GENDER IN THE 2009 BOTSWANA ELECTIONS



Breaking barriers: Margeret Nasha, Botswana's first woman Speaker of Parliament

From Mmegi online





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Lowani Mtonga, former Gender Links training coordinator and Trevor Davies, independent photojournalist and trainer, conducted the training workshops for women politicians and the media in Botswana. Mtonga also compiled the workshop reports.

The Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA) was instrumental in conducting training and monitoring of media coverage of elections. Lukhanyo Nyati, an Independent data analyst, analysed the data for the project whilst Glenda Muzenda, the GEMSA Network Coordinator compiled the gender and media monitoring report.

Gender Links collaborated with the Gender and Media Diversity Centre to conduct the leadership debate in Botswana and other countries in the region.

Colleen Lowe Morna, Gender Links Executive Director provided overall guidance for the successful roll-out of the project.

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CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW

Synopsis



Participant speaks at one of the Gender Links debates in Botswana.

^IPhoto: Colleen Lowe Morna

This report provides a comprehensive overview of the gender, elections and media project run by Gender Links, in partnership with the Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA) and the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) in the run-up to the Botswana elections in October 2009.

The project forms part of a region-wide campaign to increase women's political representation and participation in line with the 2008 Southern African

Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development which aims to achieve gender parity in all areas of decision-making by 2015. Botswana has yet to sign the Protocol.

So far South Africa has the highest number of women in parliament at 43.4%, followed by Mozambique with 34.8%. The outcome of the 2009 Botswana national election has led to calls for a more concerted effort by civil society to urge the government to adopt the Protocol, which has a target of 50% women in all areas of decision-making by 2015. Botswana currently has just 7.9% women in parliament, down from 11% in the previous election.

This project covered all the SADC countries which had elections in 2009 and 2010. These include: South Africa, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Mauritius and Tanzania.

Botswana conducted its national elections on 16 October 2009 using the First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral system. There were 50 constituencies being contested. These combined both parliamentary and local government polls. The President is elected by the National Assembly. The three main parties: the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP); Botswana National Front (BNF) and Botswana Congress Party, put forward male candidates for the presidency.

The Botswana gender, elections and media workshops were held in February 2009. Botswana is one of two countries in the region that has not signed the SADC Protocol. Mauritius is the other country yet to sign. The participants used the Botswana Gender, media and elections workshop to lobby for Botswana to sign. The *Botswana Gazette* raised this issue in the run-up to the elections.

Khama Using BDP Women? He supports BDP Womens Candidates but is not ready to sign Gender Protocol

Objectives

The main objective of these workshops was been to advance the gender awareness and skills of both

media and women leaders in Southern Africa by facilitating training courses on gender, elections and the media that:

- Assist the media in understanding how gender equality is integral to citizenship, democracy and freedom of expression.
- Gauge the extent to which the SADC Protocol targets of 50% by 2015 are being honoured.
- Improve media coverage of politics and elections.
- Enhance the capacity of women leaders to engage strategically with the media.
- Conduct a gender audit of the elections, including the performance of the media.

Background

Women politicians generally have a difficult relationship with the public and the media. They often bear the brunt of negative media representation compared to their male counterparts. The media, on the other hand, has argued that women politicians are less accessible than their male counterparts. This project therefore brings women politicians and the media to engage honestly and constructively on issues of mainstreaming gender in political coverage.

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (signed in August 2008), which upped the SADC Declaration target to 50%, has called for concerted effort on the part of civil society to push relevant stakeholders to move towards parity.

GL, in partnership with the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), undertook the Gender and Media Baseline Study in 2003 that formed the backdrop of the Gender and Media Summit in September 2004. This led to the formation of the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, with GL and MISA as founding institutional members.

As part of a joint programme called "Making every voice count for gender equality", GL and GEMSA are recipients of funding from UKaid's Governance and Transparency Fund.

GL was the lead organisation in conceptualising the project, including tracking countries that are conducting elections and organising training, while GEMSA conducted media monitoring.

GL conducted a debate on transformative leadership in Botswana during the run-up to the elections. The debate, which was held at the Big Five Lodge on 9 February, tackled the

topic "Men have failed to show visionary leadership; it is now time for women to take over".

The follow-up to the GMBS, the 2010 Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS), found that at 20%, women's voices are still grossly underrepresented in the Botswana media with men dominating as sources (80%). While women comprise the majority of the population in Botswana, their voices are not heard as much as men's. Equally, the voices of women politicians are not heard compared to their male counterparts. It is imperative that the media, in its role as a vehicle for expression, is seen to be giving equal voice to men and women.

The representation of women as sources during election time is in line with the findings of the GMPS, which showed that women are extremely underrepresented as news sources in Botswana.

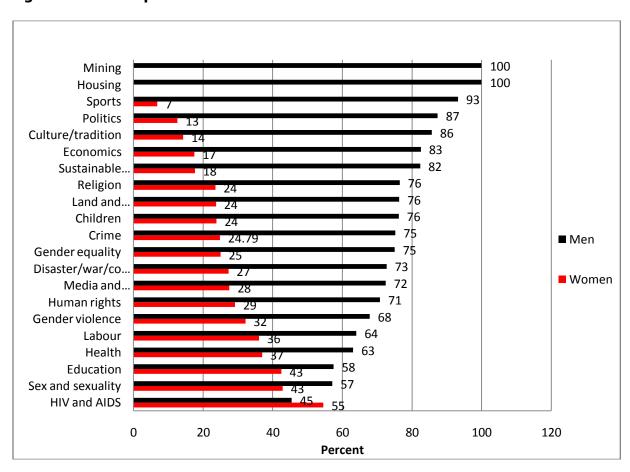


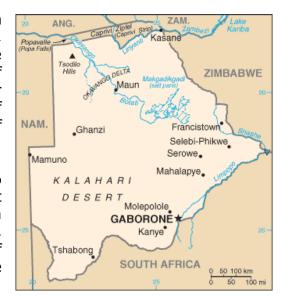
Figure one: Who speaks on what in the media in Botswana

Studies such as the Gender, Media and Baseline Study (GMBS) and the follow up Progress Study (GMPS) have shown that the voices of women politicians are not heard in the media. Figure one illustrates GMPS finding which show that while women comprised just 13% of the sources in the political occupation category.

Country context

Botswana is a landlocked country in Southern Africa surrounded by South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The capital is Gaborone and the surface of the country covers an area of 582 000 square kilometres. The 2005/06 Labour Force Survey estimated the population of Botswana at 1 702 829. It is growing at a rate of 3.5% per annum.

According to the survey, the population is 53.1% female. The number of households is estimated at 515 294. The population is mostly situated in urban areas, namely Gaborone, Francistown, Selebi-Phikwe and Lobatse. The population of Gaborone is approximately 250 000 people (BEDIA 2008).



The official language of Botswana is English and the main spoken language is Setswana. Botswana has numerous ethnic groups: Bangwato, Bakgatla, Balete, Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Batawana, Barolong and Batlokwa are considered to be the main ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups include Basarwa, Bakgalagadi, Batswapong and Bakalaka (Gender Links 2009).

In rural areas, Botswana has a three-tier settlement system made up of nucleated villages, cattle posts and land (CSO 2005). Most activities take place in the village, pastoral farming takes place at the cattle posts, and the land is used for arable farming.

Botswana is considered one of the most stable democracies in the SADC region, with a number of positive development indicators in terms of citizens' ability to access basic rights, such as health services and basic education. The Botswana economy is heavily dependent on mining but there is increasingly a focus on diversification of the economy, especially in the tourism sector.

Diamonds are the main source of foreign exchange followed by beef, which is exported mostly to the European Union. Diamonds constitute 50% of government revenue, 33% of Gross Domestic Product and 70% of foreign exchange. After a slight decline of about 1.5% in the previous year, Botswana's real GDP per capita grew to P13 995.5 in 2006/07 from P13 287.7 in 2005/06.

Botswana's macroeconomic policy is able to maintain a stable and manageable inflation and exchange rate in order to improve Botswana's competitiveness in international markets and contribute to the broader national objective of achieving diversified and sustainable economic growth.

The United Nations Human Development Report of 2007/2008 ranks Botswana 124th in the world, measuring its average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living. Botswana continues to rank above most SADC countries in terms of this measure; however,

it ranks lower than South Africa, Seychelles and Mauritius (BEDIA 2008).

Key components of the project in Botswana

GL conducted training workshops for women politicians and the media. The first workshop was for media practitioners in Gaborone on 9 February 2009. Participants included editors, sub-editors, journalists and programme managers from both print and broadcast media. Women politicians were invited to share their experiences with the media.

After this, four in-house newsroom training sessions were conducted between 10-12 February at mainstream media houses in Gaborone. Smaller media houses were grouped together to ensure cost effectiveness and convenience.

The final workshop for women politicians was held in Gaborone on 13 February 2009.

The Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) organised a workshop on gender and transformative leadership. The workshop was held in Gaborone on the evening of 9 August.

Key outputs

- Seventy-four people, including 29 women politicians and media practitioners from print and broadcast media, were trained and became well-versed with gender and political issues.
- Training resource material on gender, elections on the media contributed to the GL Virtual Resource Centre. Several examples of media clippings and case studies were collected and written-up during the period.
- Story ideas were brainstormed for election reporting that mainstreams gender.

Outcomes

Outcomes that can be directly attributed to the project include:

- Awareness of the role of media during the elections.
- Media empowered to design gender-aware programmes and news broadcasts.
- Media practitioners empowered to mainstream gender in election coverage.
- Women politicians able to engage critically with the media.

Upping the numbers

The work of advocacy organisations in building the capacity of women politicians during the 2009 elections is a key achievement. Whilst the numbers have gone down, there have been some qualitative gains made. Women politicians are now better able to articulate their views as well as engage with the media meaningfully.

The fact that Margaret Nasha was appointed the first woman speaker of the National Assembly is a positive development. There is, however, a lot of work that still needs to be done to increase women's political participation. It has been observed that upping the numbers of women in political decision making contributes positively to improving the lot of

women in society.

While Botswana has gone down in this regard, other Southern African countries have increased their representation. In Malawi, for example, the proportion of women in parliament increased from 14.5 to 20.5% while South Africa has edged closer to the 50% target by reaching 43.4% in its April 2009 national elections.

The other gains in Botswana include the appointment of:

- Two female mayors: Caroline Lesang in Lobatse and Veronica Lesole in Gaborone
- A deputy mayor: Malebogo Kruger in Lobatse
- A council chair in the South East: Anne Joubert
- A deputy council chair in the North East: Florah Mpetsane

Figure two: Women in decision making in SADC

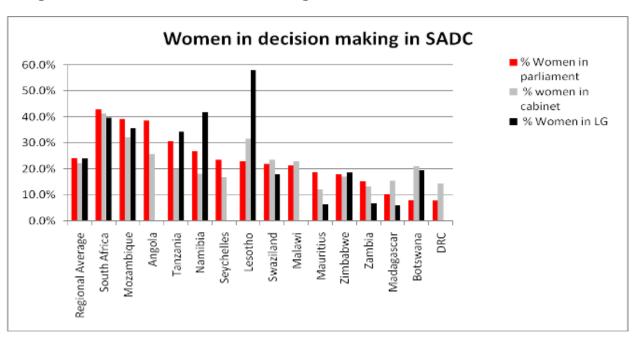


Figure two shows that Botswana is one of the bottom two SADC countries in terms of women's representation in parliament. It is highly unlikely that Botswana will reach the 50% target by 2015 considering that there is only one more election before that deadline. South Africa, Mozambique and Angola are better positioned to reach the target.

Annexes

The following annexes accompany this report:

- Annex A: Gender, media and elections workshop programme
- **Annex B**: Women in politics and the media workshop programme
- Annex C: List of participants for gender, media and elections
- Annex D: List of participants from the newsroom training
- Annex E: Summary of evaluations- Gender, media and elections
- Annex F: Summary of evaluations Women in politics

CHAPTER TWO: STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS



GENDER, ELECTIONS AND THE MEDIA WORKSHOP

The gender, elections and media workshop was held in Gaborone. The purpose of this workshop was to provide media with tools and practical skills to seek out the views and voices of women on mainstream issues as well as encourage their participation in public affairs. This was coupled with the promotion of dialogue and skills for ensuring greater sensitivity in media coverage, access to, and use of the media, by women politicians.

This workshop, held on 9 February 2009, was attended by journalists from both print and broadcast media. These included Botswana Television, The Guardian, Yarona FM and Botswana Press Agency (BOPA). Some councillors and members of the Botswana Women's Association (BOMWA) also attended the workshop. This enriched the discussion as they were able to share their experiences with the media.

Workshop organiser Keabonye Ntsabane welcomed participants to the workshop and thanked them for taking time from their busy reporting schedules. Ntsabane said Botswana was facing a lot challenges both in the media and political circles, particularly the representation of women. She said media practitioners can be key contributors to bringing about change in Botswana.



Chief Elections Administrator Barulaganyi Gender, elections and media workshop participants.

Photo by Lowani Mtonga

Machacha, from the Independent Election Commission (IEC), officially opened the workshop. Machacha said the course came at an opportune time with elections just around the corner, noting that the media was one of the strategic partners of the IEC.

She said for democracy to thrive there is need for a vibrant media because it is the single most convenient and effective tool for the dissemination of information. She noted that during an election period the media has a much broader responsibility to not only provide voter education, but also provide factual information to help the electorate exercise their democratic right to choose their leaders.

Machacha said the democratic culture should be nurtured so that all actors are accorded fair and equitable coverage. The news from the IEC should be carefully presented because once false news was broadcast it was difficult to rescind such messages, to the detriment of the credibility of the IEC. Machacha appealed to all relevant actors to accede to the media Code of Conduct in order to ensure a smooth election period.

Workshop expectations

Before the workshop began participants were asked to list their expectations. These were:

- Learn to be more gender-sensitive in my reporting.
- Learn how to write gender-sensitive stories.
- Sensitise reporters/journalists on how important it is to sell women politicians to the electorate rather than put them in a negative light.
- How to raise issue of gender inequalities during the elections.
- Learn balanced reporting.
- Address the issues of buying space in a newspaper that would specifically publish gender issues.
- Learn new ways to cover gender issues.
- Understanding gender issues vis-à-vis women's issues.
- In these days of recession with shortage of staff, how do I, as editor, ensure gender issues are a focus?
- Issue-based vs. interesting story, how do you balance the story?
- Come up with a fairly balanced story that addresses all gender issues without being biased to one particular group.
- Come up with possible story ideas that can sensitise both media and politicians on issues of gender equality.
- Have enough knowledge and come to terms in contributing towards the 50/50 Campaign of giving gender equality a chance to prevail in Botswana.
- Share experiences with journalists and politicians and learn about the challenges in preparing for elections.
- Know areas of intervention and what commitments GEMSA can make to improve the current situation.

"At the Coalface" video and "Ringing up the Changes" presentation

The presentation of the "At the Coalface" video and "Ringing up the Changes" set the tone for the discussion of key gender and election issues.

Key gender issues raised by participants

- Participants said the patriarchal culture in Botswana was the main contributing factor for the low representation of women in leadership positions.
- There were no deliberate efforts being made to ensure that women get elected.
 They said even the political leadership is not supportive of women. Some political
 parties had party quotas, but they do not take them seriously. They said very few
 women have made it through the primary elections, which meant that only a few
 women would be elected during the general elections in October 2009.
- They pointed out that even women's organisations have grown weary of fighting for gender equality because little progress was being made. This was compounded by the fact there was little support from other stakeholders.
- Politicians cited the media as one of the culprits, saying it ridicules women and publishes bad things about them. For example, some media write negative stories about women candidates, but do not write the same about men.
- One participant from a non-governmental organisation said she was deliberately misquoted at one of the gender workshops and a newspaper wrote things she did not say. She also blamed the media for not properly contextualising or analysing

issues.

Key gender and media issues

- Journalists blamed women for the low representation, saying they were not organised and do not support their fellow women. This was evidenced by the fact that women still mostly vote for men during elections. They said Botswana has more women than men and can easily have more women in decision-making positions if more women supported other women.
- They reminded the politicians and media organisations that media write what they
 consider news. Hence, they pick an issue which they think will be interesting. An
 editor from *The Voice* said development news does not sell and they focus on what
 will bring in more sales. Unfortunately, this has tended to be negative news.
- The media should present balanced, fair and objective views of issues and give coverage to all candidates in the election. They should avoid bringing the private lives of politicians into the public sphere as this discourages women from standing.
- Media should also play a role in holding leaders to account. For example, as they cover elections, reporters should ask political parties and candidates what change they would bring to the people in the form of service delivery. Participants also noted that a lot more needs to be done for Botswana, which was third from the bottom in the SADC region, to increase women's participation in politics.

Debate on quotas

The discussion on women's representation led to an exercise on quotas. The questions centred on whether quotas are necessary and whether they make a difference. The discussion also explored whether there were parties that have succeeded in increasing women's representation without quotas? Have the women in decision-making positions made a difference for other women? Should women in decision-making positions try to make a difference for other women?

Participants had many interesting viewpoints about guotas for women:

- The quota system does not work because those in leadership will make sure that their cronies fill up the positions. Hence not bringing about any change or meaningful representation.
- This system is not democratic and it has room for manipulation by the top leadership within the parties.
- Political parties should come up with a different system which gives equal opportunities for women to participate in politics without fear of victimisation.
- Gender organisations should gather and come up with names of women whom they think can represent all parties despite being women.
- Women should realise that they can represent everyone in the society when they get into power and leadership positions.
- At policy level, political parties are not really pushing issues affecting women. Some
 issues are talked about more than others because each political party has different
 priorities.
- Parties are giving women limited powers to change.
- Women do not support one another. Change of attitudes is needed.
- Women should be willing to learn from other women, it is the only way women's representation can be guaranteed. It is also a way of aligning ourselves with international protocol.

- Quotas are good if they are partly provided or done in a genuine, orderly and professional manner.
- Botswana does have party quotas, but not nationally.
- Quotas have made a difference.

Presentation on gender-sensitive reporting

Seamogano Mosanako from the University of Botswana gave a presentation on gendersensitive reporting. Mosanako said in order for the media to accurately mirror societies and produce coverage that is complete and diverse, it was critical that the news reflects the world as seen through the eyes of both women and men. There can be no election without media's contribution. Media was involved in election coverage on three levels:

Pre-election

Among other issues, the media is supposed to inform and mobilise people about the importance of elections so as to increase participation. Media also explains procedures and provides information to voters about how to choose candidates. It presents problems that need to be addressed by politicians, introduces candidates, parties manifestoes, achievements and failures.

On Election Day

The media is supposed to monitor progress of elections, expose irregularity or fraud and report provisional results.

Post elections

The media should report on official results announced by the IEC and analyse results to verify accuracy. It should also report the presidential inauguration and swearing in of Members of Parliament. Later, journalists should monitor whether MPs are keeping their promises. The challenge for the media was to ascertain the extent to which gender issues are reflected throughout the electoral process. The other challenges were the extent to which sex of reporters influence gender-sensitive reporting and to what extent gender-balanced reporting is reflected during elections.

Group work and story ideas

Participants were asked to brainstorm on story ideas for the elections. Below is a summary of their responses:

- Participation of women in different political parties and their profiles.
- Document achievements of women in their political parties compared to men.
- How women advocate political policies to other women.
- Why are women voters voting for men candidates? Do they not trust women?
- Ask the IEC how many people voted and why.
- Why does Botswana keep choosing the same party?
- Use of cultural language in reporting. Can it impact the outcome of elections?
- Use of technology in elections such as cell phones, email, i.e. candidates using technology to inform voters.
- A look at what technology the IEC was using to register voters.
- Ask women MPs their experience working in a male-dominated parliament.
- Ask women MPs whether they foresee the number of women increasing

in parliamentary seats in the coming election.

NEWSROOM TRAINING



Lowani Mtonga, Former GL Training Coordinator during one of the training sessions. Photo: Trevor Davies

The newsroom training was conducted at Yarona FM, The Echo, Botswana Radio 2 and Botswana Press Agency (BOPA), which enabled more attend journalists to training, unlike a workshop out of the newsroom to which media houses are limited to sending one representative. This report presents a summary of views and ideas collated from all media houses. This report is a consolidated account of all media houses because of the smaller number of

newsrooms.

Discussion

Journalists said it looked certain that not many women would be elected to parliament in the 2009 elections because very few women managed to go through the primary elections. Hence, they said women's representation would be worse than the previous elections. They noted that although there are more women than men, women rarely vote for fellow women. A lot of women register to vote, but this was not being translated into more women's representation. Even political parties are not supportive of women. They also blamed women's organisations and other NGOs who they said often only speak about women's issues during workshops. Moreover, women who are elected into office do not raise women's issues

However, they wondered whether media should be promoting women just because they are women. They said sometimes the sentiment among people in Botswana is that they do not want to vote for women just for the sake of it. They said the opposition in Botswana is weak, so there is no excitement among voters, including the youth, because they know that the ruling party will win. They said the challenge for the media was to cover the election from a gender angle so that women are given a voice. They cannot put women into office but they can at least cover women politicians. There are a lot of stories in which women feature but are not covered by the media.

They conceded that women politicians need more and fairer coverage because statistics attest that more men are covered than women. Facilitator Trevor Davies said media should ensure balanced coverage of elections so that the voice of women and their issues are captured. He said media should recognise that a number of factors prevent women from contesting in elections, such as lack of resources, violence, unfriendly electoral systems and a high moral standard imposed on them with the result that their private life is brought into the public domain.

Story ideas

Journalists discussed what story ideas they can cover during elections.

- Profiling of candidates (who the person is, what they stand for, etc.).
- Overseas students (how many have registered to vote).
- Data analysis of voters (how many women, men, look at statistics from previous election.
- · Profiling of women candidates.
- Review of electoral laws to ensure increased women representation.
- Feature women candidates on an entire page.
- Why are women slow to act, especially in politics?
- Can our country do better in politics?
- Public views on women politicians.
- Should there be equal representation of men and women in party, councils?
- Should government financially support women to run their campaign?
- A weekly 30-minute programme to discuss what stops young women from participating in politics. Why is politics not an important issue among young women?
- Profile both men and women candidates.
- Ask voters whether they are prepared to have a woman president.
- Cover rallies addressed by both women and men.
- Ask women why they don't vote for fellow women.

TRAINING FOR WOMEN POLITICIANS

A poor understanding of how the media works is one of the contributing factors for the lack of visibility of women in the media. The women in politics and the media workshop is an empowerment workshop which seeks to build the capacity of women politicians, teaching them important skills about how they can effectively deal with the media and build media relationships to their advantage.

Unlike in other SADC countries where participants to the workshop have been members of parliament, the women politicians in Botswana were from local and national government because there are very few women MPs. This workshop drew participants from councils that included men.

This section documents the proceedings over the two-day period. Media professionals from the University of Botswana and *The Voice* were invited to give tips to the councillors about how they can get the best out of the media. The workshop followed a Gender Links mainstreaming gender in local government training which took place from 9-12 February 2009.

Mock interviews

Facilitator Trevor Davies randomly asked the councillors questions about gender issues in their respective councils and the mock interview was videotaped and later played back for analysis.

Councillors should expect similar questions from the media which can ask hard questions at any time. The women were encouraged and told that the more they appear on camera or talk to the media, the more confident they will become. They were told to be more open and be prepared to answer questions.

It was noted that media thrives on controversy. It covers different views or ideas and can be boring if everyone speaks about the same things. Moreover, the media will not put everything on air, but put forward a few relevant points.

Councillors were told they should be using the media to disseminate the information on activities that their various councils were doing, both in the chamber and committees.

However, councillors complained that media do not cover their activities, including activities like development projects. They were advised that the solution was to write a press release on the event rather than to wait for the media to give them coverage.

Tips from editors

Eno Akpabio, lecturer from University of Botswana Department of Media Studies, along with the editor of *The Voice*, Pamela Dube, gave tips to the councillors on media coverage.

Below is the summary of their presentations:

- Know the reporters.
- Know the editors.
- Have a relationship with editors and reporters.
- Write a press release or statement to document your event or issues. Ensure all the details are included.
- Know when deadlines are and what they mean.
- Draw good stories to you because media focus on bad or negative news.
- Make sure you know your story and sell it with passion.
- Understand the media, who is the media? Know the categories: radio, television and newspapers.
- It's how you say it or how you don't say it that matters. Know how to package and present your news or information.
- Councillors should be comfortable with the media and project a good image on radio and television.
- Use the media at every opportunity.
- Make friends with the media. Mix with the media after a function.
- If you are fearful of the media, you will not get media coverage.
- Look for the media to interview you. This will influence the story and public opinion.
- Frame the story influence the story, know the people who are covering it.
- Push your own agenda. You can write your own opinion piece, talk about the good things you are doing, blow your own trumpet, tell them what you have done, the way

- you have changed people's lives.
- Be more proactive and not reactive, use every opportunity to sell yourself to the people what you have done, or will do, for them. This is what Obama was doing in USA.

Discussion

- Participants said the tips made a lot of difference and they will begin to utilise the knowledge gained. They learned that they can also write releases and send information and invites to the media rather than wait for the media to cover them. They noted that they were not pushing enough for media coverage.
- However, some participants, especially women, said the media was there to ridicule them; media was not gender-sensitive. They were scared of the media because they felt it is only there to expose skeletons in the closet. Others said they are hardly covered at all in the areas in which they work because they are far from media centres. They also conceded that women are not as good at using media compared to men.
- The media practitioners said the media quite often thrives on controversy, but if politicians are proactive they would reduce that controversy because they would have presented their side of the story before any damage was done. Nonetheless, they said media is not there for just controversial issues only, but also to cover development issues including in the areas of agriculture, education, mining, etc. However, media always looks to issues that will draw people in.
- Since the workshop coincided with the launch of the Botswana Association of Local Authorities (BALA) new logo, website and newsletter, the BALA chairperson encouraged councillors to visit the website and share ideas and experiences and to contribute articles to the newsletter. He hoped the workshop gave them inspiration to write.

Writing profiles

It was explained that as politicians they need to prepare their own profile which they should give to the media for publication so that the electorate knows who they are. Tips on how to write a profile were referred to in the *Women in politics and the media* manual.

Participants were given an assignment to write their own profiles. The profile was to include information on why they should be voted into office and was to be written from a gender angle. A good number managed to write profiles while some said they were unable to complete the task.



Botswana Association of Local Authorities (BALA) commissioners discussing their profiles. Photo: Gender Links

GENDER AND LEADERSHIP DEBATES

The SADC Heads of State signed the Protocol on Gender and Development on 17 August 2008 and committed themselves to achieving at least 50% representation of women in decision-making positions in the public and private sectors by 2015. Political will and party quota systems have been identified as some of the ways which will enable the region to achieve this target. The question that arises is: what makes a great leader, and where does gender feature in the checklist for good leadership?

A forum about what makes a good leader was also held on the GL website and it attracted views from various people in different countries. Also, at the end of each debate, participants were called to comment on the qualities of a good leader. Comments from the website and the sign-up sheets were consolidated and the information culminated in a "Gender Aware Leadership Checklist."

Though many people live in democratic countries and participate in regular, free elections, they often have little real choice or alternatives in elections. Money dominates the political process and public office is routinely abused for personal gains in many democracies.

Alongside movements for selfgovernance and democracy, there are also increasing examples of conflict and intercommunal violence brought on by identity politics¹.



BALA Commissioner Ludo Matshameko makes a point at a Gender Links Debate in Botswana. Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

The majority of average citizens would like to reverse these inequalities and injustices. The fact remains that if globalisation is allowed to proceed without stronger governance, there result will be greater inequities and insecurities, and poor people and countries will be pushed to the margins in this new world order. However, the disenfranchised are no longer willing to put up with such "business as usual" politics². In many places they are looking for a very different kind of politics and governance and have initiated ways to actually influence a very different kind of leadership. To this end, a discussion on transformative leadership and transformative politics is, thus, very timely at this critical moment in the history of Africa.

² Ibid.

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¹ Jahan, R. 2000. Tranformative Leadership in the 21st Century. Columbia University. Accessed on 6 May 2009 from http://www.capwip.org/resources/womparlconf2000/downloads/jahan1.doc

But what do we mean by "transformative leadership" and "transformative politics"? How do we recognise transformative leaders in society? What are the qualities of transformative leaders? Why and what role should women play in transforming politics and governance?

The 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development calls for 50% representation by women in all areas of decision-making by 2015 (Article 12.1). The Protocol also calls for measures to ensure that women can participate meaningfully in decision-making so that their presence becomes a driving force for gender equality in the region. As countries in Southern Africa prepare for elections, citizens are often left wondering if among the many candidates, there is at least one they can trust. It often appears there is a crisis of leadership.

Women who try to enter politics often face a hostile response, including from the media, as Hilary Clinton found during her recent campaign. With an average of 20% women in parliament and over 30% in South Africa and Mozambique, Southern Africa has made considerable strides with regard to increasing the numbers of women in political decision-making. But the debate is shifting from quantity to quality. What difference do these women make? Why is it that it is often women who are the forefront of defending patriarchal practices like polygamy? Do women represent other women? Should they?

Key questions

- How far is SADC in achieving the target of women's equal representation and participation in decision-making?
- To what extent is transformative leadership integral to this agenda?
- What is transformative leadership?
- How private should the lives of public officials be? At what point does the private become of legitimate concern to the public that they serve?
- Are women and men judged by the same standards? If not, why?
- Is there a contradiction between polygamy and progressive leadership? Why?
- Why are some women at the forefront of defending political patriarchy?
- How transformed are women leaders?

This debate, which tackled the topic: *Men have failed to show visionary leadership; it is now time for women to take over* was held in Botswana on 9 February 2009. It was moderated by Onalenna Selolwane, from the Department of Sociology at the University of Botswana. Panelists included Keneilwe Lekoba, University of Botswana; Ntombi Setshwaelo, Emang Basadi; Lawrence Ookeditse, University of Botswana; Michael Kitso Dingake, private law practitioner.

Summary of proceedings

The first speaker pointed out that the objectives of the first motion were as follows:

- To increase women's participation in all levels of decision-making.
- To table women's leadership qualities to justify why they should take over leadership.

She pointed out that there were a number of issues and questions that the discussion of this motion would generate. Some of the questions and issues included:

 What is transformative leadership or transformative politics and how will we recognise transformation leadership and leaders? In addition, the motion allowed

- participants to discuss the qualities of transformative politics and the current status of leadership in SADC, particularly in Botswana.
- Why do we need women's leadership? What roles can women play in transforming
 politics and governments? What roles can men and women play in bringing about
 visionary leadership? And lastly, what are the opportunities for transformative
 leadership.

Transformation implies a fundamental change. This includes changing the condition or changing the character, function or common elements of leadership. Hence transformative leadership is about bringing a vision and sense of purpose, and thus a transformative leader is a person who can guide, direct and influence others to bring about a fundamental change. The debate primarily focused on women leaders and how able they are to usher in fundamental changes. The speaker noted that some of the necessary qualities for this are vision, and commitment to the following:

- Equality, particularly gender equality
- Equity
- Empowerment with emphasis on women's empowerment
- Commitment to human rights
- Commitment to power-sharing

These qualities are grounded in the visions and practices of the women's movement and women's organisations. If a leader does not fit with this standard, he or she is not a transformative or visionary leader. The speaker went on to describe the state of leadership in SADC countries, pointing out that the region has, for a long time, had poor leadership and military-installed autocrats that have little respect for peace and human rights, let alone gender equality. These leaders are also often economically illiterate, which explains why countries like the DRC and Zimbabwe have been run into the ground despite their abundant natural resources. Yet these male leaders are always shifting the blame for their distress to Western leaders.

Drawing from the experience of Botswana, the speaker pointed out that the leadership in the country is male-dominated, for example there are 63 Members of Parliament (before 2009 elections) and out of these only seven are female. The 63 include the president and the speaker and therefore 11% of the members of parliament are women. There are 590 councillors and only 177 are female, translating to 30%. Such statistics beg the question whether this male-dominated leadership has a vision and commitment to gender equality, equity and empowerment.

Botswana has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. CEDAW is an important international legal document that goes beyond the formal principle of equality to include the principle of substantive equality which in turn explains the need for affirmative action. She went on to point out that the reason why Botswana has failed to sign the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development needs to be questioned. It implies that the leadership in Botswana is not committed to gender equality, equity and power sharing.

Why then do we need women in leadership? Women's leadership is significant because women use power as an instrument of liberation, inclusion and equality whereas men generally use the same power as a toll of domination and exclusion. Hence the region

needs more women to take up leadership positions.

Ookeditse disagreed. He noted that although it was a fact that women are still underrepresented in politics and decision-making it does not mean that because one is a woman it will change the way they lead or the decisions they make. Thus he underscored the importance of ensuring that both women and men grow together side by side. In addition, he noted that we may have men as presidents, but it is actually the first ladies who rule countries behind the scenes. If a man is a willing agent to what the woman wants them to do, then both are agents of destruction. Society as a whole becomes responsible, including women. As such, it is not possible for men to just step aside and allow women to enter politics. Rather we should have a situation where our daughters and sons can have a future together and build our country together.

The speaker also went on to say that male leaders have sometimes contributed to the destruction of economies, for instance the Zimbabwean president. However, he reiterated the importance of an inclusive structure where a person's merits matter more than their biological make up. In conclusion, he said that society as a whole has a responsibility over transformative leadership.

A female participant was of the view that in terms of capability and intellect men and women are not different. However, society has reached a point where women are evolving quicker than men due to various reasons that have actually put their character to the test, for instance, upholding families in the global crises and being care-givers to those affected and infected by HIV and AIDS. Such a scenario gives them the capacity to be good leaders. Further, women and men are engineered differently and women look at a situation in a more balanced way than men. Men show emotions to ridicule women yet when women use emotions, it is deemed unacceptable.

An unidentified participant from the floor said that there is a need to provide tools to analyse whether men have failed in the first place and, if they have, what has led to this failure. Gender is socially constructed and any one of us is not better that the other. As opposed to gender and not sex, we must therefore not use sex as the tool to provide visionary leadership. As a society we need to be introspective about which path to take. We should provide a platform under which we all prosper. We have over the years had women taking leadership roles but what transformative politics have they brought to society? We have not seen any transformation. What needs to be done is to change institutions of governance because replacing men with women will not bring any difference.

A female participant was of the view that women are visionary leaders because of the many leadership qualities they exhibit. However, a male participant had this to say about women: "[they] bring other women down. This points to the fact that women actually need partners in the form of man to calm them down and possibly accept each other."

CHAPTER THREE: GENDER AUDIT OF THE ELECTIONS

Voters



Presiding officer checks party observers credentials at a polling station. Photo: Levi Kabwato

The 2009 general election produced the highest overall voter turnout ever recorded in Botswana. According to supplied figures by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) at least 544 031 valid votes were cast for parliamentary candidates in the general election, a substantial 23% increase over the previous record set 2004. This figure represents 76.71% of the 725 817 registered voters in the country of 1.9 million inhabitants.

Table one: Women and men voters in Botswana

2004 Elections				2009 Elections			
Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women
311 265	239 148	550 413	57%	404 283	321 534	725 817	56%

Source: IEC, 2008 and 2009

Table one illustrates that in the 2009 general election, 725 817 voters registered to vote. Out of this, 404 283 registered voters were women. Whilst the number of actual women voters could not be obtained, it is estimated that the majority of those who cast their votes were women. This premise is based on the fact that more than half of the registered voters were women.

Quotas

The constitution of Botswana makes no provision for quotas to ensure women's representation in publicly-elected bodies at any level. In the absence of legal measures to ensure better representation of women in elective bodies it is the voluntary quotas imposed by parties that provide the best prospect for gains to be made.

Some parties, such as the Botswana National Front (BNF) and Botswana Congress Party (BCP) have a voluntary quota of 30% women's representation in their constitution and election manifesto. The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) does not have a quota to increase women's representation, but women are encouraged to contest for office in the party's structures, parliament and in local government.

Gender and political parties

Table two: Representation of women and men in top leadership positions in political parties

PARTY	HEA	D	TREASURER		SECRE GENEI		FOUR TOP POSI		FIFTH TOP POSI		SIXTH TOP POSIT	
	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F
Ruling BDP	x		Х		х		Х			Х	Х	
Main opposition BNF	Х			х	Х		х		х		х	

Source BDP website and BNF Office, June 2010

Table two illustrates that most key positions in Botswana's political parties are filled by men.

Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)

The BDP is Botswana's ruling party. It does not have a quota women, and is not supportive of affirmative action. The former chairperson of the BDP women's wing, Tebelelo Seretse, argues that quotas for women address the symptoms not the causes and therefore the party focuses on initiatives to support women's empowerment in increasing the gender representation of women in positions of power (Therisanyo, 2007b).



Supporters of BDP's Ian Khama at a campaign rally. Photo: Associated

Women in the BDP are Press encouraged to contest for offices of power in the party's structures, parliament and local government (Gender Links, 2009). The former chairperson of the BDP, Botlogile Tshireletso, has stated that the party is making measured progress as it moves forward with women empowerment initiatives. Women constituted 21% in the 2005-2007 central committees (Therisanyo, 2006).

She also emphasises that "gender equity should not be made an urban area talk shop, far removed from the realities facing women in rural areas...the spirit of self esteem should be inculcated in the girl chid as real empowerment is mental" (Therisanyo, 2007a). Seretse stresses that the BDP women's wing intends to "inculcate that women can do anything they aspire at a tender age and they should not let cultural stereotypes shackle them, so that they may replace those who will be retiring from politics" (Therisanyo, 2007a and Gender Links,

2009).

Although the party is not supportive of quotas, the BDP government can take credit for several actions undertaken for the empowerment of women at the national level. In 2004, the government spent P5 million on gender sensitisation workshops; P6 million on financial assistance to non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations and women's groups, and more than 90% of requests for gender training had been honoured (BDP, 2004). The former president of Botswana, Festus Mogae, showed his commitment to increasing women's representation by appointing three women to the four available seats (Therisanyo, 2007b and Gender Links, 2009).

Botswana National Front (BNF)

The BNF is the main opposition party in the country and has mainly done well in urban areas. Its constitution states that 30% of the members of the Central Committee shall be women, which is an important indicator of its commitment toward achieving gender equality in the party. However, the party has not always translated this commitment into fielding women candidates in safe seats. Currently, there is only one woman in the BNF's Executive Committee.

Botswana Congress Party (BCP)

The BCP is the second most popular opposition party after the BNF and is the fastest-growing opposition party in the country. It was formed as a faction from the BNF. On issues of gender equality, the BCP is committed to "the renaissance of women's roles in social, economic, cultural and political arenas through strengthening legal instruments to protect women by the abolition of customary and modern laws that discriminate against women" (BCP, 1999). According to the party's constitution, 30% of the governing body of the party, the Central Committee, shall be women. Like the BNF, the BCP has not yet put measures in place for achieving the stipulated 30%; but in the BCP's current Central Committee, 26% of members are women.

Women's wings

A critical review of the 2004 elections was undertaken by the Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics (BCWP) and the Women's NGO Coalition, which found that very few women hold positions in mainstream political structures. It appeared that even though women's wings were in place to facilitate the participation of women, they remained marginalised. They mainly served to facilitate for the party needs in the areas of fundraising, choir development and other campaigning activities.

To address these challenges, the BCWP was established with the aim to create a more conducive environment for women to be able to compete equally with their male counterparts (WNGOC/SARDC 2005). Considering the fact that very few women made it through primary elections in 2009, the women's wings still have much to do in order to support the participation and election of women in their political parties.

Table three: Gender in Political Party Manifestos for 2009 Elections

PARTY	QUOTAS	WOMEN SPECIFIC	GENDER MAINSTREAMED IN MANIFESTOS
		PROJECTS	
BDP	No	-	 The BDP makes mention of gender equity in its manifesto under the chapter: Achievements Since 2004. It states the following four achievements: Eliminated all forms of discrimination against women by amending laws such as the marital power in common-law marriages in order to achieve gender equity. Women have since been admitted into the ranks of the Botswana Defence Force. The BDP continues to promote the entry into high positions in the public and private sectors by women. Empowerment for the girl child through continued education and mentoring programmes has raised the girl child attendance in school and had a positive impact on reducing teenage pregnancy. In the section 'BDPs promises for 2009 and beyond', there is no mention of gender or women's empowerment.
BNF	Yes 30% women in the central committee	-	In its 2009 manifesto, the BNF states that equality is an expression of equal worth of all people and calls for equality between men and women. The BNF is opposed to an order whereby rights, obligations and tasks are allocated according to sex. The manifesto states that the BNF wishes to achieve gender equality and that men and women must have equal rights, obligations and opportunities. Furthermore, the belief is expressed that men should be equally involved in the care of children and the home, and that women should be free to participate in political and trade union activities and other national issues. The BNF promises to apply the principle of affirmative action to put women in positions of leadership and responsibility within the shortest time possible under the circumstances.
BCP/BAM	Yes		In the 2009 manifesto BCP/BAM promises under
	30% women		the section: 'Uplifting the disempowered' to:
	in the central committee		 Promote gender equality by strengthening legal instruments to protect women.

PARTY	QUOTAS	WOMEN SPECIFIC PROJECTS	GENDER MAINSTREAMED IN MANIFESTOS
			 Facilitate economic participation of women. Strengthen health services for women. Make education and training more accessible for women. Promote political participation of women. Work towards the establishment of an anti-sexist society.

Source: BDP, BNF and BCP/BAM Party Manifesto's 2009

Gender in electoral processes

Botswana is a multi-party democracy. Since independence, Botswana has been using the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system for both parliamentary and local government elections. The president is the head of state and is indirectly elected. The president of the party with a majority of elected members in parliament assumes the office. This system has ensured that the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) remained the ruling party since independence.

As has been observed elsewhere, FPTP does not allow for diverse representation of the population and therefore is problematic for any gender equality campaign. General elections in Botswana are held every five years with the members of parliament and councillors directly elected. Since independence, the elections have been freely and fairly contested. In fact, this is one key factor that has led to Botswana being described as the "shining example of democracy". (Gender Links, 2009)

As the opposition parties remain divided and unable to gain a majority, this is weakening the voice of the opposition, thereby Voting day in Gaborone. compromising democracy in the country. The weak opposition in Voice



the country is also due to party factionalism. Party factionalism is not a new phenomenon in Botswana. In 1966, the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP) split to form the BNF and the BNF itself has undergone factional guarrels resulting in the formation of at least seven different parties (Gender Links, 2009 and www.aceproject.org).

Candidates

The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and its main opposition, Botswana National Front (BNF), each fielded three female candidates for the 57 contested parliamentary constituencies. In most cases, women received nominations in regions where they had little chance of winning, gender activists argued, because they were up against seasoned male politicians with substantial financial backing.

The smaller political parties did not nominate any women to stand as candidates in the elections. This is a clear lack of commitment to gender equality on the part of political parties. This is exacerbated by the absence of a legislated quota at national level. The nomination of women as candidates is left to parties' "goodwill".

Botswana's President Khama has done little to enable women's participation in politics. He continues, for example, to postpone signing the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, adopted by the regional body in August 2008. While Khama and other politicians at various levels of government publicly support women's representation in parliament, their promises of greater gender equality in politics have so far been little but lip service.

COMMENT Khama will not Fool all Women all the Time Editorial, Botswana

Gazette, 6-12 May 2009.

Conduct of the poll

Organising elections in Botswana is the responsibility of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). The IEC was established in 1997 to manage the electoral process and to provide civic and voter education with the aim of increasing participation and voter turnout during elections. The IEC faces the great challenge of voter apathy among Batswana as it tries to increase participation in the electoral process. The IEC has identified cultural, historical, social and political problems as the causes of voter apathy. The IEC has noted that Botswana's youth have been identified as the most apathetic section of the society. In response to this finding and in advance of the 2009 elections, the IEC undertook various activities to educate and sensitise the electorate on the importance of voting focusing on different groups including youth, women and people living with disabilities.

Election outcomes

According to SADC the elections, won by the ruling BDP, were "credible, peaceful, free and fair." Only two women were elected directly into parliament. On 20 October 2009, President Khama was sworn in for a second term. He has specially appointed four more members of parliament including two women. This brings the total representation of women to four, compared to 58 men. On a more positive note, on 21 October 2009, Margaret Nasha was elected as the new Speaker of the National Assembly, becoming the first woman to assume this post in the country.

Women in parliament

Out of the six women who contested, only two women won seats in the 57 member national assembly. This represents 6.5% of all seats. Khama appointed an additional two women bringing the number to four (7.9%) out of 62. This is down from 11% prior to the elections.

In the 2004 elections four women out of 57 constituencies were elected and the President nominated three more women as specially elected members of parliament. It has been noted that the special nomination of women into parliament is not adequate since only women from the ruling party are elected, neglecting women from the opposition parties (Madisa, 1999).

Women in cabinet

Women's representation in cabinet has grown, but not fast enough. Cabinet is the one sphere of decision-making in which it is theoretically relatively easy to "ring up the changes" since leaders have the leeway to appoint their inner team. The average representation of women in cabinet in the region has increased from 12% in 1997 to 21.4% in August 2009 (a 9.4% increase). Some heads of state have shown a willingness to use cabinet appointments for bringing women into leadership, especially in smaller countries. There have, for example, been marked increases in the representation of women in the cabinets of Namibia, Lesotho and Botswana, even though these do not translate into large numbers in absolute terms, given the small size of the cabinets. However, the fact that women's representation in cabinet is still lower than parliament or local government is a source of concern.

The President chooses his cabinet from parliament. In this case he assigned all four women cabinet portfolios. The low representation of women in parliament also translates to underrepresentation in cabinet. Two were chosen to head the ministries of education and skills development, and presidential affairs and public administration. Assistant ministers are Dorcas Makgato-Malesu and Bothhogile Tshirelesto in the ministries of Trade and Industry and Local Government respectively. Attorney General Athaliah Molokomme is also a woman and an exofficio member of cabinet, as is Permanent Secretary to the President Eric Molale.

Botswana recorded a first when Margaret Nasha became the first woman speaker of parliament. Nasha believes her elevation should lay the foundation on which the country can build, allowing more women to assume leadership positions in society. "I feel elated, honoured and humbled to be the first woman to assume the position of speaker of the national assembly," she said. "This shows that people have confidence that I can lead the House." She urged women, the electorate and political parties to work together to ensure the gains made by Botswana in the field of women's representation in politics and gender equality is not reversed.

Table four: Women in parliament and cabinet

Year	Women MPs	Total MPS	% women MPs	Female Ministers	Total no of ministers	% Women ministers
1989	3	44	7	3	20	15
1994	4	44	9	3	20	15
1999	8	44	18	6	22	27
2004	4	57	7	4	20	20
2009	4	58	6.8	2	20	10

Source: BIDPA (2008) and Gender Links (2009)

After the 2009 elections, the number of women in parliament and cabinet has decreased. This was expected due to projections especially as the number of women who were elected during the primary elections had also decreased. For the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), three women out of the 66 that contested the primary elections won as parliamentary candidates. In the case of the opposition Botswana Congress Party (BCP) four women had been nominated as parliamentary candidates. No special measures were put into place to secure more female representation. A motion in parliament was proposed to increase the number of

specially-elected members of parliament from four to eight in an attempt to enhance representation in parliament, but this motion was rejected.

Table five: Regional ranking of women parliamentarians

Country	% Women in lower or single
	house
South Africa	44.5%
Angola	37.3%
Mozambique	34.8%
Tanzania	30.4%
Namibia	24.0%
Lesotho	25%
Seychelles	23.5%
Malawi	20.5%
Mauritius	18%
Zimbabwe	16%
Zambia	15.2%
Swaziland	13.8%
Botswana	7.9%
DRC	8.4%
Madagascar	

Source: www.ipu.org

Table five illustrates that Botswana is currently second from last in the region after DRC, which has 8.4% women in parliament.

Local government

Figure three: Proportion of women in local government

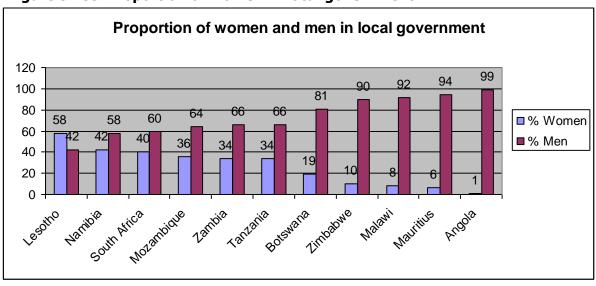


Figure three illustrates that local government scores higher than national but with wider variations: At 19%, the average representation of women at the local level is higher than at national level. However, the range, from 1.2% in the case of Angola to 58% in the case of Lesotho is higher. Six countries (Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia) have achieved 30% or higher with regard to women in local government.

Women in councils

Table six: Women in local government councils in Botswana

COUNCIL	Men	Women	TOTAL	%Women
Gaborone	24	11	35	31%
Francistown	19	3	22	14%
Selibe-Phikwe	12	4	16	25%
Jwaneng	6	3	9	33%
Lobatse	7	6	13	46%
Sowa	5	2	8	25%
North West	44	4	48	8%
North East	17	6	23	26%
South East	18	7	25	28%
Southern	51	15	64	23%
Kgatleng	24	2	26	8%
Kweneng	67	15	82	18%
Central	148	26	174	15%
Gantsi	18	6	24	25%
Kgalagadi	20	6	26	23%
Chobe	8	1	9	11%
TOTAL	488	117	604	19%

Source: BALA 2009

After the 2009 elections, 114 specially nominated councillors were approved, of which 53 were women. This means that from the 117 women councillors, 53 were specially nominated and 64 were directly elected. Currently, Botswana has two female mayors, in the Gaborone City Council (Councillor Veronica Lesole of Tsogang Ward) and Lobatse City Council. South East district has the only female chairperson of a council in the country and North East district the only female deputy chairperson. Councillor Lesole is the first BDP Mayor after years of dominance by the BNF party. Lesole says her appointment was not because the BDP wanted to increase the numbers of women in leadership but because of the leadership qualities that she exhibits (*Mmegi Online*, 20 November 2009).

Reflections on the outcome of the elections

Women in Botswana politics have never done well in national elections and 2009 was the same. The only difference is that some councils were able to elect women as mayors. These are the Lobatse Town Council, South East District Council, and Gaborone City Council. This is a development not witnessed in previous elections.

An interview with Botswana Democratic Party Councilor Malebogo Kruger, the deputy Mayor of Lobatse revealed that women lose primary elections because of lack of financial resources. Kruger says for those women who are married or have partners they are not allowed to go campaigning house to house, especially at night.

Councilor Kruger says *Bulela Ditswe,* as it is called in Setswana, is one system which contributes to the low proportions of women in political decision-making. Under the system, both men and women are expected to recruit voters in order for them to win in the ward and candidates have to pay for registration. If the majority of candidates do not have money to register, they are expected to pay for this from their own pocket. Some voters will even demand transportation money in order to register.

Councilor Kruger says most women who campaign are not working and rely on their husband's for financial support. She notes that this is another problem because men traditionally control the family purse. Another major problem is that most political parties do not support women through leadership empowerment workshops. Kruger says there are no visible quotas from parties around how 50% or even 30% can be achieved.

Political parties are not doing enough to sensitise both men and women to ensure that in constituencies where they are contesting, women are elected. There is also need for wider advocacy campaigns around the importance of equal representation of men and women in politics.

Another observation is that women do not use the media to profile themselves, their activities or campaigns, during the election period.

Gender Links Gender and Local Government workshops through the *At the Coal Face* study have made an impact around the importance of having women in council and Parliament. The *At the Coal Face* DVD made an impact as councilors were able to appreciate the problems faced by Botswana political parties in fielding women at council and Parliament. This DVD is also effective in sharing the successes of countries like South Africa, which is edging closer to the 50% target, and Rwanda, which has achieved the highest level of women representation in Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR: GENDER, MEDIA AND ELECTIONS



Botswana held its general election on 16 October 2009. GEMSA and Gender Links organised media workshops and conducted a series of newsroom trainings prior to the elections. These workshops were conducted with a view to raise media awareness about key gender issues in the general election and empower journalists with the skills to mainstream gender in election coverage.

The training aimed to inform journalists and give them a different perspective on gender awareness during elections. The media, as a conduit of information, needs to be seen to be giving equal voice to both men and women. This is a fundamental democratic right of all citizens. The training gave a platform to women politicians and the media to discuss the gendered nature of politics in an open manner.

Media monitoring is a useful tool to assess whether gender reporting skills are internalised and used by media houses. The elections in Botswana provided an opportunity to assess whether the voices of women and men are captured by journalists as accurately and fairly as possible. This report is based on two months of media monitoring conducted in Botswana prior to, and during, the October 2009 elections.

Ten media houses, including radio, and print media, were monitored in Botswana before, during and after the elections: *The Botswana Gazette, Guardian, Mmegi Weekly, Monitor, The Echo, The Voice, Daily News, Midweek Sun, Mmegi Daily*, and Radio Botswana 1.

Key findings from the media monitoring in Botswana

The key findings in the Botswana media monitoring of gender include:

- 484 stories were monitored as elections stories in Botswana in 2009.
- Women's were accessed as sources only 14% of the time.
- Women were grossly underrepresented in the political arena: women's sources as political party supporters, party representatives and citizens ranged from 2-38%.
- *The Botswana Gazette* had the highest number of election stories monitored at 123 stories.
- The ruling party had the highest number of stories, covered 49 times in the monitoring period.
- Men speak more as representatives for political parties.
- The Echo had the highest number of women sources in print media, at 39%.
- *The Botswana Gazette* had 91% male sources and the lowest number of women sources in print media.
- RB1 radio had 23% women sources, the highest for radio.

Numbers of stories

A total of 495 stories were monitored including print and broadcast media and covering both private and state-run media houses.

Table eight: News items monitored in Botswana

Media house	Number of news items
The Botswana Gazette	123
Guardian	78
Mmegi weekly	66
Monitor	41
The Echo	38
The Voice	36
Daily News	30
Midweek sun	30
Mmegi Daily	30
Radio Botswana 1 (RB1)	12
TOTAL	495

The *Botswana Gazette* had the most stories monitored: 123 items. RB1 had the least coverage of election stories with only 12 election stories during the monitoring period. This minimal coverage is a concern considering that radio is the most accessible medium in most remote communities.

News sources

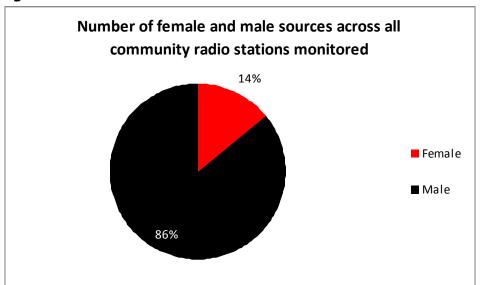


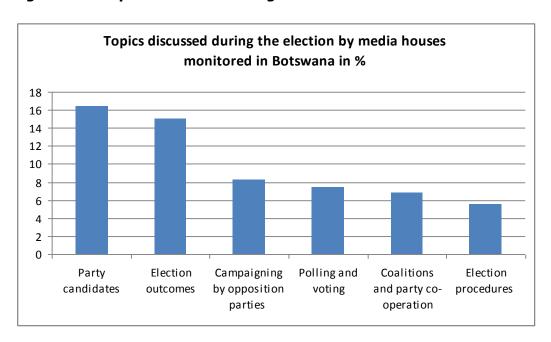
Figure four: Women and men sources in Botswana

The coverage of the 2009 elections in Botswana shows that men's voices predominate. Women's voices account for only 14% of sources in media coverage in the 2009 Botswana elections.

Such a huge disparity in sources shows there has been no deliberate effort on the part of the media to seek the views of both women and men. It is also a sign of the ongoing perpetuation of gender stereotypes, in that journalists continue to solicit mostly male voices for news stories.

Topics and issues

Figure five: Topics discussed during elections

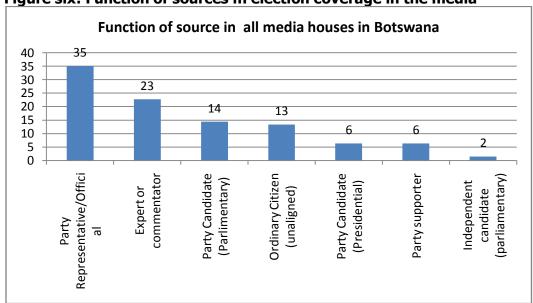


The topics and issues covered were generally around party candidates, elections outcomes, and very minimal coverage of the electoral procedures. However, this coverage was also biased towards the ruling BDP. Opposition parties did not get as much coverage.

One of the articles published in *Mmegi* on 18 August 2009 under the headline "Specially elected MPs a threat to democracy – Moatlhodi" had the potential to be a gender-aware story. The story included only men's voices and all their comments were negative. No women politicians were interviewed.

Function of sources





The majority of sources (35%) were party officials. This was followed by experts or commentators at 23%. Ordinary citizens accounted for 13% of all sources. The over-reliance on official sources such as party officials and experts meant the views and voices of ordinary people were largely absent from election coverage.

The Monitor illustrated the most balanced spectrum of sources in terms of function, 26% were party candidates; 24% party officials and ordinary citizens. *Mmegi Daily* and *Daily News* had no ordinary citizens in their coverage.

Elections should primarily be about the electorate and its expectations and assessment of the potential leadership in the country. Women's voices, which constitute more than 50% of the electorate, were largely ignored in election coverage. At the same time, even regular male citizens were mostly absent from media coverage.

This finding points to the prevailing journalistic problem of event-driven coverage as opposed to issue-based coverage. Official voices and experts are providing commentary on election processes and political analyses. However, these topics are not what are important to the electorate.

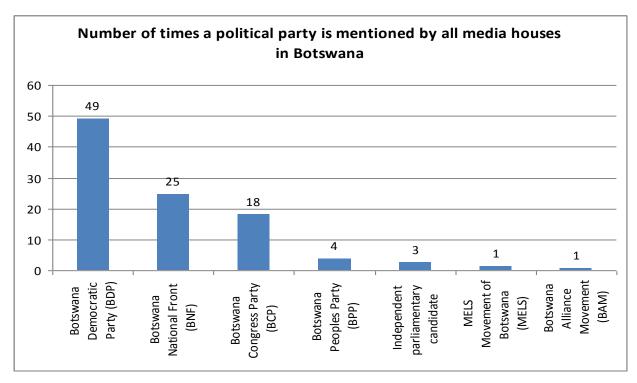


In this above article entitled 'BDP not committed to Education" which appeared in *The Botswana Gazette,* the writer only quotes men, all officials. No students or parents were interviewed, yet this is an issue that impacts on them directly.

Political parties

The BDP ruling party in Botswana received more media coverage than all other parties contesting the elections.

Figure seven: Coverage of political parties by the media



The ruling party had the most number of mentions in the media at 49, followed by the Botswana National Front (25 mentions) and the Botswana Congress Party with 18 mentions.

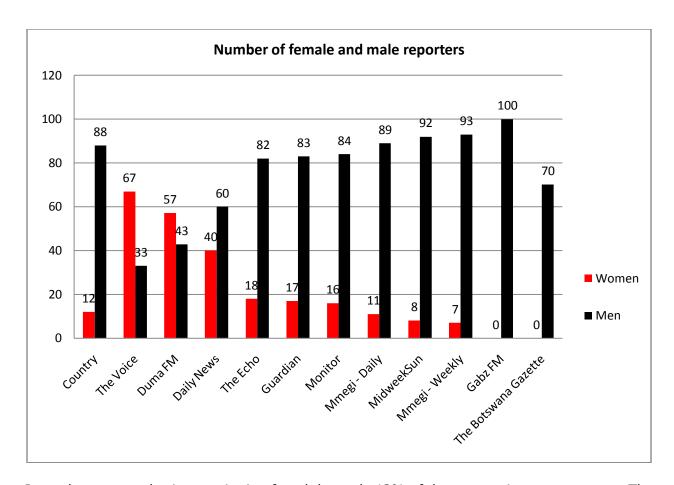
Other political parties, such as the Botswana Peoples Party, Movement of Botswana and the Botswana Alliance Movement, were mentioned less than five times in the media monitored.

If a party is not covered due to lack of media interest, ultimately the voice of that party and its mandate will not be heard or known by voters.

Number of female and male reporters across media

The 2009 *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Botswana* study found that women constitute 46% of the total number of employees in media houses. The Botswana *Gender and Media Progress Study* found that women constitute 24% of those reporting.

Figure eight: Female and male reporters in Botswana election coverage



In stark contrast, election monitoring found that only 12% of those reporting were women. *The Voice* and Duma FM had more female reporters with 67% and 57% respectively, while the *Daily News* had 40% women reporters. All other media in the sample had less than 20% women reporters.

The gender imbalance is partly a reflection of inadequate numbers of female reporters in newsrooms. However, it is also a reflection of the editors' preference to assign male reporters to cover political stories rather than women, who area assigned to what are considered "soft" beats.

Gender blind and gender aware media coverage

Monitors collected several examples of gender aware and gender blind articles during the monitoring period. The articles illustrate how gender is mainstreamed in reporting; others how the media perpetuates negative gender stereotypes or ignores gender altogether.



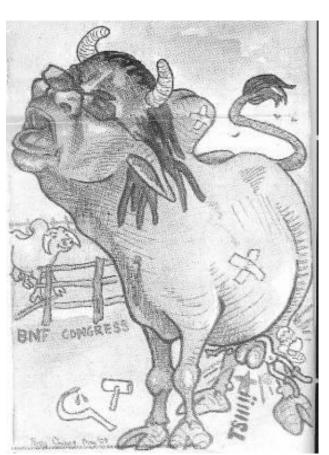
In the article entitled 'What voters want" published in *Mmegi* on 16 October 2009, five women and five men were interviewed across all ages in different socio-economic levels. The story was genderbalanced. The journalist provided the reader with a diversity of views and voices.

On 18 September 2009, an article appeared in *Mmegi*: "Women: Pawn in Khama's political grand plan?" The article stated how women had always been undermined as leaders and were expected to stay in the kitchen and the home. It explored the fact that major tasks in the home are always done by men. This article also mentions that women in Botswana are encouraged to enter politics because of a Western influence.

Kgomotso Motsumi stood for the Gaborone central constituency and is alleged to have been pushed into the position by the President. In fact, she was called a pawn by other women candidates who condemned her run for office as a way for Khama to use women to make gains.

The article perpetuates several negative stereotypes about women and where they belong. Stereotypes include the notion that women belong in the kitchen and the idea that any woman who is advancing her political career is in that position because of a man.





These kinds of negative stereotypes have a long history in Botswana. In 2007, Kathleen Letshabo stood as president of the Botswana National Front. Letshabo was defeated by Otsweletse Moupo for the presidency of the party position. Letshabo was depicted as a castrated bull in a cartoon in *The Monitor* newspaper.

Gender and Media Southern Africa-Botswana and Botswana Media Women's Association took a complaint about the cartoon to the Press Council of Botswana Media Complaints Committee on the grounds that it was offensive and gender insensitive. On 30 July 2007 the committee ruled that the cartoon was not gender insensitive.

In contesting for the position of presidency of the party, Letshabo acted legitimately and within her rights as a member of the BNF and the cartoon discussion with GEMSA-Botswana revealed the fact that women aspiring for political leadership receive more negative coverage than their male counterparts.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



Whilst the proportion of women in parliament has gone backwards there have been qualitative gains on other fronts. Margaret Nasha was elected the first ever woman speaker of the national assembly. This is a sign that things are beginning to change in Botswana. It is hoped that this will go a long way toward ensuring that women's voices are heard and that they also count.

The workshops which were conducted with women politicians and the media raised issues of gender awareness in both groups and provided the space for honest discussion of issues that affect them. The women politicians felt that they had gained from workshops in terms of media skills and ways they can utilise the media to their advantage.

They found tips from the media very useful and participants noted in their evaluation that they will start utilising the knowledge gained. The possibility of holding workshops in different parts of the country should be explored.

It is, however, evident that Botswana will not be able to meet the 50% target of women in decision-making by 2015 agreed to by the SADC heads of states and governments in August 2008. The situation in Botswana calls for a more concerted effort on the part of civil society to push for the signing of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

The SADC Protocol has provisions for the media as well which would go a long way toward correcting the gender biases that abound in the media. Women in politics are frequently belittled and trivialised, as reflected in the media coverage during elections. The media needs to level the playing field in order to have the voices of women and men portrayed equally. Female candidates received less coverage compared to male candidates in the country.

Annex A: Gender, media and elections workshop programme

TIME	ITEM	SPEAKER / FACILITATOR
08.30-09.00	Registration	Keabonye Ntsabane, Lowani Mtonga
09.00-09.30	Welcome and introductions	Keabonye Ntsabane
	Official Opening	Barulaganyi Machacha, Independent
		Electoral Commission, Elections Chief
		Administrator
	Workshop objectives and	Lowani Mtonga
	expectations	
09.30-10.30	At the Coalface Video	Trevor Davies
10.30-11.00	Tea	
11.00-12.00	Ringing up the changes presentation	Trevor Davies
	Gender issues in elections	Seamogano Mosanako, University of
	Gender and the media: Key	Botswana
12.00-13.00	Exercise	Trevor Davies
13.00-14.00	Lunch	
14.00-15.30	Group work on strategies and	Trevor Davies
	story ideas	
15.30-16.00	Tea	
16.00-17.00	Report back evaluation	Trevor Davies
17.00	Closure	

Annex B: Women in Politics and the Media workshop programme

TIME	ITEM	SPEAKER / FACILITATOR
14:00-14:15	Registration	Lowani Mtonga
14: 15-14:30	Welcome Remarks, Introductions	Keabonye Ntsabane
14:30-15:30	Council Meeting Raising Gender Issues	Trevor Davies, GL
	Mock interviews	Trevor Davies, GL
15:30-16:00	TEA	
16:00-17:00	Writing profiles – exercises	Trevor Davies
	Writing your own profile at home	
FRIDAY, 13 FEBRU		
09:00-10:30	Review and tightening up profiles	Trevor Davies
10:30-11:00	TEA	
11:00-12:00	Tips for getting media coverage	Panel of editors:
		Botswana Television
		Mmegi
		Radio Botswana
		 Information Services
12:00-12:45	Engaging with the media	Malebogo Kruger; GEMSA;
12:45-13:00	Evaluation and closure	Facilitators
13:00-14:00	LUNCH	

Annex C: List of participants for gender, media and elections

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Annex D: Newsroom training on gender, media and elections

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Annex E: Summary of evaluations - Gender, media and elections

	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	VERY POOR
1. PROGRAMME DESIGN	13	17	1		
2. PROGRAMME CONTENT	9	13	2	1	
3. DOCUMENTATION	11	13			
4. FACILITATION	7	15	2		
5. GROUP WORK	6	10	72		
6. OUTPUTS	4	13	51		
7. OUTCOMES AND FOLLOW UP	9	9	5		
PLANS					
8. LEARNING OPPORTUNITY	13	8	3		
9.NETWORKING OPPORTUNITY	7	12	2		
10. ADMINISTRATIVE	2	8	9	1	

COMMENTS

1. Which session did you find most useful? Why?

- DVD on "At the Coal Face": SADC Forum learnt how different SADC countries handle politics.
- The content of the programme.
- Group discussion on quotas. A lot more information was shared.
- Story ideas: Gave us an idea of what areas to look into while reporting, such as profiling candidates.
- The whole programme, the interaction and comments were informative.
- All sessions were wonderful. Monasanako was also interesting. I love the fact that Trevor got us thinking about new story ideas. I want to see them done.
- The discussion very insightful.
- About women competing in politics
- The video (2) because it showed the truth of the story and saw a clear picture of women and politics.
- Group session on braining storming story ideas.
- All informative.
- Gender blind.
- Group work because we shared ideas.

2. Which session did you find least useful? Why?

- They were all good.
- All were interesting.
- Everything could have been good if it was organised and planned well.
- Facilitation. Group exercise not clearly explained.
- Nothing
- Group work because it was a little bit tricky.

3. How will you apply what you have gained from this engagement?

- I will be writing more gender-sensitive stories.
- I will try and be more gender-sensitive and ask more guestions on this matter.
- Be gender-sensitive, look into prevailing issues of gender.
- Encouraging and empowering women to be involved.
- Not sure.
- Come up with stories that highlight women as good leaders.
- Angle stories to be gender sensitive.
- Encourage more women to be active in politics.
- Gender-based stories and recognising that leaving women's views and experiences means leaving out 50% population.
- I am going to encourage women to be more powerful in serious issues especially politics because they are too slow to act.
- Balancing stories to ensure that they are gender-aware.
- Empower women.
- Will contribute some stories so as to impart the knowledge.
- In writing my stories.
- Use what I have learnt into my stories.
- Become more gender sensitive when writing stories.
- By incorporating gender issues in all stories.
- Giving women enough coverage in the media.
- Rethink about a future in politics in Botswana.

4. Any other comments

- It was an excellent workshop. Next time make it two days.
- The venue and food were not good. There were a lot of interruptions and the food did not cater for vegetarians.
- It was quite a useful, resourceful workshop. I do hope you can do a follow up to find out if information disseminated is put to any use.
- The organisation of the training was poor. People did not attend.
- Wish there was more time and participants to make it more interesting and gain more views from others.
- The programme was informative
- Both women and men need to be continuously sensitised on gender issues.
- The best thing is we, as reporters, have to encourage women to join media.
- Find more time on this.

Annex F: Summary of evaluations - Women in politics

	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	VERY POOR
1. PROGRAMME DESIGN	7	6	1		
2. PROGRAMME CONTENT	4	8	1		
3. DOCUMENTATION	4	6	3		
4. FACILITATION	11	6	3		
5. GROUP WORK	4	7	1		
6. OUTPUTS	3	5	2		
7. OUTCOMES AND FOLLOW UP PLANS	4	5	2		
8. LEARNING OPPORTUNITY	5	8	2		
9. NETWORKING OPPORTUNITY	4	5	3		
10. ADMINISTRATIVE		11	2		
ARRANGEMENTS					

COMMENTS

1. Which session did you find most useful? Why?

- Interaction with media (3). It removed the stereotypes that it's a bad institution.
- Mock interviews.
- Tips on media coverage and how to deal with media because I have never dealt with them (did not trust them). Tips on how to deal with media.
- All sessions were useful (3)
- Programme content, very good.
- This was really beautiful.
- Tips are good for politicians to present themselves before the media.
- All of them because I thought I knew only to find that I don't know a lot of things.
- Media relations and profile writing gave me a breakthrough.

2. Which session did you find least useful? Why?

- The little film (video) you made on each of use. It taught us to see ourselves.
- All issues regarding gender equity because we tend to confuse it for women empowerment.

3. How will you apply what you have gained from this engagement?

- Be more proactive in disseminating information.
- I now have the basics on how to engage the media and that we should not fear the media. Be friendly to the media and it will be friendly to you. I will now package my story and sell it.
- I will make sure that I sensitize the electorate on gender issues. I will also ensure planning and budgets of local authority are gender mainstreamed.
- I will make use of the knowledge gained.
- Use all the information gathered here.
- I will disseminate this information to all councillors in my council so that they also inform their electorate.

- Improve on pro active reporting to media and creating rapport with media.
- Through workshops and presentation as well as in my daily life.
- Engage councillors as BALA to write articles for newsletter.
- Inform others in management meeting to get in touch with media directly without expecting them to come by chance.
- I have some very important stories which I will write about.
- Establishing a good working relationship with media. Trying to be smart all times.

4. Any other comments

- The workshop was an eye-opener. More workshops of this nature should be held especially in the districts where information will empower our women in politics.
- Please keep up the good work and visit all councils to teach more about your work.
- Problem is that we do not read newspapers.
- Do it more often.
- Should hold another workshop as a follow up to find out what has been achieved and the way forward.
- My belief is that gender should be clearly be defined and taught to our nation.
- My authority area is disadvantaged in that it is out of the road, without media facilities and very little going on to attract media.
- Should address all councils as they have done today.
- Media session was very interesting and educated me to understand about the do's and don'ts of the media. Will also try my best to use the tips for my political career.
- I have gained a lot of ideas of how to talk to media and how to present myself in the media. Now I understand that media are not animals, we can work with them.
- Workshop was of very high standard and very informative.