports and the main frame of reference (Jones 2005; Burnett 2007a).

**The role of the media**

Drawing on the content analysis of media studies, in her master's study, Serra analysed the construction of gender through sports reporting in selected South African newspapers (Serra and Burnett 2007). Data collected over a six-month period (1 April 2004 to 30 September 2004) included 2354 images and 5300 articles from *Beeld*, *The Star* and *The Sowetan*, which



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showed a clear prioritising of men and male sports (86.5%), while marginalising women and their sports in biased reporting. Male sporting success, role models as sport stars and gender stereotyping in terms of masculine versus feminine representations of athletes, devalued the athletic achievements of female athletes by using cultural and sexual innuendos. It reflected a discourse of masculine hegemony in which journalists defended the reproduction of gender stereotyping, camouflaged as being in the interest of the newspapers and meeting the expectations of the readership.

Several international authors described similar media practices where discursive strategies were profiling engendered subtexts in the celebration of masculinity and male prowess, whilst sexualising women (Knoppers and Elling 2004; Hartmann-Tews and Rulofs 2003). These gender constructions are rooted in a conceptual framework firmly imbedded in patriarchal values of which the input, throughput and media output is a persuasive force in condoning and perpetuating male hegemonic practices in sport. In addition to this state of affairs, commercialised competitive sport is prioritised with all it political and ideological clout. Media coverage in South Africa mainly celebrates sport elitism, especially for traditionally male-dominated sports, such as football (reflecting "black" consciousness and affiliation), rugby (a predominantly "white" sport) and cricket (Burnett 2007a and b). In the context of South African sports, football or soccer and rugby are recognised as the national sports, the former being perceived, controlled and stereotyped as a sport for the black masses and rugby as the national sport for whites. Boys are socialised into a macho culture of sport according to a collective consciousness of an ethnic cultural identity (Burnett 2001).

As long as they are seen as a women's issue, rather than a mediated societal issue, gender stereotyping and discriminatory practices will go relatively unchallenged (Hall 1996). In turn, this inevitably translates into the under-representation of female participation in sport and structured physical activity as reported in national studies such as that of Rule and Struwig (2005). This study found female participation to be 11.2% against a national average of 25.6%, and a male participation rate of 42.6%. Burnett and Hollander (2008), who conducted a baseline study for the School Sport Mass Participation Programme as a national initiative from Sport and



Little girls do love soccer Photo: mrfink

Recreation South Africa to bring sport to the masses, found girls to still be disenfranchised. The dropout of girls at school was significantly higher than that for boys, especially in the high school where the average decline for boys from grade eight to grade 12 was from 66% to 17%, compared to girls whose participation declined from 61% to 3% over the similar period.

It seems that despite extensive funding and public initiatives to bring sport and the potential benefits or regular participation to children and girls, the *status quo* largely seems to be unchanged. Dominant structures and exclusionary discourses represent institutionalised gender discrimination that is very difficult to change (Messner 2002). On the one side mass media might resist ideological changes, but on the other hand, a successful women's football team (such as in China), can serve to motivate men's teams to strive for success (Heywood and Dworkin 2003). However, the South African scenario does not afford such cross gender influences.

Public and private initiatives that specifically focus on providing access to structured physical activity and sport to girls and women do not always receive widespread media coverage and go largely unreported in the global and national media. *Sport plus* initiatives (such as structured programmes focusing on also delivering social outcomes such as preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS), would raise public consciousness through publicity and media exposure (Coalter 2007). One of the main initiatives funded by a myriad of stakeholders, including Sport and Recreation South Africa and GTZ/YDF, includes the Peace Caravan Project. In this project, participants from Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa toured the Great Lakes region of Eastern Africa to convey messages of peaceful co-existence, gender inclusion and creating awareness for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (GTZ/YDF, 2009). However, such "sport for good" or *sport plus* initiatives do not receive popular global media recognition comparative to commercialised sport. Again, the issue receiving media attention relates more to the profile of a sport star or politician, than in the possible message s/he might convey.

Caravan Amani (Swahili, meaning Peace Caravan) toured the Great Lakes region of Africa during March 2009 to promote the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Caravan Amani is part of the South African Government's Legacy Campaign and the Sport and Recreation Department's Mass Participation Programme that strives to incorporate the culture of sports and recreation into communities in order to create a legacy beyond the tournament.




The peace caravan team played five a side against volunteers from the audience Photo: GTZ/ YDF

**Making gender count beyond 2010**

From the above discussion it is clear that competitive sport has historically been created and mediated by and for men as an arena where macho values are celebrated, and where mainstream sports inevitably implicate male-stream sports (Boutilier and SanGiovanni 1983). Media practices for sport are no exception, as they also have to a large extent been structured and created as a hegemonic male social practice underpinned by patriarchal ideology, and as such imbedded in the consciousness of people (men and women) to be accepted as a natural and normative practice (Gruneau 1993). It is thus inevitable that the media would focus on the global and political significance of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, as these themes, images and stories would serve current media discourses and the widely accepted gender logic (Coakley 2009).

How to make gender count for and beyond 2010 lies in the need for a paradigm shift of major stakeholders to firstly report on the achievements of men and women equally, whilst profiling a wide spectrum of sport in which female role models and powerful athletic bodies might transcend gender stereotypes. Powerful messages of the empowerment of girls and women and their particular lived-realities as portrayed through "sport for good" initiatives such as those of GTZ/YDF in collaboration with partners, and linked to the FIFA World Cup events, should be captured for the messages of change in constituting a philosophy of gender equality and inclusion.



Coaches can teach boys about equality Photo: William Bedzrah

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**Writers Bio**

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# Bend it like Samuel Eto'o[1].... a girls aspirations to play in the Women's World Cup

By Saida Ali

**Abstract**

There is much hype and excitement preceding the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. In Southern Africa, it is particularly exciting that this is the first time it will happen on African soil. This global sporting event attracts significant attention and drama wherever it is hosted in the world. However, there is little public or media attention attached to the Women's World Cup. So where do young women and girl soccer players get their inspiration? This article explores the hopes of one such girl to play in the Women's World Cup, as well as the gender stereotypes that she must live with for the love of the game. Her dream is to play professional football, not surprisingly, male footballers like Didier Drogba and Samuel Eto'o inspire her. She has never heard of Alice Matlou of South Africa or Marta of Brazil, though she knows that renowned female footballers do exist. She wishes she could make it big like Eto'o some day.

**Key words**

soccer, role models, leadership, world cup, inspiration

## Where are female footballers?

The 2010 World Cup event taking place in South Africa marks a historic moment for Africa; it is the first time this global sporting event will be held on African soil. While there has always been hype and excitement before, during, and long after each World Cup, attention towards the Women's World Cup is virtually non-existent. It does not feature on local television in countries like Kenya, and occupies little airtime even in sports reports. Based on experiences with girl football players in Kenya, it is evident that girl players usually get their inspiration from African male footballers who play professionally in international clubs abroad. There is very little inspiration from female soccer players. There are many professional women soccer players (and good ones for that matter), but most young girl players either do not know about them or do not get to see them play at all - largely resulting from lack of media attention.



Christine Mbone (in red and white on the right) putting her best foot forward Photo: Saida Ali

Christine Mbone is a 15-year-old soccer player in Kenya. She plays for Binti[2], a girls' football team started by the Young Women's Leadership Institute (YWLI).[3] Mbone has never heard of Alice Matlou, the continent's outstanding woman footballer and striker. Matlou was the African Woman Footballer of the Year in 2008, the first South African to win the accolade. The South African Football Association (SAFA) Chief Executive Officer, Raymond Hack, was the first to congratulate Matlou when she was first nominated, saying that the nomination was not entirely a surprise as South Africa's women's football has not only received recognition on the continent but in the world over.[4] Those who have seen her play know that she is a great player and that her performance at the African Women's championship was remarkable; she finished joint top goal scorer, sharing the Golden Boot award and was runner-up for the Player of the Tournament award.[5] In its maiden edition in June 2009, New African Woman (NAW) magazine listed Matlou as one of Africa's women of influence, alongside women such as the President of Liberia Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the Nobel peace laureate Wangari Maathai, the former speaker of South Africa Baleka Mbete and the Swazi queen Inkhosikati Lambikiza, among others. All these women have one thing in common-they are role models with inspirational success in different spheres of life. Matlou is an inspiration for young female players who love and play soccer across the continent, but she could have an even stronger influence if the media put greater emphasis on covering women in sport.

**Changing face of role models**

Mbone, like Matlou, is a striker. If only Mbone could afford two hundred shillings (about R20) then she may be able to purchase international publications that mention Matlou and the other such sports women. Mbone's family does not own a TV set and even if they did, the local stations are not keen on women's soccer. On the contrary, men's soccer of all levels is always covered by media; print and electronic. There is no shortage of possible stories. There are women footballers who have broken moulds, set new standards, and blazed trails by playing in the Women's Cup and other tournaments. Young girls need to see and hear more of them. The lack of visibility of the Women's Cup and women's football in general is a key constraint in motivating girls to make their dreams a reality. It is about providing media images of stars that inspire girls to pursue their dreams in football. There is nothing wrong with a girl getting inspiration from the successes of male players. However, it is important that they see that soccer is not inherently exclusive for men.

The media continues to portray images of women that reinforce women's self-identification as objects, constructed in the popular images of what is defined as beauty and in most instances sexy, pleasurable and adorable as seen through the under-belly obsession with the female body. Perhaps it is time to portray the other side of women's beauty - self-esteem, confidence and assertiveness. Women's football is one way to provide this. Mentoring and coaching through soccer is one of the new ways of providing leadership skills to girls and young women. The slogan for the next FIFA Women's World Cup, being held in Germany in 2011, is "the beautiful side of 20Eleven."[6] It is questionable what media images, symbols and messages are going to be used to publicise the event. Germany as a host country is already taking the lead by making women's leadership the key interpretation of this slogan. The organisers have launched a team of "The Magnificent Eleven" as a way to boost the event's appeal to people of all walks of life and different generations in society. This is a special women's team headed by the German Chancellor Dr. Angela Merkel as the "team coach."



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Young fans (boys and girls) cheer at local football match
Photo: Ourcommon

"The Magnificent Eleven" are magnificent indeed. They have a magnanimous task ahead of them. The Merkel team aims to boost awareness and passion for the FIFA Women's World Cup in Germany. The impact is definitely beyond Germany and this is a moment the media can seize in rewriting history. The team comprises of eleven well-known female personalities, all of whom are role models in their fields. The chief aim of the team, comprising of Dunja Hayali, Monica Lierhaus, Ulrike Folkerts, Beatrice Weder di Mauro, Renan Demirkan, Shary Reeves, Magdalena Neuner, Maria Furtwangler, Franziska van Almsick, Britta Heidemann and Nena, is to use the occasion of the FIFA Women's World Cup 2011 to make a significant contribution in socio-political areas such as integration and strengthening women's rights around the world.[7]

The team is obviously using different forms of media to achieve their goal. Social media and the traditional electronic and print media have a large role in changing the attitudes of society towards women's soccer. Social media's accessibility and affordability remain a challenge to girls like Mbone. Hopefully, the arrival of broadband in East Africa is going to change not just communication but also widen the possibilities of using information technology and new media for women's rights advocacy. In the grand scheme of the plan, Mbone can then easily access You-Tube and other links on internet to watch and read about women soccer stars.

**Re-imagining and re-imaging the female body through soccer**

The most obvious concerns in getting the media to promote the Women's World Cup is the promotion of women's participation in sports and development as it relates to participation in decision-making. It is important to challenge the societal-accepted norm that football is a male affair and that for a woman to have passion for football there must be something wrong with her. This is central in exploring the "possibility of the body granting women a medium with which to create a strong sense of self and re-imagining the body as a flexible site" (Musila and Binyavanga 2009) for exuding assertiveness and confidence based on the capabilities of a woman's body. Women's football can be capable of changing the space and interpretations of the female body thus "redeeming it from the patriarchal gaze and equally patriarchal modes of representation" (Musila and Binyavanga 2009) that it has been subjected to.

For a growing young woman like Mbone, she knows first hand what it means to have a body perceived as not feminine enough, yet to still be in that sexual patriarchal gaze. She has experienced having boys tease and harass her with the intention of finding out whether she can truly be "sexed up," of course through unwanted sexual invitations. Yet Mbone is very clear about her goals. She wants to stay ahead and have a better life than what her mother had. Her mother died six months ago. Her stepmother is not particularly kind to her and her father does not quite see the value of football. There has been pressure from her step mother to "go to the streets and get money" like other girls her age; the neighbour next door keeps urging her to accept money from him in exchange for sex, while some boys are relentless in examining whether they can sexually arouse her. They think she is "abnormal" because she refuses to engage in sex with them. They even made up stories about her being pregnant.

Despite this sexual harassment, she does not allow this to interfere with her focus on football and education. Through her determination, she has received a scholarship for secondary school by a school that was scouting for young football talent. Her plans are to go beyond the



Binti players put their heart into the game

Photo: Saida Ali

expectations of society in regards to girls in her community. Before Binti, she represented a generation who had lost hope in stepping out of these expectations. There are few choices for a girl growing up in Kawangware - born in a family of six or eight, a girl is expected to drop out of school and fend for her family by either becoming a domestic worker or doing sex work. If not so, she can first get pregnant at the age of 13 or 14, then move on to living with a man to take care of her and her child. For a girl striving to step out of these stereotypes, more women role models, including footballers, can be an inspiration that changes a life.

Photos and pictures of male footballers cut out of magazines and newspapers are very common in public places. Occasionally, Mbone and other Binti girls have had the opportunity to watch satellite or cable TV during the English premiere league and other famous football tournaments for men. She has seen Drogba score goals; Adebayor make fantastic passes and Eto'o dribble with skill and passion. She particularly admires Eto'o and hopes that some day she will bend it like Eto'o in a stadium packed with fans and football lovers from all over the world. Her biggest dream is to play in the World Cup someday. She admires the fact that Eto'o has achieved a lot in alleviating poverty and in mentoring younger boys to take up football through his charity work in Africa. She hopes that one day she will be an international footballer and make it big like Eto'o. She already sees that she can do a lot for her community as a footballer, even if she does not earn a big name. That may sound like a far-fetched dream for a young girl but it is definitely achievable. "If others have done it," she says, "I can do it too."

It is definite that women's football is set to carve a niche in leadership development of young women and girls. It is not just about dribbling but also about making girls believe in themselves. She is inspired to learn that at the age of 17, Eto'o was the youngest player at the

1998 World Cup when he suited for Cameroon against Italy.[8] This kind of information needs to be readily available for young female footballers. Of course, Kenya has had its share of those making it big internationally with Musa Otieno[9] playing for a team in South Africa and Dennis Oliech[10] in France and Qatar. There are Kenyan women footballers out there, but no one writes about them or captures their glory moments.

Putting female soccer players in the media would provide an added inspiration for these young women and begin to confront mindsets of millions of people that have been "hardened by centuries of socialisation and cemented by custom, culture and religion. Potentially, having a huge role to play in this 'liberation of the mind,' the media has more often than not been part of the problem rather than the solution." (Lowe Morna 2009) The absence of media visibility for the Women's World Cup and female footballers can be seen as what some call a media black out. The "liberation of the mind" is not just a challenge to be overcome by society, but by the media as well. The media has an important role in promoting the women's World Cup as well as providing girls like Mbone and other Bintis of this world with role models and motivation to continue pursuing their dreams. Girls' football is a fine example of something that provides coaching and mentoring in a different way.

Grassroots projects[11] such as Binti have contributed to the rise in popularity of women's football throughout the world. The situation in regards to media coverage is probably better now than it was a decade ago. With more awareness, there are definitely great opportunities for growth as it is said to record "new TV audience records, greater numbers of girls and women playing and broader acceptance by the general public around the world."[12] Women's football at the community level is not a totally new idea - though in the community where Mbone was brought up it may have been an unthinkable idea a few years ago.

There was great resistance from some people in the Kawangware area when YWLI first introduced girls' football in the community. This was particularly from older men and religious leaders in the community who thought it was both ridiculous and a complete waste of time to teach girls how to play football, wearing shorts and running around a football pitch was thought to be indecent. With the high rates of teenage pregnancies in the area, some mothers were also opposed to having their daughters play football since it included some level of interaction with boys and young men during practice and going home late in the evening after practice.

It is obvious that the Super Sport channel on DSTV highlights some of the most important football tournaments globally including the Women's World Cup. For Mbone and other Binti girls to watch such tournaments, they have to pay a fee of about 20 shillings at the local video *kiosks* popularly known as "*video.*" She, like most girls in her Kawangware area, is aware that such places are grounds for sexual abuse and that they are dens for airing of pornographic films. It is understandable why any parent would be opposed to their daughter entering such "*video kiosks.*" In a country where football fans are split between Manchester United and Arsenal as the European League heavyweights, the female soccer side of such teams is completely unknown to girls like Mbone. There is a media obsession with male football that we do not see when it comes to girls' soccer or the Women's Cup. Chances are that all Arsenal and Manchester fans will know all the players in the teams though they may have no idea of who plays in the female teams of the same clubs.

**Tomorrow's stars dribbling today**

Speaking to Mbone two years after joining Binti, and watching her play, it is clear that football is much more than a game to her. When the Binti girls play, they give it their all. They are recognised in their community for their achievement in football and for being role models to other girls. Mbone says that when she is dribbling and in total control of the ball, she feels as though she has the whole world at the palm of her hand – it is her life.

On one level, football has taught her that she can achieve something she and others thought she could not achieve before. This is great since it introduces that kind of thinking in other areas later in life including the

fact that her dream to play in the world cup is achievable. At another level, it is the excitement that your whole life could change and the confidence it builds. It is about assuming that her life is going to be different- it is the rush, excitement and passion that should come with playing at the Women's World Cup – some day, that dream will be a reality.

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## Notes

1 This title is adapted from the movie "Bend it Like Beckham" which is a movie about girls' soccer and the aspirations of an Asian girl to break all the stereotypes of gender, sex and race to play in the English soccer premiere for women. Samuel Etoo is a Cameroonian international soccer player.
2 Binti is a Kiswahili word that simply means "daughter of."
3 YWLI's mission is to nurture young women's leadership, create and open spaces for young women's engagement in policy processes. Visit www.ywli.org for more information.
4 http://www.safa.net/index.php?page=safacelebratesmatlousnomination site accessed on 29 August 2009
5 'Africa's Women of Influence' in New African Woman, 1st Edition, June/July 2009.
6 http://www.fifa.com/womensworldcup/organisation/slogan/index.html site accessed on 29 August 2009
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10 He is one of the young footballers who have made great achievements through international soccer. He is however mostly in the media for the wrong reasons including violence, drinking and partying. He too has started a football club in Kenya for youngsters as a way to mentor young men interested in soccer.
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## Women at sidelines of reporting football

By Fungai Machirori

**Abstract**

For a long time, football has been called the "beautiful" game. The irony, however, is that while anything termed "beautiful" is generally associated with femininity, few women take up an active interest or appreciation in the game of football. Moreover, as an extension of that, very few female journalists report on it. So should we instead call it the "handsome" game in order to reflect football's dominant masculine character, both in terms of participation and reportage? The following article contextualises gender perspectives on reporting sports against the backdrop of the impending 2010 FIFA World Cup, and ultimately disregards any suggestions that football, and sports reporting, should be the preserves of an impenetrable "boy's club." Finally, suggestions are given as to how female journalists can take up an active role in writing the story of 2010 - Africa's greatest moment on the international arena.

**Key words**

journalism, gender, coverage, World Cup 2010

### Reporting 2010

At the 2009 Highway Africa conference for African journalists, entitled "Reporting Africa: 2010, Development and Democracy," the recurring question asked was how Africa's journalists would report the continent's first ever FIFA World Cup. The question was framed from the perspective of a continent that has long been stereotyped as the world's poorest, battling to achieve economic parity with the rest of the world, rife with political corruption, mismanagement and therefore an inherent lack of capacity to host a global spectacle on the scale of the 32-nation World Cup.

As Danny Jordaan, the 2010 Local Organising Committee (LOC) CEO put it to the journalists, urging them to dispel the practice of stereotype-based "shorthand" reporting on Africa, "Your orientation must be different. You must distinguish yourselves. Your story must be set apart." Jordaan noted the following as some of the most



Taking Shape - 2010 Soccer World Cup Stadium, Cape Town
Photo: Ifilijay

significant economic impact indicators that the World Cup has yielded, and will yield.

- The World Cup will contribute R55 billion to South Africa's GDP between 2006 and 2010.
- More than 20 000 jobs were created for the construction of the World Cup stadiums.
- The additional contribution to the country's GDP as a result of hosting the event will sustain the equivalent of around 120 000 jobs.
- The World Cup has been a catalyst for the building of around 25 new hotels in South Africa in the last couple of years.
- It is expected that an estimated 450,000 visitors will spend R8.5 billion during the World Cup.

This important economic growth, it was said, would also have ripple effects for the rest of Africa with tourism largely expected to enjoy a major boost across the continent. Digesting Jordaan's sentiments and statistics with a few of my female colleagues at the same conference, it became evident that quite a number of them did not possess any interest in being part of reporting the tournament. "I just can't wait for this tournament to come and go," sighed one. "That's all the guys in the newsroom will be talking about from now until next year."

A few others expressed their dread at becoming football widows – a status they said they acquired every four years during the event. With a prevailing air of apprehension about the whole affair, they suggested quickly switching the topic of conversation to something "less depressing." Rather than view themselves as an intricate component of the World Cup story, these women were instead more than willing to distance themselves from any such role and deconstructed themselves as "the others," the ones standing beyond the periphery fence of proceedings waiting for the hype and hysteria to blow over, and for post-2010 "normality" to return.

**When breaking through the glass ceiling, the shards might cut you**

There are many reasons that could explain these women's and others' disregard of the impending World Cup, and sports reporting in general. Already, female journalists across Africa experience harsh working environments and high barriers to entry within the profession. As the 2009 *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern African Newsrooms* report documents, the average proportion of women in the media in southern Africa is 41%. By excluding South Africa, the proportion drops to 32%. The report cites discouraging working conditions, difficulty in juggling responsibilities and inadequate journalistic training as some of the main reasons for this skew.



Women like sports journalists and rugby player Coach Avril Fillies are breaking glass ceilings

Moreover, where women are visible, it is largely within reporting of "safe" beats such as health and other social issues, with politics, business and sport remaining the preserve of their male counterparts. However, this is not to say that some women have not successfully challenged these hegemonic notions of their role in journalism. Many have risen to the pinnacle of their profession breaking through the glass ceiling of expectations to hold positions of authority and respect as editors and reporters in male-dominated beats. However, and sadly so, for every woman who has successfully worked to reverse the status quo, many more continue to meet with regular hostility, and even abuse.

According to the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX), earlier this year, two female Ghanaian reporters, Rashidatu Kadiri of Atlantis Radio and Dorcas Oparibea of Top Radio, were assaulted by a policeman at a sports stadium in Accra while covering a local league match. The two, who were travelling with their male colleagues, were allegedly told to leave the entrance of the players' dressing rooms – though they had produced their identity cards - with the policeman said to have touched Oparibea's breast and pushed her to the ground.

While this shocking act attracted disdain and disapproval, certainly there are many more males out there who feel that women becoming involved in the arena of sports reporting represents an invasion of their territory and an emasculation of their powers. It would seem, therefore, that the consequences of attempting to break through the glass ceiling, for many women, are the painful lacerations of the shards produced upon impact.

**"Beautiful" even for women?**

Thus far, the predominant discourse around women and the World Cup has related to the roles that transactional sex and human trafficking might play in further curtailing Africa's women's rights and freedoms. Little space has however been afforded to the fact that women too have a role to play in documenting this historical event.

World Cup 2010 will undoubtedly hold a position of great significance within the history of South Africa's young democracy. As Duncan (2009) notes, "Sports brings nations together in ways that no other activity does: to this extent, it has an amazing galvanising effect. This is especially so with soccer in South Africa, which enjoys popularity as the sport of choice of the working class. It can lead to far more genuine reconstructions of national identity than those achieved by post-1994 rugby or cricket."

Football is the universal game that knows no language and no geographical boundaries (although North America remains largely neutral to its charms). And yes, it even permeates across class structures and race groups. However, it is a heavily gendered sport. While female leagues and tournaments exist, the dominant meaning behind football is that of male power contested over 90 minutes of intense confrontation and showmanship.

The irony is that the sport is so often referred to as the "beautiful" game – thereby almost giving it a feminine character. So, the challenge is how 2010 can lead to the reconstruction of the national and continental identity through a gender sensitive and inclusive framework, particularly by allowing women media platforms to be active participants in writing the story of arguably Africa's greatest moment thus far.

**"You'd never trust a woman with something as important as a football result"**

One of the arguments advanced against women entering into the realm of sports journalism is that they have no prior practical or professional experience to qualify as opinion leaders and authorities. As Boyle (2008) notes, "One of the key aspects of gaining entry into the cultural world of the football journalist is knowledge of your sport. There is an underlying assumption among some male football writers that, ultimately, a woman football journalist, for example, lacks the inherent knowledge to adequately cover the game."

Boyle goes further to quote a veteran journalist, Brian Glanville, who argues that women "do not have the ghost of a clue" about what is happening on the pitch during a football match. Ganville further adds, "You'd never trust a woman with something as important as a football result." Ganville's statement is a loaded one,




Encouraging the next generation of female reporters? Photo: Trevor Davies

which at once completely disregards female journalists as accurate sources of football news, as well as implies that they cannot be trusted to disseminate important information of any nature. As an extension of "important information," we could note political and economic news, both of which, as previously discussed are predominantly constructed and framed from a male perspective.

Similarly, when the virtual discussion board of South African pay-per-view channel "Supersport" featured a debate around having female presenters on the station, one of the respondents stated, "Why include you [women]. I don't [sic] hear men asking to be represented in netball [.]for example, have female commentators for female matches, personally I prefer seeing Eric Tinkler and Shaun Bartlett who have been there and done it, indepth [sic] knowledge of the game is essential…"

However, why wouldn't, or couldn't, women ever have in-depth knowledge of football, or any other sport? Surely, the prerequisites for entry into reporting on political news do not necessitate a decorated history as a parliamentarian, minister or other political figure. To report on financial issues, one need not be an economist. Similarly, to report authoritatively on health, one need not have the title of "M.D." after their name! So why is sports reporting regarded as hallowed territory only to be treaded by those actually scored a goal, a try or a century?

If one is to report with any sort of animation and enthusiasm about a beat, a general inclination towards it is obviously essential. This, in tandem with training, broad-based research and consultation with "experts," can help mould a prolific journalist who covers a beat to the highest levels of professionalism, accuracy and balance. Yet generally, the field of sports reporting seems

to place less significance on professional media training as opposed to previous top-flight experience. This is why as soon as retirement looms large for a seasoned professional; a post-player role in the media is often mooted. By virtue of having played the game, one is deemed to be competent enough to report on it.

So does media training count for nothing against the golden goal-scoring history of one who knows nothing in the least about the basic tenets of journalism? Just like the retired professional can learn to report the game, it would seem so could the inexperienced reporter learn to appreciate its intricacies. However, this argument has thus far failed to recognise that indeed some female journalists will have had prior professional experience of the sport or sports that they are reporting on. Nevertheless, because female versions of male dominated sporting codes rarely receive any form of media coverage, little is ever known about the careers of female greats.



Women climbing to new heights in Swaziland Photo: Gender Links

**Kass Naidoo: paving the way**

Kass Naidoo is South Africa's first female international cricket commentator and a woman who possesses a wealth of knowledge about the game. In 2003, Naidoo was a television presenter during the Cricket World Cup held in South Africa – a platform that leveraged her to become one of the nations' opinion leaders of the game. So appreciated was her incisive knowledge that she was chosen by Cricket South Africa as its voice-over artist for the DVD featuring the one day international (ODI)game between South Africa and Australia dubbed as the greatest ever ODI, in which both teams scored over 400 runs each .

In 2008 Naidoo, who has a journalism training background, was appointed commercial manager for Cricket South Africa. In an interview with the *Mail and Guardian*, Naidoo charted her rise to the top of her game. She is quoted as having said, "When I moved to Johannesburg in 1999 I shaved my head [because she did not want to be thought of as just a pretty face] and my parents realised then there was nothing that could stop me from doing what I liked."

Indeed Naidoo's is an important example that shows that women can rise to the top of sports reporting and commentary. But at the same time, her story highlights the fact that, very often, in order to play with the boys, and gain their respect, women still have to dissociate themselves from their femininity and instead, look and act like men.

**Role for women reporters in 2010?**

In a world such as the one we live in today, it should not be an anomaly for women journalists to want to pursue sports journalism, or any other kind of journalism that they so wish. Therefore, it is of uttermost importance that all structures of socialisation – from the family to the education system to the newsroom – encourage such enthusiasm, wherever it may manifest itself.

As we build up to 2010, the angles for reporting the event are almost infinite as it will have an impact on all aspects of life – from the social (race relations, crime,

health and human rights) to the political (2010 as a tool for party leverage and deleverage) right through to the economic (tourism, investment and trade).

However, how many women will actually be reporting the 90-minute game from the media boxes of the various stadia? Not only what the wives and girlfriends of players (WAGS) will be wearing to matches, but in-depth analyses and round-ups of results. Only time will tell. This is a moment for Africa's women journalists to stand up and be seen.

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**Writers Bio**

Fungai Machirori is a Harare-based journalist and researcher whose key areas of interest include gender, new media and HIV and AIDS.



# Breaking glass ceilings: Women in sports media

By Colleen Lowe Morna, Pat Made, Kubi Rama and Dumisani Ghandi



**Abstract**

Launched in August 2009, *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern African Media*, presents data and findings from research with 126 media houses (approximately half of all media houses in the region), representing 23, 678 employees. The research found that there is still a pronounced gender division of labour in beats, including sports, where men dominate with 76% of reporters. However, women journalists are challenging this gender stereotype in some countries.



**Key words**

media, gender, sport reporting, glass ceilings



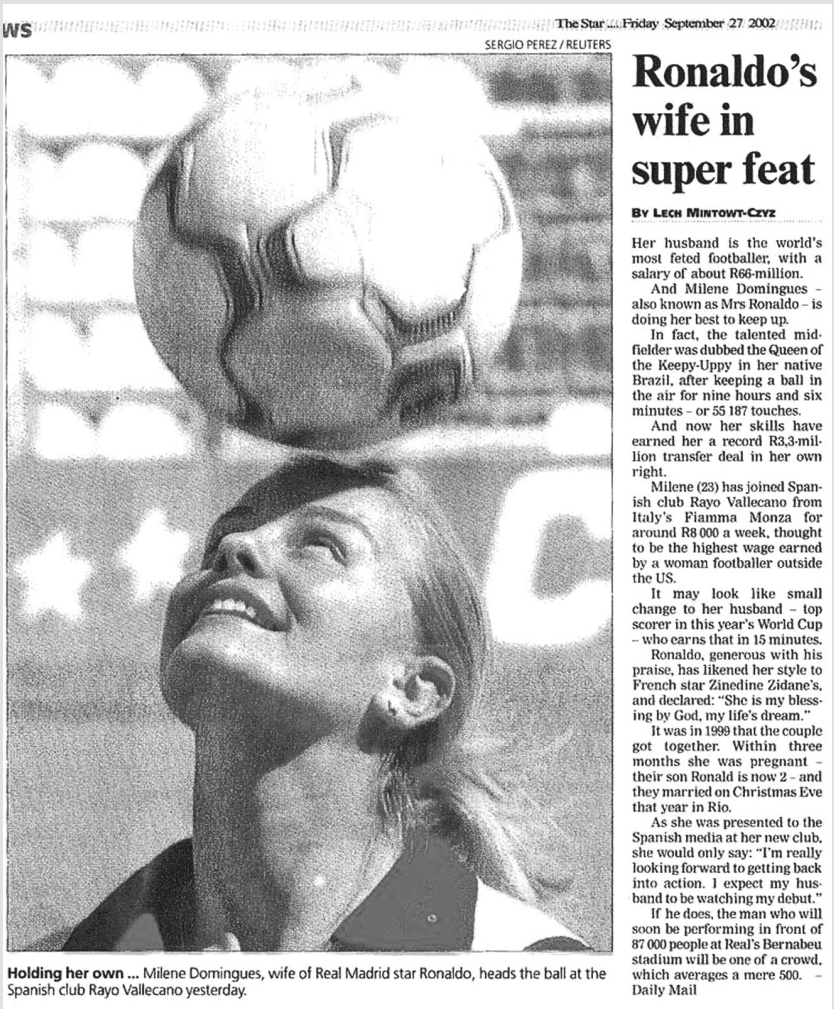
## Glass ceilings in the media

This *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern African Media* study on gender employment patterns in media houses took place in the context of the August 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which includes articles urging the media and all institutions in the public and private sectors to achieve gender parity in decision-making positions by 2015. The Gender Protocol also calls for the mainstreaming of gender in all media laws, policies and training. It urges the media to give equal voice to women and men; challenge gender stereotypes; and, ensure balance and sensitivity in all coverage, especially that relating to gender violence.

Amongst its extensive findings, the research points out that the gender division of labour in beats is still pronounced. Male journalists dominate in areas considered as "hard beats" such as investigative/in-depth reports (80%), sports (76%) and political stories (75%). Women journalists predominate in coverage of gender equality and gender violence (71% each) and health[1] (59%).

The scarcity of women on the sports beat could explain why media continually marginalises women's sport and often presents it in a different style that reflects and reinforces gender stereotypes. Women are virtually missing from the sports pages, affecting the way that girls and women are socialised into sport. Findings from the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS), Global Media Monitoring Project, and Mirror on the Media Tabloid research all show that media rarely reports or sources women. Considering the significant percentage of sports related content in both mainstream and tabloid newspapers, (17% and 21% respectively), this is a significant gap. The GMBS showed that of all the topic categories, women's voices featured least in sports (5% of the total).

Milene Domingues is a good example of how gender biases and prejudices are conveyed in and through the media. The headline starts by introducing the soccer player as "Ronaldo's wife," so immediately for the reader her identity is tied to her husband. In other words, her most prominent role is that of a wife to a famous male soccer star. The fact that she has been traded to a Spanish team for a sum which makes her the highest earning woman footballer outside of the US, which is the main news, has been buried at the end of the fifth paragraph in the story. Throughout the story Milene's soccer skill is played down and the fact that she is Ronaldo's wife and the mother of his child is the central focus on the story. Throughout, the story compares or discusses her achievements in relation to that of her husband. For example, her salary is described as "small change to her husband – top scorer in this year's World Cup – who earns that in 15 minutes."



WS The Star ... Friday September 27 2002

SERGIO PEREZ / REUTERS

# Ronaldo's wife in super feat

BY LECH MINTOWT-CZYZ

Her husband is the world's most feted footballer, with a salary of about R66-million.

And Milene Domingues – also known as Mrs Ronaldo – is doing her best to keep up.

In fact, the talented midfielder was dubbed the Queen of the Keepy-Uppy in her native Brazil, after keeping a ball in the air for nine hours and six minutes – or 55 187 touches.

And now her skills have earned her a record R3,3-million transfer deal in her own right.

Milene (23) has joined Spanish club Rayo Vallecano from Italy's Fiamma Monza for around R8 000 a week, thought to be the highest wage earned by a woman footballer outside the US.

It may look like small change to her husband – top scorer in this year's World Cup – who earns that in 15 minutes.

Ronaldo, generous with his praise, has likened her style to French star Zinedine Zidane's, and declared: "She is my blessing by God, my life's dream."

It was in 1999 that the couple got together. Within three months she was pregnant – their son Ronald is now 2 – and they married on Christmas Eve that year in Rio.

As she was presented to the Spanish media at her new club, she would only say: "I'm really looking forward to getting back into action. I expect my husband to be watching my debut."

If he does, the man who will soon be performing in front of 87 000 people at Real's Bernabeu stadium will be one of a crowd, which averages a mere 500. – Daily Mail

**Holding her own ...** Milene Domingues, wife of Real Madrid star Ronaldo, heads the ball at the Spanish club Rayo Vallecano yesterday.



MEDIA, SPORT AND 2010

A question often asked is whether this is not just the way society is. It is true that the gender division of labour exists in all societies. However, even where women are present, they are often absent in media. The media often ignores, or reports in a cursory manner, sportswomen even when they win major competitions and awards. Much like in politics and business coverage, women on the sports pages are often appended to men, as girlfriends and wives to famous players.

Raymond R. Nauvel of *Le Dimanche* in Mauritius believes that women are better suited to soft beats and vice versa, "More women could have an impact on the work in the sense that they bring a feminine touch to the environment, but not necessarily in the news. They might be good to write on social issues or corporate social responsibilities. This could bring some diversity in articles, but men are best suited to write on politics and sports." However, not all editors agree. Sports editor Phatisani Moyo, who joined South Africa's *Mail and Guardian* in 2008, is clear about his mission, "To diversify coverage beyond rugby and soccer and to include women." He believes that if girls are to go for sports, the media must first improve its coverage of women in sports.

According to a woman respondent in Malawi, men have a definite advantage in newsrooms, as they often start in the profession earlier and accumulate experience. As a result media managers tended to underestimate women journalists like her. despite the fact that, as
she says, "I am not afraid to accept the challenge with my male counterparts in sport and other beats, because I have experience."

**Changing the face of newsrooms**

According to the research, in Botswana, equal numbers of women and men report on both sports and crime. One of the female sports reporters in the country, Masego Pilane at *Information Services* proudly recalled her coverage of the *All Africa* games; and, she has won awards for excellent sports reporting. However, this did not come easy. As she puts it, "Other sports journalists did not take me and other women sports journalists seriously." She feels female journalists are prejudiced because of their sex and their stories are always looked at with a negative eye, leading to over scrutiny. Men do not have to constantly prove their worth the way women have to do.

Anny Andrianaivonirina is a sports journalist and photographer at *Midi Madagasikara,* and managing editor of *Midi Flash*. Both these newspapers belong to the Midi group. Andrianaivonirina reflects on how the newsrooms at Midi have changed since her arrival in 1995. She says before 1995 the newsroom consisted mainly of men, but more women have since been accepted. There are now more female journalists than men at *Midi Flash*. The first journalists who volunteered to launch *Midi Flash* were also women.

Andrianaivonirina believes it was important to reach parity in the newsroom to balance the high levels of male chauvinism. In her view, the differences in treatment between men and women in everyday life are not acceptable when women and men are doing the same work. *Midi Flash* is more focused on feature writing than news, and Andrianaivonirina feels women journalists are better in that type of journalism. She says, "Women are more cheerful. They bring a different touch to the newsroom. They gather news more easily than men and learn more easily how to take pictures."

Andrianaivonirina believes the men in her newsroom consider women their equals. "The men admired our courage to break stereotypes and taboos in our features, in particular on matters regarding sex." She says the best way to sustain parity in the newsroom is to continually perform with a high level of competence.

**Top Congo**

Albert Ntoni, director of Top Congo, one of the DRC media houses having a higher proportion of women overall, and women in senior management positions, has worked in the media for 17 years. The drive towards parity has not just been a coincidence. It derives from the gender-sensitive approach of management at Top Congo. Ntoni says they achieved




Women are breaking glass ceilings in media Photo: Trevor Davies

higher numbers of women through the belief that "we had to give opportunities to everyone."

"So we have 19 women, 21 men and four men technicians. I proposed that management nominate a woman as deputy editor-in-chief. Nearly everyone has accepted this news, because we consider posts with responsibilities should also go to women. This nomination will be officially announced [next week]. I insist on parity," he says.

Ntoni says he knows that placing women in these positions can be challenging. "My wife works in an enterprise and manages 45 men, all of them older than she. Her nomination was not well accepted by the men. We have considered that. They give her a tough time. So I understand the situation better. My vision is different. Everyone must have a chance. The essential factor is to get results. Whether you are a woman or man, if you are a hard worker, we take you on board."

Gender parity is important for Ntoni because, "men and women have different ways of seeing things. It is always good to have two versions. If today we are one of the best radio stations, it is because of parity." Ntoni also believes women media practitioners add value to the work of Top Congo. "They are more concise. Men are more artificial. They have a big contribution in radio, especially in areas like health and society. They dig deeper into things. And it is the same if you are in sport. Their work is more concise, more in-depth," he says.

There is no formal gender policy at Top Congo, but an implicit one exists to say that everyone is equally considered. Top Congo is also one of the media houses interested in developing a gender policy. In the meantime, Ntoni says, "men and women are provided with all the resources they need. And when I have a vacancy, all candidates are put to the test on their capacities. I am sure that even if I go away, this spirit will continue."

**Women in every space**

In February 2004, Ferial Haffajee became the first woman of colour to head a leading South African paper, the *Mail and Guardian,* and the third woman editor in the country. For five years, Haffajee steered the paper to greater heights before moving on to become editor-in-chief of the weekly *City Press*.

Statistics from the latest South African *Glass Ceiling* report confirm that under Haffajee's stewardship, the *Mail and Guardian* attained gender parity at the top and in senior management positions. Women began cropping up regularly on the front page, and in photos and headlines inside the paper.

The women sources number count in the *Mail and Guardian* points to the many challenges that this paper and many others still face. However, it does not tell the full story. For example, one of the tasks that Haffajee set herself, and largely succeeded in achieving, was to ensure that women's views and perspectives are taken into account in *all* sections of the newspaper. In other words, instead of opting for a space for women, she opted for women to be in every space. This is gender mainstreaming at its best; the tougher but ultimately far more sustainable route for increasing women sources and achieving the real objective, which is to give women voice in all areas of endeavour.

Haffajee did not create a women's section, because these "tend to deteriorate into empty lifestyle sections," she said. "We wanted a diversity of voices that would reflect our nation and bring them into pages one, two and 11. It took a long time but we did it." The shift involved seeking out women in male-dominated fields like the economy, politics and science, and not only on the classic events like International Women's Day. A young Muslim explaining why she likes to wear a hijab; black women in favour or against lobola (bride price); and lesbian adoptive parents featured alongside women economists, scientists and entrepreneurs. Unlike other weekly newspapers that have a back page featuring blonde and blue-eyed pin ups from Hollywood, the *Mail and Guardian* has a *Body Language* column that addresses male and female sexuality with the same opinionated sauciness. Topics like ageing, menstruation, giving oral sex and wearing sexy underwear surface in the popular column in a way that gives women voice and allows them to celebrate their sexuality, rather than be voiceless objects and wall hangings.



Ferial Haffajee

Rapule Tabane, now deputy editor-in-chief, joined the *Mail and Guardian* as senior political reporter in 2003 and two years later became the political editor. He had worked before at the daily *The Star*. "I thought of myself as pretty progressive, but when I started looking at our front page, I learned how often we didn't have women there," Tabane said. "Ferial made us think about sections that only reflected men. Once you have this consciousness, you make an effort to look for women sources and photos."




Critical consumers means good media, GL Media literacy participants Photo: Rochelle Davies

Tabane noted, "a cascading effect, signs that people got in line with her [Ferial] thinking". For example, the sports section started covering netball and gymnastics, sports popular among women, as well as women's soccer, hockey and rugby. Sports editor Phatisani Moyo, who joined *Mail and Guardian* in 2008, is clear about his mission, "To diversify coverage beyond rugby and soccer and to include women." He believes that if girls are to go for sports, the media must first improve its coverage of women in sports.

**Writers Bio**
This article was excerpted from *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern African Media*. Colleen Lowe Morna is the Executive Director, Kubi Rama Deputy Director, Dumisani Ghandi the Assistant Director: Media Research and Policy at of Gender Links. Pat Made is a writer, trainer, and gender activist based in Zimbabwe.

Notes

[1] Excludes the coverage of HIV and AIDS



# Changing society's cultural mindset in and through FIFA 2010 World Cup

By Saeanna Chingamuka

**Abstract**

The analysis of sport media texts provides useful insights into gender and gender stereotypes in society. Coverage during the 2009 Confederations Cup in South Africa bears testimony that sport media perpetuates patterns of patriarchy and sexism. To illustrate, this essay reflects on two articles picked during the Confederations Cup from 14 to 28 June 2009. There was a brief textual analysis of the articles and it concluded that sport media texts continue to present women in ways that sexualise and trivialise their presence at soccer tournaments. The game is still male dominated and women's participation as football fans is viewed as an intrusion and one way of challenging the status quo, and should therefore not be allowed. This is achieved by discrediting women as "fake" supporters and legitimising men as "genuine" supporters. Women are involved in various development projects and even as football fans, there are great stories that the media can tell rather than perpetuating stereotypes and highlighting activities such as sex work.

**Key words**

soccer, media, power, femininity, masculinity

## Gender and media spectacles

"The 2010 World Cup will be organised by South Africa, we can applaud Africa. The victor is football, the victor is Africa."[1] These were the words by the FIFA President, Sepp Blatter on 15 May 2004 when he announced the 2010 World Cup host name. Football, like any other sport, is constructed as a cultural institution that brings people and nations together, creating teams and sportspersons who ultimately "become symbolic warriors defending the honor of … [a] nation" (Creedon 1994, 4).

Further, football is a microcosm of gender values in society, which in turn are at the core of the media system. The game has seen a steady increase in the

number of women football fans and also female football players. Women football fans go in their thousands to football stadiums, watch soccer from sports bars and also in their homes. Rubin (2009) notes that "women's presence as football fans seems to be ignored and discounted in a variety of ways and for a number of reasons..." To this end, in her paper titled "The offside rule: women's bodies in masculinised spaces" she notes that the 2010 Football World Cup provides an arena for scrutinising gender constructions and gender identities.

Between 14 June and 28 June 2009, South Africa hosted the FIFA Confederations Cup, which was regarded as a tune-up event for the 2010 World Cup finals to be played in the same country. Eight teams battled for the Cup which was won by Brazil. The event was also widely covered in the newspapers but if the Confederations Cup was a test run for 2010, reflections of media coverage during that tournament downplayed the active role that women can play in making the mega-event a success.

A cursory look through two South African newspapers, *The Star* and *Sowetan*, shows that women hardly featured in the Confederations Cup. There were less than 10 news stories in both newspapers that at least mentioned women. Women featured as sex workers (who allegedly stole from the Egyptian soccer players) or as bitter women not happy with the games, thereby trivialising women's role in the tournament.

The newspaper reports serve as a reminder that soccer is still a masculine space which "reinforces a cultural mindset of antagonism against women" (Creedon 1994, 5). Women have moved from the home into the public domain such as sport and ultimately from private patriarchy to public patriarchy. Public patriarchy has seen them also move from individual exploitation by the husband or male family member to collective exploitation by men who pass satirical remarks to discourage them from watching masculine sports such as football.

Two articles published in the Sowetan titled "Soccer stars leave the ladies asking for more" (19 June 2009) and "Ladies happy Confed is over" (30 June 2009) are telling. In the article "Soccer stars leave the ladies asking for more," the reporter points out that, "With the amount of eye candy on display at the Confederations Cup, is it any wonder more and more women are taking an interest in the tournament?"[ paragraph 1]. For a



Soccer stars leave the ladies asking for more

MUSCLE MEN: Italy's Fabio Cannavaro and local boys Siboniso Gaxa and Benson Mhlongo showing off their six-packs and biceps.

Sowetan Online

WITH the amount of eye candy on display at the Confederations Cup, is it any wonder more and more women are taking an interest in the tournament?

One look at a footballer's chiselled features and drop-dead gorgeous looks is enough to make any hot-blooded woman go weak at the knees.

Then there is Egypt's Amr Zaki. For those who thought Egypt consists of a couple of pyramids, camels and the Nile River, think again. This boy has the talent to score both on and off the field.

I'm sure if it's a warm bed to retire to after a tough game for his country, there will be plenty of volunteers for Zaki to sleep over!

On the local front Benson Mhlongo, Siboniso Gaxa and Elrio van Heerden prove Mzansi provides bunks of its own. A calendar of Confed Hotties wouldn't be complete without Italian captain Fabio Cannavaro.

The whole Italian team look like a bunch of movie stars with their slicked backed hair and bronzed bods, but it's Cannavaro that gets the nod.

With his boyish looks and seductive grin he's sure to get even the nuns at Saint Catherine's Convent blushing in excitement.

GALLERY OF THE CONFED HUNKS LOG ON TO WWW.SOWETAN.CO.ZA



Ladies happy Confed is over

Zandile Mbabela

FOR some women, the end of the Confederations Cup is a huge relief.

While South Africa was revelling in the euphoria of the tournament, "Confederations Cup widows" had to compete with tight-bottomed men for their partners' attention.

While the men watched the matches the women's roles were simply those of waitresses and barmaids.

Asemahle Mda of East London, said she had always been second to soccer in her boyfriend's life.

"I swear, I always have to compete with these men in shorts kicking a ball around this massive field for a living," Mda said.

She said for her lover, soccer came first, "then his mother, studies, food, the Internet and somewhere at the bottom is me".

"The minute a soccer match comes on, it's like I don't even exist. It was worse with this Confed Cup," said Mda, who lives with her boyfriend, Bonga Makhabela.

She said she would often wake up alone because he had to watch a repeat of a match he missed earlier. Mda said she once suspected that her man might be "scoring with the other team".

Lindsey Leung of Joburg said she was ecstatic that the tournament was over.

"My boyfriend constantly talked about it," the unimpressed Leung said.

If this is what some women had to put up with during the Confed Cup – considered a practice run for the World Cup – imagine how much damage will occur during the month-long tournament next year.

Divorce lawyers might be in demand then and there could be a lot of neglected ladies around.

FANATIC: A South African soccer fan blows a vuvuzela during a Confederations Cup match. PHOTO: REUTERS

minute, it would seem that for once men's bodies were being equated to candy, challenging the normalised way in which the media portrays women's bodies. However, as Rubin (2009) notes, certain gender constructions unfold in such mediation.

**Fake supporters ?**

For starters, the reporter constructs women as "fake" supporters who only go to tournaments to admire men's bodies thus, "their presence as football fans seems to be ignored and discounted…" (Rubin 2009, 266). This in turn tends to expurgate female football fans as the trivial "other" and endorse the popular view that football is a male preserve.

According to Kim, the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Japan and Korea allowed women for the first time to experience being the observer rather than the observed, "…because the power relation between men and women has been broken down through the 'gaze,' it makes women emerge not as the position of 'being seen' but as the position of seeing the male body." (Kim 2003 cited in Rubin 2009, 270) The role of women as fans was therefore "disregarded and their sexual attraction to the players consistently emphasised." (Rubin 2009, 270) To this end, the support offered by female fans is dismissed and they are not considered genuine fans because if they are defined as such, they would collude with the gendered project rather than fragment it. Since female fans are not "pure" it is easy to dismiss them and reestablish the existing gender order of soccer as a masculinised space.

In contrast, as Rubin (2009) points out, research done in other sporting events such as professional ice hockey challenges the norm that women only become fans of a certain sport so that they can admire and fantasise about men's bodies. Rather, the research has concluded that women commit resources such as money and time to enjoy their favourite sports and also support a chosen team. In addition, they are also committed to knowing more about these male dominated games.

The reporter goes on to say that, "with his [Fabio Cannavaro] boyish looks and seductive grin he's sure to get even the nuns at Saint Catherine's Convent blushing in excitement" [paragraph 7]. Thus, the article defines gendered identities of masculinity and femininity. Men's physicality is one way to define their masculinity and their superiority over women is implied by the fact that Cannavaro's looks are extremely good that even a woman who has taken a vow to celibacy can be caught on the wrong side of the Catholic Church laws. Further, Amr Zaki of the Egypt soccer team is presented as part of the package of tourist attractions in his country. He is grouped with the "seven wonders" of the Egyptian tourist attractions such as pyramids, camels and the Nile River. On the other hand, the reporter also presents women's femininity as one that can be defined in relation to providing the male species with sexual favours. The same article affirms this when the reporter writes that, "One look at a footballer's chiselled features and drop-dead gorgeous looks is enough to make any hot-blooded woman go weak at the knees." [paragraph 2]

In the other article titled "Ladies happy Confed is over," the reporter labels women as "Confederations Cup widows" who had to tightly compete with the soccer games for their men's attention. The article also presents women as widows whose existence is always at the mercy of the broader society because they do not have a protector who comes in the form of a man. Again, in the same article, women are hungry for male attention so much that one woman identified in the article as Lindsey Leung of Joburg, "was ecstatic that the tournament was over." [paragraph 9] Somehow, this assertion affirms women's inferiority and dependence on men.

The article further trivialises the role of women during the Confederation games. The reporter notes that, "While the men watched the matches the women's roles were simply those of waitresses and barmaids." The reporter perpetrates the stereotype that women are inferior to their male counterparts. To this end, women are supposed to serve men, whilst the latter are enjoying watching soccer. In addition, women have to play the traditional roles of undertaking domestic chores.

In light of the above discussion informed by the two articles under analysis, it can be argued that the FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa could be a platform that challenges societal norms and values. Rubin emphasises that:

> *"The constraints that hegemonic constructions put onto people are as tension filled and unacceptable for men as they are for women, and therefore the temptation not to contest football as a mechanism for entrenching gendered ideas needs to be firmly resisted" (2009, 277)*

To this effect, the FIFA World Cup to be showcased for the first time in Africa, and perceived as a unifier of all African nations, can also be an opportunity for feminists to carry the banner to campaign for sporting gender equality. How?

**Responsible media promotes gender balance**

The media would be the best platform to champion this cause. Women have been playing a great role in the 2010 development projects. A considerable number have penetrated the once male dominated industries such as construction, security and transport sectors. Such are stories that the media can actually cover, profiling women who have challenged the norm. This way, the media landscape in Africa will have led by example.

Further, there will be a scramble for stories about sex workers. This subject is usually covered out of context and also ignoring the root causes of this risky business. It is thus imperative that African journalists can also use FIFA World Cup to advocate for the rights of this group of society and encourage governments to put in place just rules and laws to protect them. Responsible media treats both women and men equally. The media can therefore positively cover female football fans and desist from dismissing their participation during the 2010 World Cup. Women are equal supporters who will pay money to watch football matches like their male counterparts. In addition, for instance they have grown interest in the game and will be following the tournament religiously. For instance, as a woman, this author already knows which four best teams she will be supporting throughout the tournament - that is Brazil, Italy, Portugal and Spain. As a female football fan, the media will have downplayed gender dynamics in the field of sport if they trivialise women's presence during the FIFA 2010 World Cup.

In conclusion, the brief textual analysis has demonstrated how football is a heavily contested space. The participation of women in sports should be viewed as incorporation into a structure that in so many ways is a bastion of male power. However the FIFA 2010 World Cup can challenge the hegemonic gender roles and a multi-sectoral approach from key stakeholders is required to change the cultural mindset of both sexes in and through football.

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**Writers Bio**

Saeanna Chingamuka joined Gender Links in December 2008 as GMDC Programme Officer. She completed a Master of Arts in Journalism and Media Studies with Rhodes University. Prior to going to Rhodes University she worked for the gender department at the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) as a Programme and Research Assistant for two years. Saeanna was involved in the research and review of books produced by SARDC profiling the status of women in five Southern African countries between 2005 and 2006.

Notes

[1] http://www.swc2010.com/southafrica2010.php last accessed September 15, 2009



## Profile: Rhandzu Mthombeni: The path to Beijing

By Mandla Masingi

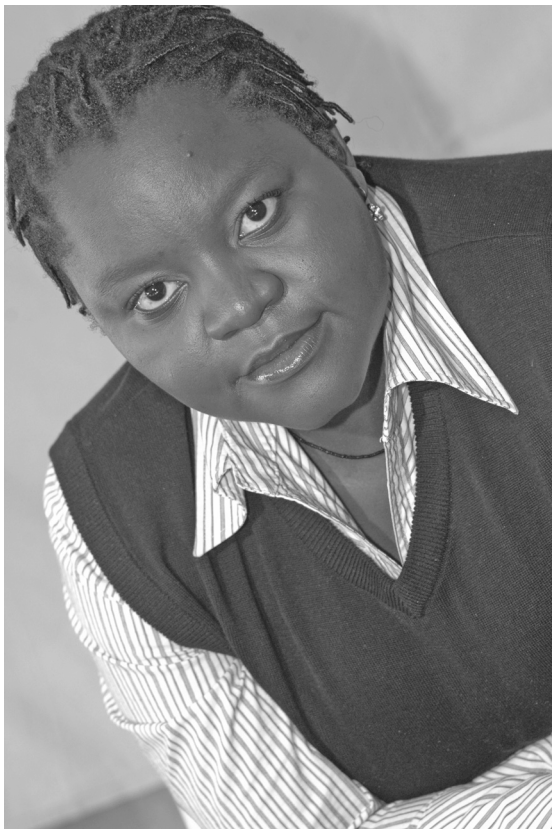
Rhandzu Mthombeni describes herself as "one of those boring people" you would find glued to a television screen watching sports programmes 24/7. That is when she first heard of Tiger Woods, after watching him play few strokes in the hole, before she could even understand what the game is all about.

Now a sports reporter/presenter at SABC's Munghana Lonene/ MLfm, Rhandzu Mthombeni was born in South Africa in Malamulele Section A, but spent most of her teen years at Chavani Village where she grew up inspired by her brother who was an athlete. She followed in the footsteps of her brother, who played rugby, soccer, volleyball, and cricket.

Mthomben finished her matric at Hluvuka High School before following a career in tourism with the University of Venda. Her tourism aspirations did not have enough room to grow inside her as her love for sports had already taken firm root. "My mother once asked me what I wanted for my birthday and I told her that I want a soccer ball. She thought I was kidding and she bought me a doll, instead. I cried a lot, until the following day when she brought my soccer ball, and then I was happy," said Mthombheni.

Mthombheni thought she was going to be famous playing sport, but her views about a Bafana Bafana game that had just played paved her way to the sporting world. "I accompanied my friend at the Univen FM (a campus radio in Thohoyandou) and there I overheard a sports presenter talking about the Bafana game. I had a different view from his. The management heard my opinion and challenged me to come to the studio to analyse a game that was going to play the following weekend. I went and they were very impressed, so that's how it started."

Before getting her big break in radio, Mthombheni was a freelancer on a community radio station and in a publishing company; she is also a fan of Jerry Bruckheimer movies and an avid dog person.



Rhandzu Mthombeni

However, her love for sports is strongest. In 2005 she was invited to audition as a sports presenter at MLfm and "from there I have never looked back." She now reads sports on "Ahiyeni," an afternoon Drive Show with Ike Ngoveni on weekdays.

For Mthombhen, there is no gender division of labour. "I don't like it when people use the words 'because you are a woman you shouldn't or you can't do…'" That is the reason she worked hard once she joined MLfm, even earning herself a trip to the Beijing Olympics with other SABC sports reporters in 2008. Despite the Usain Bolt stories, Mthombeni says that one thing that would remain in her mind is the difference in the way the Chinese people look at the world.

"I'll always appreciate the fact that from an early age they are taught to be their own masters. They go to school but they are not taught to work for someone else but for someone to work for them," she added. Notwithstanding all this, Mthombheni says she will never want to climb the Great Wall of China again, but would admire it from a distance instead. The first time she went, it was raining and she was carrying a heavy bag, and had an interview up on the mountain. She was very tired afterwards as she had to go through a lot of things before reaching the top. "That's when I realised that climbing the Great Wall of China is not for me, I would rather admire it from down there, but China is such a beautiful place," she said.

Mthombeni recalls that it was only when she met her colleagues at the airport that she realised she was the only women reporter boarding to the Olympics. However, that did not scare her because she believes that being a female sports reporter is the same as being a male reporter, it is just the way women are perceived which is different. "I always say to people when they ask me how did I become a sports presenter that you must love sports first, because its much easier to teach somebody something they love than to force them to love something. So if you love it, you have passion for it, and have confidence in yourself then you should be able to do it, regardless of your sex or gender," Mthombeni argued.

However, Mthombeni is quick to point out those sexist interrogations to women sports presenters or reporters make them to lack confidence in themselves. She says that women are frequently thrown too many quizzes by their male counterparts and the general public just to prove that women do not have the ability to pull it off in the world of sports.

"I remember this other time; it was off air this time. This guy comes into the building and he says to me, you've been talking about English football, what do you know about English football? And I said it's not about what I know about English football, but about why you disagree with what I said? And he says you are a woman you can't possibly know what you are talking about. And I said to him, for now, go home and figure out what is it that you disagree with me, then come back tomorrow for this talk. But until you get to a point where you understand why you are disagreeing with me, I and you have nothing to talk about because I can not change being a woman as much as you can not change being a man."

In addition, Mthombeni says that this attitude exists within the industry and will only fade away "once we have more female broadcasters who come into this industry with that confidence, with that passion to say I can do this as much as any body else can or even much better." She adds that this happens all the time but "every place you go you have to be willing to defend yourself or let it go and do your job."

Although Mthombeni does not wish to own a sports team, she says that she would like to further her studies in sporting management in order to also understand the other side of the sporting industry. "I would like to understand what the doctor goes through when this player is said to be injured or what," she says.

She also wishes to develop sports in rural areas, but girls will not be her only priority. "I believe every kid deserves an equal chance. Boys deserve the same percentages as the girls; because a kid does not know that a boy has to get these privileges and that a girl does not belong to this club. That is why I would not say I would focus on girls only, because when you are



MEDIA, SPORT AND 2010



Claiming new spaces: DJ Che Ulenga at Katutura Community Radio Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

out there in the village it does not matter whether you are a boy or girl, you are all in the same level," Mthombeni said.

Mthombeni who does appearances and Master of Ceremonies for different events has a few words for women, especially those who look on the other side of the street, and think the grass is greener on the other side because they do not have the same opportunities. "I want to tell them right now that their conditions do not determine their future. It's up to them to make a decision." She adds, "every woman in the whole world can do anything they want, as long as they have their confidence and passion."

**Writers Bio**
Mandla Masingi is a Communications Assistant working with CMFD Productions in South Africa. Mandla graduated from Rhodes University with a BA degree majoring in Journalism & Media Studies and Ethnomusicology, with TV as his specialisation. Between 2005 and 2006, he worked as a helper for the Grahamstown Highway Africa, International Society of Quality Of Life Studies conference (ISQOLS) and the annual National Arts Festival. In 2007 he was nominated in the Student TV Journalist Current Affairs category during the annual SABC Awards. He worked with SABC news as an intern in 2008.

## Profile: Kass Naidoo & gsport...for Girls! - paving the path for the next generation

By gsport ... for Girls!

Nearly 17 years ago, at the age of 14, Kass Naidoo discovered her passion for cricket commentary after listening to Barbadian Donna Symmonds during a triangular series involving West Indies, Pakistan and South Africa. Up to that day Kass had felt excluded from the game of cricket, but hearing an informed female voice calling the game instantly determined her life dream of becoming the first female cricket commentator in South Africa. And so began an eleven-year journey that saw her immerse herself in cricket through every means.

While realising her teenage dream of being involved with cricket, Kass is also putting her efforts into helping women's sport find its voice in the competitive world of sport. A little more than a year ago, Naidoo launched




Kass Naidoo at work

Photo: gsport ... for Girls!

*gsport…for Girls!* (www.gsport.co.za) - an online initiative aimed at raising the profile of women in sport, and showcasing vibrant South African women who serve as role models.

Born in Durban in 1978, a third child and first daughter to Sunny (a bookkeeper) and Amy (a school teacher) following after her brothers Pravin and Sean, Kass Naidoo was distinguished at an early age by a precocious talent for public speaking and the stage. After dances or plays, family friends and strangers alike, all wanting to be close to that vibrant energy, would regularly whisk her up.

During a typically withdrawn teenage period, Kass immersed herself into art, then an intoxicating attraction to the game of cricket. Shortly thereafter she ventured into the pursuit of her career, an immersion in media that in a short span of time covers all expressions of modern-day news.

Good enough grades in first year national diploma in journalism studies saw her court and crime reporting lecturer recommend Naidoo for a vacation job at the *Natal Mercury n*ewspaper in Durban. Within six months, she had found a third occupation as a *Daily News* reporter, to go alongside her studies, and a West Street Foschini public address announcer gig.

While Naidoo's passion for cricket was unavoidably her most defining interest, it was her due as a reporter in training to interview hysterical surviving partners at the scenes of crimes, as the bodies of newly deceased loved ones cooled nearby under blankets.

It was not to avoid the echoing agony of the Magistrates' Court on a Friday afternoon that she regularly approached the powers that be for that clincher of an assignment to the sports desk. No, she knew she could to a better job of it than what she was seeing.

If only she could get a foot in the door, but how many front-page court stories would it take to strike that magical moment? None, it slowly became clear. So, in April 1999 and in the run-up to the 1999 general elections, Naidoo decided to handed in her letter of resignation and to pack up for Egoli, a place of promise, possibly even for her!

No sooner had she arrived at a friend's squat in Joburg and off to find a hot shower somewhere, than a group of entrepreneurs removed the door to make off with all her earthly possessions. So, the next morning, the first day of work in this new life, Kass arrived at the doors of the South African Press Association's offices in the same clothes she'd been in for the past 36 hours. Some start.

But lady luck was just around the corner, and two months later Naidoo was appointed as the overnight producer to John Robbie's morning drive-time talk show, and soon thereafter 702 entrusted her with her first opportunity to get involved in sports media as Robbie's sports news reader.




And so the fairy tale began. Everybody was delighted at the prospect of a scowling clean-shaven headed Indian girl from Durban coming in to play in this particular sandbox, and roundly to applaud her brave entry to the hallowed sports journalism. Yeah, right.

None the less, Naidoo got off to her grounding in the new spectrum of talk radio with typical enthusiasm, issuing and fielding cold calls to some of the country's most important politicians, listening to world-renown sports heroes respond, "Hi Kass, how's it going …" to her requests for interviews.

When, for example, a former health minister just didn't warm to Robbie's charm, Kass would learn of the news first-hand. But all that adrenaline, cheap coffee, anxiety and outright fun was soon to be the last thing on Kass' mind.

With a pending career from Primedia to the SABC3 newsdesk on the cards, Kass made her first serious play for involvement in her dream sport when she applied for the position of Communications Manager at the 2003 ICC Cricket World Cup, and her strident confidence in the application won her a short-list interview with Allie Bacher, no less.

Not to be, Kass resumed her behind-the-scenes journalist life as a news- and sports-news writer for the television evening news, but no sooner had she settled into the comfortable humdrum of the national broadcaster than she was invited to submit to a screen-test for a position as the studio presenter of SABC3's Cricket World Cup broadcast.

Things began to move fast after Kass hosted the SABC Sport coverage of the 2009 Cricket World Cup in February 2003, first her appointment as breakfast news sports presenter on Morning Live with Vuyo Mbuli, Tracy Going and later Michelle Garforth, and then as radio host of the evening drive-time Gameplan sports show on SAfm.

But nothing else quite resembled the rush when the go-ahead came through for Kass to do her first live cricket commentary stint during the December 2004 Boxing Day Test against England, with Neil Manthorp beside her, and becoming the first woman in the world to host a post match presentation in the same series. The clincher came the next year, when Kass Naidoo became South Africa's first female TV cricket commentator, realising her dream.

Kass went on to host and commentate on the epic South Africa vs Australia series in 2006 when South Africa won the historic 438 match at the Wanderers. She also presented SABC Sport's coverage of the 2007 Cricket World Cup.




Standing out from the crowd

Photo: gsport ... for Girls!

In September 2007, after nearly five seasons as a cricket broadcaster and a number of awards and industry accolades to her name, Kass decided it was time to take a break, to take it all in. At 29, she felt she needed things to slow down, and was eagerly looking forward to experiencing the joys of motherhood.

It was the hardest decision she had to make at the time – leaving the love of her life, cricket commentating, and moving on … She took six months off, and enjoyed the freedom to do whatever she pleased.

With free time on her hands, she chose to focus on gsport, and she started to realise the importance of this type of initiative. There are hardly any resources to help women in sport find their voice, and gsport aimed to do that. It tells success stories of women and men in this country who care enough to make a difference to women's sport.

Another aim of gsport is to celebrate femininity. For a long time, femininity was not an issue for Kass. As a child growing up with two brothers, she was a typical tomboy, building tree-houses, playing soccer and cricket, and racing go-karts. In her teens she was too busy working towards becoming a cricket commentator, to consider the role of femininity in her life.

But when she received a call from SABC Sport in October 2002 offering her the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to host their 2003 ICC Cricket World Cup coverage, she was sporting that shaved head, hardly the look she was hoping for to make her debut on TV. To complicate things even further, just weeks before cricket's greatest showpiece, she was given a double-breasted blue blazer to wear on TV.

"I put it on, and I couldn't believe my eyes. I looked like a cross between Dustin Hoffman and Spike Lee! Who was I? Who was I trying to be?" Kass was in a real quandary. "I knew I had to find my own identity in the male dominated world of cricket. But how? Then it hit me, it was time to celebrate my femininity!" And so began her incredible journey of self-discovery.

"Don't get me wrong," says Kass recalling the trying moments that she endured. "It wasn't as easy as it sounds. In fact, if I had chosen to ignore my femininity, it probably would have been easier. In the world of cricket, people were already cringing that a "chick" was going to be hosting the World Cup.

"The problem was that in order to celebrate my femininity, I had to first find it in me. And what made the situation worse; I had to do all this learning while on live TV. Off camera, I spent hours and hours learning how to look my best, sound my best, feel my best, and be my best.

"It's tough being a woman in sport, because there aren't rules for us. I made up my own rules, and discarded existing rules those that didn't work for me. For me, celebrating femininity is about appreciating the joy of being born a woman. It's been a great awakening for me and has resulted in the launch of gsport…for Girls!

"It's not about fighting for equality with men; it's about finding the greatness within ourselves. The rest will come…" Needles to say, the double-breasted blue blazer didn't get much airtime.

Today Kass has a big say in how cricket is run in South Africa, having been in the job of Brand and Corporate Communications Manager for Cricket South Africa approaching two years. Who would have predicted that her dream of bringing those never invited into the simple and passionate pleasures often found in a game of cricket would be, not as a commentator, but in the person of the sport's governing body?

But the real joy in her life was the arrival of Daniel late in February, a beautiful baby boy who has already made her young life complete. Who knows what's next?

**About gsport ... for Girls!**

gsport ... for Girls! Is an online initiative started in August 2006 by sports journalist Kass Naidoo and her husband Ryk Meiring. Their aim is to raise the profile of South African women in sport significantly to encourage corporate South Africa to back female athletes.

# Gender, economics and sport



The women of Little Rock construction hard at work *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*



## Gender, economic empowerment and 2010

By Doreen Gaura

**Abstract**

The soccer 2010 World Cup is just around the corner and not only South Africa but the whole region is alive with excitement and possibility. There are a lot of hopes and expectations resulting from the many promises made as part of the hype. There have been promises of economic and social benefit for the new South Africa and her neighbouring countries from the investment coming in, and the influx of tourists with a lot of foreign currency to spend during the tournament. Expectations are high for job creation and a boost in tourism. However, the question that remains is how much of this is pegged for women?

**Key words**

2010 World Cup, economic empowerment

## Will women benefit?

There is a scarcity of studies available related to gender and the impact of 2010. In conducting research about how gender may affect who benefits from the World Cup 2010, and particularly the extent that women specifically will benefit from the mega event, few sources were available. Research on the topic is virtually non-existent. Attempts to reach people at the Local Organising Committee of the World Cup, South African Football Association (SAFA) and City of Johannesburg for comment were unfruitful. However, interviews with academics from three of South Africa's best universities provide valuable insight, and raise some questions for consideration in the last days before the Cup.

In an interview, Dr. Orli Bass of the Centre of Critical Research on Race and Identity at the University of Kwa–Zulu Natal stated that the World Cup's contribution to the economy has been overstated, but this does not take away from the fact that there will be some benefits, especially in the areas of transport and communication. She is deeply concerned, however, with the amount of investment going into the construction and upgrading of 10 stadia in the host cities with the government contributing R17.4 billion towards this. She feels that they (stadia) will pose a problem in terms of up keep and will be put to little use post 2010, which will ultimately result in a loss in terms of cost/ benefit.




Will women in the informal economy benefit from 2010? Photo: Trevor Davies

On a more social level, Bass feels that this is an opportunity to reconfigure identity internally as well as externally for Africans as a whole from community group level to municipality level. It will give a view of Africa from an African perspective. As to how all of this will benefit women she can't be sure it will, at least not to an ideal degree. "The World Cup set up is generally a male one," she says.

Margot Rubin of the University of Witswatersrand and author of "The Off Side Rule: Women's Bodies in Masculinised Spaces" for the publication *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 World Cup*, feels much the same way. "I'm not sure it really does offer as much opportunities for women as it should," she said when asked how the gendered division of labour could affect women's ability to access economic opportunities for the World Cup.

She feels that the informal sector is largely divided and the most lucrative areas of the sector go to men, particularly foreign men "I am not being xenophobic when I say this but that is how the situation stands. There are zones in the way 2010 is structured in terms of economic opportunities and the women run the more hand to mouth businesses in the informal sector." She feels that people in this sector are going to be displaced in the sense that the informal markets situated in the areas near the stadia will be removed which begs the question, "what will happen to the women whose lives depend on their trade?"

The prospects are just as bleak for women as far as employment opportunities are concerned. Many jobs have been created in preparation for the World Cup with roads being reconstructed, the introduction of the Gautrain as well as construction of the stadia.

Again, Rubin is not too optimistic about women being included in the recruitment process and the awarding of tenders to businesses owned and run by women. "I'd like to see the stats on the number of women being trained for these jobs," she says. "It's mainly men seen in pictures used in the marketing of the World Cup. I would be hard pressed to find it plausible that women are involved in the legacy projects."

**Sex work in the limelight**

Women are underrepresented in the build up to the World Cup and when they are included it's usually a misrepresentation i.e. as sex workers or as the disgruntled or eager-to-please partners of male soccer fans or alternatively "WAGs" (wives and girlfriends). "Men would rather believe that women watch soccer for sexual



2 HOT NEWS SUNDAY [illegible] SEPTEMBER 2007

Zim businessman lures European fans to Africa's first Fifa World Cup via sizzling internet pictures

2010 GIRLS FOR SALE

WORLD CUP TROPHY: Lindsay Ndlovu "sold" as a hooker to horny European men

Alleged 'hookers' include former Miss Tourism Zimbabwe 2005 finalist

DREAM TEAM: Some of Lindsay Ndlovu's alleged "hooker" colleagues

MZILIKAZI wa AFRIKA

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe's cousin Phillip Chiyangwa has been caught with his pants down after he was allegedly linked to 2010 World Cup sex tourism scandal.

Sources close to the business mogul told *Sunday World* that they believe that he is behind the campaign to "recruiting and selecting some of Zimbabwe's most beautiful women" who would be working as prostitutes during the World Cup in 2010 to be hosted by South Africa.

The sources claim that the recruits are allegedly living in one of the houses that he is currently renting in Mandara, an upmarket suburb in Harare.

Already pictures of some the alleged "hookers", including a former Miss Tourism Zimbabwe 2005 finalist, Lindsay Ndlovu, is doing rounds on the internet.

The picture, also in our possession, was allegedly sent to some of the potential clients.

A source, who also received the email, says: "The picture was definitely not taken in Zimbabwe. One would be killed here if found dressed like these girls. Their dress code is tasteless as per Zimbabwean standards. But one thing for sure all the girls are Zimbabweans."

He adds that the picture is being used as "an advertisement to lure horny European men who use Africa as their sex tourism destination".

Ndlovu, who is originally from Bulawayo was reportedly seen at a house in Harare with her close friend, Lorraine Tsoanele Maphala.

Maphala is the winner of Miss Tourism Zimbabwe 2005.

Ndlovu and Maphala have been flying in and out of Zimbabwe to Asia on "business" at Chiyangwa's expense.

Chiyangwa, who was responsible for the King of Pop Michael Jackson's visit to Zimbabwe in 1998, is an alleged serial womaniser who uses his money to bed any woman he wants.

He is the same man who allegedly broke the virginity of controversial Big Brother star, Makosi Musambasi, when she was just 16.

At the time he was married with two wives and Musambasi, also a former Miss Zimbabwe contestant, was working for him.

Chiyangwa and Ndlovu could not be reached for comment after

Sex work in the media spotlight for 2010

gratification than accept that women understand its technicalities."

In terms of sex work, the implication is that the only businesses owned and run by women during the World Cup worth publicity are that of a sexual nature. Sex work is a business and should be regarded as such, but it is not only women involved in this line of work. Margot feels that there is an under-representation of the correlation between boy street children and sex work as well as the fact that there are male sex workers. She feels that there is a notion that 2010 will bring with it a huge demand for sex. "I don't think there will be a high demand for sex. There seemed to be a decline in the demand for sex in Germany during the World Cup 2006. No one really knows why that was the case."

Rubin, like Dr. Bass, feels that soccer is a male dominated arena with masculine identified constructed areas. There is very limited space for female fans and even then, they are not really recognised as real fans because soccer is a masculinised sport. This may very well result in the marginalisation of women in terms of economic empowerment, as there really is no room for them in soccer let alone the World Cup. Women only fit in as sex objects and the issue of sex work, which has brought about a lot of controversy, even if legalised, is not really going to benefit the women economically according to Rubin, if Germany's experience in this area is anything to go by. She feels that there isn't going to be much of a market as South Africa is lot further away from most countries participating and therefore making travel expenses that much higher hardly leaving any likelihood of sex featuring on a lot of budgets. "But again that is just my opinion. I am no authority on this."

She feels that there are many women owned businesses that are not enjoying as much publicity or opportunities as they should. "Take the hospitality industry for instance. It has experienced growth especially in the townships with a lot of B&Bs coming up." When asked if she feels the government's investment of R17.4 billion taken from public funding is really the best way to be spending this money she had this to say "I'm not sure that 10 new stadiums are the best spend of government money. I remain unconvinced that we should have done 2010 because of the issue of opportunity cost, but on the other hand if we believe that it has been a catalyst for a number of interventions i.e. transport in the form of the Gautrain, then I do not think the legacy is all bad."

Dr. Elaine Salo, Director of Gender Institute at the University of Pretoria, also agrees with Bass and Rubin because she says that, "the only gendered conversations I have heard surrounding 2010 are those of sex work. I am not sure if the Department of Tourism has thought about linking the various women owned hospitality companies to various tourism activities they have lined up for 2010."

**Need to spotlight women in business**

Salo feels that there should be a special focus on businesses owned by black women and the disabled. She gave the example of Mmatshilo Motsei who is running a spa specifically targeting the healing of women through art. Motsei is a creative strategist with numerous awards in the field of gender, gender violence and health who has founded two local advocacy and women's right organisations. Over the past decade, she has worked as a counselor, trainer, gender consultant and a rural development practitioner.

There are various other women, not as well known as Motsei, that Dr. Salo feels are being underrepresented in the build up to 2010. She doesn't feel that the marketing of 2010 by the local organising committee and FIFA have thought of the linkage between women and 2010. "How are we going to highlight women in soccer and their World Cup as well as sponsoring for example the sponsorship of Banyana Banyana and other women's soccer teams? I mean they probably have a better record than Bafana Bafana." As far as job opportunities for women in respect to 2010 are concerned, Dr. Salo is also not positive. "I suspect that there will be some accruement in terms of job

continuity and job creation for women but in the lower echelons." She's curious to know how much of the tenders and investment have been allocated to women.

Another cause for concern for Dr. Salo, like Margot Rubin, is the displacement of informal traders who operate within the same vicinity as the 10 stadia. "How is SAFA going to use the area in and around the stadiums to create ready use markets?" She believes that the ideal situation would be to create markets for visiting fans outside the stadiums to boost trade, which will highly benefit the people in the informal sector, which mainly consists of women. She doesn't believe that a lot of fans who have come solely for the games will be bothered to go out in search for informal markets to buy souvenirs if they are not going to be strategically positioned "so why not bring the markets to them?"

She believes that the hype about sex work only serves to perpetuate stereotypes that that is the only business women are cable of conducting especially during the world cup. Sex work is not the only factor surrounding women when it comes to the World Cup. "Why not engender every sector?" The arts are another example she makes. She wants to know "to what extent women artists are going to be a part of the entertainment for the opening and closing ceremonies. "Are we just looking at the big names? What of the smaller women entertainers who are customarily marginalised due to having a 'limited audience'?"



Entreprenurs like, Debbi Coetzee (right) and her partner Natasha Machado, the first women to operate a Primi Piatti Restaurant franchise, are also part of the 2010 picture.

Ex ante and ex post studies have been conducted for the World Cups in Germany and France and the question is "have they been carefully studied as well as how efficient are the ex ante studies that have been conducted for the 2010 World cup in South Africa especially from a gender perspective?" Granted France and Germany are worlds apart from South Africa and therefore can not be transposed from one to the other.

Studies feel that the impact of the World Cup on South Africa is likely to be better than that of the previous host countries for various reasons namely:

- The "couch potato effect" which diverts WC – addicted consumers from their normal consumption behaviours is less likely to occur in South Africa;
- The usual negative crowding-out effect on regular tourism of large sporting events might not have its usual magnitude because the WC will happen during the low season for tourism in South Africa;
- South Africa does not have a comparably dense provision of sporting facilities as North America and European countries;
- South African stadium projects draw on the insights from urban economics with the aim of a more effective integration of stadiums with urban needs, which hold the promise of enhanced positive externalities, (Allmers, S and Maennig, W)

However, how much of all these positive outcomes is going to affect the women in South Africa? Did they stand a better chance of benefiting from the R17.4 billion worth of public funds being invested in the WC had South Africa not won the bid than they do now?

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**Writers Bio**

Doreen joined Gender Links in May 2009 as an intern. She holds a Diploma in Marketing with the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry and is working towards taking up a degree in International Relations and ultimately hopes to attain her masters in International Law. Before joining Gender Links she was the Marketing Executive for Urban Wear Pvt Ltd, a clothing label in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. She has volunteered for Save the Children UK, where she conducted interviews with refugee children from Zimbabwe.



## Access to finance a key to entrepreneurship

By Anne Hilton

**Abstract**

There has been much speculation about how the upcoming World Cup 2010 in South Africa will benefit the country, and the region, in terms of economic development. All across Southern African entrepreneurs and business people are getting ready to cash in on the mega-event. Yet, for women, the likely benefits are questionable. One key area is that entrepreneurship requires access to credit and finance, resources that tend to be less available for women than men.

**Key words**

micro-finance, gender, entrepreneurship, World Cup 2010

The arrival of the World Cup on African soil for the first time has brought with it many raised hopes and expectations. Across the region, enterprising individuals are trying to get in on the action – the increased tourism means many more spending visitors than usual, all of which will require accommodation, transport, and meals, and most of which will by purchasing goods, such as souvenirs and other commodities. The challenge is how to set up a business to not only take advantage of the event, but also how to sustain the venture beyond the World Cup.

### Women and finance

Getting started in business requires planning, identifying needs or wants in the market and being able to compete with other players in the market. This requires more than a good idea. The good idea needs to be viable, implementable and competitive through price, innovation or service. Access to finance to be able to initiate or grow an enterprise is often key. Yet, despite the recognition, that women's economic empowerment is an important part of development, there is still a gender divide when it comes to access to finance. This in turn can affect the ability of women to make the most of their business ideas for and after 2010.

There are two trends currently emerging in this debate; the first suggests that gender and the social constructs of women's lives do indeed affect their ability to raise finance. The other suggests the idea that both men and women have problems and that their does not appear to be any inherent gender bias.

Whilst there is evidence that men and women do both face barriers when seeking funding, there is also irrefutable evidence that the conditions of women's

lives create obstacles that men do not need to face in many cases. Men do not face gender specific biases, women do.

Some examples of this include three of the key issues faced by women in pursuit of business and finance:

- Men for example may not always have access to property to offer as collateral, but the lack thereof isn't related to the social constructs which define their lives as men. Men are not denied access to property because they are men, women are.
- Men whilst often in low paid and least skilled jobs, they are generally not in these as a consequence of their gender, but rather in line with their socio-economic circumstances. Where men and women are poor, it is women who are likely to be the worse off.
- It is unlikely that any man applying for a job, to buy a business or raise capital, is ever asked how many children he has.

The issue of enterprise development and access to finance for women is indeed a challenge which is not going to go away any time soon. Access to finance for women is intrinsically linked with the status of women in society and this is reflected to a more or lesser degree depending on the legal, cultural and socio-political environment in which women are living.

Women face significant challenges in terms of their sex and gender roles and their ability to run businesses and to raise capital. Entrenched inequalities continue to deprive women of fair and equal financial options and opportunities in many economies.

**Legal and cultural systems**

Systems of tenure and inheritance continue to plague women. Even in countries where reforms have been realised, the translation of these into tangible practices and opportunities for women, is often a problem. A disproportionate number of women are still excluded from access or utilisations their right to or practice of statutory law. Where statuary and customary law co-exist, the former is often ignored or contradicts the rights prescribed by law.

In these circumstances, women face the possibility of losing homes, land or their businesses, in the event of a marriage partner dying. Indeed women are often not aware that they may be protected by statuary provisions. In addition, they are unable to own or offer land or property as sources of collateral to raise finance.



Still locked out of the formal economy? Photo: Trevor Davies

Some other issues that are faced by women include:

- Many traditional norms and values prevent women from acting as legal beings.
- Many work in the least skilled and lowest paid jobs, which further entrenches their difficulties with regard to accumulating assets or personal equity.
- Women are often in marital arrangements which put them in a position of legal minors and which largely prevent women from making independent decisions about their own finances or credit decisions. This leaves women without the relevant

experience or credit histories from which to draw when applying for funds either whilst married or when divorced or widowed.
- Negative attitudes towards women based on their conflicting role demands and perceived time constraints, real or imagined, may be interrogated and held against women when they apply for funding. Nobody would dream of asking a man the same questions or deny access to resources because he is a parent.
- Women often want to borrow smaller amounts and this may be outside of the minimum loan policies of a bank
- Women are also less likely to seek credit than men as many women perceive the barriers as insurmountable.
- Women are most likely to draw on savings or loans from friends and relatives.

Women themselves are often not aware of and lack information about financial products and services. For many women, unexposed or underexposed to financial and legal matters, the forms and processes can be complex and they are often unaware of available capital options to meet the different requirements of their businesses.

In an economy such as South Africa, women are most likely to be seeking start-up finance, which is the holy grail of business finance. Poor and rural women face the greatest hardships and difficulties when seeking to run a business and to make ends meet. Poor women have very limited access beyond high interest bearing micro finance and seldom if ever achieve reputational equity for their repayment histories.

Financial markets are still very much commanded by men. Men's predominance in the economy financial institutions has fostered a culture which does not recognise the needs of women clients and which is likely to exclude them from opportunities and prospects and gender mainstreaming.

Financial institutions are also mostly not aware that women may face gender specific constraints when seeking finance. They assume that a gender-neutral position puts women on an equal footing with male applicants. In South Africa, there is also the assumption that Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiatives will automatically ensure that women get their fair share. This is unlikely and to date has not been born out in practice.

The financial options available to women entrepreneurs are limited. Since many women's businesses are start-up, home based or very small, the majority are likely to face difficulties in accessing any finance at all. Resource poor women are entirely under resourced to meet the needs of traditional commercial credit granters.

**Questioning microfinance**

Instead, globally and in Africa, micro-finance is the most widespread source of funding for women. It is also generally speaking the most favoured source of funding for women. The advent of micro finance was a revolutionary moment in identifying sources of capital for businesses owned by poor and under resourced communities. This has however time become a source of assumption about the over all and long term impacts on women. Micro-finance has been lauded as a mechanism for eradicating poverty and for women's empowerment and the focus has been very much centered on women as the primary recipients. This in relation to evidence that women are general better re-payers, are most likely to benefit families and communities from the proceeds of business activity and tend to seek micro finance significantly more often than men do.

There are however concerns that the emphasis on micro finance is hampering a broader debate on access to finance for women and that certain features of micro finance are not gender positive and the assumption of empowerment needs closer scrutiny. Whilst many women continue to use micro finance, group lending does not meet the borrowing needs of many women entrepreneurs, especially those which have been in business for some time and who aspire to grow their businesses. In reality for many, they have no other choice. There has been insufficient attention given to

alternative ways of addressing the asset poor base of women, leaving women perpetually dependent on this mode of funds.

There is a significant gap between the financial products offered by the micro finance institutions and what the commercial banks for example, offer to growth-oriented women entrepreneurs; and there few mechanisms for graduating women from one to the other. In the micro finance industry there is a tendency to view repayments or uptake of loans as a measure of success and applicability to the needs of women. This is however a tenuous assumption which in no way allows for any supposition of business success or positive changes in gender relations or inequalities. Micro finance is an important beginning for many women there is a need to view micro finance as part of a value proposition for women and not as an end in itself. Policy frameworks need to take cognizance of both the positive and negative aspects of the micro finance model for women and to review the role of micro finance in a balanced way.

It is important that in developing economies the options for finance for women is not disproportionately limited to micro credit and that real solutions offer workable alternatives to group lending and high interest bearing credit as the pre eminent option for women. Whilst many of the women who use micro credit to improve the income of themselves and there families stay small by choice, many women have the capacity and will to run larger and more successful enterprises, they still experience disadvantages when seeking business capital. A lack of experience, the desire to work from home and manage both family and business or a lack of tangeable collateral, still serves as barriers for many. We still have a long way to go to address the inequalities and assumptions which prevent women from accessing finance.

**Empowering women**

Whilst many of the constraints experienced by small business and especially emerging business are common to both men and women, women face constraints



Entrepreneurs like Diana Westcott, owner of Nearly New, a second hand boutique in Grahamstown, South Africa, need finance to strat and grow their businesses
Photo: Trevor Davies

which are not experienced by men and which are gender based. The "glass ceiling" and gender discrimination in the workplace is referred to in many, if not all, of the sources on women in business. The lower skills base, lack of management opportunities and lower wage levels are all considered to be a very serious impediment to promoting women's business opportunities, for the reasons already noted. Women are also less likely to accumulate or inherit assets sufficient to offer as collateral.

Women's business activities, whilst receiving the most attention at the micro level, are neither confined to nor adequately supported by the emphasis on women's economic progress at the lowest end of the enterprise scale. Women are also successful business owners in small and medium businesses and are proving themselves more than capable of challenging stereotypes of women entrepreneurs. It is essential that more attention is given to women at other levels of business development in both developed and developing economies, but especially in countries where women in business are still largely viewed as needing support at the lowest levels of business activity.

Perhaps the most crucial factor that has been ignored is consultation with women themselves about the problems they encounter and adequate research to develop gender disaggregated data from which to understand and respond to the needs of women. The evidence available on the topic of access to finance for women highlights a number of practical and realisable interventions, which with the appropriate political and private sector commit-ment, could translate into substantial gains for women in business. This is the challenge going forward, and will be a challenge for women hoping to cash in on World Cup 2010.

**Writers Bio**

Anne Hilton works as an independent consultant in SMME development. Her two main focus areas are access to finance and gender. She holds a Hons Degree in Industrial Sociology. Some of her work includes working on a diagnostic study of gender and access to finance for women in business in South Africa for the IFC. She has researched and presented several papers on the topic for a number of conferences, including the Commonwealth Business Women's Conference in Uganda and a forum of women in Ghana and Oman. Anne also runs training and mentorship programmes for emerging Black Economic Empowerment businesses.



## "Moving the Goalposts" sanitary pads project

By Sarah Forde

**Abstract**

Girls and women in Kilifi District, Kenya are some of the world's poorest and most disadvantaged people. Low retention in school, early and unwanted pregnancies and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS trap them in a cycle of poverty. Moving the Goalposts Kilifi (MTGK) uses local and youth centred approaches to tackle these issues ensuring girls' participation as leaders and decision makers. MTGK aims to promote football excellence, youth leadership, reproductive health rights and economic empowerment. As part of this, the organisation is embarking on a project to provide girls and women with affordable sanitary pads, which will not only make this necessity more affordable, but also be an income-generating project for young women soccer players.

**Key words**

sports, reproductive health, gender

### Moving the Goalposts – tackling gender inequality

*I play football during my monthly period. Nobody can know because I put cotton wool then two pairs of underwear and then biker shorts. Then I play without any worries. Some girls don't want to play during their period but they don't say why.*

*- Juliet*

Juliet is a football player in Kilifi district, Kenya. She is also a member of Moving the Goalposts, a girls' youth football for development programme based in coastal Kenya. Moving the Goalposts (MTG) was set up in 2002 in an attempt to address issues of gender inequality that face girls and young women in some of the poorest rural districts in Kenya. In Kilifi and the surrounding districts, girls have far fewer opportunities than boys do in terms of education, despite the government's introduction of Free Primary Education in 2003. Girls carry the burden of early pregnancies and motherhood, as well as illegal and unsafe abortion




Moving the goalposts for gender equality Photo: Sarah Forde

and are seven times more likely to be living with HIV than their male counterparts are. Unemployment is high amongst all young people, but girls are much less likely to become self-reliant, working as house girls, in catering, the informal sector and as seasonal workers in the tourism industry – all low paid, casual and insecure work with few career opportunities.



Girls play, coach and referee all the games Photo: Sarah Forde

It was against such a backdrop of gender inequality that a group of teachers, researchers and football coaches joined and came up with football as a route for girls to take more control of their lives and opportunities. Strange choice, you may be thinking, when girls' problems are related to poverty, inequality, poor health and lack of opportunities. However, the theory behind the approach was that there was a need for more creativity in addressing such issues and that a slightly subversive idea could kick start people into taking more notice of the potential of girls and young women rather than focusing on the problems they encounter. Football was also put forward because of its own problem with inequality; despite it often being referred to as "the global game" it is anything but, and remains skewed heavily towards men in its global outreach. If girls could take part in football, organise their own teams and activities and show everyone that "Tunaweza!" (Kiswahili for "We can do it" – the MTG slogan) then the underlying assumption was that people would start to believe that girls could also achieve more in other areas of their lives.

**Why football for girls?**

| Challenges for girls | Through football she can: |
|---|---|
| Not free to attend meetings, go out | Be reached, mobilised in safe places, socialise positively |
| Early marriage | Stay longer in school |
| No schooling | If out of school, delay early marriage |
| No decisions, even for herself | Build confidence, "If I can play football I can do lots of useful things in my life" |
| No access to sexual health education | Learn life skills, discuss reproductive health issues with trained peer educators |
| No leadership or management skills | Learn how to organise leagues, tournaments |
| Cheap labour (house girls) | Opportunities to gain work experience as volunteer/staff |

That theory remains the foundation of MTG's programmes seven years later. As of 2009, MTG employs 16 girls and women and one man – 14 of those staff members are girls and young women from the area who started as volunteers in the organisation. Its activities reach out to close to 3000 girl players at 23 football fields. Girls' empowerment and participation is central in MTG's approach - girls coach their own teams, referee all the matches, provide the first aid and make up the field committees who ensure matches are played and other activities take place.

**Football, health, education and training**

Once MTG was running, girls were playing, and organising their own football leagues and tournaments, people in the community began to ask MTG, "what else now?" There was general agreement that MTG was providing opportunities for girls and that being involved in football could have an empowering effect, but more was expected from an organisation that had spread its tentacles out to some of the most remote rural spots in the province. So, in 2004 MTG launched its first peer-led health programme focusing on reproductive health and HIV/AIDS by training 10 peer educators, who then went out to discuss teenage issues with girl footballers. This programme has grown over the years and over 50 peer educators have been trained alongside 12 peer counselors who provide social support and counseling services at the football fields.

**Reproductive health and sexuality**

With reproductive health and sexuality taking a more central role in MTG's activities, a whole range of complex issues arose as girls had a safe platform to air their adolescent concerns. Questions came flooding in during the health sessions run by the peer educators who documented all the questions they received during the first year. Hundreds were collected, such as - What causes the pains during my periods? How are sanitary pads used? Why do I get angry when I'm menstruating? If I get my period today, miss it tomorrow and get it the day after, do I have a disease? Why, if a boy has approached me, can I spend the whole night thinking about him? What does a girl feel that makes her go to bed with a boy? What can someone do to stop herself having sex, even if she feels like having sex? Why is it that some girls can't do without having sex? Why don't boys get seduced by girls?

In response to some of these questions, MTG published two reproductive health resource books in Kiswahili - the first on menstruation and adolescence and the second on relationships and decision-making, distributed amongst the girls who are members of MTG.

**Sanitary protection – an unmet basic need**

Menstruation – as the first topic covered by peer educators – became a focal point for a new initiative for MTG. Time and again girls talked about the impact of menstruation on their lives, their education and their participation in sports. It is common knowledge in East Africa that many girls and women in rural and urban areas do not use sanitary pads when they are menstruating because they cannot afford them. As one girl, Ragda, from MTG said, "The next month there was no money for pads so I used pieces of cloth. My mum showed me how to use them. We cut several pieces. She told me to wash them after using them. We call them 'special' pieces and I would take them during my periods and put them away after." It was also becoming increasingly clear, through research and the work of organisations such as MTG, that some young girls and women were having sex in exchange for money so that they could cover the cost of sanitary pads:

*"I go to his place to have sex, normally every Saturday. I wouldn't say I love him but it's important that he gives me money because you could be having your monthly periods and you don't have money to buy sanitary pads."*

- Kanze, MTG player, primary school girl, talking about her boyfriend.



Young girls put their heart into the game Photo: Sarah Forde

Teenage girls are putting themselves at risk of unplanned pregnancy, unsafe abortion, STIs and HIV infection in their search for money to cover their basic needs. In response to the growing evidence that menstruation is having a negative effect on the education aspirations and vulnerability of girls the government of Kenya and NGOs have taken action. In the last budget the finance minister announced the cutting of value added tax (VAT) off the cost of sanitary pads while UNICEF and the Girl Child Network, an NGO in Nairobi, alongside numerous other smaller groups have given out sanitary pads to needy girls. Whilst all these initiatives have created awareness and gone some way to alleviating the problem on a short-term basis the reality is many girls still cannot afford pads.

**Cheaper sanitary pads – a social enterprise**

With support from the Ford Foundation, MTG has taken the first steps towards finding a longer lasting and sustainable solution to the problem by starting a project to produce affordable sanitary pads out of locally available materials. Dr Moses Kiiza Musaazi from Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda has developed technology to make low cost sanitary pads using papyrus grass and waste paper. The Ugandan

Bureau has approved the pads and they are currently undergoing tests by their Kenyan equivalent. The pads use low technology and can be produced using local labour and minimal equipment.

MTG's project has two wider socio-economic aims: the project will include girls as the marketing points in the community ensuring that they receive the profit from each packet that they sell, improving their economic independence. As Urdang points out, "for younger women there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that when women and girls gain control over economic aspects of their lives, then in turn, the power derived from this control translates to other domains of their lives, including their bodies and reproductive control" (Urdang 2007).

However, MTG, with eight years experience of working with vulnerable young women in coast province, Kenya, recognises that economic status is not the only factor at play in determining the sexual health of young women. Its social aim is to provide information and social support regarding their reproductive health, relationships, pregnancy, safe sex, HIV and AIDS. Each packet of pads will contain information sheets developed in collaboration with various ministries such as health, gender, youth and sports and the provincial administration. A system will allow girls to raise their reproductive health concerns and have them accurately and confidentially dealt with by MTG. This is likely to use mobile phone technology through SMS and a free phone service. A comprehensive research project to monitor the socio-economic impact of the initiative will be developed and piloted in year one. The aim of the research project is to reduce the reliance on anecdotal evidence regarding young women's economic status and their sexual health. It will produce robust information on the project's impact and the possibilities for replicability and scale up of such projects.

MTG's feasibility study carried out in 2008 found that there was a ready market for the sanitary pads if sold at 35 Kenya shillings (US 25 cents) per packet of 10. They were particularly popular in the more rural parts of the district with primary school girls, unemployed young women and women engaged in small business i.e. making and selling charcoal, selling water etc. Over the next year, MTG will develop the business plan, research plan and source funding for the first three years to initiate production and distribution. MTG expects many challenges and opportunities along the way. Disposal of pads is a big concern. Pit latrines can fill up very quickly, especially in schools, if all girls are using pads. While the pads are almost completely made of natural materials they are enclosed in a plastic mesh cover, which is obligatory for approval by any national Bureau of Standards. Musaazi also developed an incinerator, which could be installed at schools, but many rural girls and women do not use school facilities and do not have pit latrines in their homes. Finding a way for girls and women to dispose of their pads discreetly and with as little environmental impact as possible will be a challenge.



Empowering girls through sport Photo: Sarah Forde

Meanwhile MTG's vast network of girls who play football is a huge opportunity. The girls and young women can be extremely effective marketing points in the community. They are well known and respected and they will be able to sell the sanitary pads at the football fields, from their homes and in schools creating a marketing network that can be replicated in other rural areas and provide young women with more opportunities to become self reliant.

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**Writers Bio**

Sarah Forde is the Director of MTG. She is a development professional with experience in sports and development programming, gender and social justice. Her research interest lies in the sexual and reproductive health of teenage girls and the impact of sports participation on their adolescent experiences. She is also a trained radio journalist and worked with the BBC for six years. For more information on Moving the Goalposts http://mtgk.org; for more information on sanitary pads made from papayrus grass http://t4tafrica.com



## Media lacks content on World Cup 2010's economic potential

By Glory Mushinge

**Abstract**

As the dates for the FIFA World Cup 2010 tournament draw near, economic activities in South Africa are naturally heightening, while others related to the preparation phase are winding up. Some of the most evident activities are construction and transport work, with thousands of people part of the massive workforce required to get the needed infrastructure in place. Yet, the gender balance of who benefits is a question that remains unanswered. Part of the reason why this issue is largely missing from the public agenda is that media is missing out on a gender perspective in reporting on World Cup 2010.

**Key words**

sports, World Cup 2010, gender

### Making the most of 2010

According to information on the South Africa.Info website, South Africa envisaged an expenditure of about R5-billion for building and renovating 10 World Cup stadiums, R5.2-billion on upgrades to the country's airports, and R3.5-billion on improvements to the country's road and rail network between now and 2010. The country will also be working to tight deadlines to ensure that the Gautrain, a high-speed rail link between Johannesburg, Pretoria and Johannesburg International Airport, is up and running in time," the website states.

Other countries surrounding the host country are also likely to benefit from the tourism business, as tourists from all over the world are likely to take advantage of their travel to the region to visit neighbouring nations. As such, the building and renovation of such accommodation as guesthouses, hotels and restaurants are creating widespread employment opportunities.

The event is also an opportunity for re-branding Africa from the negative picture often painted about the continent by foreign media. It is an opportunity to distribute positive information about colourful aspects of the country and continent to break the gloomy image of a people dying from hunger and disease, which normally characterise western media. The African media have an opportunity to write positively in a way that could encourage investment, which would help

create more foreign exchange, employment and financial gains to the country and continent.

Visit most of the construction sites in South Africa and the region, and you will see a mostly male-dominated workforce. Yet, women are also joining in; sometimes breaking stereotypes an engaging in businesses in traditionally male dominated domains. Others are upscaling "traditional female activities." There are diverse and widespread potential opportunities.

For example, women are creating self employment in such industries as housing, by making rooms in their homes into guest houses. They are also planning to use their vehicles as taxis for tourists needing transport or acting as tour guides, taking visitors to historic and heritage sites, as well as just around the country, for a fee. Others may venture into the restaurant business or collect and sell arts, crafts and paintings that depict African culture. Women can take advantage of the construction boom as well, either seeking work as builders or as service providers, such as food and catering services for the industry.



Evelyn Styanda – one of over 50 Grahamstonian home owners offering township "home-stay" accommodation.
Photo: Henrieta Banda

There is no doubt that 2010 will bring with it an overwhelming demand for tourist accommodations. Makana Tourism seeks to promote tourism in Grahamstown, South Africa, especially the township areas. According to Tourism Officer Vuyani Njovane, there is a deliberate and conscious effort to work with previously marginalised communities. For example, the Kwam'eMakana initiative is township homes, which run along the same lines as BnBs. There are 50 home stays, as these BnBs are known, that have applied for BnBs status, 49 owned by women. Such creative use of existing community spaces can provide significant economic benefits for communities when it comes to 2010.

The economic opportunities for both men and women abound. However, women are usually at a disadvantaged position, especially when patriarchal beliefs define certain jobs by gender. Added to this is a lack of adequate information on how women could play a role in these moneymaking ventures and other alternatives that exist.

**Gender, media, and economic opportunities**

Reviewing online publications for information about how women could generate an income during the tournament, or other benefits that existed for women, the information available is quite generalised. There are few points about how the event should benefit the country, as opposed to practical profiles, examples or guidelines on how women in particular could gain.

Most of the coverage focuses on the logistics, how many teams will be involved, who is qualifying, which countries will host teams, and the progress of construction. In particular coverage has concentrated on concerns raised about South Africa hosting the tournament due to what some say are high crime rates, lack of preparedness, and violence, particularly related to the xenophobic attacks of May 2008. (Afrik.com 2008).

For example, coverage which discussed recruitments taking place, such as in the police service where recruitment numbers were expected to rise from 55, 000 to about 190, 000 (http://www.sagoodnews.co.za/talking_points/2010_fifa_world_cup.html, 2008) do not mention how those jobs would be distributed between men and women. For example, so far how many people have been employed, how many of those are women and what type of responsibilities have they been given. It would also be interesting to find out how much money the women are being paid and if or not they are on the same scale as the men doing the same work.




Gender Links "Business Unusual" training course in gender and the economy offers fresh perspectives. Photo: Gender Links

Such articles that question the distribution of opportunities could also go further by making recommendations and suggestions that would help authorities make decisions that would ensure that women are included and well represented. If there are women that have taken up work in what are usually male dominated areas, the media could create profile articles about them, as a way of demonstrating role models to encourage other women to follow suit. However, references to economic empowerment in articles only spare a sentence to talk about women; the rest goes on to talk about the general picture. The need for the provision of women-centred economic information by the media could never be more emphasised.

The 2010 mega event is quickly drawing near. Even though the media has evidently ignored or missed stories that touch on women's economic empowerment from the World Cup, it is still not too late to create content to reflect a gender perspective on the event. There is need for women's movements to organise media training to discuss these issues and if possible create sponsorship for publications and electronic programmes to discuss these issues.

The opportunity is here to lift the standards of the women and we need to take it, for it comes but once. Some of the women that will be lucky to gain from it might just be on their way to a successful future if they seize the opportunity to acquire links with possible business partners. Hence if the information provided by the media can help one woman get that, it would have been worth providing that information.

The media has an important role to play in providing information about such opportunities, such as where activities in each part of the country and continent are

taking place, work or opportunities available, and where women could go to benefit from the opportunities. Journalists also need to educate employment creators about the importance of considering women as they create employment and other economic opportunities, to encourage more women. This information needs to be readily available to be accessed by those who are interested in the opportunities or even those that don't know they could benefit, through a host of channels such as TV and radio news and programmes, as well as print and online.

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**Writers Bio**

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## Malawi's women referees given tough time

By Mabvuto Kambuwe

**Abstract**

As the 2010 World Cup in South Africa draws closer, countries in Africa, including Malawi, are working to involve more females in sport, including bringing in female referees in men's football. However, the going has always been tough for female referees, and they continue to face various forms of discrimination while officiating such games, including verbal and physical abuse.

**Key words**

Gender violence, football, 2010 World Cup

### Violence against female referees

Although there are some strides forward to increase women's participation in sport, in particular football at different levels, as we count down to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, a number of challenges hamper women's involvement. Although football is regarded as a unifying factor among people, especially fans, in most cases there are gender gaps in the sport. Soccer continues to be stereotyped as a men's sport, but women also express interest in the sport, which led to the introduction of women's soccer all over the world. While economical and commercial benefits are already being counted in Southern Africa, the unanswered question is what is the social impact?

Currently in Malawi, there is an emerging cadre of women football referees. Unfortunately, these female referees continue to be marginalised and discriminated against by local football fans and players. On several occasion female referees have received various forms of discrimination, ranging from physical and psychological abuse. Local fans have been the main perpetrators of gender abuse violence to female referees, especially verbal harassment. There has been vicious name calling such as *hule* and *fiti ya chizimayi (*meaning prostitute and wizard) and even referring to the women's genitalia in the stadiums. On many occasions, even football players themselves undermine these women referees, unlike men referees. Sometimes football players have taken centre stage quarrelling with female referees to the extent of declaring them unfit to officiate male football.

In one case, at a Silver Stadium match, when the female referee disallowed a goal by the visiting team, fans started insulting her with abusive language. Another incident happened at Kamuzu Stadium, when a female referee was allegedly involved in a verbal war with MTL Wanderers vice captain Bernard Kalilani, but the player was not punished. Another incident happened in Mchinji, (central region of Malawi) during a presidential cup game, a White Falls FC player allegedly slapped an assistant referee on the face during confusion erupting after the hosts scored a winning goal in the dying minutes and fans invaded the pitch.

The mindset of local football fans and players is that women referees can not officiate football at higher levels, like the country's top flight league, TNM super leagues, but only lower leagues, especially junior leagues. On the other hand, the lowering standard of football in the country has also contributed to increased discrimination as local fans share the blame of their club's poor performance on the referees.

In most cases matches officiated by female referees have ended in controversies, not necessarily because the referees are not competent, but because of stereotypes that women are not able to conduct this work. On the other hand, women referees also sometimes have problems keeping control of the match, partially due to their own lack of self-assurance, largely resulting form social stereotypes.

Another factor leading to various forms of abuse among these referees is that there are very few female football fans in the country's stadiums, due to acts of violence that tend to accompany matches. As a result, women referees have little support from their fellow women. The treatment of women referees mirrors the kind of gender violence that permeates Malawian society. For many women in Malawi, life is continuously shadowed by the experience of physical and psychological violence. Working for women's empowerment thus involves working for changes in social attitudes towards women. There are many examples of the violence female referees experience, yet no measures exist to punish perpetrators of violence at football matches.

**Breaking new ground**

Despite all of the forms of abuse women referees face when officiating men's football, Martha Nyekanyeka is one of the most highly rated female referees in the country. She is confident and looks forward to being one of the best referees in Malawi. Nyekanyeka says she has been the target of verbal abuse on several occasions, and even beaten once, while officiating football matches, but that does not stop her from blowing the whistle.

"Despite all discrimination I receive in the field as a woman referee, from fans and players and even club officials, I put them aside and concentrate on my job," she says. Nyekanyeka adds that behaviour of some of the local fans and players towards female referees is not good, this has led to more women shunning a job as a female referee in Malawi.

She recalls early days as a referee when she could feel hurt when abused by local fans at football matches for less than K5, 000 per game. "At first I could feel as if I could drop the whistle when some disgruntled fans abuse me verbally, I nearly stopped being a football referee due to such problems," she added. Nyekanyeka says life as a female referee in Malawi's men football is not an easy task considering that the sport is associated with a lot of violence and hooliganisms. The high number of football fans who go to watch football matches while drunk have also made her job difficult.

Just like Nyekanyeka, another highly rated female referee in the country, Ella Banda, shares similar sentiments with her friend. Banda mentioned that the intimidation and unfriendly atmosphere at football matches makes her life difficult as a referee. "Sometimes football fans intimidate us with the aim of frustrating us. As a result that affects our performances in the field," she said. Banda believes that life as a female referee would be better if supporters at matches did not discriminate against match officials based on gender, and rather treated all referees the same, judging them by their performance.




Martha Nyekanyeka on the pitch Photo: Mabvuto Kambuwe

Banda says it is high time Malawian supporters appreciate the existence of female referees in men football, which is a milestone to promote more women in sports. "Security at some of the matches need to be tightened up. I hope everybody knows of what female referees are facing in terms of gender violence. But nothing is being done to stop the malpractice," she says. Banda also places blame on media coverage of stories regarding female referees.

But what has been local football fans perspective on female referees? Madalitso Mazombwe is football fan who has no kind words on the performance of female referees which he said has led to increased discrimination and verbal abuse and use of abusive languages. "I feel female referees should not be given mandate to officiate football at higher level, like TNM super league, because there have been a lot of evidence that matches officiated by them have ended in controversies or their decisions are not professional," Mazombwe explained. He adds that the fact few women like watching football, which is part of the problem. "The fact that women do not like watching football in the stadium has contributed negatively on the performances of these referees. I think if we want to reduce such abuses female referees are facing we need to create an environment that friendly that encourage more women can watch matches and give the support to fellow women"

Abasi Makawa coach for ELPAC United, the debutants in the TNM super league, said lack of proper training has affected performance of female referees, which has fuelled occurrence of discrimination and various forms of abuse at local matches. However he was quick to mention that some female referees lacks confidence in so doing they lose concentration on the match. As a result, they mess up the game, which attracts criticism from football fans. "I believe some female referees lack confidence in them, so some fans

have taken advantage of that to criticise them and abuse them in many ways," Makawa said.

He thinks proper training will solve all problems currently experienced by female referees on duty at football matches. Wanderers coach Yasin Osman was also quoted by *Nation* newspapers saying "Officiation has left a lot be desired, one thing that I have noted is that most of them are not able to interpret and apply rules." According to the *The Nation*, [Tuesday 28 July 2009, backpage] some club officials expressed concerned over the standard of officiation.

Wanderer General Secretary Chipiliro Mpinganjira was quoted as saying that officiating personnel miserably failed to stamp their authority on the game. "It is not much to do with taking side but is incompetence," he was quoted saying. Silver striker general secretary Gibson Mkanda was also quoted in *The Nation* that "it is a ticking bomb which can explode soon if not checked. There have been acts of hooliganisms and violence in some games purely due to the referee's incompetence. In some cases they are even failing to apply the basic laws of the game you tend to wonder if at all they go for refresher course."

**Attitudes must change**

However, National Referee Committee General Secretary Chris Kalichero played down claims that female referees have under performed. He said the major factor fans continual undermining of the women. According to Kalichero, fans need change their attitudes towards women if female referees are to succeed without many difficulties. Most Malawians undermine women in a society as a result this have greatly affected women participation indifferent aspects of life.

He challenged," I do not think all forms of abuse female referee face are a result of their performance in the field. But this is due to impression of people towards women that they are failures, without considering that women have the capacity to perform the same as men."

He says there is a need for great sensitisation among fans to change their negative attitude towards women and giving stiffer punishment to those found intimidating female referees.

As attacks on female referees continue in Malawi, their friends in English football are not always spared either. In one such case, Coventry Manager Gordon Strachen verbally attacked female assistant referee Wendy Toms, stating that her performance was the worst of the season, following a match where Coventry lost 4-3 to Leed United. Strachan described the advent of female referees in the English game because of "political correctness." The president of the referees association in England, Peter Wills, rejected the statement, describing it as a very sad situation. "I think to talk about the sex of officials is irrelevant."

Wills said conflicts should be dealt with between through correct channels not in the media. "But to link match officials with gender is not acceptable, you don't see me come out in the media and be critical of player or managers. We deal with it through the correct channelm" he said.

**Media's role**

However, coverage by local print media especially, *The Nation* and *Daily Times* and its sister papers *Weekend Nation*, *National on Sunday*, *Malawi News* and *Sunday Times* on female referees have also raised eyebrows on local football fans. On moment that attracted the attention of fans was the coverage on performance of the cooper test among female referees, initiated by FIFA instructor Caros Henriques. Both male and female referees failed the test but the Sunday papers carried articles highlighted failures of female referees. The *Nation on Sunday* carried an article with caption pictures of Nyekanyeka, Banda titled "Disaster," and a sub headline "*In vain,*" the content itself depicted that two highly rated female referees have failed the copper test. However highly rated male referees also failed the test but was not given priority when treating the story.

Coverage by these local papers also contributes to the increased abuse and intimidation of female referees as they reinforce stereotypes that women referees are



Fans a tough crowd to please for female referees. Photo: Nova3web

failures and cannot handle matches at higher levels.

However currently there are no studies looking at gender abuse female referees face at football matches. The fact that no research has been done about female referees there have been little initiatives to deal with such problems. Malawi has ratified a number of conventions and instruments that bind Malawi to eliminate Gender based violence, including the convention to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW). The constitution of Malawi, which is the supreme law of the country, promotes equality between men and women and contains a bill of rights, which invalidates any practice that discriminate against women.

Government has therefore through the MPRSP and also the Vision 2020 committed to eradicate gender based violence (GBV) establishing and strengthen institutional capacity of all relevant stakeholders.

Government also announced that it is formulating a policy that would punish perpetrators of violence at matches. Among other things, the policy would ensure that fans those found drunk or using drugs when watching matches should be punished. That will create friendly environment for women to watch football matches as well as creating a good environment for female referees. This will help to reduce issues of violence at football matches, as fans will be going to stadiums with sober minds.

**Writers Bio**
Mabvuto Kambuwe has a diploma in journalism, and has worked as a sports correspondent in Malawi with *The Dispatch*, *The Weekly Courier*, and *The Peoples Voice*. Kambuwe is currently a sports correspondent for *The Guardian* newspaper.



## Profile: Gozberita Rwezaula: Carving a niche in a man's tradition

By Margaret Sembeyu

It takes courage for a young woman born in a family of strict Christian background to become an expert in an art form traditionally reserved for men. One of the rare experts of the famous Makonde carving art is 35-year Gozberita Simon Rwezaula, one of few women involved in this East African tradition. Like many others in the region, Rwezaula is gearing up for 2010 in the hopes of capturing a part of the booming tourist trade.

It is rare to find an African woman engaged in this art, for the past 500 years this has been a tradition reserved for Makonde men (Makonde is a tribe from the southern part of Tanzania). However, it is even more amazing when the woman involved has a different cultural background.

"Carving is a tricky and a bit hard art to learn, but since I am very much interested in learning the skill, I am working hard to master the art and achieve my goal," she says as she polishes her recently completed clouds (Mawingu) complex carving. She says she feels happy to be involved in this art, and will continue to maintain




Gozberita Rwezaula putting final touches on a "tree of life" (ujamaa) at her Mwenge workshop. Photo: Miguel Suleiman

it and other historical values that most modern African societies are neglecting.

Makonde carving is probably the best-known artwork produced in East and Central Africa and is strictly done by the Makonde people, a Bantu speaking community from northeastern Mozambique and southeastern Tanzania. "It was hard when I started carving as the wood we use is mostly ebony or African Blackwood (mpingo), which is very hard and needs a strong hand to do the job," she says.

Rwezaula says that at first it was difficult for her to understand the inspiration behind the art as most of the work involves Makonde traditional values that reflect their past and the modern response to urban life. "I have discovered that those who specialise in carving spirits and clouds have special crafts," says Rwezaula.

Mwenge market, which is about 10 kilometres north of Dar-es-Salaam city, is the most famous outlet for Makonde carvings; there are lines of shops where shoppers could either buy finished products, or semi-carved pieces or raw timber or pay carvers to work on them as they wish.

Rwezaula is a member of shop number 17, which like many others is decorated with a number of animal statuettes, human and demon-faced ceremonial masks and countless ornaments. Although she mostly carves ebony gourds (vibuyu) she can also make complicated family tree (Ujamaa), clouds (Mawingu) and even the much celebrated Satan or ghosts (mashetani).

"But the most prominent sculptures our foreign clients prefer to buy here are the 'tree of life' carvings done in Ujamaa style whose work involve carved interlocking human figurines representing unity and continuity," she says. Inspired by the founding Father of the Nation Mwalimu Nyerere, Ujamaa style according to Lyala Sebastian one of Rwezaula's teachers, is one of the new styles that came after Tanzania's independence collective social policy.

According to Rwezaula, doing the traditionally male job and working with men has changed her perception of men, as well as changed her life style and ambitions. "They treat me like any other workmate and their companion," she says.

She says that while doing her work, she closely follows the English Premier League and her colleagues are fans of four different teams including Manchester United, Arsenal, Liverpool and Chelsea. "Normally our day begins with the winner of yesterday's match. If your team lost, then you are in trouble. October has been a hell on my side as my team Liverpool lost to Chelsea just three days after a defeat from an Italian club Fiorentina. I hope our striker Fernando Torres will do something to restore peace to his fans," she laments.

Rwezaula hopes to see Fernando Tores in Dar es Salaam, banking on the campaign spearheaded by President Jakaya Kikwete to lure the World Cup teams' visit and training at the newly constructed Modern Stadium before the World Cup kick off in South Africa. President Kikwete visited Spain two years ago and campaigned for the tour of the Spanish club Real Madrid.

She says she was certain that Spain and their flying boy Torres would come after Brazil, one of the invited teams, announced their withdrawal to visit the country in September. Since President Kikwete made public his intention to use the World Cup to advertise Tanzania's rich tourism and the new stadium, excitement has been all over the country.

"I know we will be part of the World Cup stakeholders from our close political, economical and social ties with South Africa; our partner in business. Some of our products are sold in South Africa through Zambia and Zimbabwe," she says, adding that through their union called Sasasawa, plans are underway to find new markets from World Cup participants.

"We are sure of getting a good market of 'Tree of Life' carvings which has been hot items in the European market. We expect some customers in South Africa who would want to buy souvenirs for their beloved ones back home," she says.



Gozberita Rwezaula in her stall holding an ebony gourd with her teacher Lyala Sebastian. Photo: Miguel Suleiman

Lyala Sebastian, a master of the Makonde art and an instructor, says that Rwezaula was a quick learner as it took her three months to master the art. "It is a remarkable achievement for a woman putting into consideration the hard work she has to do. She is cooperative and inquisitive thus giving her a good opportunity to learn new things," he says.

He says that although most carvers come from the Southern districts of Tanzania and the northern province of Mozambique, most of them have learnt the art in the country.

Born on February 14, 1974 Gozberita Rwezaula says her secondary school education helps her to conduct business with her colleagues who didn't even complete primary school education. Besides their lack of formal education, Rwezaula lauds the artists for their accuracy when it comes to measurements. It is just a faultless estimation without drawing or applying any of the modern day planning. "We create an image from the piece of wood. It is something I barely believed to be possible when I began learning this art," she says.

Gozberita was born at Kashozi Kiziba Bukoba 35 years ago and moved to Mwanza, a Southern lakeside city where she attended primary education at Kitangiri Primary school near CCM Kirumba Mwanza from 1980 to 1986. In 1987 she moved to Ngara, a district near Rwanda-Burundi borders where she completed her secondary education four years later.

In 1991, she joined Bagamoyo School of Art where she learned several arts including carving.

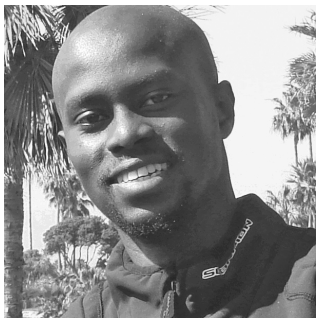
She says her major challenges include the little profit she gets from her business as she has to sell through middlemen who have direct access to customers especially in foreign markets; and raising her three children as a single parent.

However, through their Makonde Carvers Union, Sasasawa the situation is likely to improve as they expect to be educated on how to promote their products. "Most carvers learn English and other languages to enable them communicate with their clients. We also learn Chinese after they also became our major partners, we now can communicate in Chinese quite fluently," she boasts.

With hopes that Sasasawa's plans to facilitate the smooth link with South Africa's World Cup markets, excitement is all over the Mwenge market as many artists hope to benefit from the tournament. Besides her increased knowledge on most all types of Makonde art, however, her specialisation remains on gourd making and decoration. "They call me 'Mama Vibuyu' which literally translated as Gourd Specialist," she said.

**Writers Bio**

Margaret Sembeyu graduated from the University of Dar es Salaam in 1985 with a Bachelor of Arts with Education (Hons.). After working as a secondary school teacher and school inspector, tutor at the Tanzania School of Journalism (Dar es Salaam) she enrolled in several postgraduate courses in journalism. Sembeyu joined the Tanzania Standard Newspapers publishers of *Daily News* and Sunday newspapers as a sub-editor from 1994 to 2005 and worked for a short time as an education consultant with *Business Times* newspaper. Sembeyu joined Mwananchi Communications Limited as a *Sunday Citizen* seniour-sub editor in 2005 and has a column known as Gender Talk every Sunday in the *Sunday Citizen* paper.



## Profile: Gender activist turned entrepreneur: Omong'we Travel & Tours

By Martin Warioba

Omong'we Travel & Tours is a travel company based in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania providing end-to-end, all inclusive and customised tours to Tanzania's tourist attractions, including its world-famous Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater, Lake Manyara, Mount Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, Dar Es Salaam and other destinations. Omong'we Travel & Tours also provides other travel services including hotel bookings, flight reservations and airport transfers. Omong'we's approach includes a dedicated and professional staff combined with strategic partnerships with several tourism stakeholders, allowing the company to provide high-quality services to clients.

A group of women and men own the company, including Christine Warioba, who has over 20-years experience in the gender field. This included promoting gender equality through policy development; conducting policy reviews to address gender equality principles; and development, implementation and coordination of national and regional gender programmes including training and competency development for various stakeholders in gender issues.



Christine Warioba, left, while still with the SADC Gender Unit
Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

After her 7-year contract ended in March 2006, the former Gender Programme Officer at Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Unit, Warioba decided to test the business waters by practicing what she had been advocating for regarding gender equality and women's empowerment in the social, economic and political sectors of the economy.

Her dreams, of becoming a successful entrepreneur started to take shape when she encouraged like-minded men and women to organise themselves and enter Tanzania's travel and tourism industry, which has started to contribute to Tanzanian economic growth. For the most part, the travel industry in Tanzania has two faces: the hospitality aspect of the industry is female-dominated while the logistics and planning face is male-dominated. Omong'we Travel & Tours believes its right mix of human resources allows the organisation to provide gender equal access to both sides of the industry.

### Benefiting from 2010

The 2010 World Cup in South Africa will attract many people from all over the world to watch the football matches. Omong'we Travel & Tours will be among the companies providing travel services to clients. To

strengthen their travel network, Omong'we Travel & Tours is in discussion with Turners Travel in South Africa to see how best they can collaborate in providing efficient and world-class travel services to their clients during the tournament. Advantages of this approach include enabling Southern Africa citizens to at least get to see these games in person, increasing revenue of both companies and Tanzanian and South African economies. In addition, the possible collaboration between these two travel companies will contribute towards regional integration, which SADC is heavily advocating for right now.

With the global recession claiming victims in credit markets, the major challenge has been getting consistent visitors to Tanzanian destinations. Business has been moving a little slower than expected. However, this is expected to change as global economy is expected to get better by early 2010.

**Promoting success**

To promote success, Omong'we Travel & Tours has embarked on a number of initiatives including, but not limited to:

- Creating a network of similar organisations within and outside Tanzania;
- Pursuing rigorous marketing efforts that will highlight travel services offered by Omong'we Travel & Tours;
- Improving efficiency and marketing strategies towards Omong'we Travel & Tours services; and
- Exploring and maximising opportunities provided by other travel organisations such as African Travel Association (ATA) and other national, regional and global organisations.

The company intends to finalise its joint venture with Turners Travel by October 2009. The two will embark on a planning phase and run a rigorous marketing effort to sell the "Tanzania and South Africa 2010 World Cup Tour" packages, combining the best of Tanzanian and South African tourist attractions. For example, a client might choose to trek Mt. Kilimanjaro, relax on Zanzibar beaches and finally wind up his or her tour package with two weeks of football watching in Cape Town and Durban. The intention is to provide all-inclusive, end-to-end packages, which will require a lot of planning.

**What happens after the 2010 World Cup?**

After the World Cup, Omong'we Travel and Tours intends to maintain relationships built during this period and explore other mechanisms and opportunities from future regional, continental and global events where Omong'we Travel & Tours can be of services to clients and also promote not just Tanzania's but also Southern Africa tourism and economic development. They hope one day to grow Omong'we Travel & Tours to a regional organisation.



Nung'wi beach on Zanzibar island is one of Tanzania's many tourist destinations being marketed to World Cup tourists
Photo: Martin Warioba

To support gender equal access to economic opportunities, Omong'we Travel calls for organisations of mega events to use their corporate social responsibility and invest their time and resources on projects that will empower women's economic development and provide training and capacity building in entrepreneurship development.

**Writers Bio**

Martin Warioba is a co-founder of Omong'we Travel and Tours based in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. He is an avid traveller and also enjoys playing basketball and golf, watching sports and films, reading and spending time with family and friends. He holds BSc in Computer Science Class of 2003 from Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and dual-degree in MBA and MSc in Information Management Class of 2007 from Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona. Apart from co-founding Omong'we Travel, currently Martin works with Central Bank of Tanzania (BoT) as Technology Analyst.

# Sport and human rights




Jessica Motaung, Marketing Director of Kaizer Chiefes and and Kaizer Motaung, Position, Jr working against human trafficking



## Pimp my ride for 2010: Sex work, legal reform and HIV/AIDS

By Marlise Richter

**Abstract**

Sex workers have generally been overlooked in South Africa and research on HIV/AIDS and sex workers is limited. It is however clear that sex workers are very vulnerable to HIV. In studies conducted in 1998 in South Africa, HIV prevalence rates amongst different sex worker groups were between 45% - 69%. It is likely that HIV prevalence rates amongst sex workers are presently much higher, while it is apparent that the on-going criminalisation of the industry continues to fuel the AIDS epidemic and to disregard the human rights of sex workers. South Africa's National Strategic Plan 2007-2011 (NSP) explicitly recommends the decriminalisation of sex work and the implementation of sex work-specific programmes. Regrettably, implementation of these provisions has been slow to non-existent. This article describes the legal reform process of sex work and will make recommendations on how South Africa can rationally respond to sex work in the build-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

**Key words**

Sex work, Soccer 2020, gender equality

## Introduction

*My name is Suzan. I am 30 years old. I doing sexworker for 10 years. I working in the street crn Nugget and President stree [...] My biggest problem with the law and the police is that the take us as we are the animals. lot of abuse to a police; harassment. they don't want to take our case because we are a sex workers you deserve to be abused.*

- Suzan[1]

Suzan's voice is one of many that have urged the South African Law Reform Commission (the Commission) to take a pragmatic and sensible approach to sex work in South Africa - an approach that is firmly rooted in South Africa's Constitutional values and is committed to deal rationally with the raging AIDS epidemic. In submissions to the Commission, a number of human rights and HIV/AIDS activists have argued that decriminalising sex work in South Africa is the only legal option that will respect the human rights of sex workers. This article will provide a short summary of the legal reform processes on sex work until July 2009 and summarise the current literature on sex work and HIV in South Africa. It will discuss how South Africa's national AIDS plan proposes to negotiate the dangers of sex work and will conclude by recommending pragmatic strategies in which the FIFA Wold Cup 2010 and sex work could be approached.




Picture: SWEAT

**Sex work and legal reform**

The South African Law Reform Commission is charged with modernising South African law.[2] It is a statutory body that researches various aspects of law and makes recommendations on how law could change in order to respond to an ever-changing South African society. The sex work law reform process started in 1997 when the Commission was charged to investigate "Sexual Offences By and Against Children" (South African Law Reform Commission 2009). The scope of this project soon expanded to include adult sexual offences and adult consensual sex work was thus brought into the ambit of the Commission's research objectives. The bigger project included a new sexual offences law, its processes and procedures, adult prostitution and pornography.[3] An important part of the project was finalised with the enactment of the new Sexual Offences Act in 2007, which, amongst other aspects, included a more progressive definition of rape.[4]

In 2002, the Commission released its Issue Paper on "Adult Prostitution" (South African Law Reform Commission, 2002). This followed close on the heels of a judgment by the Constitutional Court in which a narrow majority of judges ruled that the criminalisation of sex work did not constitute indirect discrimination based on gender (2002). This judgement has subsequently been much criticised (S v Jordan and Others 2002). The minority judgement pointed out that Parliament was the best body to consider legal reform of sex work.[5] The Issue Paper comprehensively dealt with research on sex work and legal models around the world. The Issue Paper suggested that there were three main ways in which South African law could approach sex work: i) Criminalisation; ii) Legalisation or iii) Decriminalisation of sex work. The Commission invited comment from the public and the public engagement process closed at the end of October 2002. It regrettably took more than six years for the Commission to publish its next report - a Discussion Paper.

The Discussion Paper was released on 6 May 2009 after pressure from civil society groups and the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC).[6] To the great disappointment of civil society groups, the Discussion Paper did not recommend a specific course of action for legal reform nor did it set out proposed legislation on sex work, which is the norm with Discussion Papers.

The Commission noted that, "One of the reasons for this is that a considerable amount of time has elapsed since the publication of the Issue Paper in 2002 and the debate and views around prostitution and the management thereof by society may have developed and/or changed." (South African Law Reform Commission 2009, 5). This frustrated activists as it meant that civil society would not be able to engage the Commission on the specific details of a legal model it felt was most suitable for South African society while it could also delay the process of legal reform on sex work even further.

Instead of providing draft legislation of a legal model the Commission supported, the Commission suggested that there are four possible ways that the law can approach sex work: i) total criminalisation; ii) partial criminalisation; iii) non-criminalisation (also know as decriminalisation) or iv) regulation. It invited the public to comment on the different models before the end of June 2009. The Commission described in detail how the different models were applied in other countries. A short summary would suffice here:

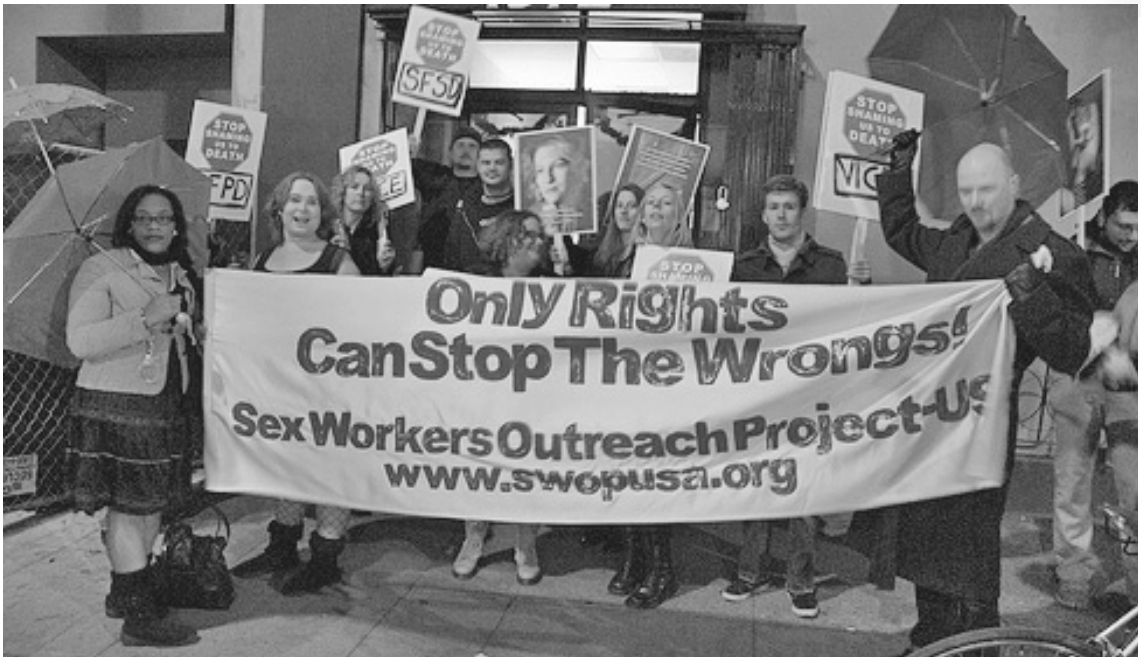
*Total criminalisation*
This option describes South Africa's current legal model – in which all aspects of sex work are illegal and carry criminal penalties. It therefore means that the sex worker, the client and a third party such a brothel-owner could face prosecution. At the moment sex work is criminalised under a number of different laws: the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957, the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007 and various municipal by-laws. If the Commission recommends this model to the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, the current laws on sex work will be simplified and probably strengthened.

*Partial criminalisation*
Certain aspects of sex work are illegal under this model, while others are not. In its Discussion Paper, the Commission argued that sex workers are generally viewed as "victims" in this model and they are generally not criminalised under partial criminalisation laws. For example in Sweden, the transaction between sex worker and client is not criminalised, but the client, brothel-keeper or pimp could be prosecuted.

*Non-criminalisation*
The Commission notes that this model will see the removal of all laws that criminalise sex work. Sex workers would be able to work as "independent contractors" and would have protection of labour laws. Sex workers will mostly regulate the industry themselves and the Commission notes that a sex workers amnesty could be extended to those sex workers who have a criminal record for prostitution and who wish to exit the industry. New Zealand decriminalised sex work in 2003.

*Legalisation*
This option would see the state regulating the industry and making sex work legal under strict conditions. Amsterdam in the Netherlands is an example of an area in which sex work is legal under certain circumstances. In other countries where sex work is regulated, some of the following conditions have been imposed on sex workers: some sex workers carry cards to show they are sex workers, sex workers must go for compulsory health checks, registration of sex workers with authorities, and designation of specific areas as sex worker business areas – so-called "red light districts."

*The difference between legalisation and decriminalisation*
Many people are confused about the difference between legalisation and the decriminalisation of sex work – and the media and public figures who conflate the two options often compound this misunderstanding. The main distinction between legalisation and decriminalisation is the degree of state control of the sex work industry. In a legalisation model, the state will be the main regulator of the industry and will decide on the conditions under which sex work could take place. With a decriminalisation model, sex workers will be more empowered to make decisions about the way they would like to work and would regulate the industry themselves. Many sex work activists fear that under a legalisation model, sex




Not just an African problem - San Francisco Vigil to End Violence Against Sex Workers Photo: Steve Rhodes

workers' position in society will not improve substantially. If the state decides that a "red light district" should be proclaimed in an area in a city that not many people frequent, sex workers would be forced to move to a more popular area in order to bring in an adequate income. A sex worker caught working in an area that is not designated a "red light district," would be guilty of an offence and will not receive the benefit of the protection of the law that a decriminsalisation model is advocating for.

*What are the next steps for legal reform?*

At the time of writing this article, the Commission has received submissions from the public on their Discussion Paper. The Commissioners now have to consider all the public's submissions and the Discussion Paper notes that the Commission will develop its preliminary recommendations and options for legal reform in expert meetings. A final report will be submitted to the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development. The Commission notes, "It remains the prerogative of the Minister to implement the Commission's recommendations." (South African Law Reform Commission 2009, 5).

During public consultations on the Discussion Paper, the Law Commission made it clear that despite rising public pressure, the legal reform of sex work will not reach completion in time for the FIFA World Cup.[7] This raises important questions on how South Africa will deal with the anxiety that is building around the influx of tourists into South Africa in 2010.

**Sex workers and HIV**

Because sex workers have generally been overlooked in South Africa, research on HIV/AIDS and sex workers is limited. Indeed a recent meta-analysis of abstracts submitted to all of the South African National AIDS conferences since 2003 is telling (Richter 2009). It can be assumed that the South African AIDS conferences bring together the most up-to-date and significant research conducted on HIV/AIDS in South Africa and would thus be a useful indication of how much research focuses on sex work and HIV. All abstracts published by the South African National AIDS Conference Secretariat were searched for the terms "sex work", "prostitute" or "whore" and the results are summarised in Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Number of South African National AIDS Conferences 2003-2009 abstracts referring to sex work**

| Year of Conference | Number of Abstracts published | Number of abstracts that included one of the search terms "sex work", "prostitute" or "whore" | Percentage of abstracts containing search terms |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2003 | 285 | 10 | 3.5% |
| 2005 | 400 | 7 | 1.75% |
| 2007 | 702 | 2 | 0.2% |
| 2009 | 552 | 3 | 0.5% |
| **Total** | **1939** | **22** | **1.1%** |

It should be noted that the meta-analysis did not evaluate whether the research focused on sex work or conducted in-depth research on sex work – merely whether it contained *any* word that would indicate an awareness of sex work. In the view that sex workers are particularly vulnerable to HIV and are often regarded as a so-called "high risk group" in the epidemic, it is disquieting that only 1.1% of studies had referred to sex work at all.

From the research that is available, it is clear that sex workers in South Africa are very vulnerable to HIV. In studies done in 1998, HIV prevalence rates amongst different sex worker groups were between 45% - 69%.[8] It is likely that HIV prevalence rates are now much higher. The available research in South Africa is summarised below:

*Violence*

Sex workers often report police harassment and brutality to researchers; their complaints include police assaults, getting sprayed with tear gas, rape, extortion, and demands for sex or money as bribes (Pettifor et al. 2000, Wojcicki and Malala 2001, Arnott 2004, Fick 2006, Gould and Fick, 2008).

Working conditions

A study in 2001 on sex workers in Hillbrow reported the high level of sexual coercion, and the high level of concurrent sexual partners. On average, the respondents had had sex with 10 clients in the past seven days. Remuneration ranged from R20–R100 (median R50). The findings of that study showed how structural factors



Gender politics

Jackie Selebi's suggestion that prostitution be legalised for the World Cup has met with a mixed reponse. We asked law-makers

2010: the sex factor

"I'm just hoping to survive in 2010" — Nicole, Midrand

Sex taxis and red-light district?

Tumi Makgetla

The surge in prostitution that accompanied the 2006 Football World Cup in Germany is forcing the South African Police Service to reconsider its usually sporadic approach to policing the sex industry in the run-up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa.

The parliamentary portfolio committee on safety and security is awaiting a strategy from the police on how to address prostitution during the international sporting event after police National Commissioner Jackie Selebi raised the issue in Parliament earlier this year.

Selebi told the committee in March that the government would have to develop innovative ways to address public drinking and prostitution during the World Cup.

His widely reported comment that a "special dispensation" should be considered to legalise prostitution and public drinking during the event sparked outrage among several MPs.

The chairperson of the committee, Mahlotse Sotyu, said that Selebi had been responding to questions about how the training budget would be used to prepare the police for the World Cup. The questions had to do specifically with crowd control and not prostitution.

Sotyu said that Selebi gave an example of how German police managed prostitution during the 2006 World Cup by reportedly allowing designated taxis to drive people to areas where sex workers were available.

"We would not even think of legalising prostitution. We are not even dreaming about that," she said.

Parliament was not discussing the matter and expected the police to develop a strategy to address prostitution during the World Cup, she said.

Senior Superintendent Vish Naidoo, police spokesperson for the 2010 World Cup, said that Selebi's point had been to get the committee to consider the matter seriously. He said that measures to address prostitution might include legalising it or creating red-light districts.

He said that this would enable the police to prosecute crimes associated with prostitution, such as the verbal and physical abuse of sex workers.

Naidoo acknowledged that the police tended to prioritise other crimes over prostitution.

"We have to attend to our priorities and currently our priorities are all contact crimes," he explained. He said that very often prostitution was dealt with by the police in the course of policing other crimes such as robbery and assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm.

Naidoo's comments were echoed by a state prosecutor, who said that the prosecution of prostitutes had declined since the early Nineties, when there had been a greater focus on brothels. He said the police now dealt sporadically with prostitution, tending to go after sex workers in response to specific complaints.

The prosecutor said that the Sexual Offences Act envisioned two scenarios, either involving sexual transactions in a brothel or a prostitute on a street corner. In the former scenario, both the persons rendering the services and the clients could be prosecuted, while in the latter, only the sex worker would be prosecuted.

For a first offence, a conviction would probably result in a fine of no more than R4 000. Repeat offenders might receive a prison sentence of no more than two years.

He said that in "99% of cases" the clients did not go to jail and often turned state witness to help prosecute the brothel owners.

In the case of foreigners involved in prostitution cases, he said, most of the time

prostitutes solicited foreigners with the intention of robbing them.

A practical solution: National Commissioner Jackie Selebi

Bodies of work: Sex workers, who are expecting a boom in 2010, currently operate in a twilight zone

Business as usual in

Kwanele Sosibo goes in search of a good time but finds a sex industry offering some tired old tricks

Strip clubs in Johannesburg tend to remind me of your average trendy restaurant: an overpriced menu and bad service.

The situation resembles the lyrics of a Goodie Mob song, an erstwhile stripper anthem in the group's hometown, I'm told: "They don't dance no more; all they do is sit around chilling."

The crash-course moves, delivered in a jaded manner, say: "This is what you'll be getting as soon as I touch the ground (head first). Are you keen?"

Granted, these institutions are meant to get a whack of blood racing straight to the head (the other one), and sustain this sensation until you cannot help but put out to bust out. The reality, however, is that it often translates into quite the opposite: anaesthesia of the senses. If there is one thing South Africa's sex barons can improve on ahead of 2010, it's the quality of the dancing.

Club Malaika, for example, situated in Randburg's CBD and run by "Uncle Louis", has been superbly upgraded since the move to its new premises in 2004, but I get the sense that dancing, a key aspect in Seduction 101, was an afterthought in his plans ahead of the sex spree that the 2010 World Cup is hyped up to be.

"It takes two to three days and they get the hang of it because most women know how to dance anyway," says Louis of the peer-driven dance training on offer at his venue.

Louis, who is currently in Durban scouting for new premises, as well as Indian girls, the latter to accommodate Randburg's changing demographics, runs a rather pricey venue — a "private lap dance" can cost up to R500. While business is on the upswing, it is rather disheartening to see him take such a lax approach to a key component of his business.

Even in the newspaper classifieds, where sexual services are still packaged according to stereotypes, there is no telling whether the fantasy will add up in living colour.

Agnes (not her real name), who in one newspaper ad goes as a "black maid in stockings", doesn't quite fit the description she proffered in the preamble leading up to our meeting. Unprompted, over the phone, she rattled off a series of obviously rehearsed vital stats, including her stomach shape, completion and the length of her pubes.

"I don't advertise myself like that anymore, you must have been looking at an old ad," says an ageing figure in a leopard print bikini when I ask her about the uniform, which she informs me, worked according to plan.

"Every man has the ambition to fuck their maid," she says in hushed tones

"We live in a war zone — Lizzie, she-male"

**Kareena, agency manager, Sandton:** Legalise us — for security reasons. Instead of all the rape and violence that goes on out there, our clients come to us for a service, relieve themselves and there are no strings attached. Three-quarters of the women in this industry are single mothers trying to put food on the table.

If it (sex work) is legalised they can move girls off the streets and into houses, clubs and agencies where it's safer and it's done discreetly. And if it's legalised, girls can have conferences and things like that where they can be educated and made aware of their rights. Currently girls can't go to the cops if a client doesn't pay or they are beaten up. I would be happy to have the profession taxed if it meant it afforded us some status and protection.

**Chris, originally from Cameroon, Randburg:** By 2010 business will boom. There will be more people coming down. I already know some guys from Congo and Nigeria doing the same business. Prostitution should be made legal, people should be free to do it, then more people can get jobs instead of committing crimes. If they make it legal we will have the right to work and the police will not come and harass us, take bribes in order to let you go. If I am still in the business by 2010 I hope to make enough money during the World Cup to start my own business.

**Lizzie, she-male, Bordeaux:** Personally I think 2010 will be a highlight in the profession, but I would like to see more protection for people in the industry. Currently we live in a bit of a war zone, because we don't know who we're going to get.

Media's sensationalistic approach to reporting sex work and 2010 has hampered open debate on reform and reinforced stereotypes about sex workers

such as poverty, violence, abuse, criminalisation and substance abuse restrict sex workers' choice and autonomy while also affecting their physical and mental health (Reproductive Health Research Unit et al. 2002). Most sex workers interviewed in the year 2000 in Hillbrow said that they would leave sex work "immediately" if they had the option (Nairne 2000).

*Rape*

Almost one-third of sex workers in the above study reported they had had sex against their will in the last six months (Nairne 2000). In a recent study in Cape Town, 12% of street-based sex workers had been raped by a police officer (Gould and Fick 2008).

*Barriers to Safer sex*

A range of barriers to using condoms is often reported. Sex workers in Hillbrow noted that it is difficult to persuade clients to use condoms and that they feared a violent reaction if they insist on condom use (Pettifor et al. 2000, Nairne 2000). Some clients demand paying half-price when using condoms, while the intense competition for clients weakens individual workers' bargaining power as the client could threaten to make use of the services of another available sex worker who does not insist on condom use (Pettifor et al. 2000).

*Stigma and health care*

Judgmental health care worker attitudes prevent sex workers from seeking health care services (Stadler and Delany 2006). In the Hillbrow study just under a quarter of the respondents reported having one or more STI symptoms (Reproductive Health Research Unit et al. 2002).

From the above it is clear that violence (perpetuated by clients as well as the police), stigma, the nature and danger of their work, economic difficulties, and the lack of access to services and support compromises sex workers' health. A legal system that criminalises the industry makes these factors worse. Arguments for the decriminalisation of sex work have thus highlighted the following consequences of the on-going criminalisation of sex work: i.) increasing sex worker vulnerability to violence from clients, partners and police, ii.) creating and sustaining unsafe and oppressive working conditions, iii.) increasing the stigmatisation of sex workers, iv) restricting access to health, social, police, legal and financial services, v.) negative impact on safer sex practices, and vi.) impacting on the ability to find other employment.[9] All of these factors impact on sex workers' ability to protect themselves against HIV, prevent HIV transmission to their sexual partners and clients, and to access the necessary HIV-testing, treatment and support.

**Sex work and the FIFA World Cup**

Interest in South Africa's sex work industry has slowly been building on the anxiety around preparations for the 2010 Soccer World Cup (Bird and Donaldson 2009). The media has expressed some of the public's general fears about the murky underworld of sex work: that "innocent," fun-seeking tourists will flock to South Africa to watch soccer, have some frivolous sex on the side and return to their countries with HIV.[10] This nervous discourse on 2010 and sex work reveals a view generally held by society: that sex workers are the diseased carriers of HIV and are responsible for the spread of the epidemic. This view is shortsighted, moralistic and skewed by prejudice as it ignores the fact that both parties in a sexual transaction should take responsibility for safer sex and protecting themselves. For sex workers, their bodies are literally "their business" (Sex Worker Education & Advocacy Taskforce et al. 2002) and it would follow that most sex workers would go to great lengths to protect themselves from disease. Indeed as the research studies quoted above show, many male clients insist on condomless sex and demand to pay less for protected sex. It should also be noted that in the context of unequal and often violent power relations, sex workers' ability to negotiate safer sex is compromised.

As argued earlier, a sound response to sex work based on human rights principles and public health arguments would be to decriminalise sex work – not just for the World Cup period as some politicians have suggested,[11] but also as a permanent legal solution. Yet, the wheels of the South African Law Reform Commission turn slowly and their recommendations will not be ready in time for the World Cup.



Will football crowds mean more sex work?

What, therefore, would a sound approach to sex work during a period of increased international scrutiny and a high tourist population consist of? The experiences of previous host countries would be informative and are included in the recommendations below. It should be mentioned that much of these recommendations are already available in South Africa's National AIDS policy – the National Strategic Plan 2007-2011 (NSP). The NSP explicitly recommends the decriminalisation of sex work, but also rejects discrimination against sex workers, acknowledges the increased vulnerability of sex workers to HIV and recommends the rolling out of customised prevention packages for sex workers. A good start to dealing with the anxiety on the World Cup would be to implement relevant sections of the NSP.

**Recommendations in view of the 2010 World Cup**

1. *Educate and empower tourists*
   The South African government together with the FIFA World Cup administrators should ensure that all tourists are educated about HIV prevalence rates in South Africa and avoiding HIV transmission. Following the example of sex worker advocates in Germany during the 2006 World Cup, condoms should be distributed at all ports of entry to South Africa, during matches and at tourist destinations (Loewenberg 2006). HIV prevention messages such as "No Condom, No Sex" should be widely disseminated.

2. *Place a Moratorium on sex work-related arrests*
   In line with safety concerns on South Africa's shocking crime rates, there will be much demand for the time and attention of the South African Police Services (SAPS) during the World Cup. A rational and pragmatic response from the SAPS would be to place a moratorium on sex worker arrests and harassment before and during the World Cup period and to invest all their available resources in ensuring South Africa is a safe and secure host country.

3. *Work with the South African Police Services*
   Sex workers often face harassment, abuse and rape by some members of the police. Sex workers have expressed fears about the 2010 period and increased police clampdown and abuse. Specific fears relate to being jailed for the entire World Cup period during so-called city "clean-ups" (Sex Work Networking Forum 2008). It is vital that the police force is educated about the vulnerability of sex workers and their ethical duty towards protecting all members of society. Police stations in or near sex worker hot spots should be designated as "sex worker-friendly" and receive sensitivity training on dealing with sex workers.

4. *Identify sex workers hot spots*
   In 2008, the Department of Health committed itself to commissioning a national survey on sex workers,[12] yet there is no progress on this. A rapid assessment of areas where sex workers work is still possible before June 2010. Non-governmental and community-based organisations working with sex workers can assist with this assessment. The department of health in collaboration with NGOs and CBOs should roll out sex worker-specific programmes in these areas. The Reproductive Health and HIV Research Unit has been providing sex worker-specific health services to sex workers in Johannesburg's inner-city for more than a decade and has produced training material on this topic (Pleaner et al. 2008). Drawing on these materials and expertise will be vital in assisting sex workers.

5. *The media and sex work stigma*

Most sex workers in South Africa have little choice about engaging in sex work. They often support large families and have no alternative employment or means of survival. Members of the public often do not comprehend sex workers' material realities and heap scorn and prejudice on the heads of sex workers. This approach is moralistic and discriminatory. The public should be sensitised and educated about sex worker realities and the context in which they need to survive. The media has an important role to play in this regard. Journalists can educate the public about sex workers' lives and how sex workers' struggles should be linked to human rights and social justice. In particular, the use of discriminatory and derogatory language such as "prostitute" or "whore" should be avoided at all times and substituted for "sex worker" and "sex work."[13]

## Conclusion

The 2010 FIFA World Cup and current law reform processes provide an important opportunity to recognise the rights of sex workers. It is vital that human rights and women's advocates, as well as the media, seize this strategic opening to promote understanding and insight into one of our society's most vulnerable and marginalised groups. It is only when South Africa acknowledges the need to safeguard the human rights of everyone in South Africa that it will make significant strides in dealing with its AIDS epidemic.

Notes

1 This is an extract from Suzan's story, which formed part of a submission to the South African Law Reform Commission in July 2009. (Suzan is not her real name). Her submission – as well as those from other Johannesburg-based sex workers - is available at http://www.womensnet.org.za/campaign/decriminalise-sex-work-now. (last checked by author August 2009)

2 Section 4 of the South African Law Reform Commission Act 19 of 1973 reads as follows:
"The objects of the Commission shall be to do research with reference to all branches of the law of the Republic and to study and to investigate all such branches of the law in order to make recommendations for the development, improvement, modernization or reform thereof, including-
(a) the repeal of obsolete or unnecessary provisions;
(b) the removal of anomalies;
(c) the bringing about of uniformity in the law in force in the various parts of the Republic;
(d) the consolidation or codification of any branch of the law; and
(e) steps aimed at making the common law more readily available."

3 It should be noted that child prostitution was dealt with in the first and second Discussion Papers on Sexual Offences, South African Law Reform Commission (2009) - Discussion Paper 0001/2009; Sexual Offences: Adult Prostitution South African Law Reform Commission.

4 Certain sections of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, No. 32 of 2007, came into effect on the 16th of December 2007.

5 "In this respect, we have to bear in mind that the whole question of how to deal with prostitution in our society is a complex one that defies simplistic solutions. Accordingly, we feel that justice and equity would best be served by giving Parliament a fair opportunity to undertake a comprehensive review of the matter, producing a balanced and well thought-through approach to the manner in which commercial sex can and should best be regulated in contemporary South Africa, bearing in mind the principles of equality that run through our Constitution."
- S v Jordan and Others (per O'Regan J & Sachs J at para 126)

6 The SANAC Law and Human Rights Working Group wrote a letter to the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development on 4 December 2008 asking him to release the Discussion Paper. The Minister wrote back on 15 January promising that the Discussion Paper will be released "in the first quarter of 2009". In April when no Discussion Paper was released, a petition was circulated on a Health Systems Trust mailing list that focus on sexual and reproductive health issues (the so-called "60%" list) calling for the minister to release the paper. The SANAC Law and Human Rights Working Group wrote to the minister on 14 April 2009 reminding him about his promise. The paper was released 3 weeks later.

7 Clark confirmed that the final decision was expected in 2011, even though the public deadline is 30 days away. She said: "A draft report and legislative proposals will be submitted to the South African Law Reform Commission at a full commission meeting in March 2011 and, if approved, will then be submitted to the minister of justice and constitutional development." Unknown, (4 July 2009) Sex work - legalise or don't legalise. The Times.

8 HIV prevalence amongst sex workers in Hillbrow was found to be 45% in 1998, while in the same year sex workers at a mining project in Carltonville had an HIV prevalence of 69%. (Rees, H. et al. (2000) and Carael, M and Auvert, B (2003).

9 This is a summary of the arguments that were advanced in the Constitutional Court in Sex Worker Education & Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT), the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) & the Reproductive Health & HIV Research Unit (RHRU) (2002) Amicus curiae submission in the case Jordan v State. Johannesburg.

10 See for example:
"[...] the issue of human trafficking and abuse cannot be ignored as football fans across the globe flock to the fragile nation for football and all the other accessories that go with the game. Alcohol and sex seem to be as big a part of many fans' experience as watching the matches itself." ; and
"With hundreds of thousands of tourists expected in South Africa for the 2010 World Cup, a new debate has erupted over legalising prostitution in a country with the world's largest Aids epidemic." BLANDY, F. (22 June 2009 ) SA mulls prostitution law ahead of 2010. Mail&Gaurdian. Cape Town.

11 In March 2007, the national police commissioner, Jackie Selebi, suggested to the National Assembly's Safety and Security Committee in Parliament that sex work and public drinking be legalized during the World Cup soccer events. NEWS24 (2007).

12 In its 2006–2007 report and its accompanying National Policy Composite Index (NPCI) The South African government makes little mention of sex work despite the fact that sex workers are one of the population groups most vulnerable in the HIV epidemic. In the main report, under the indicators relating to sex work, the government notes that there is "no data available" on the "percentage of female and male sex workers reporting the use of a condom with their most recent client," but that a national survey will be commissioned. Department of Health (2008)

13 The first Pan-African Sex Worker conference was held in Hillbrow in February 2009. The extract below summarises what sex workers would like to be called:
"What terms should we use? […] It was apparent, that people had a range of ideas for what they would like to be called (as can be seen below), but the common idea behind all of this, was that whatever term was decided on, it must be steeped in respect and pride. Sex workers agreed that vulgar language would be considered extremely unacceptable such as whore, magosha, and prostitute. Commonly accepted terms were:
- Sex worker is preferred over prostitute;
- Ambassador
- Nightwalkers
- amatoyis
- activist woman
- Survivors, because no matter where I go, there will always be clients to make money off
- Ladies of the night
- Entertaining ladies
- Escourt"

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**Writers Bio**

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## Human trafficking a concern for Zambia

By Limpo Nicolette Chinika

**Abstract**

Like all countries in Southern Africa, the upcoming 2010 FIFA World Cup is affecting Zambia, in both positive and negative ways. One potential problem facing the country, and the region, is human trafficking. Zambia, like other countries, is putting in place some measure to combat the problem, but more needs to be done.

**Key words**

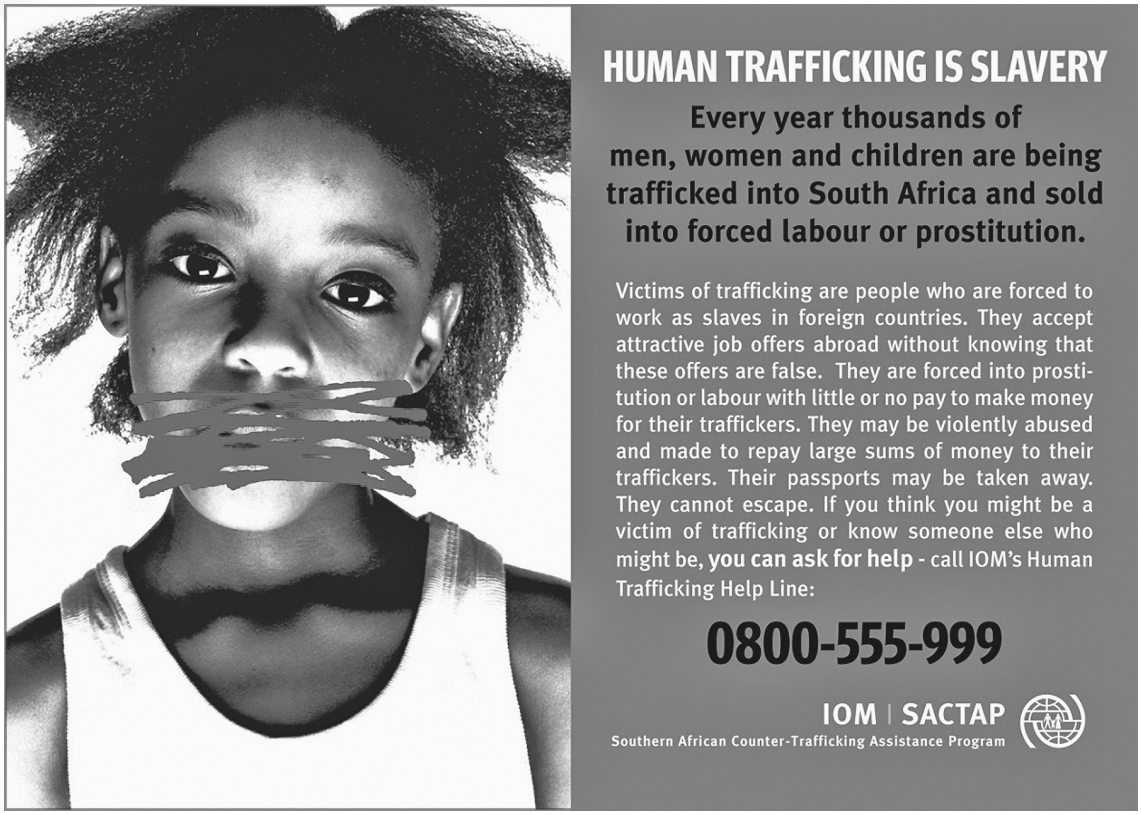
Human trafficking, gender violence, World Cup 2010

## Human trafficking

Human trafficking is very complex. There are many facets to trafficking and very few cases are the same. The way a person is recruited, how they travel and are passed from one trafficker to another and exploited varies. Trafficking can happen to anyone, man, woman or child, from anywhere, across borders or within the same country. Defining trafficking is somewhat difficult, but the globally recognised definition of trafficking comes from the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organised Crime. Article 3 (a) defines trafficking in persons as:

"The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat, or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abductions, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs."

Commercial sex trafficking has devastating effects on women and girls, including intense psychological trauma, infectious disease (most notably HIV/AIDS), extensive physical injury, drug addiction, unwanted pregnancy and malnutrition. Sex trafficking thus not only violates human rights and contributes to harmful social and economic conditions for women, but also poses a significant public health problem. The victim and their family feel the long-term effects of human trafficking. Countries need to put in place appropriate measures in place to not only help raise awareness and so help




prevent human trafficking, but also ensure treatment of survivors. Survivors should not be treated as criminals but rather be referred to welfare agencies or NGOs that offer counselling and trauma counselling services.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO), International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), through its work to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, is especially concerned about the trafficking of children.[1] In June 1999, the International Labour conference unanimously adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182. The convention recorded an unprecedented rate of ratification with over 90% of the International Labour Organisation's 182 member states having ratified.

Zambia is one of the countries that have ratified this convention. While Zambia has ratified regional and international human rights conventions such as the African Charter on People's Rights and Welfare, the Charter for Children's Welfare, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Conventions on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and many others, they have not domesticated these international laws.

**Increasing awareness in Zambia**

The issue of human trafficking has gained increased awareness in Zambia over the last few years, yet there is still little hard evidence of the problem. Given the illegal nature of trafficking, it is difficult to know the number of people who have been victims. The extent and nature of trafficking in Zambia is still largely unknown. Research carried out by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) into trafficking in Southern Africa indicates that Zambia is a country of origin, transit and destination. As a transit country, Zambia enables the onward trafficking of refugees and other vulnerable peoples from different countries to other countries like South Africa to the Republic of Congo, and even Europe. According to IOM, street

children from Lesotho are sometimes trafficked by long distance truck drivers to Cape Town, Zimbabwe and Zambia. (IOM 2003) Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that children are trafficked on from South Africa, or Botswana, to third countries, such as, USA, Israel and Russia (ECPAT 2009)4.

Another concern is that more children are becoming vulnerable to exploitation, whether in Zambia or overseas. In January 2000, Zambia officially recorded its first count of child trafficking for sex work. A 44-year-old Australian male national was arrested at Chirundu Boarder post between Zambia and Zimbabwe. A Zambian male driver accompanied the Australian man in a Zambian registered vehicle. The man had with him 5 Zambian girls aged between 14 and 16 year, going to Harare in Zimbabwe to secure Australian Visas, as there is no Australian consular services in Zambia to travel to Australia, where they were going to work as "dancers." The man had with him video tapes depicting the five girls naked, in various positions. This made big headlines in the Zambian media, and all Zambians were looking to a fair and just trial.

Five months later, the Zambian media yet again splashed the headlines of the acquittal of the suspect on the basis that the suspect had hired a very powerful lawyer with connections every-where. Although the Zambian prosecutors had a very good case of child trafficking for commercial sex work, they were at pains to pin the trafficker down. There was no properly defined law to facilitate proper prosecution.

On 3 May, 2005 the Zambian media carried a story of a Congolese woman with 16 children at the same Chirundu Border for suspected human trafficking. The woman named as Wasalusu Basala Carmec was arrested after she tried to cross the border en route to South Africa. She had entered Zambia through Kasumbalesa from Congo with 10 girls and six boys. The children did not even know her name and called her auntie. This raised serious concerns in Zambia. According to a news article by African News Dimension in 2005.

"The tipping point that forced government action came in 2005 when a Congolese woman was caught trying to smuggle 14 children through Zambia into South Africa. The case received huge media attention when the Zambian government failed to prosecute the woman because the country had no specific law against the crime….After the case of the 14 Congolese children, Zambia hastily enacted an anti-trafficking law, with a minimum penalty of 20 years in prison for a prosecuted offender."

Now that Zambia has laws in place, the system is stronger in charging offenders, but the biggest challenge comes in sensitising the public and promoting development and entrepreneurship, so that citizens are not vulnerable to such exploitation.

Though little research is available, it seems highly likely that coercing or forcing girls and women into violent, unprotected sexual acts with multiple partners is a significant factor in the spread of the AIDS pandemic. The consequences of trafficking can be gleaned from the significance of commercial sex transactions in the national AIDS epidemics in two of the countries where trafficking is most prevalent, Thailand and India. At the height of Thailand's AIDS epidemic, more than 80% of HIV/AIDS cases could be attributed to women in the sex industry and their clients. Commercial sex work is one of the driving forces behind the AIDS pandemic elsewhere, such as India, where HIV levels among sex

workers in Mumbai (Bombay) exceeds 50%. A 1997 study in Sierra Leone showed that 70.6% of those engaged in commercial sex in Freetown were HIV positive, compared to 26.7% just two years earlier.

Through its social welfare agencies, the Government of Zambia is providing counselling, shelter, and protection to victims of child prostitution or referred victims to NGOs that provided such services. In some cases, victims have been placed in protective custody at rehabilitation centres or victim support shelters operated by NGOs. When trafficking investigations have substantiated allegations, the government has encouraged victims to assist with investigation and prosecution. The government did not have its own means of protecting victims and witnesses; however, it arranged for protective custody and security protection through facilities operated by NGOs. However, in some concerning cases, police have detained, jailed, deported, or prosecuted victims for violations of other laws. There is a need to sharpen the skills of law enforcement officers to counter child trafficking. African and Zambian law in particular, is inadequate to deal with the problem of human trafficking.

First, migration networks may not always be beneficial for migrants. Although we cannot directly assess the role of networks, this tentative conclusion can be drawn that trafficking primarily occurs where migration flows are largest, and access to networks relatively easy, with the anecdotal evidence that many trafficked victims are recruited through personal relationships. Our finding on the ambiguous role of migration networks stands in some contrast to the existing migration literature, which generally advocates a risk-reducing role of networks. More research is needed to better understand the role of migration and trafficking.

**World Cup 2010**

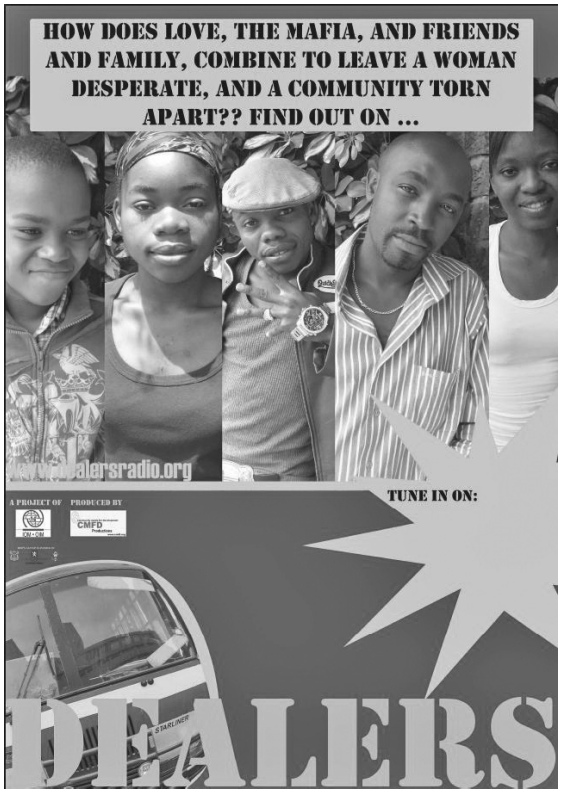
The World Cup will bring with it a massive influx of football players, coaches and fans – overwhelmingly young and male, not only to host country South Africa but also to the neighbouring region. It is expected that sex work will be part of the sporting landscape. People across the region are gearing up for new business ventures, and this includes criminals such as traffickers. This is exacerbated by the fact that the mega–event will translate into increased migration to seek opportunities in the host country. Thos calls for concerted efforts from n governments, media bodies and civil society, not just in South Africa, but also in neighbouring countries.

Zambia has a rich history of tourism and will likely receive its share of the tourist trade. One thing that shouldn't be overlooked is that women and children can be vulnerable, due to socio-economic problems such as poverty, education and traditions that make women submissive not only to their partners, but also to elders and strangers. Women and children become more vulnerable to trafficking for a number of reasons, and is often a combination of factors. An outcome of an ACP research states that the following are reasons why Zambian children are vulnerable to trafficking:

- Socioeconomic situation/poverty
- Promises of lucrative employment and businesses outside of Zambia
- Lack of education
- Early marriage
- Orphan hood, resulting particularly form HIV/AIDs
- Belief in witchcraft and the use of human organs in rituals

Findings on the role of risk awareness and information gives some reason for optimism that anti-trafficking campaigns and measures to reduce information asymmetries in the migration process can be a promising way to reduce the incidence of trafficking. Besides awareness campaigns, the ILO (2005) suggests to set up labour market information systems on jobs at home and abroad and the general use of model employment contracts.

What good will it do to legalise sex work only for 2010? You can choose to look at it from a biblical point of view or depending on what values are upheld. If we talk about it being good for development, what levels of accuracy and what determinants will be used to measure this? Will it also be taxable?




Dealers is a 13- part radio drama project by the IOM's Southern African Counter Trafficking Programme produced by CMFD Productions to raise awareness about human trafficking in Zambia.

Regardless of whether sex work is legalised or not, people are still going to be working as sex workers. The selling of sex is a part of our world today. Sex work has been happening since time immemorial, so, whether or not it is legalised or not, sex work will still happen. However, without it being legal; sex workers have no legal rights. If it were legalised, the woman and men that are sex workers would have rights just as any other profession. With the growing HIV/AIDS pandemic at our doorsteps it is important that people who work as sex workers be properly protected and their status' be regulated.

**Media**

From a child rights perspective, human trafficking is often a topic that is looked at broadly and not at community/national levels. It also does not feature highly in the media. As a result, people are unaware of danger signs and do not know what to do if they think they have been trafficked or are in the process of being trafficked. This undoubtedly has some repercussions. Other than trafficking across borders, trafficking also happens internally. It is important for media to help put a human face on this topic.

The media plays an indispensable role in educating people about the many manifestations of global human trafficking, presenting the problem in human terms and in all its painful detail. It is the media's role, therefore to ensure that strategies are laid out on the table and that they advocate for the number of voiceless people out there that don't have the voices to speak out for themselves. Yet media coverage is weak in many parts of the world. Some news media outlets are not yet aware of the trafficking phenomenon, or confuse it with other issues such as illegal migration and alien smuggling.

The media has a large role to play in mobilising public support and involvement to help prevent and combat trafficking. Due to its reach and ability to mould public opinion, it is a powerful tool of social change. Investigative journalism on trafficking needs to be promoted. However, media publicity should take into consideration a rights-based approach and ensure that there is no violation of the rights of the victims and survivors. So, there is a need to develop minimum standards for the media.

The media also plays an important role in protecting and promoting children's rights in each country. It is the responsibility of each parent/guardian to ensure that children are cared for and trafficking/ smuggling does not occur and should hold the best interests of the child to heart. The state has an obligation to keep, especially if it is signatory to the UNCRC. Trafficking exists in Zambia, and it is predominantly internal, and generally involves family/relatives and friends.

The media can positively or negatively affect the way people will perceive the 2010 World Cup and the preparations and thereafter. This then calls for concerted efforts from all stakeholders, national

and international; to stand in one voice. This is the first time that the World Cup will be held in an African country so, African countries need to stand firm and strong and make sure that development reaches Africa. We should put aside our differences and jealousies as nations. Remembering that through sport, we get so much more out the deal; we gain stronger ties and networks, peace is restructured and restored and development retained.

**Mobilising sport for change**

Many of the values associated with sport are relevant to conflict prevention and resolution and to peace building. Well-organised activities teach participants respect for each other, honesty, empathy, the importance of having rules, and effective communication and cooperation skills. These skills and values are all essential to both resolving conflict and preventing it from arising in the first place.

Sport can also serve as a positive means of interaction between communities, people and cultures, contributing to the maintenance of a dialogue between parties in open or latent conflict. In conflict or post-conflict situations, sport can help to create a structured, constructive outlet for the people affected that is oriented toward peaceful resolution of aggression and tensions.

Sport can contribute to economic development through diverse avenues. By promoting health, well-being and the prevention of disease, it can increase the productivity of individuals and the overall labour force and reduce the loss of individual and family earnings due to illness. This in turn reduces the burden on health care and welfare systems. Sport can also offer community members learning and skill development opportunities that increase their employability and potential earnings. Finally, sport, the manufacture of sport equipment, and sport events can create direct and indirect employment and business opportunities that contribute to overall economic growth.

Sport's immense contribution to individual development makes it a logical partner to advance development objectives at the community level. It is also at the community level where the development potential of sport becomes most visible. Sport can bridge divides between generations – engaging children and adults alike, facilitate social inclusion, and contribute to building human and social capital. Its tremendous popularity and attractiveness make it an ideal social mobilisation vehicle – both for sport events themselves but also for sport events linked to other development activities and objectives.

So let's not forget the value that the 2010 World Cup can bring for our continent!

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**Writers Bio**

Limpo Nicolette Chinika has been working in the media since 2002. She has a special interest in training children in knowing their rights and the media.

Notes

[1] Convention 182, The Worst Forms of Child Labour, includes various forms of child labour that under no circumstances should be tolerated. Trafficking is considered a worst form of child labour

## Opinion: Campaign to challenge trafficking in Malawi

By Cedric Nkungula

Soccer comes with social satisfaction and is also an epicentre of commercial interests both at macro and micro levels and as the most popular sporting event, it attracts several actors. For the first time in the history of FIFA the African continent, will, next year host the World Cup, in South Africa.

While this appears to be good news, the other side of the story is that sporting events have been an effective trap for individuals especially women and children to fall prey to unsuspecting perpetrators. Simply put, by its very nature, soccer is associated with tourism and often times, encompasses sex pleasure.

It is no doubt therefore that the forth-coming World Cup fiesta in South Africa will provide an opportunity for sex tourism and lead to a boom in the sex industry It is after bearing this in mind that Malawi has stepped up efforts to resist human trafficking which could lead to prostitution. Leading the campaign is Malawi Network Against Child Trafficking (M-Nact) whose aims are to investigate, report and raise awareness on human trafficking ahead of the 2010 World Cup finals in South Africa.

Speaking during a National Dialogue Against Human Trafficking in Malawi, Minister of Gender, Children and Child Development Patricia Kaliati warned human traffickers of tough times once the legislation is enacted. The free speaking minister accused men for what she called irresponsive attitude towards women and children. "How can one sleep with his own children," wondered Kaliati. "Seriously, those who do this are not real men created by God. May God take them all because this is really pathetic."

Kaliati then turned to women to be exemplary by not abusing their own children and report perpetrators of human trafficking to authorities. "Yes women should also be exemplary. If you feel that you cannot take good care of your own children, then you better remain single instead of having children just to abuse them," she emphasised.

Making his presentation, Malawi Human Rights Consultative Committee National Coordinator Mavuto Bamusi observed that a lack of specific anti-trafficking legislation makes prosecution more challenging and allows a limited range of punishments to be meted out to convicted traffickers. "Further, there is no law or policy aimed at providing legal assistance or information to presumed victims of child trafficking." he said. "Indeed, there is no law or policy specifically relating to the status or treatment of victims of trafficking."

A representative of the judiciary Zione Ntaba says human trafficking is a violation of human rights hence the need for concerted efforts to contain it. "It's a violation of human rights so lets not put a blind eye on it," she said.

Reports indicate that on the eve of the 2006 German World Cup, Police authorities observed that the demand for prostitutes and the influx of prostitutes dramatically increased. The four week Germany World Cup is believed to have left huge boom on Germany's sex industry with an estimated 40,000 young women/girls mainly from poorer European countries – many of whom were believed under age girls.

Interpol estimates that today, human trafficking is

the third largest source of profit for transnational criminal organisations after drug trafficking and weapons smuggling, fetching as much as US$19 billion-a-year.

**Writers Bio**
Cedric Nkugula writes from Malawi





# Opinion: One man can: Township street soccer paves way for reintegration

By Kristin Palitza

**Abstract**

Sonke Gender Justice Network has been actively involved in efforts to stem the xenophobic violence and the aftermath of attacks that occurred in May 2008 in South Africa. This has included engaging with communities to strengthen the ability of refugees and immigrants to be able to access their rights - including their right to safety, dignity and health. As part of this, Sonke is using street soccer to facilitate reintegration of people affected by xenophobic violence into their communities.

**Key words**

Gender equality, soccer, men as partners

## Soccer for equality

There is much furore and laughter as several teams of young men run across a makeshift soccer field, dribbling, kicking, scuffling, tackling each other and finally passing the ball. On each side of the field, a keeper stands tensely in front of a small, makeshift goal, shouting instructions to his team mates. Spectators spur on the players from the sidelines, while loud, rhythmic music blares from two oversized speakers across the football field.

Despite it being an overcast and cool winter's day in June, a couple of hundred people have made their way to the sports ground of Ikhusi Primary School in Site B, Khayelitsha, one of Cape Town's biggest and most crime-ridden townships. Attracted by the boisterous racket, they have come to see a rather unusual sight: groups of foreign nationals and South Africans have come together to play in a street soccer tournament. One year after violent xenophobic attacks broke out across South Africa, the men played in mixed teams of six – three non-South Africans and three South Africans each – and their focus is on one thing only: the ball and who will score the next goal.

In the heat of the game, there is no time to waste thinking about cultural differences or prejudices. Everyone has the same objective on that day: to win. This way, sport becomes a means to encourage fair play, foster communication and pave the way for reintegration of foreign nationals into the South

African communities they lived in before the outbreak of violence in May 2008. "Soccer speaks a universal language. It's a powerful tool to bring people together," says Leo Mbobi, a trainer of South African NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network who organised the tournament. "It gets us to know each other, talk to each other, respect each other and learn from each other. We start to see each other as friends."

Street soccer is a long-standing African tradition and played in teams of six on a small field, with each game lasting only seven minutes. To make the tournament happen, Sonke teamed up with Ambitious Youth of Khayelitsha (AYK), a crime prevention programme for youth, and youth development organisation Amandla Kulutsha. Both organisations work with youth and sports, while Sonke – which has an ongoing partnership with Grassroots Soccer, an NGO using soccer to fight HIV and AIDS – brought to the table long-standing expertise in gender, human rights, health and HIV.

Site B of Khayelitsha is an informal settlement where gansterism, drug abuse, alcoholism, domestic violence, unemployment and poverty are major problems. To get teenagers and young adults off the streets and particularly out of the shebeens (beer halls), soccer has proven to be one of the most effective means to encourage team spirit, motivate teenagers to set goals and give them a positive outlook on life. "The soccer games help a lot," says AYK facilitator Wandisile Mcako. "The youth stop going



Street soccer for reconciliation

Photo: Kelly Engel Wells and Kristin Palitza

to the shebeens and hanging out on the streets without purpose. I've seen lots of youth being calmer and more positive about life."

Mcako, who organises regular soccer matches for boys who are 16 years and older on Friday and Saturday evenings in Site B, says many players have found new purpose in their lives and are more optimistic and confident about their future. "We don't only play soccer, we also talk about issues that affect us as youth, such as crime and unemployment," explains Mcako. "It's amazing to see that we are making a change."

**Once Man Can**

At the One Man Can street soccer tournament, named after Sonke's flagship programme, the One Man Can campaign that works with men and boys towards creating gender equality, one can almost see the growing team spirit and feeling of kinship materialise. One of the tournaments' players is 22-year-old Bontsi who lives here in Site B, Khayelitsha. He says he loves soccer, and getting involved in the tournament has been an affirmative experience. "The opportunity to play has made a big difference for me," he says. "I used to go to the shebeens, and I wasn't that active. Now I meet new people and get new ideas. That makes me feel safer."

Like many other young adults who live in South Africa's townships or informal settlements, Bontsi is affected by unemployment. "Once we finish Matric, that's it for us. Only a few people manage to find work," he says with reference to his own and his friends' job opportunities in a country where unemployment levels are climbing towards 40 percent. With too much time on their hands, teenagers start to hang out aimlessly on the streets, begin to consume large amounts of alcohol or take drugs and often get involved in criminal activities to get money. The opportunity to be part of a soccer team provides them with an alternative. "You eventually realise that drugs are not solutions to your problems," knows Bontsi.

That day, Bontsi plays in a team with Teddy, a refugee from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), who has been attending a number of Sonke's Refugee Health and Rights workshops and been invited to participate in the soccer tournament. It is Teddy's first time in Khayelitsha, an area he says he was scared to enter after the brutal attacks on foreign nationals last year. It is also his first time to socialise with South Africans, play sports with them and talk on friendly terms.

"I was too afraid to come here before. We thought they might kill us. But today, I feel welcome and comfortable. The mixed teams have given me a feeling of brotherhood between all players," says Teddy. Simba Ndowa, a migrant from Zimbabwe and a Sonke peer educator, also points out his surprise and relief of feeling safe among those he once feared. Although his team lost all games today, he says he had a good time and would be keen to participate in another tournament. "It is so amazing to see that it's only one year after the attacks, but everyone is relaxed. It's good that everybody, foreigners and South Africans, come together. It's a good start. We need to do this more often," he suggests.

A simple game of soccer can have a multitude of positive effects. Sport can unite people and create mutual understanding, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, gender, culture and religion. Researchers of the University of Toronto1, for instance, found that "it is essential in peace building that conflicting groups be able to 're-humanise' their vision of each other as part of a reconciliation process that aims for sustainable co-existence."

That's why Sonke decided to use sport to promote social change, particularly in the areas of working with men to achieve greater gender equality and address issues related to gender-based violence and HIV. The organisation uses soccer to teach basic social values, such as tolerance, teamwork, fairness and conflict management, believing that sport can contribute to healing and help create a culture based on peaceful values, while transcending segregation and misconception.

South Africa's former president Nelson Mandela was one of the first personalities to highlight the role sport can play in bringing about social change. "Sport has the power to unite people in a way little else can. Sport can create hope where there was once only despair. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand," said Mandela, who used to be a heavyweight boxer as a young adult. Similarly, the United Nations has started recognising the importance of sport as a tool for promoting development, public health and peace.

To call attention to sport's valuable role, the 191 UN member countries declared 2005 the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. Based on these findings, Sonke and partner organisations, like AYK and Amandla Kulutsha, use sport for life skills and leadership training and to ultimately empower youth to empower themselves. "Through soccer, we teach youth how to bring about positive change in their communities rather than engaging in negative behaviour," explains Amandla Kulutsha executive director and co-founder Leonora Reid. "Sport can be a great tool to learn fair play and respect. We have seen lots of youths who were involved in gangsterism but who are now back at school thanks to the positive effects of playing in a soccer team," she adds.

One of those teenagers is 18-year-old Nelson, who got involved in drugs and crime when he lived as a homeless, orphaned child on the streets of Khayelitsha.



Watching attentively Photo: Kelly Engel Wells and Kristin Palitza

Nelson, who now stays at a children's home in the township and is attending Grade 10 at the local high school, has made soccer his life. "It keeps me busy and it helps me to set myself goals," he says. Participating in the soccer tournament, he says he feels proud to be part to play in such a mixed group of people. "Soccer is one of my talents, and I enjoy sharing it with others," says Nelson.

But there's more to this street soccer competition than scoring goals. Sonke cleverly combined sports with its One Man Can philosophy that one man can make a difference to society. To be able to sign up for one of the teams that day, each player first has to attend a 30-minute introductory session on the topic of termination of pregnancy, facilitated by Sonke staff. "Everyone who wants to play has to come and do the training," explains Sonke facilitator Zithulele Dlakavu. "They need to show their commitment not only to soccer but to contributing to change."

**Soccer and reproductive health**

Sonke decided to make termination of pregnancy the topic of the day because the organisation identified a widespread lack of knowledge of and women's right to legal abortion among South African men, particularly among youth. Thus, the event was dubbed the "One Man Can Soccer Tournament to Promote Access to Quality and Safe Health Services."

*"Sport has the power to unite people in a way little else can. Sport can create hope where there was once only despair. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand,"*

*- spoken word artist entertains the crowd in between matches.*

Apart from playing sports, participants learnt about abortion law, women's rights over their bodies and were encouraged to accompany their partners to health facilities. "Constructions of masculinities all too often give men the sense that they are entitled to control women's decisions about their bodies and their sexuality, including their access to health services," says Sonke One Man Can manager Patrick Godana. "We want to change this and turn men into responsible human beings who take care of both their own and their partner's health."

Because termination of pregnancy is a taboo topic in most African communities, it is tricky to get men to talk openly about how unwanted pregnancies and abortions affect their lives. Sonke also stresses the link between unwanted pregnancies and HIV infection. "We find that a lot of guys blame their girlfriends for falling pregnant," explains Dlakavu. "So we discuss with them that contraception is also a man's responsibility, and we explain that using condoms fulfils several functions. It prevents pregnancy but also infection with HIV and other sexually transmitted infections."

"We explain that termination of pregnancy is a legitimate and legal choice and that it is men's responsibility to help their partners access safe abortion if that's their partner's choice, instead of getting unsafe backstreet abortions," he further notes. Thus, soccer becomes a way to campaign for health. "We use this soccer tournament to celebrate and promote healthy people and healthy communities by giving boys and men an opportunity to develop plans to make Khayelitsha a healthy place for all," adds Godana.

Apart from speaking about health-related issues, Sonke staff also led informal discussions that day about xenophobia, discrimination, gender roles and masculinity. This is not the first soccer tournament between refugees and South Africans Sonke has organised. About a year earlier, in July 2008, Sonke held a street soccer competition in Manyanani Peace Park, another section of Khayelitsha, which is home




Men taking a stand against xenophobia

Photo: Kelly Engel Wells and Kristin Palitza

to many refugees. Similar to the tournament in Site B, the organisation used the soccer games as a way to celebrate diversity and reunite warring parties. Again, hundreds of young people came to watch the games and socialise.

"This first event was based on the idea that encouraging communication and shared experiences between foreign nationals and South Africans within a community will help to ease relations within that community and encourage reintegration," says Sonke co-director Dean Peacock. Making up mixed teams of three South Africans and three non-South Africans was a particular challenge at that time, just two months after the first outbreak of xenophobic violence. "South Africans had to convince refugees that they would be safe," Peacock explains. Although initially many refugees were apprehensive of returning to areas where many of them had been attacked only a few weeks earlier, 14 soccer teams were soon established. Once the matches started, everyone relaxed. There was a lot of solidarity, embraces and apologies. One man said it was the first time he had come out of hiding since the beginning of the attacks. Another said the game was the first time he had had fun in months.

Later, it came to light that one of the soccer players had participated in the looting of Somali stores but now found himself trying to convince refugees to join his team. "His desire to play in the street soccer festival forced him to rethink his actions," says Dlakavu. After the game, local leadership addressed the crowd and mobilised for peace building. Everybody agreed to start processes to help their communities heal. "Xenophobia is based on lack of communication, so talking to each other openly and honestly is the first step towards reintegration," explains Mbobi.

Based on the successes of these two street soccer tournaments, Sonke plans to organise even more such events to create continuity and lasting impact.

**Writers Bio**
Kristin Palitza has been working as a journalist and editor in South Africa, the US and Germany for the past 15 years. The focus of her work is on poverty, socio-politics, health/HIV, gender and environmental issues. She has written for a wide variety of publications, including the Mail & Guardian, The Weekender and Inter Press Service (IPS).




## Opinion: One Man Can Campaign – Coach's Game Plan Against Abuse

The One Man Can Campaign supports men and boys to take action to end domestic and sexual violence and to promote healthy, equitable relationships that men and women can enjoy - passionately, respectfully and fully. The Campaign promotes the idea that everyone has a role to play, that each person can create a better, more equitable and more just world. At the same time, the campaign encourages men to work together with other men and with women to take action - to build a movement, to demand justice, to claim their rights and to change the world. The One Man Can Action Kit provides men with resources to act on their concerns about domestic and sexual violence. It will be useful for any man concerned about these issues, as well as for representatives from government, NGOs, CBOs and community groups who work with men and women to address issues of gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS.

Sport has always been at the forefront of social change. Great coaches have always taught more than a game. They teach honour, perseverance, self-respect, discipline, teamwork and respect for others. These are all traits and skills that are just as important in life as they are on the field. Athletes listen to coaches; they're used to following their instructions regarding preparation, technique and performance, and couches can use their attention to teach them about life too. By teaching athletes that young women deserve to be treated with honour and respect and that violence does not equal strength or manliness, coaches will help young men draw these important distinctions between games and life.

**Coaches can encourage boys and young men to be more active in ending violence against women and children by taking the following steps.**

1. ***Be clear from the outset about your expectations of the player***
   The first official day of practice is a special day. It is in that period of time prior to the opening game that you do much of your teaching. It is when you implement strategy, formulate goals, communicate expectations and lay the foundations for team chemistry. It's also the ideal time for you to define the playing field for your players regarding violence against women. Encourage them to talk to you and let them know what services are offered in dealing with violence.

2. ***Make your views clear***
   Define your views on what it means to be a man. Explain that while aggressiveness and intimidation have a place in sports, acting this way in real life toward girls crosses the line and will not be tolerated on your team

3. ***This season communicate that your players' goals go beyond the field***
   Make it clear to your players that this year they will also learn to treat women with honour and respect and understand that violence never equals strength. Explain to them that you will be supporting them to use their profile and status to encourage others to take a stand against violence and be more involved in preventing HIV infection.

4. ***Model discipline and integrity***
   Foster discipline and respect through positive constructive teaching – remember discipline and respect starts with the coach and rest of management. Through your actions, teach your players the importance of respect – for oneself and others, even when things are diffi cult and you are not winning.

5. ***Encourage players to support each other to remain non-violent***
   Remind them that teammates should speak up if they think someone is involved in a situation that's disrespectful to women or girls. Remind them that good friends support each other to stay out of trouble and to change. At practices and before games take a few minutes to remind to players that their behavior off the fi eld affects the team as a whole.

6. ***Use teachable moments***
   As a coach, you're used to planning for potential game scenarios. Do the same and plan with your team how you're going to deal with violence against women. Certain situations or behaviors that occur with your players will be out of your control to prevent, but they also provide you with the opportunity to talk to the rest of the team and correct the wrongs.

- *Teachable Moment:*
  *Deal with disrespectful locker room chatter and sexual boasting*.
  When you hear your players talking about a girl's sexual reputation, showing disrespectful attitudes towards women or talking about pressuring women to have sex, you have an opportunity to educate. Remind your players that manhood is not defined by having many sexual partners and that "No" means "no!" in any sexual situation EVERY TIME. That's what's right, and that's the law! Address the situation immediately.

- *Teachable Moment:*
  *Challenge victim blaming.*
  When men blame women for rape and domestic violence it lets the perpetrator off the hook. Use your position to challenge victim blaming. Make it clear to your players that no woman "asks" for sexual harassment or rape - no matter what they're wearing, how many drinks they've had or whether they express interest in you.

- *Teachable Moment:*
  *Challenge sexual harassment.*
  Explain that taunting women and girls is degrading and that girls should not be teased because of how they look or what they choose to wear. Mention that most girls do not welcome that type of attention and are probably fearful of defending themselves. Finally, let them know that the men you admire are those who treat women and girls with honour and respect.

- *Teachable Moment:*
  *Address any suspected violence committed by a team member*.
  By the time you hear about violence committed by one of your team members, it's likely that the whole team is talking about it. Your players are probably worried, angry or confused. Speak to the rest of the team about the seriousness of the allegations and how it relates to their own future conduct. Make it clear that allegations of rape are extremely serious and, if you are a school coach, explain that it is the school's responsibility to investigate the situation further and to alert the police. Tell them that athletes aren't above the law. First and foremost, they are members of society and role models.

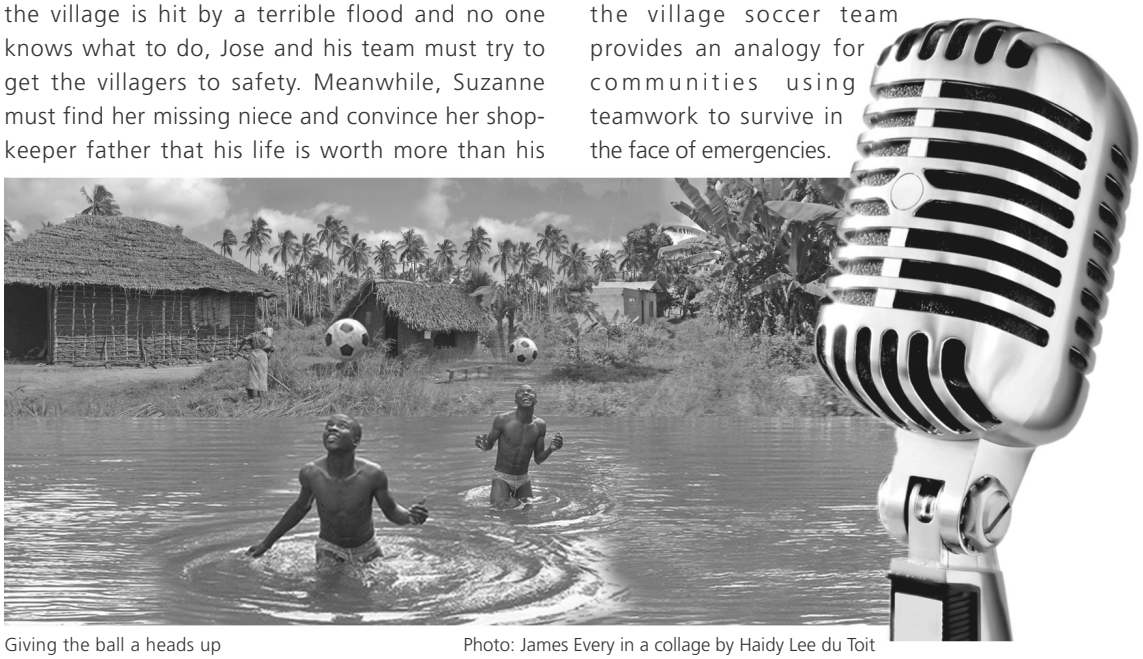




## Bravos de Zambeze: Teamwork for disaster preparedness

By Tonya Graham and Pedro Simão

Bravos de Zambeze (Zambeze Braves) are a fictional team hard at work getting ready for their district football championships when disaster strikes their village. The story in this 2-season radio drama focuses on the Bravos soccer team captain, Jose, and his wise girlfriend Suzanne, a teacher. When the village is hit by a terrible flood and no one knows what to do, Jose and his team must try to get the villagers to safety. Meanwhile, Suzanne must find her missing niece and convince her shop-keeper father that his life is worth more than his stock. Season one deals with the immediate aftermath of flooding, what can happen if people are not prepared, and the importance of sticking together as a community. Season two looks at the longer-term impact, resettlement and climate change adaptation. Throughout the drama, the village soccer team provides an analogy for communities using teamwork to survive in the face of emergencies.



Giving the ball a heads up

Photo: James Every in a collage by Haidy Lee du Toit

"[I learned that] every time there is an emergency situation, we shouldn't wait around until it gets worse."

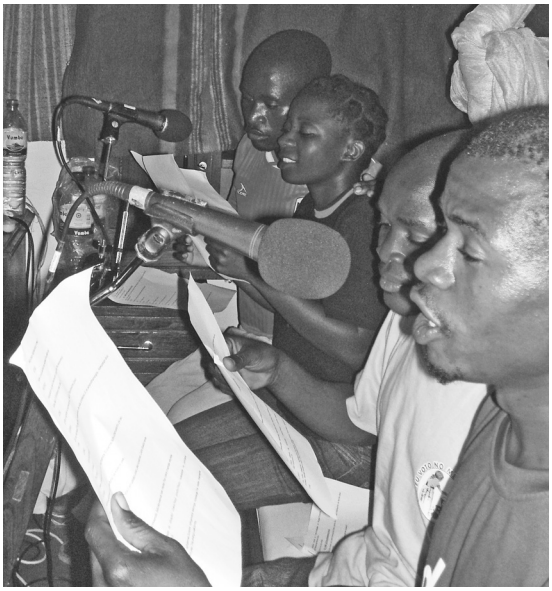
"Every time we get a warning we should take it in very serious consideration."




Artwork: Francisco Simão

The project, produced by CMFD Productions for the International Organisation for Migration's Disaster Risk Reduction Project, part of the UN Joint Programme - Delivering as One in Mozambique, is about the devastating consequences of natural disasters along the Zambeze Valley Region, one of the most vulnerable area in Mozambique, and how the resulting relocation of populations presents a formidable challenge for organisations, humanitarian agencies, and governments. At the same time, the complex web of related issues – changing climates, cultural perceptions, lack of education, gender inequalities, make coping with emergencies even more complicated. Through the characters, such as when Suzanne faces sexual assault in the temporary camp, the drama demonstrates how people – men, women, children - are affected by such devastating events, and the subsequent dislocation. Through entertaining the drama, realistic and relevant messages are passed along about disasters. The radio drama provides a unique medium for conveying information. It is widely accessible, does not rely on literacy, and can reach remote places. There is a long-standing tradition of novellas in Mozambique, which make drama particularly engaging for listeners.

The aim of the project is to increase awareness of disasters and what people can do during the situation to survive. It is about encouraging people to take warnings of disasters very seriously, as some people wait until it is too late to take action. It is also designed to help people be aware of how to cope after disasters, such as how to safely handle foods and drinks safely, and also to take care of their important belongings. Moreover, it is about communities working together, as a team with both women and men, to overcome adversity and rebuild their village.



Recording Bravos do Zambeze Photo: Daniel Walter



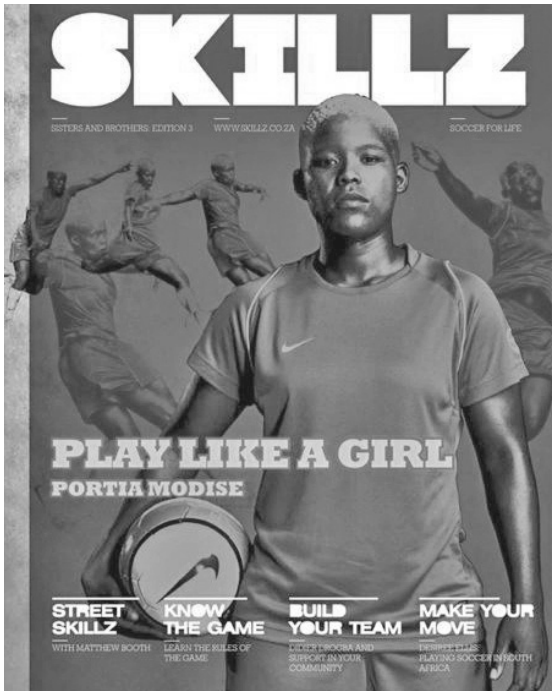

## Profile: Skillz Magazine: Soccer Stars Challenging Gender Norms and Violence

By Zak Kaufman

The excitement around the FIFA 2010 World Cup presents an unprecedented opportunity to transform destructive gender norms underlying South Africa's HIV epidemic. A Medical Research Council study found that one in four men in South Africa admits to rape and most initiate violence as young adults (MRC 2009). "I think it is down to ideas about masculinity based on gender hierarchy and the sexual entitlement of men," says Rachel Jewkes of the MRC. "It's rooted in an African ideal of manhood." The MRC findings underscore the need for urgent action to challenge and change what is viewed as "acceptable behaviour."

Supported by the Ford Foundation, Nike, De Beers, and USAID, Grassroot Soccer has teamed up with Sonke Gender Justice and Avusa Communications (as part of the Football For An HIV Free Generation Initiative) to produce and distribute two editions of the soccer-themed *Skillz Magazine* addressing gender norms and violence in South Africa. These mass media tools are designed to reinforce messages delivered through the *Skillz* HIV prevention and life skills curriculum in hundreds of schools across the nation.

Distributed to more than four million readers in August 2009 via the *Sunday Times*, the *Sowetan* and directly to approximately 3,000 schools, *Skillz Magazine* Edition 3 (Sisters and Brothers) highlighted stories, interviews, quotes and photos from professional soccer players to challenge gender norms. The edition featured South African stars - including all-time leading Banyana Banyana scorer

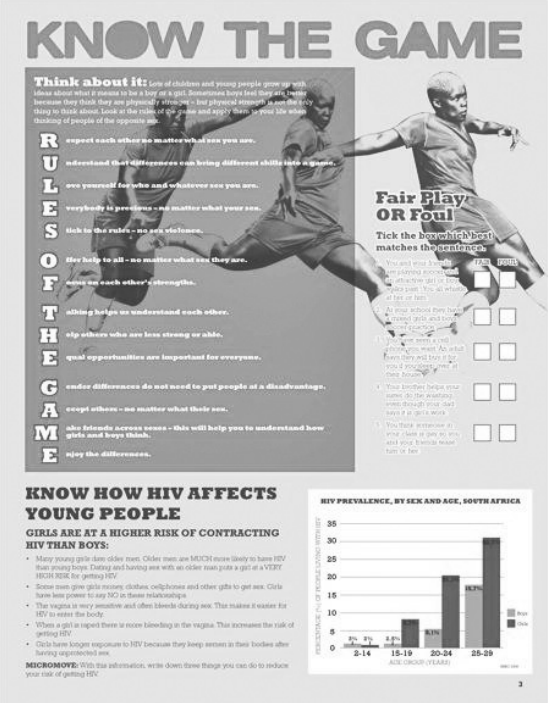



Using the power of soccer in the fight against HIV and AIDS, Grassroot Soccer provides youth with the knowledge, skills and support to live healthier lives. For more on Skillz Magazine, visit: www.skillz.co.za.

Portia Modise - as well as international stars, like Didier Drogba. "Gender equality must be promoted," reads a quote from Drogba, recently selected to serve as a United Nations Goodwill Ambassador. "Male attitudes and behaviours need to change."

In a related photo sequence, Bafana Bafana defender Matthew Booth showed he was not afraid to tackle traditionally female household roles, like washing dishes, ironing clothes, and looking after his son. Meanwhile, a Make-Your-Move interview with former Banyana

Banyana Captain, Desiree Ellis, turned the tables, sharing an inspiring story of how she overcame stereotypes to become an internationally renowned soccer player. "My sister and I were always told soccer was for boys, but this was not and is not true," said Ellis. "I believe soccer can change gender stereotypes in South Africa."




Each edition of *Skillz Magazine* balances celebrity pieces like those mentioned above with practical exercises and tools for learners and educators. In Edition 3, *Skillz* introduced the "Rules of the Game" tips for entering healthy relationships. The magazine also included a graph demonstrating young women's disproportionate risk of HIV infection, an interactive exercise in which readers had to decide whether certain life scenarios represented "Fair Play or Fouls," and a list of support sources for youth suffering from abuse or discrimination.

Finally, the magazine's Coach's Corner introduced two activities that educators can use in the classroom to facilitate dialogue about gender expectations. Forthcoming in early 2010, the 5th edition of *Skillz Magazine* will feature similar articles, stories, exercises, and activities focused on gender-based violence.

Transforming gender norms around sexual behaviour is possible. Indeed, norms around condom use in South Africa have drastically changed in the last decade. Among youth, self-reported condom use at last sex increased from about 50 percent in 2002 to nearly 80 percent in 2008 (HSRC 2009). Disturbingly, however, as the MRC study suggests, we have not seen such favourable changes in gender norms. Both the percentage of young women reporting sex with older partners and the percentage of young men reporting sex with multiple partners in the last year - key drivers of the HIV epidemic - continue to increase (HSRC 2009). What puts young people at risk of HIV is not the *act* of having sex but the context in which sex occurs - not the *act* of forgetting to use a condom but the norms that make it nearly impossible for girls to insist on condoms when sleeping with older men. If the same effort put into condom promotion over the last decade were channeled into changing gender norms over the next decade, we could reverse many of the harsh realities facing today's South Africa.

There exists a critical role for both sport and media to play in challenging gender norms and ending gender-based violence in South Africa. Combining the power of these two vehicles surrounding the World Cup, we can create positive waves that will ripple for years to come through a nation ravaged by gender injustice.

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**Writers Bio**

A Truman Scholar and member of USA Today's All-USA First Academic Team, Zak blends his passions for public service, global health research, and sport. He graduated Summa Cum Laude with High Honors from Dartmouth College. Zak has done fieldwork, led trainings, participated in conferences, and conducted research projects in more than a dozen countries around Latin America, the Caribbean and southern Africa. With an academic and professional background in international public health, Zak has worked in research and advocacy with Grassroot Soccer since 2006 and currently resides in Cape Town, South Africa.

SKILLZ

**Desiree Ellis Makes Her Move -**
excerpted from Skillz Magazine, Edition 1

**Q: Who are your role models?**

***Soccer*** - When I was growing up girls didn't really play soccer so I didn't know any women soccer players. I looked up to Ryan Giggs. He is still a role model to me. He plays hard every match and I'm sure he lives a very healthy lifestyle. He has to! He's still competing with the best players in the world at age 35.

***Life*** - Definitely my parents. I think I get my generosity from my mother and my passion from my father. He always told me to be passionate about whatever I choose to do in life. He taught me that no one is perfect, but if you do things the right way then you'll feel good about yourself even if you make mistakes.

**Q: What is the best advice you've ever received?**

***Soccer*** – Leave everything on the field.

***Life*** - Always give it your best effort. All you can do is your best. Nothing else. Leave the rest to God.

**Q: What is your biggest accomplishment?**

***Soccer*** – When I grew up there weren't soccer teams for girls. I used to hop a fence and sneak on the field to play with boys. When I was 15, I got to play in my first real game for the provincial team, which was a big accomplishment. Then I became captain of Banyana Banyana and because



of my success, I met former presidents Nelson Mandela & Thabo Mbeki, and even interviewed Sir Alex Fergeson.

***Life*** - My soccer career has been one of my biggest accomplishments. I played for Banyana Banyana when I was in my 30s. Every game I played was an accomplishment because I proved to people I could compete despite my age. Also, I have to say that accepting Jesus in my life has been very important to me.

**Q: As a role model yourself, what advice do you have for young people?**

***Soccer & Life*** – Playing sport is a brilliant way to keep young people out of trouble. Many young people go through tough times and often lose hope. No matter how much talent you have, you need support to succeed. In addition, today, it seems like the "in" thing to be unmarried and pregnant at a young age. Children are having children. You miss out on your youthfulness when this happens. I think its important to wait to have sex until the time is right, or wait until your are married.

**Q: Where do you see yourself in 5 years?**

***Soccer & Life*** – In 5 years, I would like to have my own soccer academy. I want to start with the youngsters from 7 years old and up. My academy won't just be about soccer. Young people need life skills too. They need to be able to face the world and be confident in both soccer and life. I want the young soccer players from my academy to be able to carry themselves, get a good education, and become good role models.

**Q: How have you made your move to fight HIV and AIDS?**

***Soccer & Life*** – Every year I participate in the Sports Heroes Walk Against AIDS. Celebrities do not need to be experts on HIV to get involved fighting this epidemic. Showing up to events shows that you care as a role model to young people.

# South Africa's Golden Girl: Caster Semenya

City Press





## Caster Semenya: A Girl of Two Parts

By Jennifer Elle Lewis

**Abstract**

In August 2009, the world turned South African middle distance runner Caster Semenya into an international phenomenon, after she won the gold medal in the 800m race in Berlin. However, it was not her athletic prowess that brought her to the forefront of the world media's attention, but rather the subsequent questions around her gender and sex. This article looks at trends in contemporary and pre-enlightenment theories around the body and sexual identity, and how these shifting thoughts could be applied to Semenya and the surrounding hegemonic discourse on gender.

**Key words**

Sport, gender, body politics, Caster Semenya

### Boxed in by gender categorisation

*Simone de Beauvoir wrote in the Second Sex that "one is not born a woman, but rather becomes a woman." This phrase is odd, even nonsensical, for how can one become a woman if one wasn't a woman all along? And who is this "one" who does the becoming? Is there some human who becomes its gender at some point in time ? What is the moment or mechanism of gender construction? And, perhaps most pertinently, when does this mechanism arrive on the cultural scene to transform the human subject into a gendered subject?*

- (Butler, Gender Trouble, 1990)

Prior to her leap into the media frenzy, Caster Semenya was just an 18-year-old girl from Limpopo who liked to run. Caster was a girl who chose not to adhere to the socially accepted roles of how females should behave or dress. However, who can pontificate on who Caster "is" or why she "chose" to transgress certain norms? It is precisely this penchant for categorisation and rationalisation that has turned her into a spectacle to begin with. The public's message is clear: it is not enough that Caster "is," but that she must be put into the appropriate category for "what" she is.

Caster did not fit the mold, in fact she broke it just as she broke records in speed and agility. She did not adhere to performative gender roles, as Judith Butler might suggest, and that was just *too much*. The public could not stomach it. In fact, they demanded a refund. It was assumed that she must be a fraud of some kind, perhaps a deceptive fey boy masquerading as female. As her sexual identity read as "indeterminate" it was essential to shuffle Semenya into one group or the other, and call it a day.

Before the gender test results were officially in, there was a buzz across radio air waves and internet chat rooms, a buzz that echoed again and again, *hermaphrodite*. The public placed Semenya on a platform, like a circus freak hovering above the water tank, inevitably due to be submerged once a skilled hand made union between the ball and the "hit me" sign. And so she was plunged in pre-emptively. With "scientific" findings to back up the media bloodlust, she has been stripped of her title, her dignity, and forbidden to race in the future.

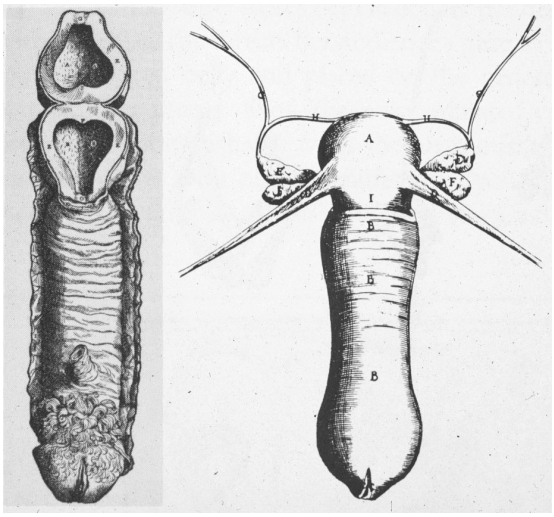
As the public sleeps snugly in their beds, relieved that one more of life's puzzles has been debunked, Caster has to face a different reality. Caster has lived all her life as herself, whatever that self may be. The self that was once female.

**One sex**

There was a time when, reproductively speaking, males and females were considered to be one in the same, and to share one essential sex. Prior to the Enlightenment period, this was the belief, men housing their genitals externally and women internally. (Of course, this era also held the belief that a woman's reproductive cycle was the same as a canine's, but *c'est la vie*.) An anonymous poem of that era surmises their understanding of "sameness":

*Though they of different sexes be,*
*Yet on the whole they are the same as we,*
*For those that have the strictest searchers been,*
*Find women are but men turned outside in.*

**Figure 1:**



Two anatomical drawings: vagina as penis

Early anatomists believed in the "one sex model/ one flesh model". This theory viewed the ovaries as testes, the uterus as a scrotum a interior (See Figure 1[1]). There was one essential human body, with only slight variants for sex and race. Most of these variants favored men, an example being that the vagina was seen as a weaker version of the penis, even though it was also thought to emit sperm.

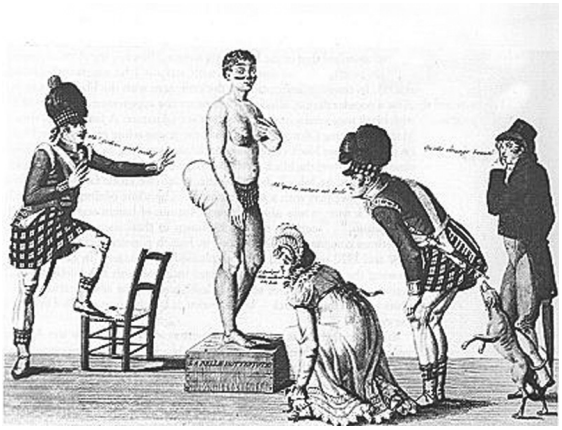
**Two sex**

Following the Enlightenment, when it was established that a woman's procreative organs were not, simply, a man's "turned outside in" the male doctor supplanted the female midwife, and a new interest developed in noting the differences of the female sex, which was experimented on in manifold bizarre ways. The new field of gynecology was established, (plagued by an early bout of purple fever[2]), and men firmly took hold of the speculum. This is the point in time when the female body was differentiated from the male, because, it can be argued, it was in contrast to the female body that the male body achieved meaning. The system of gender then became relational, operating through binaries: a "man" is "not woman," just as "woman" is "not man." Therefore, to prevent perceived degradation of the sexes the categories of "man" and "woman" needed to be rigidly defined and their boundaries aggressively policed.

This was also an era when colonial nations were unfurling their post-Enlightenment "civilising missions" across the globe, and expanding into the apparent wildernesses of untamed lands and peoples. The example of Saartjie Baartman (1789 – 1815) perhaps falls into both categories of Victorian explorations, both anthropologically and gynecologically. A Khoikhoi woman, she was dubbed Hottentot Venus and exhibited as sideshow attraction in nineteenth-century Europe. In one fell swoop, anthropologists removed her from her native land (now the Eastern Cape of South Africa), transported her to Europe, and had for their pleasure a specimen that both represented the vast differences between the sexes as well as the differences between black and white, colonist and barbarian.

The primary attraction of Baartman were her large labial "aprons," in mammoth proportions to the petite Caucasian counterpart, and excited voyeurs would stand with baited breath, hoping to catch a glimpse when she was placed on the podium in various European capitals. Scientists were searching for a classificatory wedge with which to best illustrate the differences of the species. Committed to this undertaking they continued their work with or without Baartman's "permission."

**Figure 2: the prodding of Saartjie Baartman**



"Eager to inspect her labia…the scientists spent three days trying to convince Baartman to submit to the physical, even offering her money, which she refused. Alas, her early death afforded them ready access to her private parts, (they) made a plaster cast of her body and had her brain and genitals preserved in jars. Although the skeleton remains at Paris's Musée de l'Homme… her brain and genitals have disappeared." (Davis 2002)

The treatment of Saartjie Baartman perhaps best illustrates the desire to establish order and preserve power by making spectacles of difference. In this case, to make a spectacle of a woman by the difference of her reproductive organs. To date, we may not be so removed from genitals in formaldehyde that go mysteriously missing, never to be located again.

**One sex, two sex, three sex**

These shifting thoughts on the construction of gender and human sexuality have brought us to where we stand today: a place where a young girl can be called into question in the public arena because she fails to fit the norm. While many strides have been made since Baartman's era, and certainly her treatment was more brutal than Semenya's, we are still living with

remnants of those same guiding principles. Although Enlightenment thinking has, on the whole, done more good than bad for the world, the elements of rigid categorisation and of social stratification that have come out of it, not to mention gender biases, are serious issues that are still at play in today's world.

Semenya's sexual identity has been placed into the hands of scientists, theorists, psychologists and public scrutiny two hundred years post-Baartman. She too has been prodded, inspected and infiltrated. It is equally by her genitals, procreative organs and internal chemistry that her womanhood has been assessed and judged. While Baartman was singled out because she was considered to be hyper-feminine, Semenya has come into the limelight for not being feminine enough. It seems that on either end of the spectrum one is not safe from public scorn and personal exposure, even exposure of their most personal parts.

In this way, Caster's private parts have become incorporated into the public sphere. The term "pubes," which translates to "adult men" also signifies male participation in the public arena, while the word "pudendum," which is still used interchangeably with "female genitalia," is from the Latin "pudere" and translates to "that of which one ought to be ashamed." (Kapsalis 1997) And so we find Semenya, straddling both.

Though not all specific content from Semenya's tests has been made public at the time of this article, reports about the gender identification exams she underwent suggest she does not have a uterus or ovaries, and that she may have internal glands like male testes producing an inordinate amount of testosterone, as compared to the average woman. It is suggested this means she might be part male. Although her externally appearing female genitals have made her and Baartman a site of shame and humiliation, she cannot stake her claim on the category female. According to the IAAF, she cannot stake her claim on anything, even her gold medal. The result is that someone who is a world-class athlete has been told she has no right to be one, because they don't know which box to tick next to her name.

**Fairness in sport**

The Semenya factor has raised perhaps the most serious challenge to the notion of fairness in sport, and to conventional attitudes about gender to date. As previously mentioned, test results are reported to show that Caster's body naturally secretes three times the "normal" female levels of testosterone, the dominant "male" hormone, which some competitors say gives her an "unfair advantage." The question of fairness is fundamental to the very structure of organised sports. For instance, it is easy to understand why it is wrong that one athlete use a "performance-enhancing" substance, such as uppers, steroids and human growth hormones. These chemicals are unhealthy and undermine physical and philosophical integrity of competition.

But the logic of the Semenya question is very different: if she has an advantage from a naturally occurring condition, and her body is as it is through no direct action of her own, is barring her from competition not comparable to excluding athletes whose legs are too long, or whose muscles have too much ease with fast-twitch reflex? How can one determine who is too naturally advantaged to compete, or on what criteria racing catergories should be determined. Going forward, could it be a consideration that athletes be grouped by height, weight, age and hormonal level, as opposed to gender. Since there are so many other factors at play in what makes a winner or a runner-up, it seems outdated to only focus on gender and overlook the multitude of other physical or hormonal attributes that affect performance.

**One sex, two sex, three sex, five sex?**

At the end of the day, are men and women so fundamentally different? Is it still relevant to have such vast disparities between their identifications? What about this notion that we share an essential body? With so many shifting thoughts, one must consider if the path towards a more equitable existence is based on the abolition of categories or the creation of new ones.

Modern scientists have, to date, identified five sexes. Anne Fausto-Sterling, has albeit jokingly coined them: male, female, herm, merm and ferm. She has also found, through research conducted at Brown University, that roughly 1.7% of the population is born intersexual in some form. She states that this figure represents "all chromosomal, anatomical and hormonal exceptions to the dimorphic ideal" and suggests that the number of intersexuals subjected to surgery as infants may be between one in 1,000 and one in 2,000 births. Additionally, as different populations possess the defining hormones at higher frequencies, the intersexual birthrate is not uniform throughout the world, and is therefore difficult to document.[3]

**Figure 3:** Caster all dolled up




If we accept that we are not the same, but that the categories of man and woman are no longer relevant in all cases, would a next step be to make these five sexes official categories for public consumption? Thailand has already instituted third gender public restrooms. Following this lead, could such categories carry over for sexual variants in sport: women with flat chests and ambiguous genitals to the left, men with small penises and high pitched voices to the right and women without uteruses to the back of the line. Or, going back to this idea of "sameness", might additional categories only create new opportunities for judgment.

Both men and women have testosterone and estrogen, both men and women have nipples and noses, both men and women have reproductive cycles and mood swings (while many men fail to recognise this.)

The margin of difference between men and women is so slim in comparison to the huge amount of sameness that we collectively share, that it is amazing that this slim margin is the basis for so much discrimination. Furthermore, science is constantly shifting landscape. Scientists are prone to human prejudices, and science as a whole, while claiming to be objective, is still privy to the dominant beliefs of the time. Since science is never as scientific as hoped for, it is difficult to predict how the case of Semenya might be viewed by the scientists of future eras.

So then what makes males "male" and females "female?"

How are these categories created and policed? As Butler suggests, it might well be a repetitive act, its symbols and actions based on nothing more than the act itself, the act and the actors needed to constantly tread the gendered waters to keep it afloat. Gender and sexual identity could then be viewed as nothing more than a slim façade pulled together from the reservoir of cultural indicators, or an act of "heterosexual drag" (Butler 1990). If Caster had dressed and accessorized herself as she is pictured on the cover of *You* magazine, then maybe she would still be racing. In fact, it could be argued that the most offensive aspect of Caster Semenya, was not her hormonal levels or her missing ovaries, but that she did not participate in this act of drag.

In conclusion, Semenya did not adhere to the prescribed gender indicators. They were not present with her on the dusty dirt roads of her homeland. There it was the feel of the wind in her face, the sound of her heart pounding, the smell of the fields burning and the joy as she beat one personal record after another. There it was hope and perseverance. There she was and will remain, Caster Semenya, a world champion.

Notes

[1] From Vesalius, "Fabrica," and vagina and uterus from Vidus Vidius, "De anatome corporis humani," 1611

[2] "Purple fever", a bacterial infection spread frequently during the Victorian area during childbirth. This has been largely attributed to the growth of the field of gynecology, and their dismissal of the midwifery and its practices. The male gynecologist was considered a specialist, and due to the ensuing demand, would move from patient to patient without washing his hands. This took the lives of many women after childbirth, most famously Mary Wollstonecraft, the "mother of feminism".

[3] Fausto-Sterling, Anne. *The Five Sexes, Revisited*. Sciences, Jul/Aug2000, Vol. 40 Issue 4, p18, 6p, 1c, 2bw

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**Writers Bio**

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## Opinion: Inferential homophobia and the news discourse on Caster Semenya

By Carolyn M. Byerly

For some time following the breaking of the story around Caster Semenya in late August of 2009, it was striking how news reporters, commentators, bloggers, and even participants in feminist listservs walked around the matter of Semenya's sexual orientation. Focusing instead on what was being called her "gender," writers seemed to ignore what was a stunningly obvious but unspoken question – not just whether she is a "real woman," but also whether she is believed to be lesbian, transgendered, or even transsexual. I would suggest that we couldn't really understand what is being contested, or what the stakes were for Semenya – and, by extension, so many other women – until a louder airing occurred around the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) issues so deeply bound up in her case.

The South African runner won the women's 800-meter track event in late August at the World Track and Field championships in Berlin, amidst charges by two of her European teammates that she was a man, not a woman. News accounts focused on her masculine appearance, i.e. a "muscular 5 feet 7inch and 140 pound-woman" (Gender Issues, Aug. 20, 2009) and on her early life when "girls teased her about looking like a boy." Even the agenda-setting *New York Times* noted that the brouhaha surrounding the 18-year-old South African runner centered on whether Semenya is "too masculine to complete in women's track events" (*New York Times*, 20 August, 2009). Reporting obsessed about her masculine appearance, as well as shifted to the proposed official solution to the verification of her sex, which sporting officials reported would require examinations by a gynecologist, endocrinologist, psychologist, and internal medicine specialist.

Speaking for the world track and field federation, Nick Davies said, "If there's a problem and it turns out that there's been a fraud ... that someone has changed sex, then obviously it would be much easier to strip results. However, if it's a natural thing and the athlete has always thought she's a woman or been a woman, it's not exactly cheating" (Others in 800 meters, Aug. 20, 2009).

Much of the news, particularly within South Africa, focused on the anger of many South Africans at these challenges to Semenya's *sex* (her biological female identity) – what is mostly mistakenly being referred to as her *gender* (the way she manifests her femaleness) – as well as her outstanding athletic abilities and achievement in winning the women's world championship. Even South African President Zuma fully supported the teenager's victory and rejected challenges to her sexual identity.

Other stories focused on Semenya's ability to withstand these allegations, as well as on her upbringing in the poor South African township, where she first experienced questions about her sexuality. In the latter category is the story that circulated on ESPN's website (IAAF 2009) noting that Caster Semenya had "heard the taunts and whispers -- that she was different from other girls" all her life, but it was her recent victorious run

that brought "the most intimate details of her anatomy" into headline news. The reference here is to the two Australian papers that broke similar stories on September 11, saying that tests results show the world champion athlete has no ovaries or uterus, but rather internal testes, which produce testosterone. The International Association of Athletics Federation, which ordered the tests, has said it will not release test results until November, which would support or debunk these claims. Meanwhile, the international news discourse continues about this young athlete's sexual identity.

In fact, the questioning of genetics to determine an athlete's biological status in athletics has a longer history, as some of the better reporting has conveyed. For example, Larry Greenemeier (2009), reporting for *Scientific American*, observes,

> "Semenya's case is not without precedent. At the 1996 Olympics Games in Atlanta, eight female athletes were determined to have XY chromosomes and were not allowed to compete, reports, adding that further studies showed that they were physiologically female even though their genes said they were male, and they were reinstated. The *Times* article includes several examples of how genetics and gender do not always match. Indian journalist Ammu Joseph (2009) notes in her own well-informed piece, "An Indian athlete, Santhi Soundarajan, went through a similar, traumatic experience just a couple of years ago after winning a silver medal (coincidentally in the same event – 800 m.) at the 2006 Asian Games.

What hides within most of the reporting, however, is the "otherness" that Semenya represents in her physical appearance and superior athleticism. She has lived her life as a woman but is not traditionally feminine in her body or demeanor. Rather, she exudes a masculinity that confounds the gazes that seek clarity about her sexuality in its many components that want to put her into a standard category of man or woman and all that this connotes. From a fairly comprehensive reading of the international news available online, it to me that much of the mainstream reporting to date has engaged in what might be called a pattern of *inferential homophobia* – i.e., the adoption of a set of unquestioned assumptions about which characteristics in appearance and behavior should constitute a real "woman."

The word "woman," connotes far more than the biological female, but also the appearance, mannerisms, and social performance that are associated with traditional heterosexual womanhood in any given society. If Semenya were less muscular, wore her hair in a more feminine style, and so forth, the matter of her true sexual identity would likely never have become an issue at the international games, even with her superior talent. It was the suggestion that she was something other than a "real" (feminine) female by teammates that initiated the trouble. Allegations stemmed specifically from her appearance. Mainstream reporters the world over have shied away from questioning whether these teammates, sporting officials, and others central to the case possess a deeper bias toward Semenya's appearance, i.e., they are really questioning her sexuality in its many dimensions.

Instead of such straightforward reporting and question-asking, journalists let her accusers and the experts who answer them set the news agenda and thereby construct the public issue as one about honesty in biology and not about her socially-constructed sexual identity. Indeed, news stories have typically been accompanied by photos that reinforce the allegations of masculinity in showing a stern, strong, unsmiling and often sweating Semenya in her yellow and green jersey – images that makes her "other" than the feminine female norm. The news discourse was therefore rife with inferential homophobia in so many ways.

The term *inferential homophobia* as I use it here is an adaptation of Stuart Hall's term *inferential racism*, which he defined as:

> …those apparently naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race, whether "factual" or "fictional," which have racist premises and propositions inscribed I them as a set of *unquestioned assumptions*. These enable racist statements to be formulated without ever bringing into awareness the racist predicates on which the statements are grounded. (Hall 1995, 20)

Hall used the term in his analysis of news stories about race to distinguish the subtler insinuations of racism from *overt racism*, i.e., that which blatantly conveys a sense of superiority of the white race and/or the inferiority of darker races. Hall's concern in late 1970s Britain was with television and newspaper coverage that advanced an ideology of racial hierarchy in public policy and social practices, both of which Hall (who was Jamaican) associated with imperialistic colonial tendencies. The foundation for racist ideologies for Hall was in familiar stereotypes – the subservient slave, the childish Sambo, the "good native," and the noble savage, among others (p. 21). Hall contended that over time, these cultural referents were deployed broadly in language and images (such as those found in the news) through a distinct chain of meanings that may be either factual or fictional (pp. 18-20). He argued that the effect in both cases was the same: reinforcement of a racist social order.

The inferential homophobia contained in so much of the news about Caster Semenya around the world is that which suggests she is not a real woman because she doesn't present herself the way convention deems she should – more demur (and less masculine) and thereby more clearly heterosexual (i.e., "normal") in her sexual identity and orientation. Semenya's appearance is not merely androgynous – that sexually ambiguous zone that leaves less room for questioning – but blatantly manly in her muscularity, the strength of her stance, the unapologetic attitude she exudes in her outstanding athletic performance. On a continuum of traditional feminine to traditional masculine, she would arguably fall toward the latter.

Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) websites have led the way in bringing the GLBT dimensions of the Semenya story to view. These are all over the sexual orientation issue, asking things like "What's really going on here?" and chiding those who first challenged her true sex for using such questions to hide their poor sportsmanship. The point here would be that sore losers used homo-baiting to get even.

The issue of who is a real woman is all maddeningly familiar to those of us who remember the early days of women's liberation in the 1960s and 70s when hyper feminine clothes were being replaced by more comfortable pants and shirts, and short hair gave so many of us that certain androgynous look approximating masculinity. As women shed the frilly frocks of the 1950s and headed for the gym to strengthen their bodies, many (both men and women) began to question women's sexuality. Even so, the strong female body emerged as a staple of American life, in particular, after Title IX legislation mandated equal education in sports for men and women in the early 1970s. This law is credited with creating many world-class female athletes, both heterosexual and otherwise. Gay liberation movements in the 1970s and afterward continued to widen the possibilities of how one represents oneself in clothing, interests, hair styles, and so many other visible and less visible traits. The outcome has been creation of a broader, more flexible continuum that runs from traditionally feminine to traditionally masculine in how one defines herself, dresses and behaves. The effect has not been confined to a single nation, region, culture, or group. Yet this important contextual history is lost in the mainstream reporting on Semenya's situation.

Just after the initial flap caught the media's attention, another event less noticed entered the arena: Semenya's makeover. Photos carried by *You* magazine, on a few websites and in some newspapers showed the way that challenges to her sexual identity may have pressured her toward feminine conformity. The made over Semenya was an athlete in counter-pose: smiling through rouged

lips, head tilted slightly, showing off her fashionable feminine sequined tunic over spandex leggings. She became a different spectacle, one offered to interrupt and reverse the narrative about false womanhood (and hints at non-heterosexuality that goes with it), a comic tragedy of some proportion.

There is an eerie comparison in this shift in persona obviously meant to quiet Semenya's critics and perhaps to dissuade the athletic world's requirements she verify the facts of her biology. Australian bodybuilder Bev Francis, whose hyper-masculine presence at the championships in Las Vegas in the 1980s brought similar charges that she may not be female, resulted in a similar femme transformation. Her story, as chronicled in the popular documentary *Pumping Iron II: The Women*, led to her to demonstrate her femininity (and heterosexuality associated with it) to the judges and sister contestants by wearing more makeup, smiling more seductively, and in starting a relationship with one of her trainers (someone she later married). The hetero-normative social force (or what Adrienne Rich preferred to call "compulsive heterosexuality") at work in both cases is inherent and undeniable. When media professionals fail to question this in their accounts, they are engaging in inferential homophobia, unconscious or not. A more socially responsible approach to reporting would require some soul-searching and a change of journalistic direction.

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**Writers Bio**

Carolyn M. Byerly has conducted research on women in news and other media since the 1980s. She is the co-author of *Women and Media: A Critical Introduction* (Blackwell, 2006), and the co-editor of *Women and Media: International Perspectives* (Blackwell, 2004), as well as many articles and book chapters. In recent years, her research has focused more intently on women's media ownership and media policy with respect to gender and race.



## Opinion: Media missed the real scoop about Caster Semenya

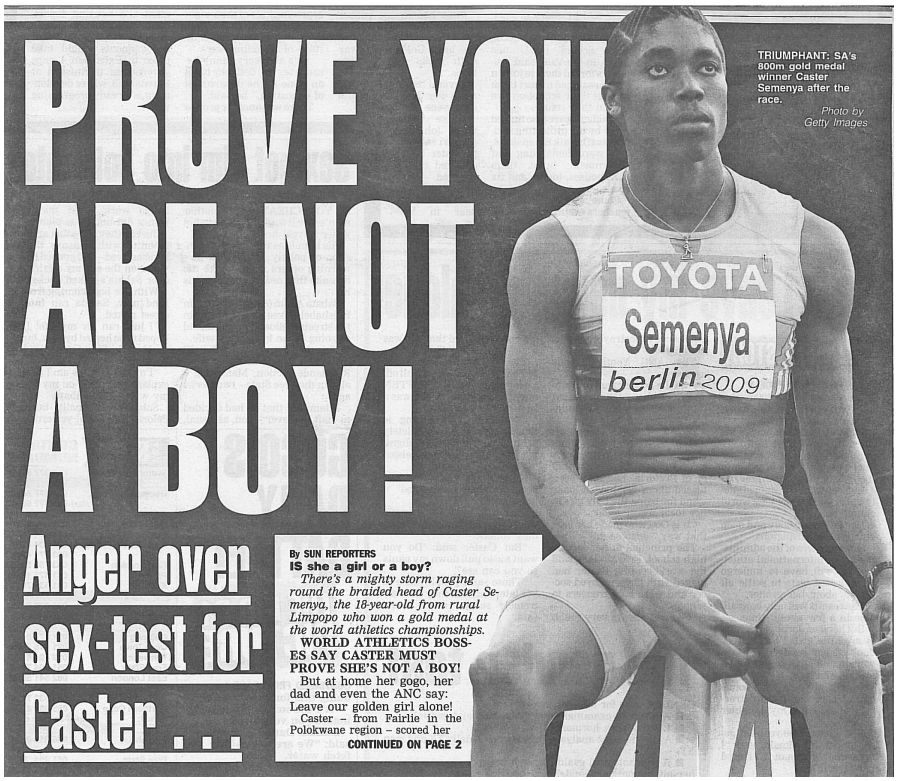
By Glenda Muzenda

After a whirlwind media frenzy, the Caster Semenya headlines finally died down. Yet in many ways media missed the scoop reporting on this issue; misinformation and stereotypes characterised most coverage surrounding the controversial gender test. What was missing was the bigger picture – how her story relates to the thousands of other women out there who do not conform to what society thinks women should look and act like.

Headlines from many local newspapers were raised high when she arrived back in South Africa at OR Tambo airport from Berlin, Germany. Some of the headlines read: *Welcome our golden g*irl, *Golden Beauty*, *You simply the Best*, *Bring on the gold*, etc.

It was great to see people gather for this event at the airport, some chanting political slogans, singing, dancing, and waiting for her arrival. Of course, some were present more for spectacle than support. One ignorant person even said they came to the airport to check if she was truly a man. On seeing Semenya this same person commented that she was too small to be a man.

Yet, not all the media headlines and attention have been so supportive. *Prove your not a boy!* challenged Semenya on the front page of the *Daily Sun*. Speculation of Semenya's sex and gender


PROVE YOU ARE NOT A BOY!

Anger over sex-test for Caster . . .

By SUN REPORTERS

IS she a girl or a boy?

*There's a mighty storm raging round the braided head of Caster Semenya, the 16-year-old from rural Limpopo who won a gold medal at the world athletics championships.*

WORLD ATHLETICS BOSSES SAY CASTER MUST PROVE SHE'S NOT A BOY!

But at home her gogo, her dad and even the ANC say: Leave our golden girl alone!

Caster – from Fairlie in the Polokwane region – scored her

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

TRIUMPHANT: SA's 800m gold medal winner Caster Semenya after the race.

Photo by Getty Images

(and they are different) was central in the media, a spectacle for all to read and see. As a media-monitoring organisation, the Gender and Media Southern Africa Network, we were quite perturbed at how this unfolded.

The images and photos of Semenya seemed geared to raise questions about the controversy, her celebration forgotten. At the same time, media treated consumers to a host of images of other such "gender questionable" athletes, maybe intended to show that this is not the first such controversy in world sport, but which only perpetuated stereotypes of women such as Caster Semenya.

Amid all the noise, media failed to mention that Caster Semenya does not even the make it in the top ten fastest *women's* 800m world runners. So what is the problem? I would have presumed the media would speculate this issue further and educate us all. Rather, print media featured offensive and degrading cartoons of her being a boy and people at the airport calling her a sheman. This is not right.

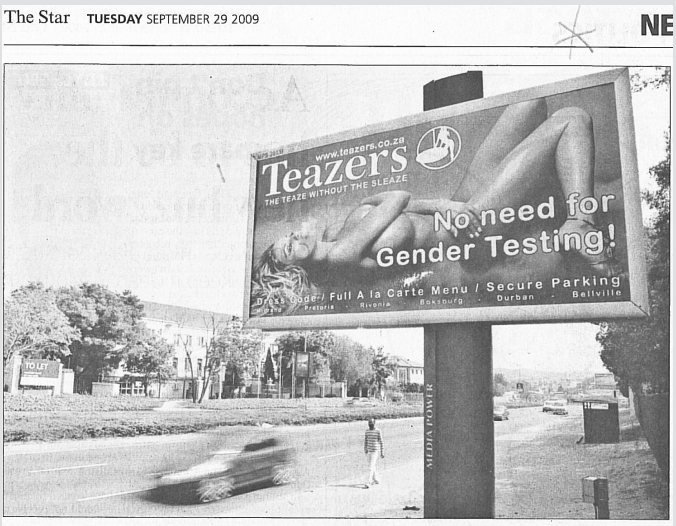
What does a real woman look like anyway?
Women come in all shapes, sizes, and shades; some are bold, dreadlocked, weaved and braided hair wearers.

Media coverage locally in South Africa and internationally showed big confusion - what is sex and gender? Sex is described as the biological difference between women and men. For example, men produce sperm while women become pregnant and breastfeed. Gender is socially constructed differences between men and women, which can change over time and can vary within a given society from one generation to the next.

Just how far must one go before their actions are deemed offensive? Who defines offensive? That must have been the question on most motorists' minds as they drove along Johannesburg's Rivonia Road where they encountered a Teazers billboard depicting a naked woman with super sized breasts lying on her back with the off line 'No need for gender testing'.

Lolly Jackson, owner of the erotic club, unashamedly denied that this line has anything to do with Semenya's agonising ordeal at the International Athletics Federation and subsequently after the athlerics event.

- Sikhonzile Ndlovu



CONTROVERSIAL: The wording on new Teazers billboard is a coincidence, Lolly Jackson says. PICTURE: ANTOINE DE RAS

If sex is the issue, then we know to date that Caster is a young woman, who physically looks like a woman, and has bought menstrual napkins on a monthly basis because she actually has periods. She does not have a full chest, but that does not make her less of a woman. In another juicy media detail, we all know that she has bathed with women who witnessed her genitalia. So the sex issue is definitely not an issue.

Athletic South Africa (ASA) admitted that they had no idea of what a gender test consisted of. I would think that there are policies governing all sports associations to protect their own athletes; you participate as either a woman or a man. In fact, a high-level person in that office was quoted saying that they are mandated to train the athletes only, thus their wellbeing is not their problem to deal with. However, now that the media has unfairly brought this to the world, will they revaluate their role in such circumstances?

In the aftermath, and before we begin again with the test results, I challenge the media to probe some of these questions. What should the role of the ASA be in making sure that Semenya, and others like her, are treated with respect and that her rights are not violated. What is a gender test? How do national sports treat women?

Meeting the President, women's league and youths of political parties to have a press conference of refuting the charges made by IAAF does not end the issue. It also does not end with Semenya – in reality, there are many other women like Caster chastised for looking like men.

Long before Caster Semenya made world headlines, she has dealt with these gender questions as a small girl growing up in Limpopo. In fact, there are many other women in her shoes. Many women have been brutally attacked for looking like men and raped to see if they will get pregnant. Others have suffered "corrective rape" in an effort to correct their womanliness, especially lesbians, who have also been killed for looking and acting like men. Where is that media coverage?

Many of the brutal killings that have happened in the past to women are symptoms of a society that does not want to accept those that are different. There is need for gender equality within the media and stop perpetuating the stereotypes that are very dangerous to our society.

As an agenda-setter, the media has a duty to portray not just what is, but what could be; to be exemplary in its own practices; and to open debate on the complex issues surrounding gender equality.

I am proud to know women of all shapes, sizes, six-packed or not. Alex Wek is a Sudanese super-model, gorgeous and she has a flat chest too. Imagine, there is great variety of beauty out there.

**Writers Bio**
Glenda Muzenda is the Care Work Manager at the Gender and Media Southern Africa Network.

*As the media whirlwind regarding Caster Semenya heated up, the teenage running sensation was the topic of worldwide discussion. In keeping with the current upsurge in new media as a means of communication, this included hot debate in blogs and internet forums acroso the globe. The following is adapted from a post by Ammu Joseph on WIMN on August 25, 2009*



## A case of sexual policing?

Posted by Ammu Joseph

South African teenager Mokgadi "Caster" Semenya won the 800 metres race at the World Athletics Championships in Berlin with what was described as "a stunningly dominating run." Unfortunately, her victorious debut in international sports has been clouded by controversy over her sexual identity.

The case has understandably provoked public outrage in South Africa. It has also received widespread media coverage in the country, with SABC News International scheduled to broadcast a discussion on the subject live tonight (7 pm, Johannesburg time).

But it has also been widely reported in other parts of the world – though not in India, which is strange considering that an Indian athlete, Santhi Soundarajan, went through a similar, traumatic experience just a couple of years ago after winning a silver medal (coincidentally in the same event – 800 m.) at the 2006 Asian Games.

Some of the coverage has been of "the 'nudge-nudge, wink-wink' smutty variety," as Margaret Gallagher put it in a recent e-mail. The Daily Mail headline, "Is she really a HE?" obviously belongs in that category, although the actual report did not adopt that tone.

However, there has been more sober and serious coverage as well, with several reports and opinion pieces pointing out that the issues raised by the Semenya case are extremely complex. Some reports have opted to clarify scientific facts related to ambiguous sexual identity, including intersexuality. Germaine Greer has weighed in with her thoughts on the question, "What makes a woman?" The comment by Mark Lawson in The Guardian is one of the few that raises the possibility that Semenya could be a victim of misogynist prejudice.

But what is perhaps most shocking about much of the media coverage is its unquestioning repetition of the terms, 'gender testing' and 'gender verification,' which the International Association of Athletics Federations has used to describe what Semenya is being subjected to. It appears that both the IAAF and many journalists would benefit from going back to women's/gender studies 101 to understand the difference between sex and gender.

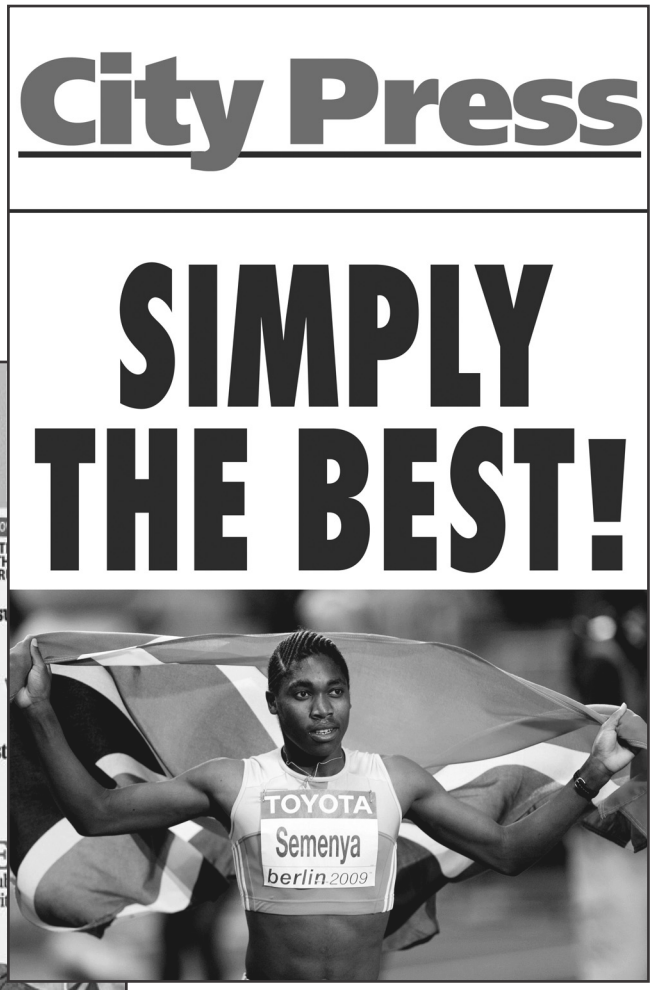
These two articles on the subject put out by the South Africa based Gender Links Opinion and Commentary Service raise many of these issues and are available for republishing and distribution (contact editor@genderlinks.org.za): "Semenya challenges our deeply ingrained stereotypes" by Colleen Lowe Morna and "Gender questions hurt women and girls in sport" by Gladys Muzirwa

## Vox pops: Youth on Caster Semenya

Compiled by Cindy Dzanya and Pedro Simão

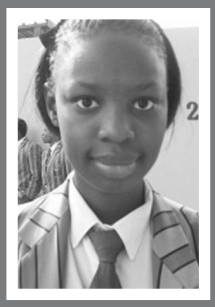
The win and subsequent "gender test" of Caster Semenya resulted in widespread media debates. One noteworthy aspect was the use of images, first of the athletic Semenya, and then of her alongside other athletes, both male and female, who had faced gender testing in the past. Fairly soon fter the topic burst onto the media scene, YOU magazine showed a different image of Caster Semenya, one in which she was shown dressed in typically feminine clothes and poses. in Johannesburg were asked to look at two images – one of the *YOU Magazine* cover and the other of posters printed and distributed by*City Press* to welcome Semenya home - and comment on the as well as share their thoughts on media's coverage of women in sports.



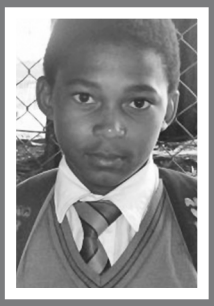





"In the *City Press* picture, I see here, first South Africa was proud of what she did and everyone was convinced that she is girl, until the whole scandal came out that she is not fully a girl. In the *YOU Magazine*, she really looks beautiful, even though most people nowadays, out of whatever conspiracy, heard that Caster is a guy. I do not think women get enough media coverage on daily basis. You see more men than women. Just because of the stories, that is when they cover women, just to sell their newspapers." - Charmaine Phoswa



In the *YOU Magazine* image, it makes it look like they forced her to look like someone it does not suit her because you can see that it is not for her. She is not happy; she is just making the media happy. In the *City Press* picture, I think this is just her. We should just leave her and let her be. It shows that she is not trying to be someone else. She likes who she is and she is not bothered about other people. I doubt that they cover enough women in the media because these days it is all about men and how superior they are. Women are taken second and I do not feel that women get enough exposure. - Bongie

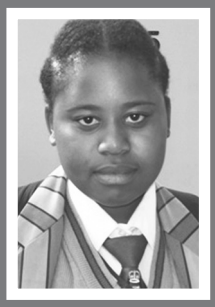


When you look at the two pictures, the one for *City Press* is different. Caster has a man's body, but she is a woman. People should stop judging her by the way she looks. In the *YOU Magazine*, she looks like a woman, and I think she should be treated like a woman because she has the same rights as a woman. No I don't think media cover enough women in the media because honestly they focus on men and soccer. - Nkululeko Nkosi



In the *City Press*, I see she is very a proudly South African woman, a successful and strong athlete running for South Africa, with a South African flag. In the *YOU Magazine*, I think what they did is injustice. I think because she is a star athlete and its written, Star athlete 'like a raped woman' that is very sexual in my eyes and very sexiest. I do not think they do cover women enough I think South Africa many focus on man media coverage that women do not get same treatment.

- Ethen



In *City Press*, she just won a race. She looks like a guy and I don't blame her; she was born like that and she has like a whole lot of muscle. She doesn't have physical women features. In the *YOU Magazine*, she looks like a girl because they made her up. It is kind of tragedy because she looks like a guy whose been forced to look like a girl. She has a wig and they tried to make her look like a girl, but it worked out well a bit. Overall, that is just a figurative part about it. My figurative part about it is that she is a woman she should not be judged for it. People are not the same; she was born with it and we should look at it as a gift of South Africa. She should be judged about how good she runs. Sport is always focused about men in soccer. And in whatever sport where there is men and women it's always about men. I feel she has a talent that she was born with. Are they trying to say there is no woman who runs fast like that? So I think that she is actually talented and should get all exposure she gets but not negative.

- Tsephiso Ralahlathi

# Media Watch



Arthur Chatura and Noma Masina, Business Unusual workshop, Rhodes University
*Photo: Trevor Davies*



## When media becomes weapon of war against gender progress

By Pinkie Mekgwe

**Abstract**

The media is two-pronged. As an information mediator, it has real potential for generating crucial knowledge for the advancement of societies. As such, it can prove an arsenal for the gender-equality and gender justice causes and effectively contribute to a meaningful transformation of myriad lives. In the wrong hands, however, and put to careless, thoughtless, shallow and/or outright vicious use, the media becomes an insidious perpetrator eroding significant victories scored by human rights activists, gender activists, and such like-minded humanists. The latter trend seems alarmingly on the increase. The recent flowering of tabloid media across the globe is combined with the upsurge of the bold, ubiquitous nature of a seemingly ethics-averse new "citizen" media, especially in the form of You-tube as well as various multifarious and multi-natured blogs, and other such sites.

**Key words**

Gender and media, citizen media, human rights

### Questionable photographs

In recent history, the media industry has experienced a number of incidents that should encourage media analysts, commentator, and regulators, as well as gender and human rights activists pause and reflect on the current state of media in the region. One such incident that merits discussion is the case of a photographer who snapped the unassisted, public birthing of a breech baby in Zambia, which received interesting comment from Rashweat Mukundu of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) as published on the Gender Links website (www.genderlinks.org.za). The pictures were disseminated (not published) by the *Post* Newspaper of Zambia, in a bid, as the editor was to later explain, to draw attention to the dismal state of health care in Zambia, at a time when health workers had chosen to go on strike.

While Mukundu is convinced that this was a good cause there are some potential questions about the "nature" of the cause. It is crucial that our mode of work be sanctioned by ethical concerns. The Codes of Ethics for Journalists in blanket reference requires

particular sensitivity to women and minors, and points to the need always to seek permission of the subject of a photo shoot.

Did the woman who painfully gave birth to a dying baby consent to her pictures taken? Isn't she already victim enough already to warrant the parading of her pain, her body, and what ought to have been her sacred, private moment? What about her child, had it survived? Would the grown child have pointed out his birth picture in glee to his friends? What about the other children of this woman, born and unborn? Hands up anybody who wants graphic pictures of their mother, sister, daughter, loved one making the rounds in the hands of the media? Sensitisation about the grim nature of the Zambia Health Care situation could have been done very effectively without turning a wider public into voyeurs of one woman's "private" moment of misery.

**"It's like getting raped every day"**

While the case above has been subjected to the rigours of "'regulation" (the *Post News* Editor was, on July 13th, 2009 arrested and charged with circulating obscene material – which some have pointed out is but a political ploy) there are too many cases for comfort that do not receive the requisite sanctioning. A number of these have tended to emanate from or go the route of "citizen media" where the regulatory framework is fuzzy at best. Two cases warrant the attention of anybody interested in the media/ gender justice nexus, for the otherwise terrible precedent they set, but also for the lessons that can be drawn from them with respect to the use of the Media as a new form of Gender violence. These are the cases of Elizabeth Wong and Evelyn Ankumah, two accomplished women and indefatigable workers for human rights, based in Malaysia and Ghana respectively. The similarities these cases demonstrate across Asia and Africa are uncanny and unsettling.

Wong, 39, was, until her "Naked Pictures Scandal," a respected politician, an Assemblywoman and Executive Councilor in charge of Tourism, Consumer Affairs, and the Environment in Malaysia's Selangor State, a state marked for being the most prosperous and developed in the country. She was the first politician to win the State Assembly seat for her party, the People's Justice Party (Parti KeADILan Rakyat - PKR), and with a huge margin of 5000, reportedly the second largest majority won by a PKR candidate. Wong brought a convincingly solid pedigree to the position: involved with human rights issues since her student days, she was one-time Secretary General of the National Human Rights Society and Fellow of the Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs (2002-03), and founding member of the Solidarity Campaign for Human Rights in Aceh, amongst other achievements.

An unmarried woman, Wong is reported to have had naked pictures of her taken by her boyfriend, using a mobile phone, who then circulated them on Youtube. The pictures were to make a continuous loop across various websites, and the story was splashed across especially the tabloids in Malaysia. In spite of making clear the pictures were taken without her consent, and were being circulated by a malicious ex-boyfriend; in spite of reporting the matter to the police, the "court of Public Opinion" was to eventually force Wong to resign her position. Two months after tendering her resignation, however, the Selangor government recalled Wong. In May 2009, shortly after being recalled, a new spate of photographs was posted online, some showing Wong asleep (suggesting, therefore, that she was unaware the pictures were being taken). The price of this invasion of privacy has been rather tall, with Wong expressing that it's like "getting raped everyday." Still the pictures make the rounds unabated. Where is the ethics and justice in all this?

**Media persecution deleting gender gains**

Ghanaian-born Dutch citizen, Evelyn Ankumah is also currently living the nightmare of "media rape." The Executive Director of Africa Legal Aid (AFLA), a Pan-African Organisation with a big justice footprint that is dedicated to the promotion and protection of individual and collective human rights across Africa




Is sensational tabloid media eroding gender gains?

Photo: Brendan Kennedy

"and to challenging the impunity of gross human rights violators" is faced with the reality that the media can be an indiscriminating vehicle for such human rights violations. In various articles and statements authored and said by Anas Amareyaw Anas, a journalist who has published with The New Crusading Guide of Ghana, Ankumah has been implicated in what has been dubbed a "Diplomatic Sex Scandal."

This widely published human rights lawyer, who has worked on human rights issues extensively in America, Europe, and Africa – and continues to do meticulous work with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, scoring very highly in matters of gender justice and working against the violation of women's bodies - is being accused in the media of running a brothel specialising in servicing Ghana's diplomatic *corps*. The evidence? A videotape that is said to have been disqualified as a fabrication by an imminent media production house. Ankumah has since filed for libel. She also submitted a complaint to MultiChoice Africa against Anas's nomination for the CNN African Journalists Awards for 2009.

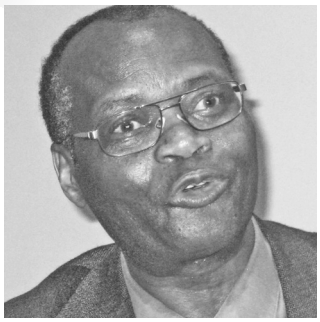
These actions have not stopped the government of Ghana from repealing the agreement that gave AFLA the right to practice in Ghana (thus extending crucial services to Africa, and Ghanaian citizens in particular, even as it was substantially funded by the Dutch government). Neither did it stop CNN's "recognition" of Anas as being among the journalists of Africa who are telling "good" stories on the continent. Ankumah's struggle to reclaim the right of AFLA

to work in Ghana, and against her "tarnished" image, has been taxing on her seven year old daughters – who have had to be moved from their school – and is likely to prove costly to the valuable Human Rights and Gender Justice work that Africa requires acutely.

The sophisticated new means of violating women, passing for media work, are just that: tools of violence. The perpetrators need to be dealt with as fit, and networks need to rise to the support of the victims. The challenge posed to Ethics, Human rights, and Gender work is clear: our strategies need to metamorphose with the increasingly morphing nature of gender violence, lest all victories scored to date be wiped off as easily as pressing the delete button on any erstwhile computer.

**Writers Bio**

Dr Pinkie Mekgwe, a Gender Links Board Member, is an internationally recognised scholar having contributed, in the last 13 years, to English and African literature, gender politics and education in numerous refereed publications. As a post-doctoral fellow at the Wits Institute for Economic and Social Research (WISER), Dr. Mekgwe contributed to the Sexuality and Masculinity discourse within WISER with several articles and numerous presentations leading to the preparation of a book manuscript on Sexuality and the Concept of the Nation. She has also been an assistant lecturer at Sussex University's School of African and Asian Studies, and a visiting lecturer at Malmo University in Sweden. Within the media, Dr Mekgwe was, for 3 years, a producer and presenter of "Open Book", an educational, literature-focused radio programme aired on a Gaborone-based radio station. The weekly programme interviewed known people in different fields on their book interests, aiming at encouraging listeners to invest in reading. She was a founding Board Member of the Botswana Media Regulatory Body, and its first female chairperson. Dr Megwe holds a BA from the University of Botswana; as well as an M.Sc and D.Phil. (Gender and Literary Studies) from the University of Sussex.



## Opinion: Media persecution in the Chansa Kabwela case

By Muna Ndulo

The Chansa Kabwela case relates to the prosecution of a news editor of the largest independent daily in Zambia, *The Post*. Kabwela faced charges of distributing obscene materials contrary to section 177(a) the Zambian Penal Code in the Lusaka Magistrates court arising out of her having sent to four persons graphic photographs of a woman delivering a breach birth outside a hospital during a strike by doctors. On the 28th of August I published an article in the *Post* in which I suggested that the prosecution of the reporter was unnecessary. I pointed out that the prosecution was damaging the image of the country abroad. I also suggested that the case was a wastage of resources in a country with high poverty levels. The criticism was directed at the prosecution and not the court.

Following the publication of my article, the prosecution applied to the Magistrate Court that is handing the case that the *Post n*ewspaper that I should be cited for contempt of court on the grounds that the article authored by me and published by the Post was attempting to influence the court. On August 30, 2009, the court cited the entire editorial board of the Post and I for contempt of court and summoned us to appear in court on September 2, 2009.

Clearly, the executive has taken this strong action against the Post because the Post and the Government have differed on a variety of issues relating to the governance of Zambia, especially over the handling of corruption cases. Having failed to silence the independent media, the government seems to have resorted to trying to use the criminal process to silence critics in the media. This case more than anything else demonstrates the hegemonic position occupied by the presidency in African politics and the weakness of state institutions that are supposed to provide checks and balances to the presidency in this case the police and the Director of Public Prosecutions. The president literary initiated the prosecution by calling for the prosecution of Chansa and in so doing failed to exercise self restraint and observe the limitations imposed on the presidency by constitutionalism. Second, the police failed to act as an independent professional force and third, the Director of Public Prosecution for failed use his constitutional powers to stop the prosecution.

Chansa Kabwela explained that the photos were tearfully brought to the newspaper by the husband of the woman in the pictures in hope that their publication might avert more tragedies. The average person in Zambia while no doubt being shocked and disgusted by the picture would not regard the publication of pictures of a woman giving birth in order to expose the plight of ordinary people during a national strike by medical personnel as being prurient and having the effect or as intended to deprave and corrupt morals. Instead, the pictures should have led to outrage and anger at those who were not making maximum efforts to end the strike. The context and manner in which they were distributed leaves no doubt in one's mind that the pictures were intended to make those in authority realise the serious impact of the medical strike and to bring about action to end the strike. No doubt, other situations could have been

used but the choice of a maternity case was probably intended to touch the humanity in all of us and clearly succeeded in that objective. The source of the materials distributed eliminates any concerns relating to privacy issues and that would have been for the woman in the picture to sue for invasion of privacy.

This case, more than anything else, illustrates poor governance and lack of independence on the institutions involved in the case-the police and the prosecution agencies. It also illustrates the dominance of the Presidency over all other institutions. The President erred in getting involved in a matter that is clearly nonpresidential. If he felt that there might have been a criminal violation in the distribution of the pictures, his action should have ended at referring the matter to the police. He was wrong to more or less direct the police to act. In a system that operates on patronage such as the Zambian system for a President to say "I hope those responsible for the law of this country will pursue this matter" amounts to a directive to officials whose survival depends on blind loyalty to do as he wishes. Investigative and police wings of the government must be left to function professionally and independently. Once the President made the mistake of issuing a directive to the police, the Inspector General of the Police compounded the situation by enthusiastically carrying out the directive. The police action shows lack of professionalism and independence.

Once the presidency and the police had erred in their handling of this case, it was then left to the Director of Public Prosecutions to step in and redeem the situation. In Zambia, the powers to conduct and supervise prosecutions of criminal proceedings are vested in the constitutional office of the Director of Public Prosecutions. He or she has power to discontinue, at any stage before judgment is delivered any criminal proceedings instituted or undertaken by himself or any other authority (Article 56).

I can not think of a more compelling case than the Chansa Kabwela case for the excise of the Director of Public Prosecution's power to discontinue a prosecution. The case is not supported by the definition of obscenity, the distribution of the pictures was limited to a small section of leaders; and its objective was not to corrupt morals but to draw attention to the appalling conditions in the hospitals. Many of us disagree on the approach Chansa Kabwela adopted which might very well have been influenced by her frustration in dealing with the situation, but no one can doubt that any effort to end a strike which had caused so much suffering was a noble cause. Besides Chansa Kabwela in a letter to the NGO Organisations acknowledge that in future she might do things differently. In these circumstances, entry of a "*nolle proseque*" would have been in the best interests of the country.

**Writers Bio**

Dr Muna Ndulo is the current Chairperson of Gender Links. He is a Professor of Law at Cornell University Law School and Director of Cornell University's Institute for African Development. He is also Honorary Professor of Law, Cape Town University. Former dean of Law at the University of Zambia. He has also served in a variety of posts with the United Nations, including as political advisor to the head of the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA) in the period leading up to and during the 1994 elections in South Africa. A regular contributor to newspapers and academic journals in the region, Muna is a highly regarded scholar, notably in the field of regional integration. He has also written and lectured on gender justice. Muna has served on a number of state and academic boards in Zambia.



# "New Media" usage among youth in South Africa

By Antoinette Basson

**Abstract**

In partnership with the University of South Africa (Bureau of Market Research (BMR) Youth Research Unit) the Film and Publication Board (FPB) conducted an exploratory research study on new media usage amongst adolescents. The study investigated the diffusion and adoption of different forms of new media such as the Internet and cell phones among adolescents. It found that new media have diffused at a high rate among South African adolescents who are anticipated to continue to adopt new innovative media developments at a faster pace than adults. Increasing access to and enthusiastic usage of new media by adolescents proves that not only are they innovators in this area, but they are also changing their life styles to adapt to the new media and to use them to their own benefit. The importance of new media is beyond contention and will have an increasing impact on the lives of adolescents in South Africa, as well as on the information and communication industry. The most concerning aspect, however, is the adequate protection of children from potential harmful exposure and other risks. The more access adolescents have, the more they will be at risk of receiving and being exposed to inappropriate material. Increased awareness and adequate measures need to be initiated for children to enjoy these new media and to be protected from potentially harmful exposure and experiences.

**Key words**

new media, child protection

## Introduction

What is "new media"? New media is a fairly recent concept which can be regarded as a broad term for different forms of information and communication technologies of which the internet and cell phones are considered as the major new innovations.

South Africa is one of the top ten countries in Africa with regard to internet access, having around 4.6 million internet users (Internet World Stats 2008). Very little information is available on how many of the current users are adolescents, although they are taking on this form of new media with great enthusiasm. According to the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF 2007) All Media and Products Survey (AMPS), only 10.3% of individuals between the ages of 16 and 24 years have access to the internet in South Africa.

As with internet diffusion, cell phone usage has also shown dramatic growth, especially in Africa. According to SAARF (2007) AMPS figures, just less than 60% of individuals between the ages 16 – 24 years owned or rented a cell phone. These figures provided some indication of the extent of cell phone access amongst the youth in South Africa. The BratTrax® 2007/8 study conducted by Youth Dynamix shows that 64% of South African 7-15 year-olds have access to a cell phone, and 35% own their own cell phone. Although more children in the BratTrax® study had hand-me-down phones than new phones, these hand-me-downs are sophisticated models, capable of many applications.

Internationally, researchers at the London School of Economics and Political Science (Livingston 1998) conducted early research regarding new media, undertaken when cell phones and the internet were not as widely used as they currently are. The most recent international opinion on adolescents and new media is that they are the defining users of the internet. This is particularly evident in the United Sates where adolescents not only chat and spend more time online than adults do, but also use online technologies, such as instant messaging, more often than adults (Lenhart, Madden & Hillton 2005).

The need for research on new media (especially the internet and cell phones) is imperative. Research information on South African youth Not can both contribute to understanding of the local scene, as well as contribute to global perspectives on the role of new media young people's lives.

**Research background**

In partnership with the University of South Africa (BMR, Youth Research Unit) the Film and Publication Board (FPB) conducted an exploratory research study on new media usage amongst adolescents. The study was a first step in preparation for a more extensive investigation including focus group discussions and a nationwide survey.

The research study was driven by the need for information on the relationship between the youth and the new media in South Africa. The impact of new media on young people, especially adolescents, is immense and not only changes the way they communicate and interact with other individuals, but also has an overall effect on society and the economy in general. There is no doubt that new media is one of the most important developments of the postmodern world which will have a lasting effect on the lives of every human being.

The main objective of the research study was to investigate the rate of diffusion of new media in the adolescent market and the extent that adolescents have adopted new media innovations. The exploratory research study was conducted amongst adolescents in grades 8 to 12, ranging between the ages of 13 to 18 years. Researchers applied a self-administrated survey approach whereby learners completed the questionnaire themselves during school time and returned it to their educators. A total of 490 learners completed and returned the questionnaires.

**Research findings**

This article presents and discusses some interesting results of the exploratory research study. It is clear from the research results discussed below that new media diffuse at a rapid rate amongst the youth and play an imperative role in their lives which is sometimes beyond comprehension for significant others, such as parents and caregivers.

**Internet**

The study explored the nature and extent of internet usage amongst adolescents (13 – 18 years). More than 85% of the participants of the survey reported that they had access to the internet during the past month. This finding corresponds with previous research studies conducted by the FPB exploring internet usage amongst youth. When interpreting the high level of access amongst adolescents, a number of factors need to be considered. Even though socioeconomic status influences access to the internet, the increasing number of access points significantly increases the likelihood of children having access. These include mobile devices, in particular cell phones, schools that provide access to computer labs with internet access, popular public venues such as internet cafe's and an increasing number of working parents having laptop computers at home and allowing their children access to the internet. The main reason for concern is that the increasing number of access points makes it increasingly difficult to control and monitor the content children are exposed to.

The survey found that the most popular activities on the internet for adolescents are: accessing information (68.7%), downloading content (music, ringtones etc.) 50.2% and obtaining information for school assignments (39.8%). It is noteworthy that using the Internet for communication was also very popular amongst adolescents: chatting (36.1%), receiving and sending emails (34.6%), using Facebook (28.8%) and instant messaging (19.5%). This emphasises the growing popularity of virtual communication and the important role of the internet as a communication tool amongst young people.

The survey explored the use of social networking sites in more detail, due to their popularity and growing prominence within the South African society. Social networking is increasingly becoming popular among adolescents, allowing them to communicate with individuals' right across the globe. Although children seem to be aware of the possible dangers in communicating with people they do not know this is often not taken seriously and is even misused by children for their own gratification. The survey found that Facebook remains the most popular web-based social network site amongst adolescents who participated in the survey. On average about 25% of the participating adolescents used Facebook for a number of activities. The use of network sites is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: Use of web-based social networking sites**

| Activities | Facebook | MySpace | YouTube | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upload photos | 29.0 | 12.0 | 7.7 | 7.1 | 55.8 |
| Post opinion | 21.8 | 11.4 | 4.8 | 4.6 | 42.5 |
| Obtain latest social news (fashion, current, etc) | 22.2 | 9.5 | 6.4 | 5.6 | 43.8 |
| Post videos | 16.0 | 10.0 | 13.5 | 5.8 | 45.2 |
| Join groups & chat with group friends | 34.0 | 8.3 | 2.5 | 6.6 | 51.5 |
| Download (ringtones, wallpaper, software, etc) | 10.8 | 11.6 | 12.2 | 12.0 | 46.7 |
| Learn more about people met | 30.7 | 9.1 | 2.7 | 4.6 | 47.1 |
| Exchange general messages | 30.1 | 8.7 | 2.9 | 5.2 | 46.9 |
| Exchange private messages | 28.4 | 9.1 | 1.9 | 6.0 | 45.4 |
| Store photos | 27.4 | 14.5 | 4.4 | 6.8 | 53.1 |

Besides sharing personal photos via social networks, 36.3% of the participating adolescents confirmed that they have met a "cyber friend" with whom they communicate regularly. Nearly half (42.2%) confirmed that they have been approached by somebody for "something upsetting."

Research conducted by the Film and Publication Board (FPB 2008) found that in most cases upsetting content mostly involves sexual content or nudity and results in great discomfort and distress, especially amongst younger adolescents (12 – 14 years). It has been found that sexual predators are likely to focus on social networking sites, as they are anonymous platforms that allow for adolescents and younger children to be approached and groomed. These results confirm substantial exposure of adolescents to potential dangers through their engagement in social networking sites. The explosion of Facebook in South Africa therefore has the potential for opening up a new access point to South African children for sexual predators.

However, the development of technology and new media types cannot solely be blamed for endangering children's lives. Increased awareness and adequate measures need to be initiated for children to enjoy social networks and be protected from harmful exposure and experiences.

The FPB strives to protect children from inappropriate exposure to potentially harmful media content, which can also apply to social networking sites. Recently, amendments have been proposed to the Films and Publications Act, which will protect children from abuse on social networking sites and currently the Film and Publication Board is awaiting approval of the proposed amendments by the President of South Africa. If they are approved, an obligation will be placed on operators of social networking sites to report any information of possible offences against children who are participating on their sites.

## Cell phones

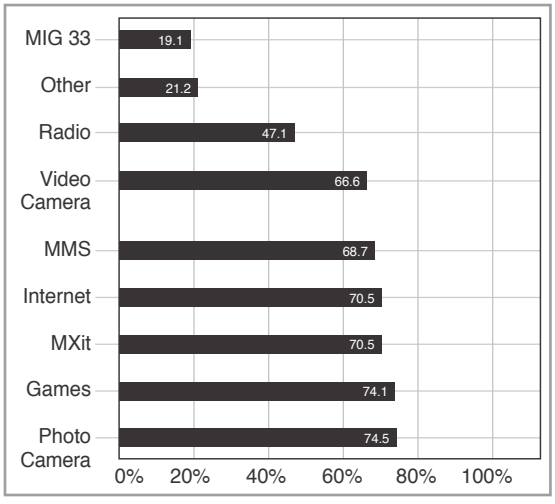
The survey also explored cell phone exposure and usage amongst adolescents (13 – 18 years). By far the majority of adolescents participating in the survey (95.3%) own a private cell phone. They identified Vodacom as the most supported network.

Youth have adopted cell phones with great enthusiasm, often considering them an integral part of their lives. The survey explored the personal benefits of cell phone ownership. In general, adolescents perceive cell phones as useful devices that assist in their planning of activities (mostly with friends) and evoke feelings of safety and acceptance amongst their peers. Approximately a third of the participating adolescents (30%) have had their cell phones for more than four years. 21.3% of participants indicated that they change or upgrade their cell phone at least once in a year.

The exploratory study suggests that technology is the domain of the youth. Generally, adolescents are interested and knowledgeable about cell phones. They use a number of the features available on their cell phones especially the photo camera (74.5%). A worrying trend eagerly adopted by adolescents is "self-generated images" which expose children to yet another new area of exploitation.

Based on the features identified in the survey it is clear that adolescents own cell phones with advanced features and do not only use cell phones as a basic communication tool. The use of the features is presented in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. Features used on cellphones**



The study further explored cell phone activities amongst adolescents. It found that receiving calls (76.3%) is the most frequent cell phone activity amongst participating adolescents on a daily basis. Not surprisingly, electronic messaging, sending SMS messages (57.7%) and MXit (57.5%) were also identified as frequent everyday activities. It is noteworthy, based on the research results, that buying things over the internet on a daily basis seems to be a frequent activity amongst adolescents. The top ten daily cell phone activities are identified in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: Top 10 daily cellphone activities**

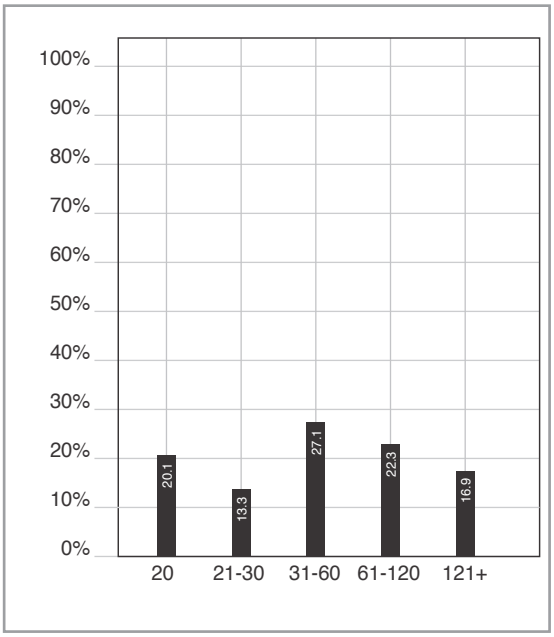
| Activities | Daily |
|---|---|
| Receiving calls | 76.3% |
| Making calls | 58.0% |
| Sending SMS | 57.7% |
| MXit | 57.5% |
| Sending a "please call me" | 53.8% |
| Download/listening to music (excluding radio) | 33.7% |
| Using cell phones to take pictures | 32.6% |
| Using cell phone to buy things over the Internet | 32.6% |
| Playing games on the cell phone | 30.5% |
| Listening to the radio via cell phone | 17.2% |

Like web-based social networks on the internet, mobile social networks are extremely popular amongst youth. It can even be said that the South African developed mobile social network MXit is more popular than other web-based social networks such as Facebook, which has already been discussed above. MXit has attracted more than three million users in just under two years and is growing at a rate of between 9000 and 12000 new users per day (SouthAfrica.info). Reliable research information addressing the usage of MXit amongst South African youth is very limited. This, in part, influenced the design of the exploratory research study to explore the incidence and usage of MXit amongst participating adolescents in an attempt to increase available information.

Not surprisingly, the research study found exceptionally high levels of awareness and usage of MXit amongst participating adolescents: 90.2% confirmed awareness and 81.4% confirmed usage. Although MXit offer different services, adolescents mostly use MXit to communicate through messages. The popularity of this medium is often motivated by the low costs involved.

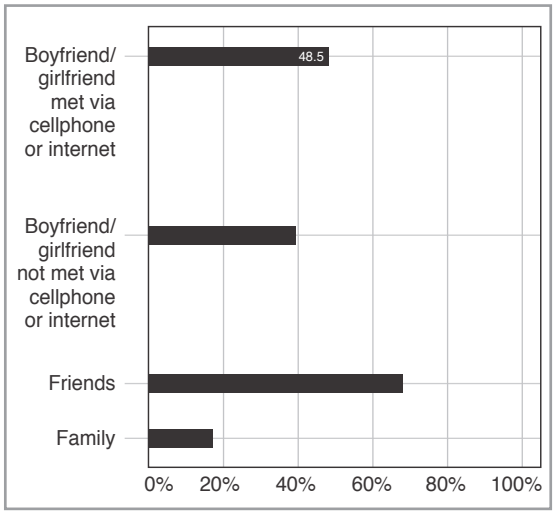
Participating adolescents' contacted approximately 15 individuals (per user) through MXit on a daily basis and spend on average between 30 minutes to an hour on MXit per day. It is noteworthy that 22.3% reported that they spend between one and two hours per day on MXit and 16.9% more than two hours per day. The research findings confirmed the popularity of this medium amongst adolescents. The average time (minutes) spent on MXit per day is reported in Figure 2.

**Figure 2. Average daily time spent on MXit (minutes)**



Most of the communication time is spent with friends (67.9%) who play a significant role in the lives of most adolescents. Establishing and building relationships with the same and opposite sex is an important developmental part during the adolescent phase. It is noteworthy that almost an hour (49 minutes) per day is spent communicating with a boyfriend or girlfriend met via the cell phone. MXit is not only used for communication; 46.0% participants indicated that they use MXit for making appointments or dates sometimes even with people they have not met personally but communicated with via MXit. These results emphasise that although adolescents are "techno-wise" they are naive and vulnerable. Although they might be aware of the potential dangers, they do not think of the consequences. Media often features reports of children being lured and exploited by people met through MXit. Constructive ways need to be developed and implemented to protect children from potential exploitation through social mobile networking. Figure 3 highlights the outcome of these research findings.

**Figure 3. Average time (in minutes) spent with different individuals**







**Keep Your Chats Exactly That!"**

This campaign by Women'sNet and Girls'Net aims to empower young people in the use of the internet and cell phones. It looks at both strategies of prevention from harassment, bullying and violence, as well as strategies for using ICTs in affirmative ways to advocate for change on issues that concern them. According to Women'sNet, "The Information Age has brought about an increase in the use of technologies. This development has assisted in a quick, easy and in some instances, cheaper ways to share and disseminate information. The development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has assisted us to access and practice our rights, including right to access information, the right to self expression and the right to privacy. However, young people are often confronted with violent encounters in these environments. Therefore, violence becomes a hindrance in the realization of their freedom to self expression, information access and communication."

*Source: http://www.takebackthetech.net/*

A small number of participants indicated that they use other instant messaging services besides MXit on their cell phones, these included: Bing, MIG 33, Twitter, Meep, ETC and Opera Mini.

Game playing is becoming popular amongst adolescents therefore the study explored the extent of game playing on the internet (13.9%) and cell phones (36.7%) amongst adolescents. The study found that games played on the cell phone are more popular than games played on the Internet. This can be ascribed to the fact that mobile devices such as cell phones are readily available and convenient. They also allow a child to play within a "private environment," which again makes control and monitoring by parents more difficult.

## Conclusion

The explorative research study results clearly show adolescents in South Africa are consuming new media at ever-increasing rates. It is anticipated that adolescents will continue to adopt new media developments at a faster pace than adults do. The research findings correspond with international findings indicated in this article and contribute to the global understanding of the phenomenon.

The rapid diffusion and adoption of new media creates a great challenge for controlling and monitoring the exposure of children to inappropriate media content. Parents must engage with the latest technology and gather knowledge and experience in order to narrow the generation gap between themselves and their children created through the rapid growth of technology. The significance of self-regulation amongst children is clear and needs to be encouraged by parents by providing children with adequate guidance.

The exploratory research study revealed that new media have emotional dimensions and are not merely communication media. Adolescents feel a need to be connected at all times and often feel lost without technological items in particular cellphones.

Although the exploratory research study is limited in nature it succeeded in providing worthwhile and interesting insights into new media, in the lives of adolescents and laid the basis for a more intensive investigation. These media types will have an escalating impact on the lives of adolescents in South Africa, as well as on the information and communication industry.

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**Writers Bio**

Antoinette Basson is a registered Research Psychologist. She completed her BA (Psychology & Education), BA Hons (Psychology) and MA (Research Psychology) degrees at the University of Pretoria. Her postgraduate internship was with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Basson was previously employed by well-known private research companies in the capacity of Research Manager, where she headed research projects in the telecommunications, financial, media and government sectors. She joined the Film and Publication Board in 2006 focusing on research studies related to the classification of content and protection of children from sexual exploitation in media content. Research projects conducted by the Research Unit under her management have received international recognition and been presented at international conferences. Antoinette is passionate about research and especially enjoys studies relating to children and young people in South Africa. She recently started working on her Ph.D.



## Engaging Gender (In)Security

By Scott Nicholas Romaniuk

**Abstract**

Despite the proliferation of diverse feminist scholarship in the field of international relations (IR) theory over the past two decades, this body of work has been marginalised in the discipline. Consequently, a key contribution of feminist literature, the introduction of gender in the study of international relations and its focus on the gendered nature of other IR theories is overlooked. This article is a contribution to the ongoing debate on gender in the context of international relations and security studies. It presents the argument that while the feminist literature has presciently critiqued the realist conception of security and advocated for a multi-dimensional and multi-level re-definition of security, solutions proffered to achieve this more encompassing security inadvertently risk reifying gender as innate rather than constructed and, as a result, have yet to achieve their desired ends. Even though a push for increased participation in the relevant decision-making spheres is accompanied by attempts to alter the present discourse by emphasising various "devalued feminine principles," if these are being pushed solely by women, it will have little effect. Accordingly, an alternative is proposed in this essay that advocates focusing efforts to include more male participants in the discourse and a further emphasising of male insecurities, as well as female insecurities, to help "denaturalise and dismantle" gendered hierarchies to contribute to greater security.

**Key words**

Feminist scholarship, discourse, international relations, gendered hierarchies, security, constructed

## Introduction

*Gender perspectives not only allow for articulations of security needs by individuals, but illustrate the ways in which these security needs transcend some of the traditional barriers we have placed between individuals on the basis of north/south or secure/insecure divisions.*

(Hoogensen and Rottem *2004)* -Gunhild Hoodensen and Svein Vigeland Rottem, University of Tromsø, Norway, 2004

Despite the proliferation of diverse feminist scholarship in the field of international relations (IR) theory over the past two decades[1], this body of work has been marginalised in the discipline (Steans 2003) Consequently, a key contribution of feminist literature, the introduction of gender[2] in the study of international relations and its focus on the gendered nature of other IR theories is overlooked (Jones 1996). Feminists argue that the neglect of gender by other IR theories, specifically realism and its variants, results in a narrow conception of security and does not account for the changing realities in international affairs. Indeed, emphasis has been shifting in the literature from an exclusive focus on national security to a broadening of the concept to encompass human security (Hoogensen and Rottem 2004). Nevertheless, it has been argued that this new focus often, as well, neglects the dynamic of gender in its analysis (Hudson 2005).

Feminists also argue that failing to understand the role of gender in international relations perpetuates gendered hierarchies that value the masculine over the feminine to the detriment of "women's (and certain men's) real security." (Tickner 2001) It is argued in this essay that while feminist literature has presciently critiqued the realist conception of security and advocated for a multi-dimensional and multi-level re-definition of security, solutions proffered to achieve this more encompassing security inadvertently risk reifying gender as innate rather than constructed and, as a result, have yet to achieve their desired ends (Tickner 1997). An alternative is proposed that advocates focusing efforts to include more male participants in the discourse and further emphasising male insecurities, as well as female insecurities, to help "denaturalise and dismantle" gendered hierarchies to contribute to greater security for all (Tickner 2001).

**'Gender-ing' the Security Dialogue**

The term security, in and of itself, is a highly contested concept, subject to a myriad of definitions (Blanchard 2005). Security, to scholars, "conveys urgency [and] demands public attention." (Paris 2003) While there is no single precise definition, traditional conceptions envision the state as guarantor of the security of its citizens from the threats of other states (Blanchard 2003). This thinking is held by the proponents of realism, "the dominant theoretical tradition" in international relations theory (Beckman 1994).

For realists, sovereign, self-interested states are the primary actors in an anarchical international environment (Tickner 2001). All states engage in power-maximising activities to achieve their desired ends (Schmidt 2005). This pursuit of power becomes problematic in an arena absent of order. War is an ever imminent possibility "because there is nothing to prevent [it]." (Tickner 2001) Given the realities of state behaviour and the anarchical nature of the international arena, states must "rely on *self-help* for ... protection." (Beckman 1004) Thus, for the realists, the security of the state is tied to its military and its preparedness to fight wars (Tickner 1992). However, increasing military expenditures or enhancing readiness may provoke suspicion on the part of another state. Concern could arise that a state's expanding army may be for offensive rather than defensive purposes and it in turn may seek to increase its capabilities, setting off further action by the initial state (Beckman 1994). This represents a "security dilemma" for realists, though does not necessarily entail "continual war" as states will engage in a variety of behaviours to manage the threats posed by other power-seeking states. If one state is perceived as becoming too powerful, other states may ally to counterbalance the increased power of the former state in order to ensure their security (Beckman 1994). Thus, war is constrained though always possible. As such, realists believe that security can never be fully assured (Tickner 1992).

Though realism has been a long-standing theory of international relations, its views do not reflect the changing reality of the international system. Even though states still predominate, the vast majority of wars are no longer inter-state but rather intra-state (Human Security Centre 2005). The number of wars that occur between states has declined rapidly for the past two decades, a trend that persists to date.[3] This marked decline in inter-state war saw a rapid increase in intra-state conflict during the waning years of the

Cold War.[4] Even though the number of civil wars has since started to decrease, these still outnumber the amount of inter-state wars that have occurred in recent history.[5] Thus, the nature of war has been changing such that it is currently characterised not by the struggles of two contending state armies but rather by various factions who, in fighting, "frequently target civilians."[6] For this reason, among others, realists' adherence to national security has come increasingly under attack by a diverse range of theorists (Hoogensen and Rottem *2004)*. Feminist scholars of international relations have observed these trends and have argued, "new threats to security demand new solutions quite at odds with the power politics prescriptions of traditional international relations theory." (Tickner 1992) These assertions are supported by the conclusions of others who argue that inter-state war is likely to remain a rare phenomenon.[7]

Realism continues to maintain its narrow conception of security, as its "state-centric, militaristic" definition of security emanates from a masculine bias inherent in the theory (Hoogensen and Rottem 2004). Feminist scholars have argued cogently that the gendered nature of the theory prevents it from viewing the whole picture with respect to security, seeing only "a partial view of reality." (Tickner 1992) Feminists have observed that men have long been ascribed certain characteristics such as "[s]trength, power, autonomy, independence and rationality." For these reasons, men have been seen as rightfully operating in the public domain while women have been relegated to the private, because they are seen as weak, peaceful, cooperative and reliant on others for protection. The feminine, in these socially constructed gendered binaries, becomes the devalued other, needing protection (Hudson 2009). Feminists argue that from these social constructions, the hegemonic masculinity outlined above is "projected [by realists] onto the behaviour of states whose success as international actors is measured in terms of their power capabilities and capacity for self-help and autonomy." (Tickner 1992) The realist bases their view of the state and behaviour




Congo, which has suffered from widespread instances of sexual assaults during the ongoing conflict, is an example of gender insecurity
Photo: Julien Harnies

in the international system on "the behaviour of men in positions of public power." (Tickner 1992)

The state is viewed as aggressive, as males are viewed as aggressive. Indeed, for realists, this masculine trait is necessary in an anarchic international system where states are struggling for power. If a state were not aggressive, if it was unable to rely on its own capabilities, it could be seen as weak and dominated by other states. Thus, for realists, while aggressiveness is frowned upon in the private sphere where the state maintains order and which it protects, this trait is encouraged in the public sphere (Tickner 1992). As feminists note, the equation of males/masculinity with aggressiveness precludes any role for females in decision-making processes pertaining to national security (Blanchard 2003). It also proscribes certain activities for women such as war-fighting that are viewed as masculine. Soldiering is the preserve of males who must protect their female compatriots. The state must be prepared for war to guarantee the security of its own. For realists, "survival in a violence-prone international system 'requires' war-capable states peopled by heroic masculine… warriors." (Tickner 1992)

By bringing in gender, feminists have exposed realist conceptions of security as based on a hegemonic masculinity and are not reflective of the full reality of human experience(Blanchard 2003). Resultantly, they circumscribe a myriad of possibilities that would engender greater security (Blanchard 2003).Through the incorporation of the experience of women, feminists show that there is room for both "competition *and* cooperation," for aggressiveness *and* passiveness (Beckman 1994). However, this is not because women have certain innate feminine characteristics that differentiate them from men. Gender is indeed malleable (Hudson 2005).Rather, women have been ascribed characteristics that can exist in both sexes, much as men have been ascribed traits that can be held by both males and females. For example, the current construction of the male as protector and the woman as dependent can be either reversed or abolished outright. Indeed, this binary "has been an important motivator for the recruitment of military forces and support for war." Understanding the constructed nature of gender and its instrumental use, feminists argue that war is also a social construction and "not inevitable as realists suggest." (Tickner 1992)

Furthermore, feminists question the anarchy/order distinction held by realism demonstrating how its state-centric emphasis "[misses] the interrelation of insecurity across levels of analysis." (Tickner 1992) Quite simply, this is because realism is unaware of how its theory is based on gendered binaries of domination and subordination that threaten women's security. Despite the alleged ordered nature of the state, individuals and women in particular, are threatened within this environment. Women are often the targets of rape and domestic assault. (Tickner 1992) This violence stems from "a gendered society in which male power dominates at all levels." This includes the state level, where women are also ostensibly protected. Feminist theorists have attempted to elucidate how states have not been adequate security providers by "[focusing] on the consequences of what happens during wars rather than on their causes." (Tickner 2007)

Women have been the primary targets of wartime sexual violence (Alison 2007). Additionally, women have increasingly been casualties in war though they are overwhelmingly civilians and have often born the brunt of "economic sanctions associated with military conflict." (Tickner 2007) Furthermore, feminists argue that the exclusively military focus of security by realists misses various other dimensions where women are rendered insecure due to unequal gender relations. Women are disadvantaged economically, whether because of "the gendered division of labour" or "the discounting of work in the home." (Blanchard 2003) Environmental degradation is also a source of insecurity for many women around the world.

Thereby, feminists advocate a move past the state-level militaristic conception of national security held by realists to a multilevel, multidimensional security that focuses on "mutual enablement rather than domination." (Tickner 1992) As Heidi Hudson has argued, such a redefinition of security where "the



A mother in Darfur Photo: Hoisaeter

survival of one depends on the well-being of the other; would not only enhance women's security but that of men, who are similarly threatened by the conventional gendered approach to security." (Hudson 2005) In so doing, feminists have sought to reveal and dismantle the gendered hierarchies that place the masculine over the feminine and value traits such as conflict and autonomy over cooperation and interdependence. For these scholars, "a truly comprehensive security cannot be achieved until gender relations of domination and subordination are eliminated." (Tickner 1992)

There has been a marked absence of realist rejoinder to these feminist critiques. When forthcoming, responses have been dismissive, asking "[what] ...this talk [has] to do with solving "real-world" problems such as Bosnia, Northern Ireland or nuclear proliferation?" (Tickner 2007) Feminists would argue that being cognizant of the role of gender in international affairs allows one to see how national security is based on gendered assumptions and how those in decision-making positions of the state are predominantly male. The discourse surrounding national security issues is thus structured to favour the masculine. Resultantly, when dealing with the aforementioned problems, "[t]he impact of gender discourse ... is that some things get left out." (Cohn 1993) Policy alternatives may never be voiced for fear that they will be seen as weak, as feminine. The nature of a gendered discourse that privileges the masculine over the feminine delimits what is acceptable and what is not and thus can perpetuate insecurity rather than allowing for the airing of diverse viewpoints which may represent the best approach for the policymakers concerned.

While most engagement with feminist scholars has been selective and limited, Francis Fukuyama (1998), in an article for *Foreign Affairs*, articulated what most closely approximates a realist rebuttal. He asserted that gender differences are not socially constructed but rather biologically rooted. For Fukuyama 1998, the male is naturally violent and aggressive. The female, following the traditional binaries, is less violent, less aggressive. Noting the increased participation of women in the public realm of democratic countries, Fukuyama argued that these countries have resultantly become more "feminised." He problematises this trend noting that it engenders a security threat as "[i]n anything but a totally feminised world, feminised politics could be a liability." For Fukuyama, noting global demographic changes, a greying Western population that will arguably produce more female leaders, will encounter the rest of the world which will not only remain more youthful but be "led mostly by younger men." This will pose significant challenges to the western world as for Fukuyama, states are still driven by power-maximising states in an anarchical environment and anything other than building the necessary capabilities to repel enemies runs the risks of war and domination. Thus, what is needed in this world is not feminised politics but masculine policies. Fukyama's argument is similar in some respects to Robert Keohane's musing that "[p]erhaps states with less gender hierarchy could resolve conflict more easily; but it is also possible that they would be more easily bullied."

Francis Fukuyama's argument is flawed in two respects. First, it mistakenly designates the gender binaries as biologically rooted rather than socially constructed. If it were in fact the former rather than the latter, one "would expect a clear distinction between men and women, with relatively little variation within one sex." (Beckman 1994) However, there is incredible variation intra-sex. There are pacific women agitating for the abolition of war just as there are female agents of political violence. (Alison 2004) The same is true for men. Militaristic and anti-militaristic males have served as political leaders (Ehrenreich 1999).

Secondly, even if the United States of America theoretically becomes more egalitarian, this does not mean that it will be bullied by a China where gender relations remain unequal. As noted previously, there is a capacity for cooperation and conflict that is inherent in both sexes. It is only when one assumes that traits such as aggressiveness are genetically rooted rather than socially constructed that such a scenario may be plausible.

**Engendered (In)Security**

The feminist critique of realism exposes a conception of security defined narrowly in national terms, ignoring the security needs of the individual. Other scholars of international relations have also found the realist's definition increasingly problematic in a rapidly changing global environment and have increasingly promoted human security, a concept designed to "encourage policymakers and scholars to think about international security as something more than the military defense of state interests." (Paris 2003) While precisely what is encompassed by the concept of human security is subject to debate, there is general concurrence that this broader definition of security, while not exclusively moving away from the security interests of the state, places individual security interests more front and centre (Hudson 2005).

As a relatively new concept, it is widely used to describe the complexity of interrelated threats associated with civil war, genocide, and the displacement of populations. The primary reason for the construction of a new approach to security centres on the fact that the analytic frameworks that have traditionally be employed to explain war and violent conflict between nation-states have simply grown out of place when addressing violent conflicts that take place within nation-states. Since both concepts intersect in many ways, human security and national security should be—and often are—mutually reinforcing. However, as the degree of security for a state increases, the security for its people does not necessarily follow suit. The Human Security Report for 2005 asserts that "protecting citizens from foreign attack may be a necessary condition for the security of individuals, but it is certainly not a sufficient one."

For scholars of the respective disciplines, this re-definition is sorely needed given that the traditional definition does not address a myriad of insecurities. J. Ann Tickner has argued that this broadening of the definition of security is "more compatible with most contemporary feminist scholarship" than the traditional definition espoused by realism (Tickner 2007). However, even though the redefining of security has been more in line with the multi-dimensional, multilevel security advocated by feminist scholars, the human security approach often neglects gender and how it factors in to security issues (hudosn 2007). An understanding of gender is crucial to any analysis in international affairs as it is "[g]ender [that] decides who goes to war and who does not; who is a victim and who is not; and who is legitimate within the security discipline and who is not." (Hoogensen and Kirsti Stuvoy 2006)

While the human security approach has sought to focus on and foster security for individuals, its tendency to overlook gender results in an approach that addresses the security needs of some individuals and not others. Proponents of human security have focused on the plight of child soldiers conscripted by various groups to fight in a myriad of conflicts. However, the long-standing assumption of those concerned with the welfare of child soldiers has been that these children are exclusively male. It is a gendered assumption that is predicated on the belief that males are the aggressive, violent sex. For some, it is difficult

to envision female fighters even though research has demonstrated that females may comprise an estimated 30% of child soldiers across the globe. As such, programming directed towards the needs of these children has been gendered and has not addressed the specific needs of female child soldiers. Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programs to help child soldiers have failed to recognise that not all female child soldiers were combatants. Some were conscripted for "forced labour or sex" and as such, these programs, which "often required the surrender of a weapon" for entrance in the program, excluded many female child soldiers from receiving care. (Fox 2004)

The human security approach, when it does acknowledge gender, often reifies existing constructions through various practices which perpetuate "a highly gendered understanding of who is to be secured." R. Charli Carpenter (2006) has argued that programs addressing gender-based violence have portrayed women and children as those necessitating protection, whereby the vulnerabilities of men are ignored even though they are often specifically targeted in war on the basis of their gender. Men are often massacred by opposing enemy forces for fear they could be possible combatants and boys are targeted as they represent future generations of soldiers. It is the gendered understanding of soldiers committing these crimes that it is men that will be violent and not women and this is entrenched when programs which are designed to help civilians in wartime present civilian victims as women and children and overlook the insecurities of civilian men. While the human security approach is beneficial through its broadening of security, the feminist perspective, through its analysis of the role of gender on security, allows for a more comprehensive approach to security for all individuals, rather than a select few.

Though feminist scholarship has offered a compelling critique of current conceptions of security, solutions proffered to achieve "a nongendered perspective" are insufficient and risk reifying the social constructions of masculine and feminine as innate to the respective sexes, rather than denaturalising them (Tickner 1992). Feminist writing has posited two solutions to move past the current paradigm. Firstly, feminists have argued that it is important to change the discourse on security by exposing the inequalities and problematising the construction of gender. Secondly and concomitantly, many feminists have advocated the increased representation of women in decision-making structures. For some scholars, "no fundamental change in the hierarchy of the sexes is likely to take place until women occupy half, or nearly half, the positions at all levels of foreign and military policy-making." Additionally, it is advocated that women should be involved in the decision-making process at all levels, in all spheres including the economic realm. Women, for reasons described above, have been traditionally excluded from these positions and even in key positions in international organisations. (Tickner 1992) However, feminists point to the need for women to be involved beyond the local.

While both of these are laudable and arguably necessary, the latter carries an inadvertent risk that gender will be essentialised and that the present hierarchy of the sexes will remain entrenched. As Christine Chinkin has observed, women who obtain positions in decision-making institutions nationally and internationally are often relegated to "women's issues" rather than being included in bodies that deal particularly with issues of security (Chinkin 2007). For example, in Canada, elected women may be slotted for portfolios in Cabinet other than the key positions that pertain to foreign and policy-making. These may be predominantly assigned to their male colleagues. Additionally, even if women obtain key foreign affairs or defence posts, these women will be placed in a double-bind. If they advocate what have been traditionally structured as masculine positions, this will be viewed as acceptable, but these women will be viewed as anomalies. Being seen as an aggressive negotiator is an unfeminine image. Conversely, women who espouse positions that are structured as feminine will reinforce present beliefs that gender is innate rather than constructed. Given this, it is difficult to see how including more women in the key decision-making processes will result in a denaturalising and dismantling of existing gendered hierarchies.

Even though a push for increased participation in the relevant decision-making spheres is accompanied by attempts to alter the present discourse by emphasising various "devalued feminine principles," if these are being pushed solely by women, it will have little effect (Blanchard 2003). While it is not disputed that these "could play an important role in building alternative modalities of behaviour" it is argued here that the entrenched structures will continue to devalue these principles even if espoused by women in positions of power.[8] Furthermore, it will continue to reinforce unwanted gender essentialisms. Various scholars, in an effort to problematise essentialist notions of the female as peaceful, have published accounts of women long-engaged in various forms of violence.[9] However, this approach has been to little avail as the stereotype of women as peaceful continues to pervade despite all evidence to the contrary (Zalewski 1995).

Feminists have and continue to face immense challenges in attempting to dislodge the gendered hierarchies which produce insecurity. The theory is still marginalised in the field of international relations, more than two decades since it came to the fore. The discourse in international relations and in security studies is still gendered, despite a broadening of the definition of security beyond the state. Indeed, almost a decade after the publication of her groundbreaking *Gender in International Relations*, J. Ann Tickner noted that women still have not achieved a high level of participation in intergovernmental organisations and substantial barriers still exist for women seeking formal political office (Tickner 2001). The solutions posited do not seem to have had any discernible effect.

# Negotiators face legal minefield in arriving at power-sharing deal

## The law reforms to validate the deal may take months or years to hammer out

**By GITAU WARIGI**

The announcement that the two sides involved in the Kofi Annan mediation effort had narrowed down their differences to what kind of coalition government to have may not have been the thundering breakthrough the country expected, but it was highly significant nonetheless.

It is understood that ODM are rooting for substantive power-sharing. They have drawn a list of the ministries they want for a transitional period pending major constitutional reforms. Furthermore, the party wants guarantees that President Kibaki will not fire the appointees to those ministries, a notion that the PNU side dismisses as impractical and contrary to existing constitutional norms.

PNU has been agreeable to a coalition where the President appoints those he wishes from ODM as the constitution provides for. The position of an executive prime minister is something the PNU is opposed to in the absence of enabling constitutional provisions. But word is that the government is not totally averse to a non-executive premier, or a minister-in-chief.

"In principle, power-sharing can be agreed upon. But there is a legal minefield. Plus the necessary legal reform will take time, even a few miracles to accomplish. There has to be facilitating bills [brought to Parliament] and amende-

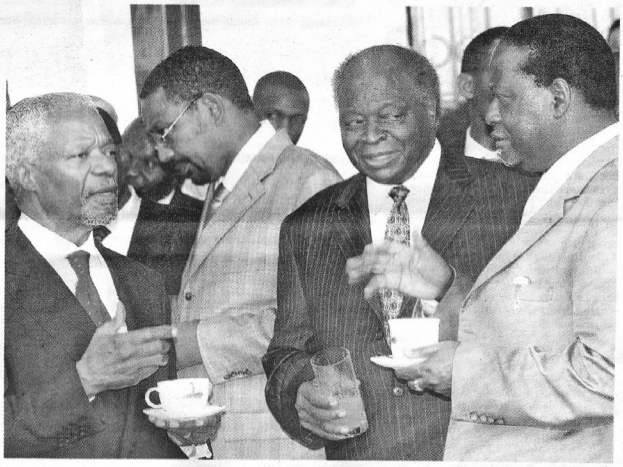
conference fell apart because the draft proposed an executive prime minister. The draft's opponents criticised it for relegating the President to more or less ceremonial duties. The entire anomaly with this arrangement was that the President was expected to be subjected to a direct popular mandate, which the more powerful prime minister was not.

Tanzania navigates this problem by having a non-executive premier who is answerable to the President. Assuming Kenya wants to pursue an arrangement where the President shares executive power with a prime minister, the constitution will have to be altered, which in turn will affect many statutory provisions. It would fundamentally alter the way the government works.

"If we want a prime minister, what scope should he get? Which appointments can he make? Do those include ambassadors? What are the checks and balances that would govern this office? Will the Head of the Public Service report to him? Can the President fire him? Such questions would have a huge ripple effect on the bureaucracy. It may actually be easier to draw up a new constitution from scratch," said Mr Paul Mwangi, a lawyer and author who has written extensively on the Kenyan Judiciary.

The other form of power-sharing that was tried was a coalition between National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK) and Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) under the Narc umbrella. It failed, which raises questions as to whether another attempt involving the same divided group of politicians won't be equally futile.

But, strictly speaking, the NAK-LDP memorandum of understanding and the follow-up coalition did not amount to sharing executive power. It could not do



**Mr Kofi Annan with President Kibaki and ODM leader Raila Odinga. A grand coalition bringing ODM into government has been proposed.** Photo/FILE

als from those parties. His action did not have the goodwill of the corporate leadership of Kanu, which at the time comprised Mr Uhuru Kenyatta and Mr William Ruto. In that sense it was not an inter-party coalition, leave alone being a government of national unity.

By poaching individual Opposition figures, the President technically did not

election is impractical. But if the matter were to come up, it would raise questions of how a presidential election would be separated from parliamentary and civic elections. Kenya's electoral law says that a General Election must simultaneously be carried out at three levels: presidential, parliamentary and civic.

A re-run of the presidential election

Negotiating conflict still a man's world

**Summary and concluding remarks**

There is no simple solution that will result in the dismantling of gendered hierarchies and the engendering of greater security. Nevertheless, it is suggested here that the aforementioned solutions be coupled with a greater emphasis than has been provided on emphasising male insecurities and encouraging males to be greater participants in eliminating gender inequalities. It is not enough for women to be the core of the solution. As Carol Cohn has noted, in order "to develop, explore, rethink, and revalue those ways of thinking that get silenced and devalued … men, too, [will] have to be central participants." (Cohn 1993) Men will need to voice ideas and values designated feminine in the decision-making rooms where the discourse has been structured masculine. Men will need to voice women's security concerns. Women will need to be in this room as well. It is both sexes, in offering ideas and making statements viewed as traditionally feminine, and also those seen as masculine, that will denaturalise these social constructions and allow for the elimination of gender inequalities that at present, predominantly threaten the security of women. It is difficult to propose concrete measures to secure increased male participation. However, it is argued here, that this represents a better way forward than traditional suggestions, which rested on increased female participation in the realms of foreign and military policy-making.

Feminists need to shed light on male insecurities as much as female insecurities. Indeed, feminist scholarship has already engaged in this practice. Miranda Alison in a recently published article on wartime sexual violence illustrated the gendered nature of this violence and how not only women, but men were rendered insecure. Accounting for male victims challenges the dominant discourse that it is only women who need protection and that all men are protectors (Alison 1997). As noted above, R. Charli Carpenter has also demonstrated how men's security is threatened by gendered assumptions that all males are aggressive. By focusing on these victims, this can further denaturalise beliefs that it is only females that need protection and allow for the development of a broader security. Further scholarly work in the same vein is needed. Though some have noted that an emphasis on the insecurities of men may hide the fact that existing hierarchies predominantly threaten women's security, it has been argued that the alternative, seeing "the oppressive position of masculinity as inevitable and immutable, makes continued research in this direction seem worth the risk." (Blanchard 2003)

Feminist research in international relations has helped expose the gendered nature of realist theory and its detrimental affect on the security of individuals, particularly women. This perspective has also shown how human security approaches often overlook gender and thus, fail to offer programs which engender security for the entire population. While feminist theorists have correctly pointed the way forward, the solutions proffered in the literature have yet to achieve desired ends. The difficulty encountered in denaturalising the current construction of gender illustrates the deeply entrenched nature of this concept. However, as feminists have noted, not problematising gender will only perpetuate an environment in which women's security is threatened.

Notes

1 Adam Jones, "Does 'Gender' Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, No. 22 (1996), 405-406. It is acknowledged here that "there is no one feminism." Heidi Hudson, "'Doing' Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 2005), 48. While it may be inferred that this paper's use of the general term feminism implies a unified body of thought, a qualified "many" or "much of" is intended each time the term is used. J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 48.

2 It is argued here and elsewhere that while sex is biological, gender is a social construction whereby certain traits are ascribed to the male sex and the female sex resulting in notions of what constitutes the "masculine" and the "feminine" respectively. Francine D'Amico and Peter R. Beckman, "Introduction," in *Women, Gender, and World Politics*, eds. Peter R. Beckman and Francine D'Amico (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 1994), 3-4.

3 Human Security Centre, 148. John Mueller further observes that "there have been remarkably few international wars of any sort since World War II." John Mueller, "Accounting for the Waning of Major Power War," in *The Waning of Major War: Theories and Debates*, ed. Raimo Vayrynen (New York: Routledge, 2006), 64.

4 Ibid., 150.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 34

7 Human Security Centre, "Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century," The University of British Columbia, http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 (accessed July 18, 2009), 155.

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**Writers Bio**

Scott Nicholas Romaniuk is an Associate Political Affairs Officer with the United Nations—Division for Social Policy and Development in Kuwait. He has been involved in development projects in Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia. He holds a bachelor's in history, and modern languages and cultural studies, and a master's in European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies from Carleton University in Canada. Scott has published widely on war and society, ethno-national conflict, genocide, and processes of democratisation.



## Opinion: Pornography or erotica?

by Kazeka Mashologu Kuse

In 1995, E.tv, South Africa's free broadcast channel changed the landscape of South African media by becoming the first station to bring pornography into public consciousness. The controversy of launching pornography into mainstream attention challenged civil society's beliefs to the core. Social conservatives, media and feminists alike were challenged to answer very pertinent questions.

What is the definition of sex? What is pornography? Is pornography a celebration of sexuality or continuation of female slavery clothed as free expression? To what extend does media freedom enhance or marginalize society's values? More importantly, can pornography be classified as erotica or erotica as pornography? And is E.tv a representation of the erotic desire or pornography.

Defining sex is in itself a contentious issue. Religious conservatives define it as a means of procreation. Patriarchy defines it as the insertion of the penis into the vagina, thereby marginalizing homosexual sexuality. Feminists are advocating for a definition that is inclusive of female's view of sexuality. Proponents of pornography perceive it as sexuality expressed on screen. Coupled by a South African cultural legacy that refuses to publicly talk about sexuality, pornography is thus protected from a comprehensive public debate.

The lack of a consensus definition of sex, erotica, and pornography creates the very cushion that protects pornography from analysis, scrutiny and opposition. The probe done in 1995 by Home Affairs portfolio committee on pornography in the media, E.tv stated that "it does not broadcast pornography and its erotica slot is meant for adults only complies with the broadcasting Code of Conduct" the argument that pornography has protected itself legally, conceptually and ideologically. By intersecting sexuality, erotica and pornography into a confusing concept, it thus protects itself by creating a mysterious product. If we cannot agree on a definition for sex, is it possible to agree on what defines erotica or pornography?

American feminist, Gloria Steinem vehemently states that there is a distinguished aspect between pornography and erotica. Pornography according to her is the "the impersonal domination and violence against women" whilst the erotic paints "compassionate love, freedom, and desire for a particular person." Diane E. Russel, author of *Dangerous Relationships: pornography, misogyny and rape*, notes that pornography has the following characteristics

- Women are consistently shown naked whilst men are shown clothed.
- Pictures of women's genitals are shown whilst men aren't.
- Images are shown where men are portrayed in the initiating and dominating role.
- Women are eager to engage in male orders of sexuality.
- Represents a very white male's narrow minded sense of male beauty – thin, blonde, big boobs [that do not exist in reality]

Watching any of E.tv's "adult programmes," it doesn't

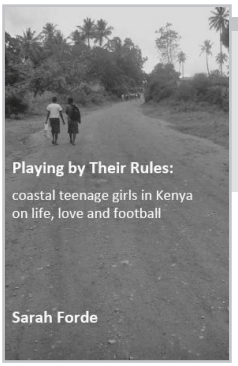
take a media specialist to see three or more of the above characteristics evident in its adult programming. The master-slave relationship is evident where a narrative of domination is subtly or blatantly the core of the scene. The Pro-pornography argument is that since the sexual engagement is between willing adults, therefore it cannot be harmful. "The willing participants are thus engaging in the expression of erotic fantasy" the argument continues. However, this one dimensional argument forgets an important dimension that just because a product is non-violent, it can be harmful to public consciousness and the agenda the public sets for itself. Why do companies spend millions of rands to have their logos at stadium billboards if products or productions in this case do not influence human behaviour? The truth is that a picture can say a thousand words. What words is E.tv's adult programming saying to our public consciousness?

Erotica on the other hand has been described as good porn. Feminists argue that it portrays a broader perspective of desire. The characters are multi-dimensional, thus representing the many facets of the human experience. There is a plot, high character development and high production standards. There are spaces that are completely women defined and devoid of any narrative of domination or men. Series such as the L-word have been credited for creating a media production that represent a human world of women rather than an idealized but undervalued patriarchal version of women and their sexuality. The shows instant popularity among all kinds of women has been owed to its unapologetic portrayal of eroticism, for eroticism is "developing sexuality as a way of bonding, of giving and receiving pleasure, bridging differences, discovering sameness and communicating emotion" says Lauri Umansky in her book, *Making Sense of Women's Lives: An introduction to Women's Studies.*

In a country where we profess to advocate for a gender equal society, portrayal of master/slave relationship – willing or not – lesbian or heterosexual, is a dangerous stimulant. Media has influential power over people's consciousness. Ask any social worker, psychologist or victim of sexual abuse about the influence of pornography and most of them will state to pornography being used as a weapon of sexual stimulation for abusive purposes. Thus, critics of pornography are correct in arguing that pornography eroticizes the domination, humiliation and coercion of women.

Pornography is not about sexuality and that is what differentiates it from erotica. Porn is about anti-female propaganda as is rape is about power rather than sex. Can E.tv thus be entrusted to custodian of sexual debate in this country or will it marginalize any opposing debate as conservatism? Leaving it to E.tv can be disastrous – that's if we want to create a gender equal society.

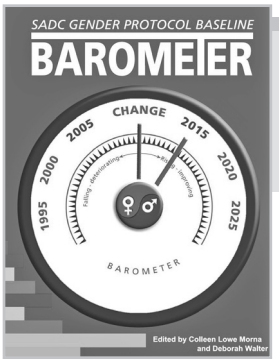
**Writers Bio**
Kazeka Mashologu Kuse is a freelance writer specialising in gender issues based in Port Elizabeth, South Africa.




**Playing By Their Rules: Coastal Teenage Girls in Kenya on Life, Love and Football**
By Sarah Forde

This book tells stories that expose how girls negotiate through their complex teenage years - tales of their sexual dilemmas, the onset of menses, their fear of pregnancy, the prevalence of abortion and their school and home lives. They talk about how football both enriches and complicates their lives. Most of all, though, the book is an account of the author's journey into the girls' worlds - a unique telling of stories that are at times shocking, sometimes heart-warming but mostly enlightening for those of people who'd like to know more about the teenage lives of girls in East Africa.

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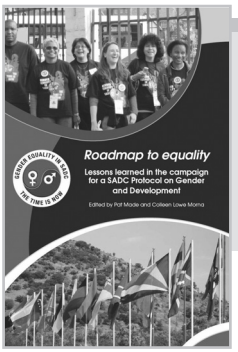



**SADC Gender Protocol Baseline Barometer**
Edited By
Colleen Lowe Morna and Deborah Walter

In August 2008, Heads of State of the Southern African Development Community adopted the ground-breaking SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. This followed a concerted campaign by NGOs under the umbrella of the Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance.

In keeping with the Alliance slogan: "The Time is Now," this baseline Barometer provides a wealth of data against which progress will be measured.

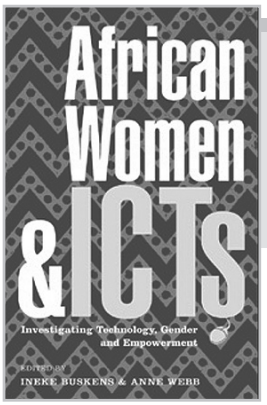
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**Roadmap to Equality Lessons Learned in the Campaign for a SADC Protocol on Gender and Development**
Edited by Pat Made and Colleen Lowe Morna

This handbook is a collaborative reflection of members of the NGO Alliance that campaigned for the historic adoption of the Southern African Protocol on Gender and Development in August 2008.The Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance vision is of a region in which women and men are equal in all spheres. The Alliance promotes and facilitates the creation of gender equity and equality through lobbying and advocacy towards the achievement of the 28 targets of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development by 2015.

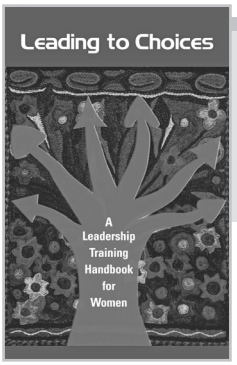
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**African Women and ICTs Investigating Technology and Gender and Empowerment**
By: International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

African Women and ICTs explores the ways in which women in Africa utilise information and communication technologies (ICTs) to facilitate their empowerment, whether through the mobile village phone business, through internet use, or through new career and ICT employment opportunities. Based on the outcome of an extensive research project, this book features chapters based on original primary field research undertaken by academics and activists who have investigated situations within their own communities and countries.

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**Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women**
By Mahnaz Afkhami, Ann Eisenberg, and Haleh Vaziri

Developed by the Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP) in collaboration with its partner organisations in the Global South, this book is based on a conceptualization of leadership as horizontal, inclusive, and participatory. This prototype handbook is designed to be a flexible curriculum that may be adapted and customised to suit the diverse cultural, political, and socio-economic needs of women and men around the world. Designed for use in interactive workshops, the handbook includes "Guidelines for Facilitating."

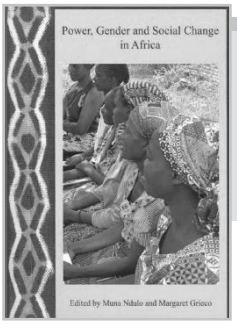
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**Sexual and Gender Based Violence in Africa**
By Daniel Moshenberg

This Bulletin began in response to news reports of "corrective" and "curative" gang rapes of lesbians in South Africa. These were then followed by news reports of a study in South Africa that found that one in four men in South Africa had committed rape, many of them more than once. The aim was to bring together concerned Africa scholars and committed African activists and practitioners, to help contextualize these reports. Also the other aim was to address the ongoing situation of sexual and gender based violence on the continent, the media coverage of sexual and gender based violence in Africa, and possibilities for responses.

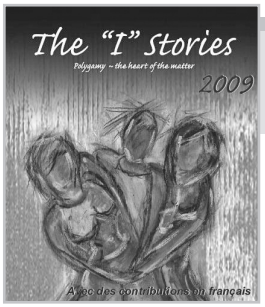
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**Power Gender and Social Change in Africa Published By: Institute for African Development**
Edited By Muna Ndulo and Margaret Grieco

Gender plays a hugely significant and too often under-considered role in predicting how accessible resources such as education, wage-based employment, physical and mental health care, adequate nutrition and housing will be to an individual or community. This book, through its discussion of the challenges, achievements and lessons learned in efforts to attain gender equality, sheds light on these important issues. The work includes analysis of strategic gender initiatives, case studies, research, and policies as well as conceptual and theoretical pieces.

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**The I Stories: Polygamy The Heart of the Matter**
Edited by Deborah Walter

Discussions on polygamy are critical in the context of a transforming continent. The collection of stories in this booklet presents various scenarios of polygamous relationships, chronicling the current and past experiences lived by men and women across the Southern African Development Community region, including South Africa, Swaziland, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as Senegal. Each writer shares their own account of living in polygamous relationships and what this has meant for them as women, men and children.

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# CONCEPT AND EDITORIAL GUIDELINES

**Concept and Editorial guidelines**
**The Gender and Media Diversity Journal (GMDJ)**

The Gender and Media Diversity Journal is the biennial journal of the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC). The journal is intellectual but not academic. It provides up-to-date and cutting edge information on media diversity in Southern Africa and the space for the dissemination of research findings and projects; case studies; campaigns, policy developments; and opinion and debate on media practice in the region.Each journal focuses on a different thematic areas identified in consultation with the GMDC advisory group. Inaugural issues (before the establishment of the GMDC) focused on the Global Gender Media Monitoring Project and the second on the Gender and Media Summit held in September 2006 under the banner Media Diversity: Good For Business, Good for Democracy. Other issues have looked at tabloidisation of the media, media activism, and case studies based on the 2008 GEM Summit, under the theme - Critical Citizens, responsive media.

**Why?**

Despite its mission of "giving voice to the voiceless," the media worldwide is heavily biased towards covering the views of those in power, an elite group often defined according to race, ethnicity, class and gender. In Southern Africa, where democracy is a relatively new and fragile phenomenon, the media are still largely state dominated. The concept of a public media is weak. Albeit to different degrees, private and community media face political, organisational and financial challenges. Overall, whether in the public or private sphere, media ownership is concentrated in a few hands. The voices of those most affected by policies and unequal power relations in society are seldom heard even though they constitute the majority of news consumer population. Failure to understand and respond to audiences in all their diversity is also bad for business.

The journal aims to:

- Develop and share a body of knowledge on media diversity in Southern Africa.
- Promote more probing, analytical and contextual journalism.
- Share best practices on how to achieve greater diversity in media content, ownership and market share.
- Contribute to greater media literacy and responsiveness among ordinary citizens - women and men – in Southern Africa.

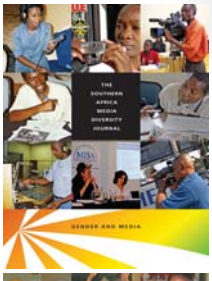
Each journal will contain:

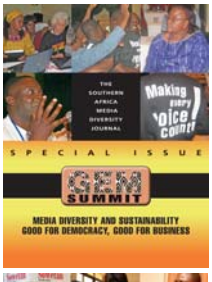
- Introduction – editorial and news briefs
- Thematic focus – insights from experts in the regional and around the world.
- Media watch - reviews and reports of programmes, projects, research, policy and development related to gender and diversity in the media.
- Opinion and letters.

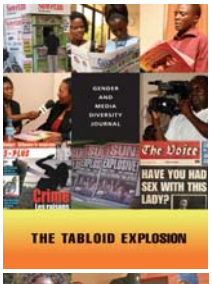
The Southern Africa Media Diversity Journal targets media workers and owners, policy-makers, researchers, lecturers, student journalists, activists and those individuals and organisations working towards media diversity in the region. Contributions are invited and solicited from groups and individuals such as these and commissioned by the editor.

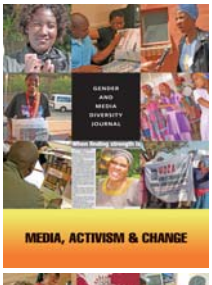
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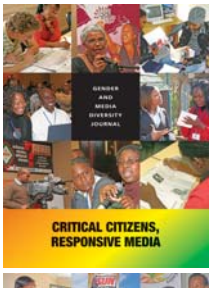
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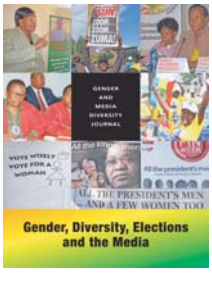







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