The Situation Regarding Gender in Southern Africa and Best Practices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Edited by Anicia Peters

SADC women's representation in politics: 30% beyond 2005?

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

The Situation Regarding Gender in Southern Africa
and
Best Practices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

A REGIONAL WORKSHOP REPORT

Edited by

Anicia Peters

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List of abbreviations

AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome
BCWP	Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics (Botswana)
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
GDP	gross domestic product
GEMSA	Gender and Media Southern Africa
GL	Gender Links
GMBS	Gender and Media Baseline Study
GMMP	Gender and Media Monitoring Project
GSC	Gender Sectoral Committee (Namibia)
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
IAJ	Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (South Africa)
IT	information technology
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre (Namibia)
MIJ	Malawi Institute of Journalism (Malawi)
MMPN	Media Monitoring Project Namibia (Namibia)
MP	Member of Parliament
MWACW	Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare (Namibia)
NDP2	Second National Development Plan (Namibia)
NGM	national gender machinery
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NGP	National Gender Policy (Namibia)
PON	Polytechnic of Namibia (Namibia)
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAMTRAN	Southern African Media Trainers Network
SNC	SADC National Committee
WID	Women in Development
YLTP	Youth Leadership Training Programme (Tanzania)
ZAMCOM	Zambian Institute of Mass Communications (Zambia)
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

Acknowledgements

This publication constitutes a report on the Southern Africa Regional Workshop on the Situation of Gender and Best Practices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) which took place from 12–14 July 2004 at the Heja Lodge in Windhoek, Namibia. The workshop was organised by the FES's Namibia Office in collaboration with the FES's Gender Team of the Africa Department in Bonn, Germany.

This workshop would not have been possible without the personal commitment of Mr Jürgen Peters, Resident Representative of FES Namibia; Mr Peter Schellschmidt, Director of the FES Media Project in Southern Africa; Ms Anicia Peters, Gender Coordinator of FES Namibia; and Dr Ludgera Klemp and Ms Evelyn Ehrlinspiel, both of the FES's Gender Team in Bonn.

The workshop came about partly as a result of a Gender Working Week held from 12 to 16 February 2001 in Kampala, Uganda, from which the publication referred to as *The Toolbook* was produced as guideline for gender integration in the FES's day-to-day work.

We are grateful to the various presenters from the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare (Namibia); the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Secretariat's Gender Unit; the SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus; the University of Namibia's Gender Training and Research Unit; the Media Institute for Southern Africa: Regional; and the Polytechnic of Namibia's Department of Media Studies. Their presentations were an invaluable source of information and contributed towards the success of our workshop.

We also wish to acknowledge and thank all the colleagues from the various FES offices for their "Best Practice" presentations and their attendance.

Foreword

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) views gender as a cross-cutting issue to be integrated and mainstreamed into all our activities. Although the pace of integrating gender into all our activities has been quite slow to date, it is nevertheless improving. The Namibian situation has proved challenging in this regard, as women and men still experience numerous difficulties. Thus, we still find it important to have supplementary women's empowerment programmes, as the diverse population presents many dimensions to the gender dynamics.

The FES's experience shows that it is still a daunting task to mainstream gender into all its activities, and transform existing women's empowerment programmes into gender-integrated approaches. It cannot be done in an isolated fashion at national level, but needs to be set into a regional context.

Scientific publications and discussions on gender usually focus on the developed countries. Thus, discrepancies between the scientific approach and the layperson's discussions on the matter at rural level are ignored – as is the case in Namibia. Although a vibrant discussion on gender does exist in the southern African region, it is largely limited to the urban elite and does not incorporate the rural situation, which is still mainly steered by conservative traditions. This is more or less the case in all the countries in southern Africa; thus, strategies have to be developed to overcome the gap between urban discussions and rural realities.

In 1997, Heads of State and Government in Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries showed their commitment to the quest for gender equality in their countries by signing the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, which aims to reach the target of a minimum 30% representation by women in politics and decision-making positions by 2005. This commitment needs to be fulfilled by all stakeholders: not only in the respective SADC member states, but also in the southern African region as whole.

At a time when the SADC region has vigorously been pursuing the attainment of this target, the FES – as a stakeholder – saw an opportunity to actively assist the region in its task. Thus, now and beyond 2005, projects should be conceptualised and implemented for improving the effectiveness of women's participation: and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung can play a leading role in such efforts.

Windhoek, July 2004   Jürgen Peters
                                                             Resident Representative

Executive summary

Introduction

The Southern Africa Regional Workshop on the Situation of Gender and Best Practices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was held at the Heja Lodge near Windhoek, Namibia, from 12–14 July 2004.

The workshop was organised against the background that SADC member countries had signed the organisation's Declaration on Gender and Development in 1997. In the Declaration, SADC countries undertook to ensure the minimum representation by women in political and decision-making structures reached 30% by 2005. Before or during 2005, a number of these countries will have elections. Furthermore, all SADC countries are mandated to establish national gender machineries within their respective countries. The task of the workshop, therefore, was to determine whether SADC countries would achieve the minimum target set for women; whether such machineries had been established or not; and if so, how functional they were.

In general, gender work poses many challenges in the countries concerned. Insofar as each state has its own unique problems, they share many factors such as multi-ethnicity, multiculturalism and their political history. Moreover, all SADC member states have ratified, acceded to, signed and adopted a number of international, regional, subregional and national gender equality instruments and policies. These instruments weave a common thread among SADC countries and serve as important frameworks for them in their quest to achieve gender equality.

There is also the need for FES offices in the SADC region to share information, as a number of commonalities exist in our gender work with respect to parliamentary cooperation (by way of the SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus), gender/women's ministries (by way of the SADC gender machinery, and national gender policies and plans), trade unions, and civil society activities. However, because FES officers often do not participate in the regional activities offered by these bodies, the lack of an information exchange about other countries' work in these fields often makes it difficult to share experiences, streamline initiatives, or initiate similar or new activities. The FES felt that an exchange of experience and best-practice activities, as well as providing general feedback on the situation in the respective countries, could only serve to enhance and streamline our work.

The workshop was also intended to serve as follow-up to the FES Gender Working Week organised around the theme "Gender integration in the fields of activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung", which was held on 12–16 February 2001 in Kampala, Uganda.

The Namibian workshop was divided into two parts:

- The first day, 12 July 2004, was devoted to the various countries updating the workshop on their progress towards achieving the minimum target of 30% women's representation in political and decision-making positions. Various presenters, including Members of Parliament (MPs), representatives from civil society organisations and tertiary education institutions attended the workshop on this day.
- The second and third days, 13–14 July 2004, were devoted to FES officers' sharing examples of their best practices with each other.

Objectives

- To obtain an overview from the SADC Gender Unit on member countries' progress towards achieving gender equality and the status of their work at SADC level, as well as

on progress towards and strategies for achieving the 30%-minimum target for women's representation in politics and decision-making structures as per the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development.
- For FES officers to share their experiences in terms of gender activities at their respective offices, and present selected activities as best-practice case studies
- For FES officers to share information on how best to link and coordinate their activities with those of SADC bodies, national governments and civil society, and
- To publish the outcome of the workshop as a reference for best practices.

Summary of workshop addresses

The first day of the workshop was divided into four key sessions, as follows:
- Overview of the status of the various SADC countries in respect to the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development
- Namibia as a case study
- Gender and the media, and
- The role of the FES.

The presenters were requested to have a regional focus, and to refer to each country represented at the workshop. These presentations appear under the section entitled "Workshop addresses" in this report.
    Discussions took place after each presentation. However, due to time constraints, there was no official summary of the recommendations made to the FES. In this Executive Summary, therefore, in a section entitled "Workshop deliberations" below, an attempt has been made to consolidate the major issues raised during the discussions.

Introduction

In his official introduction to the workshop, Mr Jürgen Peters, Resident Representative of FES Namibia, sketched the background against which the workshop had been organised, and acted as moderator for the first day.

Welcoming address

In her address, Hon. Angelika Muharukua, Deputy Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, elaborated on the various constraints women faced on their journey through childhood, adolescence, motherhood and their careers. She appealed for more training programmes for target groups such as men, local communities, and those in decision-making positions, that would raise awareness about gender equality. She requested that this type of training should form part of general training programmes. She also touched on the exclusion of certain classes of workers from the scope of application of legal instruments, and mentioned some of the reasons for the spread of the HIV/AIDS[1] pandemic. She examined government's role in bringing women up to the same levels with their male counterparts, and listed a number of policies and pieces of draft and existing legislation that strove to correct gender imbalances.

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[1] human immunodeficiency virus / acquired immune deficiency syndrome

Overview on gender and development in SADC

Ms Christine Warioba is the Programme Officer for Gender at the SADC Secretariat's Gender Unit. She provided a brief background on SADC, its main objectives, and its recent restructuring. She noted that all SADC member states had ratified, acceded to, signed and adopted a number of international, regional, subregional and national gender equality instruments and policies. She highlighted that the translation of these commitments into policy development, institutional structures, programming and implementation had taken effect in the signing of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development by SADC Heads of State and Government on 8 September 1997 in Blantyre, Malawi. In September 1998 in Grand Baie, Mauritius, this Declaration was elaborated on by the signing of the SADC Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children. Her presentation also detailed the commitments contained in the Declaration and its Addendum. Furthermore, she examined the four components of the policy and institutional framework for gender mainstreaming in SADC and touched on the successive restructuring of SADC agencies. In addition, she explained the objectives and the mandate of the SADC Secretariat's Gender Unit.

Ms Warioba examined the roles and mandates of SADC National Committees on national level and the main objectives of the Plan of Action for Gender in SADC. She also discussed the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), the priority areas it identified, and the broad strategies devised for its implementation. She went on to examine the various countries' national commitments to SADC policy, as well as their progress on national gender machineries.

Ms Warioba listed the strategies implemented in the various countries to achieve the 30%-minimum target, and concluded by saying that South Africa – where women had 32.75% representation in Parliament, 43% at Cabinet level, and 47% at Deputy Minister level – was the only country to have exceeded the target. Mozambique surpassed the target at parliamentary level, while Namibia and Tanzania surpassed it at Local Authority/Council level.

SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus

Hon. Teopolina Ndeapo Mushelenga, Vice-Chairperson of the SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus, gave a brief background on the formation of the Caucus. She highlighted the essential elements of democracy within the SADC region, and indicated some of the factors that affected women's participation in politics in general and decision-making in particular. She also gave an overview of achievements and setbacks since the signing of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development.

In another section of her presentation she elaborated on the types of electoral systems, as well as voluntary and constitutional quotas in place in the various countries. She also took the opportunity to commend the SADC Parliamentary Forum on amending its Constitution to ensure the representation by women was 50%, i.e. equal to that by men.

As regards the Caucus, Hon. Mushelenga detailed its objectives, work, achievements and challenges. She called on bodies that coordinated women's activities to be strengthened and networked, and for women to seek opportunities to get involved in national discussions to point out women's dimensions.

As Chairperson of the Namibia Elected Women's Forum as well, Hon. Mushelenga also listed the objectives that were pursued by the latter Forum.

Namibia's gender-mainstreaming efforts as a case study

Ms Eunice Iipinge, Coordinator of the University of Namibia's Gender Training and Research Unit, focussed on Namibia's efforts in the quest for gender equality that had been made since Independence in 1990. She examined the status of the national gender machinery, as well as the strategies employed to implement gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, she explored the implementation of mainstreaming, evaluation, and monitoring mechanisms.

Results of the Gender and Media Baseline Study

Ms Jennifer Mufune is the Executive for Gender and Chapter Support for the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) Regional. She spoke about the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS), a joint effort between Gender Links and MISA, as being the most comprehensive regional effort ever to be undertaken to establish how women and men are represented and portrayed in the media, in what areas, and by whom. She gave an overview of what was covered, and which countries the study had targeted. She outlined the study's main objectives and findings, pointing out that quantitative data from news coverage were analysed and evaluated from a gender perspective. Ms Mufune summarised the study's key findings, follow-up activities, key players and outputs.

Gender mainstreaming in the media: Pilot project

Ms Pauliina Shilongo is a Lecturer at the Polytechnic of Namibia's Department of Media Technology. She presented an overview of the conceptual framework of a pilot project to mainstream gender into media studies during the first year of a three-year course. She examined the types of informal and formal education for media practitioners, the constraints and achievements of gender mainstreaming in media houses, and the recommendations that had emanated from the pilot project.

Workshop deliberations

It was noted that FES Namibia was very involved in capacity-building for elected women, but that a need existed for grooming and mentorship before women candidates were elected, i.e. when they made themselves available for election at grass-roots level.

The concern was expressed that, although the mandate of gender/women's ministries had broadened, budgets remained limited – causing implementation of the mandate to suffer. It was suggested that such ministries review their mandate: their focus was too broad, making resource allocations inadequate. Another proposal was for Permanent Secretaries' job descriptions to include reporting on gender mainstreaming within their ministries.

Another point raised was that the national reports submitted by gender/women's ministries to the SADC Gender Unit did not include stakeholders' input, as the style of reporting was on the indicators set. However, the SADC Gender Unit had intended that ministries sourced information proactively and then presented an overall plan inclusive of all stakeholders' work. To achieve this, round-table meetings on national reports could be held, since the reporting process was meant to be consultative.

It was also noted that, although SADC updated its statistics on women in political positions annually, the Secretariat often did not receive the relevant information from the respective countries.

Participants expressed concern that there was a lack of gender expertise in the various SADC countries, ascribing this to the difficulty of obtaining an education or training in, or knowledge of, gender issues. Furthermore, gender experts were expected to participate in various fields without the necessary training in such fields. In this regard it was pointed out that gender expertise could be acquired through in-service and other dedicated training, as well as through consistent capacity development in ministries and civil organisations.

The importance of familiarising oneself with how political parties functioned in terms of their structures, policies and plans, and with how nominations to specific organs were made to advance women on political party lists, was stressed. It was crucial for women to be part of section leaderships, for example, since both men and women in political parties appointed candidates. If women were absent from party structures, they could not be placed on party lists.

The question was raised as to why women parliamentarians did not contribute to debates as frequently as men. The response was that the public should not look at the quantity but at the quality of women's performance in Parliament. Women often performed invisible work in Parliament, such as committee tasks, running workshops, presenting and attending training, and making presentations, but what the public actually saw was parliamentary debates. Furthermore, although women parliamentarians called on the media to make what they were doing more visible, the media only tended to arrive if a Minister was attending the function as well.

A further request was that women not be subjected to entry requirements in respect of politics because it would mean the majority would be marginalised even further. In fact, women were expected to do more even if they were less experienced than men, leading to the observation that politics did not require "a kind of graduate school". It was felt that women's contributions should rather be seen in the context of needing time to develop research skills, adapt to their environment, and familiarise themselves with debating points, etc. Women were to be recognised for having the political will – which also encouraged them to carry on. Indeed, women in politics were often seen as agents of change in Parliament, in that they established a new political culture and transformed Parliaments into being more accountable; they also caused the content of debates to be more inclusive of the gender perspective. However, time was needed to appreciate the effects of such changes.

Participants noted that although women networked across party lines to raise awareness on women's advancement needs, they were elected through the party ticket; thus, the respective parties' rules need to be respected and women needed to be able to use their own party structures. A concern was raised that women did not tackle issues assertively or involve themselves in issues such as conflict resolution, and that women needed to be more opportunistic about their involvement in such issues. The workshop felt that women were needed in strategic positions to tackle issues more vigorously, because even one woman's voice at regional level could make a difference.

It was also noted that many media editors explained their lack of coverage of women's events because they were allegedly catering for what their readers wanted; however, due to a lack of resources, they were unable to determine what it was that their readers actually wanted. Even where such research has been undertaken, however, it was usually kept with the marketing department and did not reach the editor's desk. Against this background the FES was currently supporting research being conducted into readerships and viewerships as part of the GMBS.

Participants questioned how the media could be motivated into covering more gender issues. It was noted that the media played a crucial role in changing attitudes and habits, etc., and were vital for the whole gender sensitisation process. However, the media should not only be invited to cover an event: they also have to be invited to participate in it by being taken through the whole process. For example, a list of journalists with specific interests should be drawn up before an event, and they should be invited to actively participate in it. Contact should also be maintained with the journalists after the event.

Summary of best-practice presentations

The second and third days of the workshop focussed on the FES's work in the respective participating countries. Project Officers were requested to select and present only one activity as a best practice. All presentations gave an overview of the respective countries' backgrounds, and of the progress made concerning women's participation in political and decision-making structures.

Angola

The Angola office gave an overview of FES activities with a gender focus. Most activities centred on building capacity amongst women in political parties, Parliament, and trade unions.

Botswana

The Botswana office presented leadership development training workshops for women political candidates as their best practice. The programme focussed on teaching women candidates campaign management skills from the perspective of their respective political parties.

Mozambique

Mozambique's best practice was their creation of the Women's Labour Caucus. This Caucus formed part of the General Labour Caucus, and united the women's committees of two trade union federations. The Caucus also has a seat on the Tripartite Labour Commission.

Namibia

As their best practice, Namibia described a series of workshops that had been run for various local communities on gender and women's participation in politics and decision-making. These workshops brought together women and men as well as community leaders and elected representatives. The activities aimed at gender-sensitising local communities in order to re-evaluate negative cultural perceptions and norms, encourage women to stand as candidates, encourage men to support women, and explore what roles the sexes played in politics and decision-making.

South Africa

South Africa selected *trade unions* and *gender* as its topics. The enhancement of gender mainstreaming in trade unions, in particular, remained a challenge as most of them revolved around male-dominated arenas such as mining and the motor industry.

Tanzania

Tanzania presented its Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP), which is driven with the cooperation of the University of Dar es Salaam, as its best practice. The programme is designed

for politically active young people, and aims at contributing to development in Tanzania through empowering the youth to take over leading roles in good governance and in the democratisation process. The programme incorporated the theme of "Gender and development".

Zambia

Zambia presented their programme on gender training for young politicians as a best practice. The programme is executed in collaboration with the Anti-voter-apathy Project and Young Politicians for Change, and aims to empower the youth with the skills they need to enhance their participation in politics. A strong focus was placed on the gender component of the project.

Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe office presented an overview of their gender-mainstreaming efforts in the context of trade unions, democracy/politics, and economics.

FES Media Project in Southern Africa

The FES Media Project in Southern Africa presented the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Project conducted in collaboration with the Polytechnic of Namibia's Department of Media Technology as its best practice. The project seeks to mainstream gender into the journalism course offered by the Polytechnic. The students also produce a newsletter entitled *Echoes*, in which gender-sensitive stories are covered.

Conclusion

The workshop concluded with recommendations put forward by the participating FES offices. The recommendations were forwarded to the Headquarters Gender Team for action.

Workshop addresses

Welcoming address
Honourable Angelika Muharukua, Deputy Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, Namibia

Speakers during the first session of the Workshop, from left: **Hon. Teopolina Mushelenga**, Vice-Chairperson: SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus; **Hon. Angelika Muharukua**, Deputy Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, Namibia; **Mr. Jürgen Peters**, Resident Representative, FES Namibia; **Ms Eunice Iipinge**, Coordinator: Gender Training and Research Centre, University of Namibia; **Ms Christine Warioba**, Programme Officer: Gender, Gender Unit, SADC Secretariat

Director of Ceremonies
Mr Jürgen Peters, Resident Representative, FES Namibia, and FES Officers
Hon. Teopolina Mushelenga
      Vice-Chairperson of the Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus, and
      Chairperson of Namibia Parliamentary Women's Caucus and Namibia Elected Women's
      Forum
Honourable Members of Parliament
Ms Christine Warioba of the SADC Gender Unit
Ms Eunice Iipinge of the University of Namibia's Gender Training and Research Unit
Ms Jennifer Mufune of MISA/Gender Links
Members of the media
Ladies and gentlemen:

It is really both a privilege and a delight to have this opportunity of being here at the Southern African Regional Workshop on the Situation of Gender and to have the opportunity of spending a few moments with you this morning, while trying to share some information that would no doubt be useful in our work.

     I am confident that you will all participate in the information-sharing so that you will eventually come up with tangible recommendations that can be adopted as possible solutions to the problems faced by our women in particular.

     It is a well-known fact that women in most parts of the world face a multitude of injustices, disparities and discrimination, unlike their male counterparts. Women workers, for example, face many barriers on their way to equal participation and leadership because entry to that world is based on credentials – which many women have never obtained.

As children, they suffer discrimination within their own family, which is followed by a lack of opportunity in education and training. As young women, they suffer the consequences of their lower levels of literacy, education, legal understanding, confidence and awareness by finding only poorly paid jobs that require a low level of skill. As young mothers, they put up with their lack of financial autonomy and free time to honour their family commitments. Constrained by their reproductive role, when they return to part-time employment after a period of motherhood, they frequently experience what is known as *downward occupational mobility*, and get stuck in lower-grade positions.

Director of Ceremonies:

When we come up with programmes aimed at raising awareness on gender equality, it is imperative that we take cognisance of directing these programmes at men: most of them have misunderstood the concept of *equality*, either intentionally or through ignorance. The idea of the male breadwinner and the female homemaker is still dominant in many societies – and southern Africa is no exception.

In some countries that have seen a rise of religious fundamentalism, and in others that are experiencing a state of transition, there is evidence of the reinforcement of these traditional attitudes. A prerequisite, therefore, is to raise awareness and to sensitise communities, so that those in decision-making positions in national and local-level government, among employers, in workers' organisations and in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have the appropriate mindsets and technical capacity to understand and deal with the issues raised above. Indeed, such gender awareness should be introduced as part of general training programmes.

The programmes should also be aimed at women themselves, especially poor and uneducated women who have been so socialised or bound by a "culture of poverty" that their attitude is one of dependence – rather than of being proactive in order to mobilise themselves for change and progress. In addition, since socialisation begins at home, sensitisation efforts should also target family members and local communities.

For reasons related to their weak socio-economic positions, women rely on the law and its enforcement. Many countries have sought, through constitutional and other legal instruments including labour codes, to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex or to proclaim equality between women and men as a fundamental human right. However, certain classes of workers, such as domestic workers, agricultural workers and those engaged in small enterprises or family undertakings, are often excluded from the scope of application, and women predominate in these categories.

We should fight for gender equality: for equality between men and women in all areas of life. *Equality* means an end to domination, and building mutual respect and self-respect.

Today, the inequalities in the socio-economic set-up have created further negative consequences when it comes to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which is taking its toll on our nation's productive and reproductive women and men. The disease is preventable, but some cultural beliefs and traditional norms encourage its spread. Women are generally less well-informed than men: the majority of women live in remote rural settings and in poor living conditions where they are less likely to get adequate information about how to protect themselves from unsafe sex, and how to empower themselves to say "No" to sex. Moreover, men continue to have an upper hand on matters of sexual relations.

The Namibian government attaches great importance to gender issues, with the aim that women can operate on par with their male counterparts. To illustrate this, the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare was created, with one of its core functions being the mainstreaming of gender into all government and private institutions. To correct all the imbalances between men and women, the Ministry has put in place certain policies and bills, as illustrated by the following:

- National Gender Policy and the National Gender Plan of Action
- National Gender-mainstreaming Programme
- Married Persons Equality Act, 1996 (No. 1 of 1996)
- Combating of Rape Act, 2000 (No. 8 of 2000)

- Combating of Domestic Violence Act, 2003 (No. 4 of 2003), and
- Child Status Bill: Currently referred to Committee Stage at the National Assembly.

These are just some of the Namibian Government's efforts to enable women to enjoy the benefits of the country they helped liberate.

Director of Ceremonies:

Allow me to thank the FES, the organisers of this workshop, for the job well done. I certainly hope this interaction will continue, and that you come up with recommendations that will eventually help us reach our target of 30% representation by women at the forthcoming parliamentary elections. For the visitors, I welcome you all, and at the same time I wish to invite you to take some time off from your busy schedules and explore the beauty of our country and its friendly people.

I thank you.

Ms Eunice Iipinge (left), Coordinator: Gender Training and Research Programme: University of Namibia, in conversation with **Hon. Angelika Muharukua**, Deputy Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, Namibia

Dr Helen Nkandi-Shiimi (left), President of Association for Local Authorities in Namibia (ALAN) and **Mr Adão Augusto**, FES Angola

Overview on gender and development in SADC
Christine Warioba, Programme Officer: Gender, Gender Unit, SADC Secretariat

Introduction

Background information on SADC

I will give a brief background of SADC so that all of us have the same understanding of the organisation before we go to the specific issues I have been requested to discuss.

In April 1980, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was established to, among other things, foster cooperation among its southern African member states, and accelerate support to countries that were still under apartheid rule. Once SADCC realised the organisation's main objectives had already almost been accomplished, they decided to strengthen their cooperation around economic development and transformed it into an economic community. On 17 August 1992, in Windhoek, Namibia, the SADCC Heads of State and Government signed a Declaration and Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SADC member states include Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, the Seychelles (until 30 June 2004), South Africa, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Individual member states and SADC as a region are expected to act according to the following principles:

- The sovereign equality of all member states
- Solidarity, peace and security
- Human rights, democracy and the rule of law
- Equity, balance and mutual benefit, and
- The peaceful settlement of disputes.

The following are SADC's main objectives:

- To achieve development and economic growth; alleviate poverty; enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of southern Africa; and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration
- To evolve common political values, systems and institutions
- To promote and defend peace and security
- To promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance and the interdependence of member states
- To achieve complementarities between national and regional strategies and programmes
- To promote and maximise the productive employment and utilisation of the SADC region's resources
- To achieve the sustainable utilisation of natural resources and the effective protection of the environment
- To strengthen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affirmatives and links among the people of the SADC region, and
- To work towards the prevention and eventual eradication of HIV/AIDS within the SADC region.

By 2001, there were 21 social and economic sectors being coordinated by SADC member states. A number of protocols to accelerate community-building initiatives have since been

developed, and are currently being implemented within the framework of the SADC Programme of Action.

The restructuring of SADC

In 2001, the Summit of Heads of State and Government made a decision to restructure SADC in order to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of its operations. This meant the following:

- SADC's operations were centralised. This entailed that the functions coordinated in member states through the Sector Coordinating Units were now relocated to the Secretariat.
- The 21 Secretariat sectors were clustered into 4 Directorates. These were the Directorates of Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment; of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources; of Social and Human Development and Special Programmes; and of Services and Infrastructure.
- A Department of Strategic Planning, Gender and Development and Policy Harmonisation was established. This Department coordinates and monitors programme implementation for the Department's various Directorates and Units, such as the Gender Unit.
- The decision-making structures of the then SADCC and, later, SADC consisted of the Summit of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers and the Standing Committee of Sectoral Ministers. One of the outcomes of the restructuring process has been the establishment of an Integrated Committee of Ministers, which replaces the Standing Committees of Sectoral Ministers.
- At national level, the establishment of SADC National Committees (SNCs) was finalised. SNCs consist of members from government, the private sector, NGOs and civil society. Ministries responsible for gender/women's affairs as well as gender/women's NGOs are members of SNCs.
- Gender mainstreaming became one of the core functions of each SADC Directorate and Unit.
- The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan was developed.

Commitments and performance of SADC member states in respect of gender equality

All SADC member states have ratified, acceded to, signed and adopted a number of international, regional, subregional and national gender equality instruments and policies. Among these instruments are the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; the Convention on Human Rights; the Beijing Platform for Action; and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. Translation of these commitments into policy development, institutional structures, programming and implementation is provided in more detail below.

At the subregional level

Policy commitments

SADC Declaration on Gender and Development

SADC Heads of State and Government signed the Declaration on Gender and Development on 8 September 1997, in Blantyre, Malawi. Article H of the Declaration commits the Heads of State and Government and their respective countries to the following, amongst other things:

- Placing gender firmly on the agenda of the SADC Programme of Action and the Community-building Initiative
- Ensuring the equal representation of women and men in decision-making for member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of the minimum target of 30% of representation by women in political and other decision-making structures
- Promoting women's full access to and control over productive resources such as land, livestock, markets, credit, modern technology, formal employment and a good quality of life, in order to reduce the level of poverty among women
- Repealing and reforming all laws, amending constitutions and changing social practices which still subject women to discrimination, and enacting empowering mechanisms
- Enhancing access to quality education by women and men, and removing gender stereotyping in the curriculum, career choices and professions
- Making quality reproductive and other health services more accessible to women and men
- Protecting and promoting the human rights of women and children
- Recognising, protecting and promoting the reproductive and sexual rights of women and the girl child
- Taking urgent measures to prevent and deal with the increasing levels of violence, and
- Encouraging the mass media to disseminate information and materials in respect of the human rights of women and children.

SADC ADDENDUM ON THE PREVENTION AND ERADICATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In Grand Baie, Mauritius, in September 1998, Heads of State and Government signed the Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children. They resolved to adopt measures in the following areas that would contribute to preventing and eradicating violence against women and children:
- Legal
- Social, economic, cultural and political
- Services
- Education, training and awareness-building
- Integrated approaches
- Budgetary allocations, and
- Adoption policies, programmes and mechanisms to enhance the security and empowerment of women and children.

Institutional mechanisms

At its February 1997 meeting, the Council of Ministers approved the Policy and Institutional Framework for gender mainstreaming in SADC. This framework had four components:
- A Standing Committee of SADC Ministers Responsible for Gender/Women's Affairs
- A Regional Advisory Committee, responsible for advising the Standing Committee of Ministers and other SADC structures on gender issues
- Gender Focal Points in all SADC Sector Coordinating Units and Commissions, responsible for facilitating gender mainstreaming in the SADC Programme of Action, and
- A Gender Unit at the SADC Secretariat, with two senior officers responsible for facilitating coordination in implementing the Plan of Action for Gender in SADC.

The Standing Committee of SADC Ministers Responsible for Gender/Women's Affairs held its first meeting in August 1997. The meeting reviewed the draft Declaration on Gender and Development, which was signed in September 1997 by Heads of State and Government in Blantyre, Malawi. The Standing Committee met once a year thereafter, but were phased out in 2002 when SADC institutions were restructured. The Standing Committee's brief was to review progress made by member states and the southern African region as a whole in implementing the Plan for Gender in SADC, and to approve the plan of work for the following year.

The Regional Advisory Committee would meet before each Standing Committee meetings to prepare the agenda for the latter meetings. Senior officials then met to make final preparations, after which the Standing Committee meeting took place. The Regional Advisory Committee also served as a strategic body that provided technical advice to the Standing Committee.

Staff in the Gender Focal Points and the SADC Sector Coordinators in the then SADC Sector Coordinating Units were trained in gender analysis skills. These staff members were then responsible for raising awareness on gender issues in their respective sectors, and for ensuring gender issues were being addressed.

The overall objective and mandate of the Gender Unit is to facilitate, coordinate, monitor and evaluate implementation of the gender equality and equity objectives as stipulated in the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development; the Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children; and the regional and global gender equality and equity instruments to which SADC member states are party.

The Gender Unit is also mandated to facilitate awareness-raising and gender capacity development to enable the Secretariat staff to articulate gender issues in the respective policies, programmes, projects and activities they implement, so that they are able to address them. Furthermore, the Gender Unit has to monitor progress made by the Secretariat in addressing gender/women's concerns.

A third aspect of the Gender Unit's mandate is to facilitate, coordinate and monitor the progress made by member states in their implementation of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and the Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children, as well as other regional and global gender equality instruments to which member states are party.

The dissolved Standing Committee of SADC Ministers Responsible for Gender/Women's Affairs was replaced by the Integrated Committee of Ministers (ICM) and other similar committees. Sector Ministers will only be mandated to meet as part of the ICM as a subcommittee, and only when there is a critical sectoral issue which requires the expertise of the relevant sector to enable either a SADC position to be realised at global negotiations forums, or to facilitate informed decision-making processes by SADC decision-making structures. Therefore, in the event that the SADC Ministers responsible for gender/women's affairs need to deliberate on an issue, the ICM will be duly informed. The ICM will then mandate such Ministers to meet as an ICM subcommittee to deliberate on the issue. The subcommittee reports on the outcome to the ICM, after which the subcommittee is dissolved.

At a national level, SNCs have been established in all SADC member states. These Committees are an integral part of the overall SADC structure. Membership of these committees includes government, the private sector, NGOs and civil society. The ministries responsible for gender and women's/gender NGOs have been mandated to be members of the SNCs to ensure that gender issues are addressed in the functions and resolutions of the committees.

Plan of Action for Gender in SADC

The SADC Council of Ministers approved a Plan of Action for Gender in SADC in August 1999. Its main objective is to provide the tools for the achievement of gender equality through the

mainstreaming of gender into SADC policies, its Programme of Action, the community-building initiative, and the empowerment of women in the SADC region. Specific objectives include the following:

- To ensure the development of a policy and institutional framework for gender mainstreaming in the policies, programmes and activities of all SADC member states, in SADC structures, and in its Programme of Action
- To cultivate and promote a culture of equality between men and women in SADC, respect for the human rights of women, and the elimination of violence against women
- To facilitate the achievement of gender equality in access to economic structures and control of resources in the SADC region
- To promote equality between men and women in the sharing of power, and ensure the achievement of at least 30% female representation in decision-making structures by 2005
- To monitor and evaluate the implementation of the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and the Plan of Action for Gender in SADC, and
- To facilitate the promotion of peace and stability in the SADC region, and evaluate the impact of war and conflict on the social, economic and psychological development of women and children.

The Plan of Action for Gender in SADC has been reviewed to reflect the priorities identified in the RISDP.

Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan

Following the restructuring of SADC institutions, the Secretariat was mandated to facilitate the formulation of the RISDP. A team of experts in various fields, including that of gender, was constituted to facilitate the formulation of this plan. Among the objectives of the RISDP is to provide strategic direction on the key priority issues that SADC should be involved with within the next 15 years. The themes of gender and development together form one of the cross-cutting issues that are seen as a means and an end to contributing towards achieving poverty reduction, the prevention and eradication of HIV/AIDS, and regional integration.

The priority areas which the Gender and Development Section will focus on within the RISDP framework will be both the mainstreaming of gender into the functions of the Directorates and Units, and the women-specific empowerment issues, both at regional and national levels. The priority areas include the following:

- Mainstream gender in policies, programmes and functions at all levels
- Develop and implement a Regional Gender Policy
- Create awareness of women's human and legal rights
- Promote the reduction and eradication of violence against women and children
- Promote the achievement of equality and equity in access, ownership and control over productive resources, and
- Accelerate the achievement of equality between women and men in political and decision-making positions.

Implementation strategies

To implement the RISDP, the following broad strategies were identified:
- Building capacity and training
- Developing policy
- Lobbying and advocacy

- Networking, communicating and disseminating information
- Researching, and
- Monitoring and evaluating.

At national level

Policy commitments

As mentioned earlier, all SADC member states have ratified, acceded to, signed and adopted a number of international, regional, subregional and national gender equality instruments and policies. Among these instruments are the following:
- the Universal Declaration on Human Rights
- the Convention on Human Rights
- the Beijing Platform for Action
- the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
- the Rights of Women in Africa, and
- the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, and
- the Addendum on the Prevention of Violence against Women and Children.

With the exception of Angola, Mozambique, and Swaziland, all member states have national policies on gender equality. The three countries that do not are in different stages of consultation on developing such policies. All SADC member states have either reviewed some of their laws or enacted some of the laws that protect the rights of women.

Institutional mechanisms

All SADC member states have established institutional mechanisms for gender equality. **Botswana**, for example, has a Women's Affairs Department in its Ministry of Home Affairs and Culture. Gender Focal Points have also been established in the various ministries. **South Africa** has an Office on the Status of Women (OSW) in the Office of the President, as well as OSWs in the Provinces, Gender Focal Points in all Departments, a Gender Equality Commission, and a Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women. **Swaziland** has a Gender Unit in the Ministry of Home Affairs. It has also established Gender Focal Points in the other ministries. **Zambia** has a Gender in Development Division in the Office of the President.

The rest of the member states have fully fledged ministries responsible either for gender or for women's affairs, but these also administer matters relating to community development/services, children, family welfare, social action, and so forth. Most of these ministries have established Gender Focal Points as well, and some have structures at lower levels while others do not.

Plans/programmes on mainstreaming gender into social, economic and political development policies, plans, programmes at national level

All SADC member states have plans and programmes in place that mainstream gender into policies, programmes and projects. Awareness of gender issues in each sector of the economy is high. Universities and other academic and professional institutions as well as NGOs are increasingly developing training programmes to enhance gender competence development and training, while gender-sensitive research is also being undertaken. Most ministries/departments

have programmes on gender awareness-raising, gender competence and skills development, or mainstreaming gender in planning and budgeting processes.

However, when the ministries of gender or women's affairs are required to submit national reports on the implementation of the Gender Policy, or report on progress in respect of the implementation of gender equality objectives in their countries, most countries' reports limit their scope to the activities that such ministries implement. The reports tend to exclude the substantial work and experience of other stakeholders in the field of mainstreaming gender and women's empowerment activities.

Brief status report on national gender machineries

In June 2003, the SADC Gender Unit commissioned a study to assess the capacity needs of national machineries for gender equality in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Malawi and Swaziland were excluded because they had already conducted a similar study in 2001/2002. The 2003 study findings are summarised in the next section.

Findings of the 2003 study

Achievements

- All member states have continued to strengthen their national machineries for gender equality. These structures take different forms: some are fully fledged ministries that are also mandated to coordinate other issues such as child welfare, community development/services, family welfare, the youth, employment creation and recreation – to mention but a few. In some countries the structures reside in the Office of the President, while in others they constitute departments or units within ministries. In an effort to realise gender mainstreaming in all divisions of public, private and civil society organisations, governments have facilitated the establishment of gender focal points/units across their offices, ministries, and agencies. In some member states, independent gender equality commissions, women's councils, and parliamentary committees on women have been established.

- A few member states define the mandate, role and responsibilities of gender structures clearly to include facilitation, coordination and monitoring of gender-related issues, namely –
    - to facilitate the exchange and sharing not only of experience amongst stakeholders, but also of their information and best practices
    - to facilitate the development of stakeholders' gender competency, and so to influence gender mainstreaming in policies, programmes and projects
    - to monitor progress made by all stakeholders in meeting targets on gender equality and equity, and
    - to lobby for increased measures to address gender equality agendas.

- Most countries have national gender policies that guide the implementation of the gender equality agenda. A few countries are in the process of finalising their national gender policies.

- A few member states lack national constitutions, clauses in their constitutions, or explicit gender equality or equal opportunity laws that make it mandatory for either the public sector, the private sector, civil society or political organs to address gender equality in all their policies, programmes/projects and activities, as well as within their structures. In some cases, the constitutions and statutory laws also embrace customary laws. However, some customary laws discriminate against women and girls. Under these circumstances, constitutions cannot guarantee the implementation of initiatives to address equality between women and men, and girls and boys.

- All member states are currently implementing programmes, projects and other initiatives that address gender issues. These include –
  - mainstreaming gender in macroeconomic policy frameworks (such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper) and in sector policies
  - reviewing national constitutions and some laws
  - promulgation of new laws to address equality between women and men in a number of areas
  - running training and capacity development programmes that facilitate gender mainstreaming, and
  - running programmes and projects targeted at empowering women, mainly in the areas of economic and political development.

  Some member states are currently undertaking national planning and budgeting processes using gender-perspective approaches (e.g. Gender Budgeting Initiatives/Women Budgeting Initiatives).

- Sex-disaggregated data in a few sectors of the economy are now available, e.g. social and demographic data in the ministries/departments of education and health, and in national statistical bureaus. However, the data do not necessary inform the causes and reasons behind the available figures, (that is there is a gap on qualitative information).

In most member states, national gender structures collaborate with women's/gender NGOs. In some cases, however, the national gender machineries and these NGOs seem to be duplicating efforts and competing for the same limited resources

Challenges

AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

- Limited human, technical and financial resources exist to enable the implementation of the roles, responsibilities assigned to the national gender structures.

- Most member states' national constitutions do not explicitly mention equality between women and men. Some constitutions and laws also accommodate customary law, which in most cases has elements that discriminate against women and girls. Furthermore, most member states do not have explicit gender equality laws or equal opportunity laws that would facilitate reinforcing the implementation of gender policies by all stakeholders at national and local levels.

- Most national gender structures face limits in respect of human capacity. In most cases, experts assigned to work in these institutions are not necessarily equipped with the gender competence skills required to enable them to influence the gender mainstreaming of macroeconomic and sector policy frameworks. Moreover, national

gender structures experience high staff turnover rates in respect of experts with gender competence. Thus, it has been difficult to maintain and sustain such staff.

- The financial (budget-allocated), technical and material resources needed to enhance the implementation of the mandates, roles and responsibilities of national gender structures are limited.

- In most member states, the mandates of the gender structures are quite broad in relation to the resources allocated to fulfil their roles, responsibilities and functions. All the ministries call on most of the gender structures most of the time. They are involved in all advocacy and awareness-raising campaigns on almost all issues. They are also involved in implementing programmes and projects at community level.[1] Moreover, they are expected to coordinate and monitor implementation of the gender policy.

- Only very few sectors of the economy collect and make use of gender disaggregated statistical data. While it is appreciated that sex-disaggregated data are available at the national level, in some of the departments, ministries, and national statistical bureaus gender disaggregated information and data are largely neither collected nor utilised in the national and local government planning and budgetary allocation processes. As such, the disparities between women and men are continuously not addressed.

- There is limited linkage and coordination between gender structures on the one hand, and between national planning and budgetary allocation processes on the other. Closer integration is needed to influence gender-responsive planning and budgeting at national and local government levels.

- Limited coordination exists between national gender structures and women's/gender NGOs. In addition, there is duplication and competition for limited resources. If these resources were well coordinated, it would allow for positive achievements in respect of gender equality.

- The mechanisms used to assess the performance of staff members, units, departments and ministries do not include gender-equality outputs and outcomes as key performance indicators in terms of which individuals and organisations in the public sector, the private sector and civil society can be assessed.

Recommendations

- National gender machineries should be strengthened by allocating adequate resources to enable the roles and responsibilities assigned to such machineries to be effected.

- The mandates of national gender structures should be reviewed to enable them to –
  - focus on gender-sensitising macro and sector policies
  - identify gender experts outside the gender structures in the private and public sectors as well as amongst NGOs to support processes on gender mainstreaming within policy frameworks
  - enhance facilitation to ensure the Gender Policy is implemented among the public and private sectors and civil society
  - ensure that coordination and monitoring roles are implemented

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[1] In most cases, these projects are small-scale and have limited impact on the majority of women.

- ▪ develop and sustain gender competence to influence gender mainstreaming within policy frameworks
- ▪ enhance facilitation to ensure public, private and civil society organisations address gender equality issues
- ▪ strengthen monitoring and evaluation roles
- ▪ improve coordination to ensure linkage and collaboration between and among stakeholders on gender equality issues; facilitate better utilisation of resources and avoid duplication and competition over the limited resources
- ▪ establish and strengthen information and communication technology in respect of local and wide area networks (LANs and WANs) in national machineries to enable linkage and communication between these structures and their stakeholders (Gender Focal Points, SADC National Committees, NGOs, etc.) to facilitate communication as well as the collection, dissemination and sharing of information
- ▪ facilitate coordination and monitoring between gender structures and their stakeholders, across board within and outside the country, and
- ▪ improve monitoring and evaluation mechanisms
- ▪ enable processes in compiling national reports to be inclusive
- ▪ ensure that reports are comprehensive, reflecting what is happening in the public and private sectors and in civil society, and
- ▪ ensure regular reporting at national, subregional, regional and global levels.

- National gender machineries should ensure gender expertise and competence is available in the clusters of Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment; Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources; Social, Human Development and Special Programmes; and Services and Infrastructure. These experts should be readily available to participate in and provide technical input and support to the activities and programmes coordinated by the cluster subcommittees and SNCs.

- National gender structures should establish a strategic alliance with NGOs and public–private partnerships with a clear division of roles and responsibilities. Implementation roles such as the implementation of micro-credit activities and projects on training and capacity-building at community level can be carried out by the stakeholders. The national machineries can then sharpen their focus on facilitation, coordination, and monitoring what stakeholders are doing in terms of implementing the gender-mainstreaming and women's empowerment processes.

- All ministries and departments in the public sector, as well as structures in the private sector and in civil society should show where in their short-, medium- and long-term plans they address gender-equality issues.

The way forward

National machineries are expected to present and share information on the 2003 study report, particularly the findings, recommendations and proposals to the government and bilateral and multilateral organisations. By using the draft proposals, resources can be solicited or mobilised, and can thus contribute to capacity-building in these structures.

Status and strategies of achieving the 30% target as regards women's representation in political and decision-making positions

Strategies to achieve the 30% target

- Electoral system: Proportional representation
    - Party quotas: ANC parliamentary elections in South Africa, and the Frelimo parliamentary elections in Mozambique
    - Legislated quota: Local Authority elections in Namibia
    - Constitutional quota: the United Republic of Tanzania's parliamentary and Local Council elections
- Monitoring by way of a SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government, where the agenda is discussed among Heads of State and they can urge each other to address the issue
- Constitutional reviews in Swaziland and the United Republic of Tanzania
- Following the 2003 general elections in Swaziland, information campaigns brought about more women being represented in political structures. Moreover, the proposed constitutional reviews have enabled more women to be represented in Parliament and Cabinet.

In respect of the status of women in political and decision-making structures, only South Africa has surpassed the target of 30% at Parliament (32.75% women) and Cabinet (43% women) levels. Some 47% of Deputy Ministers are women. Mozambique has surpassed the target at parliamentary level only, while Namibia and Tanzania have surpassed the target at Local Authority/Council levels.

From left: **Ms Christine Warioba**, Programme Officer: Gender, Gender Unit, SADC Secretariat; **Hon. Lydia Katjita**, Member of Parliament, Namibia and **Ms Anicia Peters**, Gender Coordinator, FES Namibia

SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus
Honourable Teopolina Ndeapo Mushelenga
Vice-Chairperson, SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus

Esteemed Master of Ceremonies
Distinguished delegates
Ladies and gentlemen:

It is with a great sense of honour and gratitude that I accepted the invitation to be part of this historic gathering that, I am sure, will make a memorable impact on the advancement of the cause of women for equal representation.

Ladies and gentlemen:

Before I come to the topic I have to tackle, allow me to give a brief background against which the Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus was formed. It was constituted in April 2002 in Luanda, Angola, after consultative meetings in South Africa and Zambia, as an effort between SADC Parliamentary Forum, the SADC Secretariat's Gender Unit, and national Parliaments in the SADC region.

In the SADC region as a whole, there is still gender inequality in major spheres of participation in politics and decision-making. This inequality includes the low percentage of women in parliamentary seats – even though there has been welcome improvement in this area.

The promotion of democracy within the SADC region requires promoting women's full and equal participation in decision-making at all levels, and their inclusion in participatory development and more creative democratic processes.

Democracy, if it is to be participatory, demands that women take up positions in the decision-making structures so that policies are not made on behalf of those affected, but by them: that is, the women who constitute half of the population in all countries. The inclusion of women is an issue of fundamental human rights and social fairness.

Obviously, democracy cannot be said to have been achieved until women are represented in all areas of decision-making. The entry of a critical mass of women into leadership positions is crucial and needs to be supported by all sober-minded people.

The high rate of illiteracy among women, the uneven distribution of roles between men and women, the differentiation made between women and men in the area of training and occupation, and women's economic dependency on men are some of the factors that affect women's participation in politics in general, and in decision-making in particular.

Other factors are cultural perceptions, a lack of money, a lack of political commitment, and low awareness. In addition, there is little access to information and education, economic or financial problems abound, discrimination is evident in job appointments, there are very low levels of networking among women, and personal/family and social problems prevail.

Of late, however, progress has been made in allocating more parliamentary seats to women. This has taken place since the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development was signed, which has as its principal objective the achievement of a minimum of 30% representation for women in political and decision-making structures by 2005.

The Declaration was signed in Malawi on 8 September 1997, when Heads of State committed themselves to ensure gender equality in the SADC region. The campaign now waged by women for a minimum of 30% representation, therefore, is just a reminder to governments to honour their commitment.

Ever since the Declaration, the average level of women in Parliaments has increased somewhat from 17.9% to 19.7%, and in Cabinet from 12% to 16%. At the same time it is sad to note that some SADC countries are below 15%, with only one year remaining before the target date.

Nevertheless, SADC is ahead of the global average of 15.4% women in Parliament, being second only to the Nordic countries. Yet there are big differences amongst the various SADC member states. In Mauritius, for example, 6% of the parliamentarians are women; in Mozambique it is almost 30%; in South Africa, 32.8%; and in Namibia, 26%. Through lobbying and advocacy, these percentages have been climbing. In Botswana, women have 18% of the parliamentary seats, while Swaziland has 28%. Unfortunately, Swaziland will not be able to reach the 30% target set by the Heads of State and Government because its next election occurs after 2005. The same applies to Zambia: the 2001 elections yielded 12% women parliamentarians, but the next elections will only take place after the 2005 deadline.

Elections that were to take place in Angola in 2004 have been postponed indefinitely.

However, seven other SADC countries will have elections before the end of 2005. These countries are Botswana, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. In this context, we have to lobby and advocate vigorously for countries to meet the deadline. Meeting the deadline or not will show how serious government leaders are about their promises, and how much support these leaders receive from other stakeholders such as political party leaders. All leaders – including women – will then have to go back to the drawing board, find out more about the stumbling blocks, and devise more effective ways of achieving a fair representation.

The four SADC countries with the highest levels of women's representation, namely Mozambique, Namibia, the Seychelles and South Africa, all have a proportional representation system, and their ruling parties have adopted voluntary quotas of at least 30%.

What we have already seen is that it is difficult to achieve meaningful increases in women's representation in constituency-based electoral systems. This fact can, however, be countered with political will. Tanzania, for example, which has such an electoral system, has proved to be an exception to the rule. The proportion of women in decision-making is relatively high, being about 22.3%. This was achieved by way of a constitutional quota of 20% of parliamentary seats, distributed on a proportional representation basis, being reserved for women candidates. Moreover, Tanzanian women are free to stand for constituency elections.

In the final analysis, it should not matter whether countries have proportional representation or constituency systems: they should all adopt constitutional or legislated quotas for women in politics to give effect to the commitment they made in the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development.

As an important victory for women at regional level, the Constitution of the SADC Parliamentary Forum has been changed to ensure a 50% representation for women in this regional body. This laudable example is there for individual countries to follow.

Since there is much more to be done to ensure equal representation for women in politics, numbers alone are not enough if there is to be a guarantee that women decision-makers become effective vehicles of change.

In the light of its intention to bring about a minimum 30% representation for women in politics, the SADC Parliamentary Forum launched the Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus. The launch took place during the first session of the biannual Plenary Meeting of the Forum, held in Luanda on 11 April 2002.

Preparations for the formation of the Caucus date back to 1999 when the SADC Secretariat convened a meeting entitled "Women in Politics and Decision-making in SADC", where it was agreed that such a caucus should be formed.

The Caucus is the lobbying and advocacy body of the SADC Parliamentary Forum. Its establishment also aims at assisting women MPs strategise in respect of addressing women-specific issues in Parliament. It is a collaborative effort between the SADC Parliamentary Forum and SADC's Gender Unit, under its Regional Programme of Action on Women in Politics and Decision-making in SADC. The overall objective of this Caucus is to accelerate parliamentary transformation to achieve the full implementation of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. It is also in line with the following specific commitments made in the Declaration:

- To promote the equal representation of women and men in the decision-making in member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least 30% of women in political and decision-making structures by 2005, and
- To advocate and lobby for the repeal and reform of laws; for amendments to constitutions and changes to social practices which still subject women to discrimination; and for the enactment of gender-sensitive laws.

The Caucus further aims to –
- monitor and follow up the domestication and implementation of regional policies and declarations on the advancement of women and gender equality by SADC countries
- strengthen the capacity of national women's parliamentary caucuses through networking and support among women MPs on gender issues in SADC Parliaments
- encourage the participation and role of women MPs in electoral processes and in conflict prevention, resolution and management
- lobby for increased representation and effective participation of women in politics and decision-making structures to a "critical mass" of at least 30% women in policy-making bodies by 2005, and
- lobby for the improved allocation of resources towards programmes and activities on HIV/AIDS.

To achieve its objectives, the Caucus devised a number of strategies, which include the following:
- capacity-building and training
- advocacy and lobbying
- monitoring and observing electoral processes from a gender perspective
- lobbying for increased budgets for HIV/AIDS programmes and activities
- sharing information and experiences, and peace-building, and
- participating in conflict prevention and resolution processes.

Although there have been some achievements, the Caucus still faces great challenges in its agenda for 2004 and beyond. At its meetings, the Caucus constantly calls for governments to honour the minimum of 30% representation by women, as contained in the SADC Declaration.

The Caucus also calls for the amendment of various legislations in the SADC region, including constitutions and electoral acts that are not yet gender-responsive, in order to achieve the minimum 30% quota.

Among the recent priorities of the Caucus was to lobby for the issue of women's representation to be placed high on the agenda of the SADC summit in August 2004.

For now, the strategy of a minimum of 30% representation for women will work as it provides a target to be achieved rather than a general call for more positions for women. Thus, it can also serve as a barometer of where the problem areas lie.

In light of the above, there is a strong need for countries to enact legislation enforcing the 30% quota. The campaign to reach this goal also needs to focus on political parties putting women high up on their electoral lists to ensure that women are elected to senior positions.

Women should occupy such positions at all levels, so that their voices can be heard loud and clear without them living at the mercy of sympathetic men.

However, filling quotas is not enough: what is essential as well are the coping strategies women need to make them effective in elevated positions, and to strengthen not only their confidence in themselves, but also society's confidence in women's leadership abilities in general. Politics has always been a male-dominated arena, and it will be impossible for women to make an impact unless their teeth are sharpened to bite hard.

It is in this respect that education comes into play: without it, the women's struggle runs the risk of stagnating. Workshops have, therefore, been organised to teach women about public speaking, lobbying, advocacy and campaigning for office. Some of the objectives set for such workshops include enhancing relations with the media, women's caucuses and individual women politicians; as well as enhancing women's general political education.

Women need to be educated on how the political process works and how they can get into positions of leadership. Part of the aim is to have those women already in leadership positions really work towards the good of women in general.

The other major aspect the education campaign touches on is the issue of negative attitudes towards women. This aspect of the campaign has been included to encourage women to believe in themselves. They need to know that they are not required to perform new roles: it is enough that they acknowledge the invaluable roles they already play in various parts of the community.

Even though women have been making invaluable contributions towards the good of society for millennia, old-fashioned beliefs prevail – and prevent those contributions from being valued, as they deserve. The perpetrator of the downgrading of women is a beast called "Custom", which keeps women at a subservient level. Society should, therefore, campaign for all harmful customary laws to be changed in the best interest of all.

One should also understand that beliefs are not static: they change with the times. Because the times have changed, so should some of our beliefs.

It is a sad fact that, although women represent a big part of the electorate, they are very often not in strategic positions that will help them to move up. Hence, there is a need to encourage society in general and political parties in particular to have women participate by way of strategic positions.

It is impossible to achieve any meaningful change without effecting change in our societies' mentality. This calls for a hard struggle – but one that is certainly worth fighting for! Almost everybody agrees about the need for equality between the sexes. The major question of course, the object of continual debate, is how to achieve that equality.

The numerous resolutions taken at national, regional and international forums need to be translated into concrete action. Only action will show which strategies work and which do not.

The bodies coordinating women's activities need to be strengthened, particularly since there has been a proliferation of organisations dealing with women's issues. Such organisations often act in isolation. There is a need to coordinate their efforts into one national entity, in the same way that national women's parliamentary caucuses are now connected through the Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus.

Special emphasis should be laid on communication between elected women and those at the grass roots. In so doing, elected women can constantly be in touch with what is happening on the ground.

Thus, the objectives to be pursued by the Namibia Elected Women's Forum include the following:

- To act as a pressure group on society to heed the call for women's empowerment
- To strengthen the women's network and advocacy
- To build confidence in women as regards their leadership abilities
- To share the problems and concerns of elected women with their colleagues at grass-roots level
- To disseminate information regarding government policies and how they affect women, and
- To promote participation with grass-roots women in policy formulation concerning women's issues, etc.

For obvious reasons, the Regional Caucus is grounded on the idea of networking. Indeed, networking and exchanging skills and ideas are key to women's empowerment.

The Caucus also provides space for regional women MPs to agree on strategies before bringing ideas into the mainstream. There are many programmes and skills in national structures, but these cannot be shared effectively enough among women unless they network to learn from each other's experiences, challenges and successes.

Information on women issues needs to be updated continually and be fed to the media and major discussions nationwide. It is the duty of women's representatives to be on the lookout for discussions on national issues so that these representatives can point out the women's dimension. In so doing, women's issues can become part and parcel of national issues.

The importance of networking is highlighted when it comes to exchanging best practices. While we are aware that the situation of women in the SADC region remains practically the same for long periods, one should still be on the lookout for best practices that surface from time to time. These can be emulated and strengthened, while negative practices can be rooted out.

When talking of networking we should not overlook organisations that play a crucial role in bringing people together to discuss gender issues. I would, at this juncture, like to single out the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, and thank it from the bottom of my heart for its support of gender mainstreaming in the SADC region.

This gathering is one more opportunity for us all to learn from each other. This learning process needs to be transformed into a planning session from which gender issues are mainstreamed in upcoming programmes.

The objective of the Caucus, i.e. to monitor progress, is essential for measuring the satisfactoriness or otherwise of progress made. Progress is the final projected outcome of the women's struggle: without it we will just be going round in circles.

May this gathering, therefore, represent one more step towards progress. May our togetherness enrich us all, and give us the fuel we need to keep on fighting for the just cause of women's empowerment.

With these few remarks I wish the gathering all the success it deserves.

I thank you.

Ms Pauliina Shilongo (left), Lecturer, Department of Media Technology, Polytechnic of Namibia, in conversation with **Hon. Teopolina Mushelenga**, Vice-Chairperson: SADC Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus

Namibia's gender-mainstreaming efforts
Ms Eunice Iipinge, Coordinator, Gender Training and Research Centre, University of Namibia

Introduction

This paper gives an overview of efforts made in pursuit of gender equality in Namibia since independence in 1990. The paper examines the status of the National Gender Machinery and strategies employed to implement gender mainstreaming. The implementation of gender mainstreaming mechanisms, evaluation tools and monitoring mechanisms is also examined.

Conceptual framework

The concept of *gender* in this paper refers to the social organisation of sexual/biological differences between men and women. These differences govern the interactions and relations between women and men in all spheres of life.

Gender equality, on the other hand, refers to equality between women and men in all spheres of social, economic, legal and political life.

Gender integration means "taking into account both the differences and the inequalities between men and women in programme planning, implementing and assessing".[1]

Gender mainstreaming refers to efforts to analyse and adjust, where appropriate, potential gender differences by planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes and activities. Including gender will result in more effective and efficient development. Gender mainstreaming includes a dual focus of appearance and content, participation and benefits.

The *National Gender Machinery (NGM)* in Namibia can be defined as "all component stakeholders that function to achieve gender equality".

General progress in gender mainstreaming since independence

Upon independence on 21 March 1990, the Republic of Namibia adopted a gender-neutral Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.[2] Article 10 of the Constitution reads as follows:[3]

> **Equality and Freedom from Discrimination**
> (1)   All persons shall be equal before the law.
> (2)   No persons may be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status.

Article 23 on Affirmative Action, which places a special emphasis on women, supports article 10. Sub-article (3) of the former states the following:[4]

> … it shall be permissible to have regard to the fact that women in Namibia have traditionally suffered special discrimination and they need to be encouraged and enabled to play a full, equal and effective role in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the nation.

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[1] USAID (2000)

[2] RoN (1990: Article 14)
[3] (ibid.: Article 10)
[4] (ibid.: Article 23)

Guided by the Constitutional framework which provides a favourable environment for gender-mainstreaming activities, the government established the NGM to implement and monitor gender-mainstreaming strategies within the country.

One of the most significant aspects of progress on gender-mainstreaming efforts in Namibia has been government policies and programmes, which include the ratification of international instruments and national policies as well as progressive gender-related law reforms. Of importance are several new pieces of legislation being drafted and enacted to protect all of Namibia's citizens, with specific emphasis on the protection and advancement of women.

Status of the National Gender Machinery[5]

In Namibia, the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare (MWACW) is the primary line ministry for the NGM. The MWACW is supported by a host of other government institutions, parastatals, NGOs, donor agencies, political parties and civil society. Thus, the NGM is considered as being led by the MWACW, but consists of component stakeholders from all agencies and institutions involved in gender mainstreaming and advocacy. The following discussion will specifically analyse the MWACW, but will also examine NGM stakeholder institutions when relevant.

Structure and typology of the NGM

Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare

The functional structure of the MWACW is designed –
- for gender programme development and national coordination
- to constitute Gender Sectoral Committees
- to organise ministerial Gender Focal Points
- to coordinate international affairs, and bi- and multilateral relations
- to facilitate gender research, and
- to contribute to gender-sensitive and/or gender-related legislation.[6]

In addition, the National Coordination Division within the MWACW coordinates nationwide gender activities on a daily basis through regular correspondence with its subsections such as Regional Offices and Gender Sectoral Committees (GSCs).[7] The MWACW has also appointed a Development Planner for GSCs to make them more effective.

The role of the GSCs is to advise the ministries on issues related to their areas of focus.[8] According to Niikondo[9], areas of focus are derived from the National Gender Policy and the National Gender Plan of Action.[10] The main divisions of the MWACW are National Coordination,

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[5] The following sections are based on consultative meetings, key informant interviews, and a questionnaire with NGM component stakeholders, as well as documentary data from the literature.
[6] Niikondo (2001:2–3)
[7] (ibid.:4)
[8] DWA (1999:8)
[9] Niikondo (2001:5)
[10] The NGP and the NGPA will be discussed later.

Gender Sectoral Committees, Training Programme Development, Ministerial Gender Focal Points, International Affairs, and Research and Legislation.[11]

Cabinet Decision No. 21 of 1998 gave the MWACW a mandate to appoint Gender Focal Points in every government office, ministry and agency (see later herein).[12]

Parastatals

Parastatals are affiliated to government, but are generally run like and have structures similar to private enterprises. Parastatals are also part of the NGM, although most parastatals are not active in gender mainstreaming. The University of Namibia, which is regarded as a parastatal, has a unit entitled Gender Training and Research Programmes, and several of its Faculties such as Sociology, Law, and Education offer courses on gender issues from those perspectives. Another educational parastatal, the Polytechnic of Namibia. offers gender-sensitive courses such as Sociology.

NGOs

Although the MWACW takes the national lead in respect of the NGM, the latter also has various component stakeholders. These include NGOs. Most NGOs have similar structures, in that they have a board of directors and/or an executive committee (often from other NGOs), office administrators, staff and stakeholders. Some NGOs operate at a national level, in which case they may have a national coordinator and regional representatives, while other NGOs operate at a regional level. The highest decision-making body for most NGOs is the Annual General Meeting, where budgetary, policy and programmes decisions are taken.

Political parties

Another active political party in Namibia, the United Democratic Front (UDF), does not have a women's wing. Although the Congress of Democrats (CoD) currently does not have a functioning women's wing, its constitution makes provision for a Women's Organisation and, as will be discussed later herein, the CoD has a gender-sensitive mandate that encourages women's equal participation in party activities.[13]

Challenges regarding structure and typology

Currently, there are several challenges to the NGM. These challenges include the following:
- The lack of a National Gender Commission, which should consist of representatives from all component stakeholders and the MWACW, who would then coordinate the NGM's activities
- The NGM does not currently function as a single organ, and component stakeholders often duplicate efforts and do not share resources
- The functioning of Gender Focal Points is inhibited by a lack of support from their ministries, their relatively low position within management structures, a lack of awareness among ministerial staff as regards what such points represent, inadequate budgets, insufficient training, no monitoring and accountability, and no formalised guidelines.

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[11] DWA (1999:16)
[12] Niikondo (2001:6)
[13] CoD (2001:18)

- Parastatals, political parties, NGOs and the private sector do not have Gender Focal Points, which means they have either not made any progress towards gender mainstreaming, or their efforts in this regard have not been made public.

Legal and social reforms

An important aspect of Namibia's NGM is that several new pieces of legislation being drafted and enacted to protect and advance women's rights as part of Namibia's efforts at gender mainstreaming. Although laws cannot change people's attitudes about gender equality, they can define a nation's position and commitment to gender equality, as well as provide a legal framework from which people might be able to access the equalities promised in the Constitution. Outlined below are some of Namibia's efforts at providing all of its citizens with greater protection under the law:

- The Combating of Rape Act, 2000 (No. 8 of 2000) is internationally one of the most progressive laws on rape. The Act gives greater protection to young girls and boys against rape, provides for stiffer minimum sentences for rapists, and defines *marital rape* as illegal.[14]

- The Combating of Domestic Violence Act, 2003 (No. 4 of 2003) makes domestic violence a specific crime. Its broad definition of *domestic violence* includes physical abuse; sexual abuse; economic abuse; intimidation; harassment; and serious emotional, verbal or psychological abuse.[15] The introduction of domestic violence as a specific crime will serve to make society aware that violence within the home or family is not a private matter and is not tolerated by Namibians.[16]

- The Married Persons' Equality Act, 1996 (No. 1 of 1996) specifies equality of persons within marriage and does away with the legal definition of *man* as "head of the house". In respect of women married in community of property, the Act provides equal access to bank loans, and stipulates that immovable property be registered in both spouses' names.[17]

- The Maintenance Act, 2003 (No. 9 of 2003) provides that parents have a legal duty to maintain their children if they are unable to support themselves. A further provision entails that both parents are responsible for the support of their children, regardless of whether the children were born inside or outside of a marriage, or whether or not the parents are subject to any other system of customary law which may not recognise one parent's or both parents' liability towards the child (Article 3). This new Act is important because it will provide relief for women who are most often left as their children's sole caregivers.[18]

- Other Acts that impact on gender equality are the Affirmative Action (Employment) Act, 1998 (No. 29 of 1998) which focuses on disadvantaged groups, including women and people with disabilities; and the Electoral Act, 1992 (No. 24 of 1992), which calls for at least one-third of candidates for Local Authority elections to be women.[19]

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[14] UNDP (2001:122)
[15] (ibid.:128)
[16] (ibid.)
[17] Iipinge & LeBeau (1997:39)
[18] LeBeau & Iipinge (2003:18)
[19] Iipinge & Mwandingi (2001:2)

Given Namibia's lack of human and financial resources, as well as the relatively short period of its independence, some law reform efforts pertaining to gender issues in Namibia are still in their formative stages. Several other proposed law reforms may impact on gender issues which have either not yet been passed by Parliament, or have not yet been gazetted and, therefore, are not yet in effect.[20]

All of these law reforms together, as well as attempts to improve law enforcement and judicial responses to violations of women's rights, have come a long way towards guaranteeing women more equitable protection in Namibian civil society because discrimination against women in the legal context leads to prejudices in other spheres of life and leaves women with little recourse for addressing social inequalities. Widespread gender-based violence, sexual exploitation and coerced sexual risk-taking behaviour should be seen in the context of legal change and its effect on the relative position and decision-making power of women and men within society.[21]

Assent to international agreements

Apart from the Namibian Constitution that exhorts the concept of gender equality, as well as current law reform efforts, the government has assented to several international agreements for the promotion of gender equality such as –

- the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which Parliament approved in 1992
- the CEDAW Optional Protocol, ratified in 2000
- the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development
- the Beijing Platform for Action, and
- the African Regional Platform for Action.

All these instruments adhere to the ideal of gender equality.[22] These international instruments have contributed to the Namibian national plan for gender equality, and have provided guidelines for all national gender programmes. For example, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and CEDAW form the basis for current gender policies and programmes in Namibia.[23]

The Department of Women Affairs and its successor, the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, have both been guided by the National Communication Strategy in support of CEDAW, and both were tasked with CEDAW's implementation. Many of the provisions in CEDAW – such as the definition of *discrimination*, policy measures to end sex discrimination, and provisions regarding affirmative action – parallel and reinforce those established in Namibia's Constitution. The implementation of CEDAW occurred at the same time the Beijing Platform for Action was being adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women.[24] All of these international instruments provide the basis for the domestication of gender equality at the political structural level, and lay the foundation for nationally and locally generated definitions for the globalised gender equality movement.

Domestication of gender equality

Namibia has two national documents and several gender policies and programmes that guide political structural discourses on gender equality. The National Gender Policy articulates the

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[20] For more detail on them, visit www.parliament.gov.na.
[21] Tapscott & Hubbard (1991:6)
[22] NPC (2001); Tadria (2003:3–5); Iipinge & Mwandingi (2001:7); WCI (2003:1)
[23] Tadria (2003:5)
[24] DWA (1998)

government's rationale for its gender policy, while the National Gender Plan of Action expands on the government's proposed methods for achieving a gender balance in power-sharing and decision-making.

National Gender Policy

The National Gender Policy was approved in 1997 and adopted by Parliament in 1999. It examines the origins of gender disparities in Namibia; outlines a framework for addressing women's needs; identifies actions to be taken to increase women's access to resources; and ensures women's greater participation in power-sharing and decision-making. The Policy identifies ten key areas of concern, the improvement of which is considered a national gender priority. It also serves as a dictate for ending gender inequalities and discriminatory practices based on sex, while focusing primarily on women due to their previously disadvantaged position.[25] The ten priority areas of concern are as follows:

- Gender poverty and rural development
- Gender balance in education and training
- Gender and reproductive health
- Violence against women and children
- Gender and economic empowerment
- Gender balance in power and decision-making
- Information, education and communication
- Gender and management of the environment
- Gender and legal affairs, and
- Equality for the girl child.

The National Gender Policy specifically identifies strategies to address each of these key areas of concern. In addition, the Policy has a list of priorities for law reform, most of which were achieved in the years following the Policy's publication.

This discussion focuses specifically on the Policy's commitment to achieving gender balance in power-sharing and decision-making.[26] The Policy indicates that an improvement in women's participation in politics and decision-making will assist in achieving transparency and accountability in government; that it will bring new perspectives and experiences to political agendas; and that equality in political decision-making is necessary for social and economic development.[27]

National Gender Plan of Action

The National Gender Plan of Action, which was adopted in 1998, is a five-year plan for implementing the National Gender Policy. The Programme is intended for use in conjunction with the Policy.

The National Gender Plan of Action identifies each of the areas of concern as listed in the National Gender Policy with national gender goals specifying objectives, planned activities, role-players and expected outputs to achieve those goals.[28] Some of the strategies are as follows:

- Taking action to achieve the goal of a gender balance in government
- Ensuring that there are more women in Regional Councils

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[25] DWA (1997)
[26] (ibid.:23)
[27] (ibid.)
[28] DWA (1998)

- Encouraging political parties to include women candidates
- Getting women into decision-making positions in ministries, the private sector and other organisations, and
- Monitoring government policies for their impact on gender before they are implemented.[29]

The National Gender Plan of Action's stated goal is as follows: [30]

> … to promote gender equality by empowering women through the dissemination of information, coordination and networking with all stakeholders, mainstreaming of gender issues, promotion of law and policy reform, and monitoring of progress[,] so as to ensure that women, men, children and people with disabilities have full and equal participation in the political, economic, social and cultural development of the nation.

The National Gender Plan of Action also states that, in relation to gender and power-sharing, the national goal is to "promote and facilitate equal representation of women and men at all levels of decision-making structures'"[31] Among some of the objectives listed in respect of attaining this goal is to advocate for equal representation at all power-sharing levels; to build capacity for women in management and leadership positions; to change negative attitudes towards gender equality; and to increase awareness of negative cultural practices that inhibit women's greater participation in power-sharing at all levels of society.

Instituting national-level gender programmes

Several national-level documents articulate the government's gender aims and objectives. For example, the Second National Development Plan (NDP2) for the period 2001/2002 to 2005/2006 identifies gender and development as an issue to be addressed in Namibia's political, economic and social sectors.[32] Specific areas identified include women's situation; early childhood development, especially for the girl child; community development; and government commitment.[33] Important in this discussion is the NDP2's identification of gender balance in power-sharing and decision-making as one of the government's specific objectives.[34]

The NDP2 indicates specific targets as well: to have 35% women-run small and micro enterprises (SMEs), and to have 35% of decision-making positions taken up by women by 2005.[35] Some sector objectives identified in the NDP2[36] include the following:

- Promoting women's awareness of the need for equality between women and men
- Advocating and monitoring equal representation at all levels of decision-making
- Building capacity and promotion of women in management and leadership
- Changing negative attitudes towards gender equality
- Identifying various levels of decision-making that are important for the realisation of equality between women/men and girls/boys
- Identifying gender-specific gaps in the area of power-sharing and decision-making strata
- Networking with governmental, NGOs and other agencies to establish a network of women decision-makers and leaders, and

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[29] Iipinge & Mwandingi (2001:8)
[30] DWA (1998:4)
[31] (ibid.:19)
[32] NPC (2001:609)
[33] Iipinge et al. (2003)
[34] NPC (2001:620)
[35] (ibid.:630–631)
[36] (ibid.:628)

- Researching and documenting statistics on women in power-sharing and decision-making processes, and enhancing their capacity once they are in these positions.

Namibia's Vision 2030 also identifies long-term national development plans. Vision 2030 states its aim as follows: [37]

> … to mainstream gender in development, to ensure that women and men are equally heard and given equal opportunities and treatments to exercise their skills and abilities in all aspects of life.

Other objectives expressed in Vision 2030 include –
- implementing mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating progress on gender issues
- involving traditional leaders in gender-sensitive programmes
- addressing misconceptions about gender and changing discourses in reflecting changing gender ideologies
- implementing gender policies and programmes
- undertaking gender analysis of data, and
- building the capacity of researchers, trainers and planners in gender research.[38]

Significantly, Vision 2030 identifies major areas where differences between women and men can be seen as access to resources and decision-making.[39] Vision 2030 further recognises that "before independence, women were poorly represented in all positions of influence. Only two women occupied senior positions in civil services".[40] Thus, it calls on government and civil society to embark upon a plan to address imbalances between women and men in decision-making positions.

Structural developments of a political nature

The Namibian Government has mandated the establishment of several institutions to address gender issues. It has also developed a system within those institutions to address gender inequalities in all areas of Namibian life. The institutions concerned include the following:
- the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare
- the Gender Commission (not yet established)
- Gender Sectoral Committees, and
- Gender Focal Points within ministries.

Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare

The establishment of the Women's Desk in 1990, which became the Department of Women Affairs in the Office of the President in 1997, was an important milestone for gender issues in Namibia.[41] In 2000, the Department was upgraded to the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Child Welfare (MWACW). This Ministry organises national activities to protect women and promote gender equality. This leading ministry in respect of national gender programmes and advocacy is supported by other government institutions, parastatals, NGOs, donors, political parties and civil society.[42]

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[37] GRN (2003:63)
[38] (ibid.:63–64)
[39] (ibid.:61)
[40] (ibid.)
[41] Iipinge et al. (2003)
[42] (ibid.)

The Ministry's function is to formulate gender programmes and laws, and to coordinate gender activities at national and international levels.[43] The Ministry also trains staff serving as Gender Focal Points, who are appointed within all ministries and whose job it is to promote gender issues within their respective ministries.[44] In addition, the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare's Gender Mainstreaming Division coordinates nationwide gender activities on a daily basis through regular communication with its regional offices and Gender Sectoral Committees.[45] Thus, the Ministry has the following mission:[46]

> [To] Promote gender equity by empowering women through the dissemination of information, coordination and networking with stakeholders, mainstreaming gender issues, promotion of law and policy reform and monitoring of progress so as to ensure that women and men can participate equally in the political, economic, social and cultural development of the nation.

The Ministry is committed to promoting the greater participation of women in power-sharing and decision-making within the democratic processes.[47] The Ministry's mandate, apart from providing a vast array of services and assistance for women, aims to promote equal participation of women and men in the democratic process. The Ministry has identified the need for capacity-building within women candidates and to encourage political parties to promote women candidates.[48] The Ministry also works to strengthen gender-related government policies, expose politicians to gender issues, gender-sensitise political parties, and assist aspiring women candidates.[49]

Furthermore, the Ministry is currently developing a programme to build capacity and strengthen understanding on gender issues among elected officials, both men and women. Research data indicates that many women in Windhoek and a few rural women know about the Ministry, and understand that many organisations that have been set up to help women. As Ndapewa, a 32-year-old Herero woman from Windhoek, declared, –

> We have the new ministry for women and children that represents us women and educates us about our rights. … With the establishment of the women's ministry one can see that there is progress.

Several women say that they have heard about institutions and efforts for the advancement of women's rights through newspapers, on radio and on TV.

Gender Focal Points

The establishment of Gender Focal Points in all ministries is another important development within the government.[50] Cabinet Decision No. 21 of 1998 authorised the MWACW to appoint Gender Focal Points within every ministry and government organisation.[51] Ministries selected staff from within their own ranks to receive gender training and to promote gender issues. Responsibilities of the Gender Focal Points include raising gender awareness within their ministries, assisting their ministries to review policies and programmes from a gender-sensitive

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[43] (ibid.)
[44] Niikondo (2001:2–3)
[45] (ibid.:4)
[46] DWA (1998:5)
[47] WCI (2003:6)
[48] (ibid.)
[49] (ibid.)
[50] Iipinge et al. (2003)
[51] Niikondo (2001:6)

viewpoint, reporting to the MWACW, and drawing up an annual gender budget for their ministries.[52]

Other government agencies

All ministries are mandated to address past gender imbalances by reviewing their policies and programmes for gender sensitivity, and to introduce gender issues within their ministries.[53] Ministries specifically tackling gender issues include[54] –

- the Ministry of Justice, which drafts gender-related laws
- the Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, which promotes gender-sensitive education
- the Ministry of Health and Social Services, which deals with women's health issues
- the Ministry of Labour, which ensures women's participation in the workforce
- the Ministry of Finance, which budgets for gender-sensitive policies for other ministries
- the Ministry of Defence, which has a Gender Plan of Action, and
- the Ministry of Higher Education, Training and Employment Creation, through its Directorate of Youth, which has started a Gender Desk to focus on gender and poverty, rural development, and a gender balance in all social, economic and political areas of life.

The University of Namibia, which is a parastatal, has a Gender Training and Research Programme that offers courses on gender-related issues. The latter Programme, apart from teaching courses on gender and development, trains students to conduct gender-sensitive research and promote awareness of gender issues. It also conducts gender training and workshops for national-level organisations and the public.[55]

The Gender Training and Research Programme also offers scholarships in gender-related fields. To date, nine Namibians have been awarded Master's degrees in Gender and Development, while two have obtained doctoral degrees in the same field. This Programme aims to increase the number of professionals in this field of study.

The Electoral Commission of Namibia initiates and oversees all aspects of the electoral process, including the registration of voters and political parties, implementing a code of conduct with all political parties, and assuring equality for all political parties.[56] The Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing supports political parties and trains candidates for local elections. This candidate-training programme, which is supported by the FES, offers workshops aimed at ensuring that both women and men candidates obtain campaigning skills and can provide what is expected of elected leaders.[57]

The Multimedia Campaign on Violence against Women and Children, which is run by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, is particularly important for stopping violence against women and children, and informing and educating people about gender-related issues. The Campaign disseminates information about violence against women and children on television, on the radio and in the print media. Information from community members indicates that many people, even those in remote rural areas, have heard about gender law reforms through these information campaigns.

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[52] (ibid.:6–7)
[53] Iipinge et al. (2003)
[54] (ibid.)
[55] GTRP (1999)
[56] WCI (2003:6)
[57] (ibid.)

NGOs' efforts towards gender equality

Since Namibia's independence, NGOs have participated in the development of gender awareness by addressing several gender issues. Many NGOs have aggressively implemented gender policies and programmes. For example, the **Sister Namibia Collective** has changed its mission from being a media institution to an organisation dealing with women's rights and HIV/AIDS, sexual rights, and women in politics. Its aim is to eliminate male dominance and encourage gender equality.[58] The **Namibian National Women's Organisation** addresses reproductive health, HIV/AIDS and inheritance issues.[59] This Organisation which was formed in 1990, aims at promoting respect and collaboration among women, uplifting women by changing discriminatory laws, promoting women's involvement in all areas of economic and social life, and maintaining a close relationship with other women's organisations.[60]

Another important NGO is the **Legal Assistance Centre** (LAC), which provides information about legal and human rights as well as government processes, has become a driving force behind gender law reform and has created several programmes aimed at women's and children's rights. A recent addition to the LAC is the Gender Research and Advocacy Project. This Project is involved in law reform, particularly laws relating to gender, and provides input on legislation that focuses on or relates to gender. Among the LAC's other activities is a juvenile justice programme, preventing discrimination against people living with HIV/AIDS, and protecting land rights – with a particular focus on women.[61]

In addition to these older, more established NGOs working on gender issues, there are some important, relatively new organisations. **Namibian Men for Change** (NAMEC), which was constituted in 2000, is innovative because it is one of the first male-member programmes to address gender issues in Namibia. NAMEC was specifically formed to encourage men and boys to end violence against women and children by changing abusive behaviours and sexist attitudes. Other new NGOs include the organisation known as **National Early Childhood Development**, which was started in 1997 and helps families give more care to children in terms of their development, and the **Namibia National Association for Women in Business**, which was launched in 1996.

Many gender-related NGOs began as local or regional organisations, but have developed into national-level organisations. For example, **Women's Action for Development** started in 1994 in Okakarara to train rural women, but now includes political empowerment and Women's Voice, which campaigns for women's issues.[62]

Other NGOs that are devoted specifically to gender issues include the **Namibian Women's Association**, which has as its mission the advancement of affirmative action for girls, and aims to attain equal rights and opportunities for women.[63]

Several NGOs are involved in promoting women's greater participation in power-sharing and decision-making within the political area in particular. For example, the **50/50 Campaign**, which began in 1999, is aimed at getting women 50% representation on political party lists. Indeed, the 50/50 Campaign is a global effort aimed at achieving gender equality in political representation and power-sharing. Slogans from the campaign include "50-50 in government: Get the balance right" and "The hand that stirs the pot can also run the country".

The Sister Namibia Collective also publishes a quarterly magazine, **Sister Namibia**, which focuses on, among other gender issues, women in leadership, and highlights the accomplishments of successful women from the public, private and civil sectors. Furthermore,

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[58] Iipinge et al. (2003)
[59] (ibid.)
[60] NANAWO (1993:3-4)
[61] WCI (2003:11)
[62] Iipinge et al. (2003)
[63] (ibid.)

the Sister Namibia Collective spearheads the 50/50 Campaign and coordinates the **Women's Manifesto Network**.[64]

The **Namibia Non-governmental Organisations' Forum**, the national umbrella organisation for NGOs, has been inactive in recent years, resulting in NGO efforts often lacking coordination.

Women's Campaign International conducted an assessment mission to Namibia in 2003 to identify and develop a sustainable programme for aspiring leaders and women already in political or power-sharing positions. From its assessment the organisation was able to determine the following:[65]

> Civil society has not been very effective in utilising regional and local councils in accessing parliament or pushing issues forward in the general public. Advocacy programmes targeting MPs are carried out but are not always well thought through, and their strategies of action are not always clearly linked to the issue. Therefore, measuring their success is not so clear cut … Campaigns such as the 50/50 Campaign, organised by the Women's Manifesto Network, have not enjoyed successful influence through legislative results.

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[64] WCI (2003:12)
[65] WCI (2003:11)

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Results of the Gender and Media Baseline Study
Ms Jennifer Mufune, Executive, Gender and Chapter Support, MISA Regional

Introduction

> What in the end could be more central to free speech than that every segment of society should have a voice?
> (Dr Athalia Molokome, former Head of SADC Gender Unit)

The Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) has been hailed as a landmark regional study on gender in the editorial content of the southern Africa media. The study arose out of a workshop in 2000 that was discussing a Gender Policy for the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA). One of the concerns raised was that no information from the southern African region existed on how women and men were being portrayed in the SADC media, in what areas, and by whom.

The study covered some 25,110 news items during September 2002, culminating in 12 national reports and a regional overview. The research was comprehensive in terms not only of content, but also of geographical spread: it covered

Mr Jürgen Peters (left), Resident Representative, FES Namibia introduces **Ms Jennifer Mufune**, Executive, Gender and Chapter Support, MISA Regional

12 of the 14 SADC countries (i.e. excluding the Seychelles and the Democratic Republic of Congo) The countries covered were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The study was a joint initiative between MISA – which seeks to foster free, independent and diverse media – and Gender Links, a southern African NGO that promotes gender equality in and through the media.

Another accomplishment was that the research brought together 20 institutional partners from the countries studied. These included two media-monitoring projects; three media-related NGOs; seven gender-related NGOs; four country-level media-women's associations; one regional media-women's association, and five media training institutions.

Ms Margaret Gallagher, who served as Chief Consultant to the Global Media Monitoring Project, also acted as an advisor to the GMBS, providing an important link between the two studies.

Objectives

The GMBS had three main objectives:
- To provide baseline data for monitoring progress towards achieving gender balance in media coverage

- To build capacity in the southern African region for monitoring media content from a gender perspective, and
- To become a key advocacy tool in the campaign to ensure that the voices of women and men, in all their diversity, are equally represented and fairly portrayed in the media in the southern African region.

Global context

Just before the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, 71 countries took part in the first global Gender and Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) organised by Media Watch in Canada. Five years later, before the New York Beijing Plus Five Conference, 70 countries took part in the 2000 GMMP called "Who makes the news", which examined how men and women were reflected in the media on any chosen day.

The GMBS drew substantially from these global efforts, but differs from them in that it spanned one month rather than just one day. The study included both quantitative and qualitative findings, of which the latter are especially important in moving from a simple number-crunching exercise to understanding gender-aware reporting. For example, just because a story is about a woman does not mean it is gender-sensitive.

It has become traditional around the globe for women to take over the making of the news on 8 March each year, which is International Women's Day. The challenge posed by the GMBS was for equal numbers of women and men, at all levels of decision-making, and giving equal voice to women and men, to make the news – hence the slogan of the study: "Women and men make the news".

Process

The study focussed solely on news and did not include entertainment programming, feature programmes, news analysis/current affairs programmes, or advertisements. The media monitored included both private and public TV, radio and print. Community radio services were not monitored.

The research was divided into two parts: one presented the quantitative findings, while the other presented the qualitative findings by way of an analysis of news coverage from a gender perspective.

Key findings[1]

It should be noted that, in categories where the regional percentages do not total 100%, the shortfall refers to cases where the sex of the news source or reporter was unknown. Global comparisons are provided only where such comparisons were available.

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[1]Based on Gender Links & MISA (2003:9)

Category	Women (%)		Men (%)	
	Regional	**Global**	**Regional**	**Global**
WHO SPEAKS				
Overall	17	18	83	82
WHO IS IDENTIFIED BY WHAT STATUS				
Identified by marital and family status	11	21	2	4
WHO WORKS IN WHAT OCCUPATION				
Homemaker	61	81	33	19
Politician	8	10	89	90
Sportsperson	8	9	90	91
Miner	19	---	81	---
Beauty contestant	88	---	10	---
Entertainer	38	---	60	---
Sex worker	91	---	9	---
WHO SPEAKS ABOUT WHAT				
Economics	10	17	76	83
Political stories	9	12	80	88
Disaster/war/conflict	13	---	70	---
Crime	15	20	75	80
Labour/education	21	---	72	---
Health / HIV/AIDS	25	29	66	71
Sustainable development	16	11	75	83
Mining and agriculture	15	---	79	---
Human rights	16	15	70	85
Gender equality	46	---	45	---
Gender violence	39	---	50	---
Children	42	---	52	---
Media/entertainment stories	29	35	65	65
Sport	8	12	88	88
Other	24	---	68	---
WHO CREATES THE NEWS				
TV reporters	38	36	62	64
TV presenters	45	56	55	44
Radio reporters	34	28	66	72
Print reporters	22	26	78	74
WHO REPORTS ON WHAT				
Economics	20	35	54	65
Political stories	16	26	47	74
Disaster/war/conflict	15	---	35	---
Crime	20	31	46	69
Labour/education	24	---	52	---
Health / HIV/AIDS	31	46	40	54
Sustainable development	25	47	50	53
Mining and agriculture	19	---	53	---
Human rights	23	33	47	67
Gender equality	30	---	44	---
Gender violence	19	---	46	---
Children	28	---	50	---
Media/entertainment stories	25	40	49	60
Sport	7	15	68	85

Summary of key findings[2]

The key findings of the research can be summarised as follows:

- ***Women's views and voices are grossly under-represented in the media.*** Women constituted 17% of known news sources in the media monitored in the study. This figure is close to the global figure of 18% in the GMMP. Women constitute 52% of the population in southern Africa.

- ***There are significant variations between countries.*** These ranged from women constituting 26% of news sources in Angola (the highest) to 11% in Malawi (the lowest).

- ***There are no significant differences between private and public media.*** The country reports that accompanied the GMBS provided a breakdown of sources for each individual media house monitored. An analysis of these findings showed that the performance of public and private media did not differ significantly with regard to giving a voice to women and men. This is disappointing, as one might have expected the public media to lead the way. However, the fact that the private media – despite being guilty at times of sexist coverage in pursuit of commercial ends – actually outperformed the public media in many instances is cause for thought.

- ***Older women are virtually invisible.*** To the extent that women's voices are accessed, they are likely to be in the 35–49-year bracket for both print and electronic media.

- ***Women sources still carry their private identity more than men.*** In all countries, a woman is much more likely to be identified as a wife, daughter or mother than a man is likely to be identified as a husband, son or father. The regional average for such labelling is 11% for women, compared with 2% for men.

- ***Women in certain occupational categories are virtually silent.*** The only occupational categories in which female views dominated were "Beauty contestant", "Sex worker" and "Homemaker".

- ***Women politicians are not heard relative even to their strengths in Parliament.*** Women are known to constitute an average of 18% of MPs in the southern African region. Yet women constituted only 8% of sources in the "Politician" category. Countries that had the highest representation of women in Parliament – Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania – also had some of the lowest proportions of women politicians being accessed as news sources. South Africa, for example, has 31% women in Parliament and a similar proportion in Cabinet.[3] Yet, in the media monitored, women constituted only 8% of the politicians quoted.

- ***Gender equality is hardly considered newsworthy.*** About a quarter of the over 25,000 news items monitored related to politics and economics, and close to 20% were on sport. Gender-specific news items accounted for a mere 2% of the total, and about half of these were on gender violence.

- ***The only topic on which women's voices outnumber men's is on gender equality.*** Women's voices predominated only in the "Gender equality" topic code. There were more male than female voices, even in the "Gender violence" topic code.

- ***Men's voices dominated in all the hard news categories.*** Women constituted less than 10% of news sources in the "Economics", "Politics" and "Sport" categories.

- ***The highest level of representation of women in the media is as TV presenters …*** Women TV presenters (45% of the total in this category) constitute the highest proportion of women media practitioners in the southern African region. Unlike the global findings, where women TV presenters constituted 56% of the total, women in southern Africa did not constitute the majority of this category.

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[2]Based on Gender Links & MISA (2003:10-12)
[3]These figures reflect the situation before the 2004 elections in South Africa.

- *… but they have to be young!* The heaviest concentration of female and male electronic media practitioners was in the 20–34-year bracket. This tapered off much more dramatically for women than for men in the 35–49-year category, and for both men and women in the 50–64-year category. In essence, women stood their best chance in the electronic – and especially TV-presenter category – of the media, but had a limited "shelf life". All this highlights the fact that the main factor for women's success in the visual media was looks rather than ability.
- *Women are least well-represented in the print media.* Women constituted only 22% of those who wrote stories. They were also under-represented in the "Critical images/cartoons" and "Opinion and commentary" categories.
- *Women media practitioners predominate in the "soft" beats.* Women media practitioners did not achieve parity with men in any news category. Their absence was especially marked in the economic, political, sport, mining and agriculture beats. The highest percentages of women media practitioners were in health / HIV/AIDS, human rights, gender equality, gender violence, media and entertainment. Even then, however, women constituted one-third or less of those creating the news.
- *Women media practitioners tend to access more female sources …* The positive correlation between women journalists and women sources suggested that having higher levels of women journalists in all beats of the media would increase the extent to which women were given a greater voice in the media.
- *… but the growing number of men writing and producing stories on gender issues is an important trend.* The fact that there were numerically more male journalists writing and producing stories on gender equality and gender violence is a positive sign and should be built on through training.
- *There are still cases of blatant sexist reporting in the media …* The qualitative analysis of reporting yielded examples of blatantly sexist reporting that portrayed women as objects and temptresses.
- *… but increasingly, the challenge is one of subtle stereotypes that are conveyed in a variety of ways.* These included the relative weight given to male and female sources; stories that went in the opposite extreme and glorified women; and stories that perpetuated the traditional roles of women and men.
- *The majority of stories suffer from "gender blindness" …* Other than the "sins of commission", the main finding of the qualitative research was that stories suffered from the "sins of omission": story opportunities that were lost through failing to explore the gender dimensions of everyday situations, such as the gender dynamics at play in the HIV/AIDS pandemic; the different impacts of national budgets on women and men; and the different gender impacts of poverty and war.
- *… but examples of gender-aware reporting gathered as part of the qualitative analysis show that transformation is possible.* The qualitative analysis also yielded several "best practice" examples of gender perspectives being integrated into news and yielding more balanced, more interesting, and ultimately more professional stories.

Follow-up activities on the GMBS

As stated in MISA's Gender Policy, giving voice to all segments of society is intrinsic to participation, citizenship and, in turn, democracy. The GMBS, therefore, is not the end but the beginning of a concerted advocacy campaign to ensure that the voices of women and men are equally heard in the news, in all subjects.

One of the strategies to ensure that the momentum of gender-awareness raising amongst media practitioners did not get lost was to hold follow-up national planning workshops

in all the countries where the research had taken place. These workshops were intended to lay the foundation for national advocacy initiatives towards promoting gender equality in and through the media. The objectives of these workshops, which brought together key stakeholders, were as follows:

- To present and engage with the findings of the national research, to stimulate debate, and help develop a national movement for promoting gender equality in and through the media
- To identify potential areas of intervention by stakeholders at national level
- To mobilise advocacy initiatives among various stakeholders, and
- To draw concrete national plans of action for advocacy, with clear indications on the envisaged activities, actors, resource bases, processes and time frames.

Key players

- Media houses (decision-makers and gatekeepers)
- Gender and women's organisations
- Media-women's associations
- Media regulatory bodies (ministries of information, media councils, media advisory bodies, etc.)
- MISA National Chapters
- Gender Links representatives
- Media training institutions
- Southern Africa Gender and Media Network representatives
- Media monitoring organisations
- Strategic individual researchers/activists and lobbyists

Outputs from GMBS follow-up workshops

- Clear understanding and ownership of the research findings at national level
- Clear outline of areas of potential intervention by stakeholders at national level
- Concrete national plans of action for advocacy initiatives and activities with time frames that will be reported on at a National Gender Summit in 2004.
- Clear points of interlinkage between national partners, MISA and Gender Links
- The holding of a MISA and Gender Links Gender and Media Summit on 12–14 September 2004 in Johannesburg to serve as an accountability forum for the national action plans and, hopefully, provide an opportunity for sharing best practices on mainstreaming gender in the media.

Gender and Media Summit update

"Making every voice count" was the theme of the Gender and Media Summit that was held in Johannesburg from 12–14 September 2004. The Summit, which was a follow-up on the GMBS workshops and action plans, brought together 184 participants from around the southern African region. In addition, international observers witnessed countries reporting on progress made towards achieving greater gender sensitivity and balance in the media following the GMBS. Participants were able to showcase the various steps taken at policy level, in media practice and training, and as part of advocacy initiatives.

One of the most exciting outcomes of the Summit was the creation of a new organisation – Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA). In the vision of its constitution, this umbrella organisation of individual institutions states its purpose as being to "promote gender equality in and through the media in tangible, action-oriented strategies aimed at achieving and measuring change". GEMSA is expected to facilitate a coordinated regional strategy to help improve media performance in relation to gender in a variety of fields such as HIV/AIDS and election coverage.

GEMSA membership comprises the following:

- MISA
- Gender Links and its affiliated gender and media networks
- the Federation of African Media Women and its country affiliates
- editors' forums
- media practitioners
- media training institutions
- media NGOs, including the media monitoring projects in the southern African region
- NGOs that promote gender justice, and
- a broad spectrum of individuals.

A committee that consists of country representatives oversees the network, representatives of the different interest groups, and an Executive Committee with a Chair, Deputy Chair, Treasurer and Secretary, and Committee Member. The Secretariat of GEMSA is currently hosted by MISA and Gender Links.

GEMSA has meanwhile identified four major programme areas, namely policy; training and capacity-building; research; and monitoring and advocacy.

Another key highlight at the Summit was the hosting of the first ever, newly constituted regional Gender and Media Awards. The awards were presented at a gala dinner on the opening day of the Summit. The awards, which will be conferred every two years, are meant to honour journalists for their work in meeting professional standards while tackling gender issues. The first awards were for work in five categories, namely newspaper and magazine; opinion and commentary; photojournalism; television; and radio. The awards revealed that gender awareness is able to influence journalism positively and the numerous entries received testified to the fact that progress had indeed been made in southern Africa since the launch of the GMBS in March 2003.

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Gender mainstreaming in the Polytechnic of Namibia's Media Pilot Project[1]

Ms Pauliina Shilongo, Lecturer, Department of Media Technology, Polytechnic of Namibia

Mainstreaming gender into media education

Introduction

The fact that women are under-represented and portrayed in limited roles in the media everywhere in the world is not in question. The two global Gender and Media Monitoring Projects (GMMPs) and the recent Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) in southern Africa have put figures to what is abundantly apparent from a quick scan through the media.[2] To any media professional who ponders these discrepancies, it should also be apparent that they do not constitute good journalism in a technical and ethical sense, nor are they necessarily good for business.

Freedom of expression is about giving voice to everyone. There is a form of self-censorship at work when women, who constitute 52% of the world's population, only comprise 18% of news sources globally[3] and 17% in southern Africa.[4] Editors say that they cover whoever "makes" the news.[5] These are invariably people in power, and men predominate in these ranks.

However, good journalism is not only about those who make decisions, but also about those who are affected by decisions. Underpinning the findings on gender in the media in southern Africa is the overwhelming tendency towards single-source stories (often emanating from "the Minister"); the tendency to report on events rather than issues; and the weakness of contextual, analytical reporting.

Logically, training should be a key entry point for opening the eyes of the media to the more professional reporting and fresh story ideas that gender awareness brings. The challenge is how best to achieve this.

Media training, like any other, consists of three main components: skills, knowledge and attitudes. The nature of the profession is that skills training tends to receive the highest priority, especially with today's rapid advances in information technology (IT). In the Media Training Needs Assessment of Southern Africa commissioned by the Nordic SADC Journalism Trust, attitude training ranked the lowest.[6] Yet gender awareness involves challenging deep-seated attitudes and stereotypes learned from childhood; cemented by custom, culture and religion; and reflected in every facet of life, from the social, to the economic, to the political.

Thus, the major challenge for changing the gender biases of media practitioners is to integrate gender-awareness training into all types and aspects of media training. This is at the heart of the gender-mainstreaming initiatives described in this paper.

The paper draws from the overall experiences of Gender Links (GL), a southern African NGO that promotes gender equality in and through the media in the training dimensions of its

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[1]Adapted from a presentation prepared by Colleen Lowe-Morna and Pauliina Shilongo for the Media in Africa Conference at Stellenbosch University, South Africa, in September 2003
[2]For the full texts see www.wacc.org.uk and www.genderlinks.org.za.
[3]GMMP (2000)
[4]Gender Links & MISA (2003b)
[5]These comments were aired regularly in the panel discussions with editors at the GMBS workshops organised in different southern African countries between May and July 2003.
[6]Morna & Khan (2001)

work. It especially draws from, and serves as an interim report for, the project jointly undertaken by GL and the Polytechnic of Namibia (PON) to mainstream gender into a new entry-level media training programme. This PON project is instructive because of the "clean slate" offered by the new programme as a testing ground, and the long-term nature of the project, i.e. spanning three years.

Background

In September 2002, GL, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and 20 institutional partners around southern Africa undertook the GMBS: the most extensive gender and media-monitoring project in the southern African region and in the world. Covering 12 countries and spanning 1 month, the GMBS included over 25,000 news items, while the GMMP before it had covered 70 countries – but just for 1 day, and included only around 16,000 news items. Outputs of the GMBS included a regional overview report and 12 country studies.

The GMBS found that, on average, women constituted only 17% of news sources in southern Africa (compared with the global average of 18% in the GMMP study). These ranged from women constituting 26% of news sources in Angola (the highest) to 11% in Malawi (the lowest).

While economic and political coverage took up about a quarter of news time and space, and sports another 20%, coverage of gender equality accounted for a mere 2% of the total.

The qualitative research component of the study also highlighted instances of blatant sexist reporting, such as the sexual exploits of the editor of *The Windhoek Observer*, featured regularly on the back page, or the reed dance in Swaziland reported under the headline, "The great boob show".[7]

It also highlighted the more common but insidious forms of gender stereotyping. Examples include the "Kids Corner" article in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* of Zimbabwe about different professions: the woman carries a pot, while the teacher, police and army officers are all men.[8]

In addition, the report pointed out the prevalence of "gender blindness", or failure to source women even where they exist as obvious sources, in many mainstream stories. One example cited was a story from Mauritius on teachers striking: it was based entirely on male sources, even though women predominated in the teaching service.

The study further found that the highest proportion of women media practitioners (45%) was in the TV presenter category, and lowest in the print category (22%). Women were more likely to be found in the "soft" beats, like social issues and human rights. Yet male reporters predominated in all the beats – even for covering the topic of gender equality. The study saw the latter as an opportunity to improve the quality of coverage on this important issue through training male and female journalists.

Gender in the Namibian media

The Namibian media reflect regional trends. The Media Monitoring Project Namibia (MMPN), a project initiated by MISA's Namibia Chapter, has been monitoring the Namibian news media since 2001. The MMPN's annual report for the period March 2002 to February 2003, covering ten[9] months of monitoring, reveals even starker findings than the GMBS.

The MMPN study monitored only domestic news items, compared with the GMBS, which included international and sports news. The MMPN study found that only 14% of the sources

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[7]Gender Links & MISA (2003b:38–41)

[8] (ibid.:46)

[9] December 2002 and January 2003 were not monitored because they fell within the festive season.

were women, compared with 19% in the GMBS finding for Namibia. In fact, most of the media monitored quoted documents more often than women.[10]

The MMPN study also found that the vast majority of the media monitored either had no named source or relied on a single source. This applied both to hard news stories, where it might be argued that reporters were under time pressure, and pre-planned event reporting, where reporters had access to a variety of sources. For example, in a story about the launch of a women's employment creation project reported by the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) in September 2002, only the male Minister was interviewed on TV, while male and female workers featured only as supporting visual material.[11]

Media training: Shapes, forms and challenges

Are journalists born, or are they made? The traditional school of thought, prevalent certainly in English-speaking countries, is that journalism is an apprentice career. Studies have shown that up to half of the journalists in the SADC region have no formal media qualifications.[12]

A number of significant changes have taken place over the last decade. The wave of democratisation that swept through southern Africa in the 1990s has led to a rapid increase in the number of journalists – now estimated at some 15,000 – in the SADC region.[13]

It is becoming essential for media practitioners in the southern African region to have a qualification of some kind. A hunger also exists among media practitioners who have not had formal training to upgrade their skills. Given the rapid advances in IT, the growing complexity of mainstream reporting in the era of globalisation, and the management challenges of running successful media businesses, refresher courses in the media field are becoming a necessity even for the most seasoned players.

Not surprisingly, there has been a rapid increase in media training institutions. The Media Training Needs Assessment study identified several different types of training in the southern African region (see Figure 1).[14] These divide broadly into entry-level courses and courses for mid-career media practitioners.
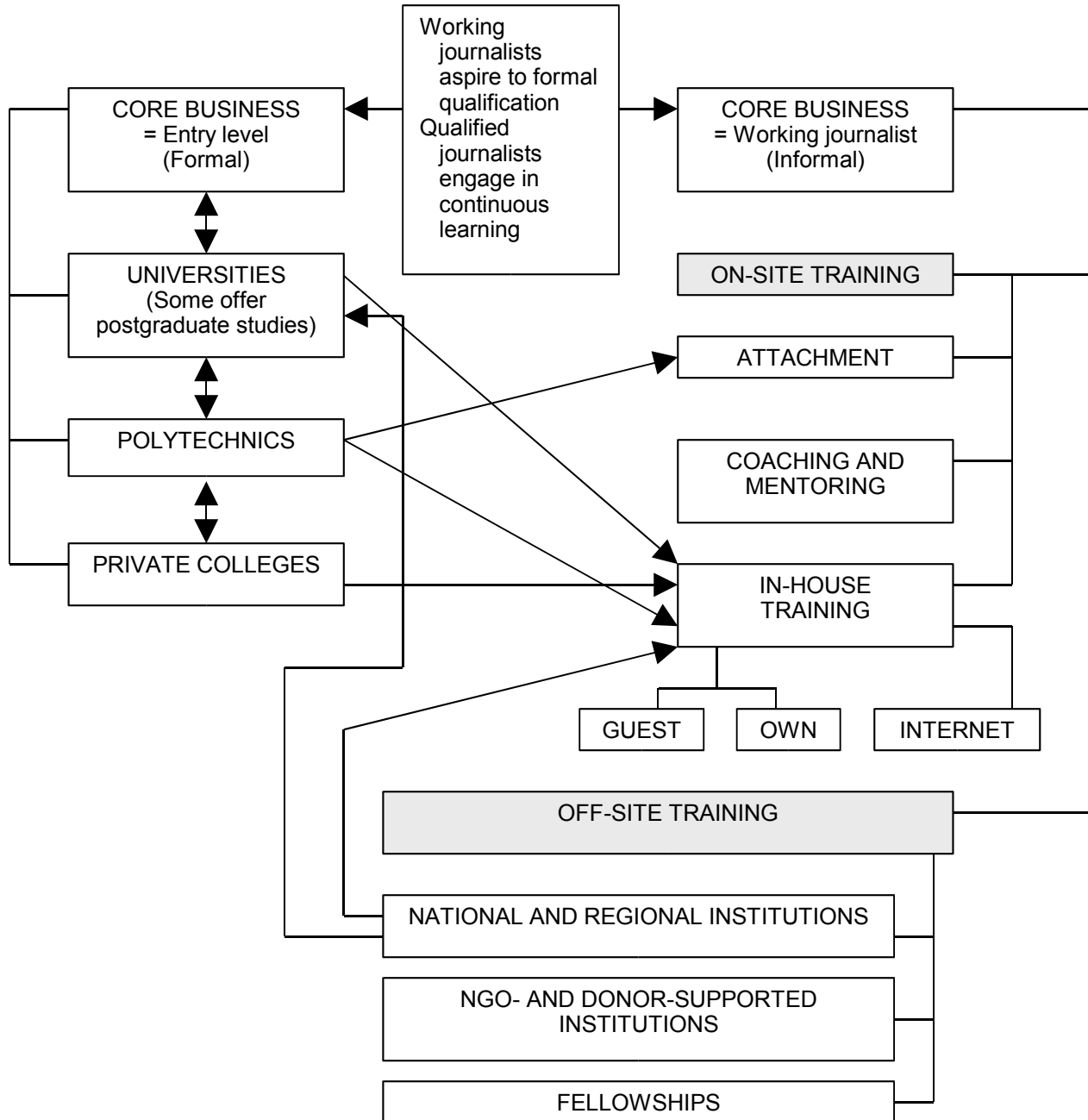
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[10] MISA (2003:2)
[11] (ibid.:57–66)
[12] Morna & Khan (2001)
[13] (ibid.)
[14] Morna & Khan (2001)

Figure 1: Types of media training in southern Africa[15]

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                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │ Working          │
                    │  journalists     │
                    │  aspire to formal│
┌──────────────┐ ◄──│  qualification   │──►  ┌──────────────┐
│ CORE BUSINESS│    │ Qualified        │     │ CORE BUSINESS│
│ = Entry level│    │  journalists     │     │ = Working    │
│  (Formal)    │    │  engage in       │     │  journalist  │
│              │    │  continuous      │     │  (Informal)  │
└──────────────┘    │  learning        │     └──────────────┘
      ▲▼            └──────────────────┘
┌──────────────┐                          ┌──────────────────┐
│ UNIVERSITIES │                          │ ON-SITE TRAINING │
│ (Some offer  │                          └──────────────────┘
│ postgraduate │
│  studies)    │                          ┌──────────────────┐
└──────────────┘                          │ ATTACHMENT       │
      ▲▼                                  └──────────────────┘
┌──────────────┐
│ POLYTECHNICS │                          ┌──────────────────┐
└──────────────┘                          │ COACHING AND     │
      ▲▼                                  │ MENTORING        │
┌──────────────┐                          └──────────────────┘
│ PRIVATE      │
│ COLLEGES     │                          ┌──────────────────┐
└──────────────┘                          │ IN-HOUSE         │
                                          │ TRAINING         │
                                          └──────────────────┘

          ┌────────┐  ┌──────┐       ┌──────────┐
          │ GUEST  │  │ OWN  │       │ INTERNET │
          └────────┘  └──────┘       └──────────┘

          ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
          │ OFF-SITE TRAINING                │
          └──────────────────────────────────┘

          ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
          │ NATIONAL AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS│
          └──────────────────────────────────┘

          ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
          │ NGO- AND DONOR-SUPPORTED         │
          │ INSTITUTIONS                     │
          └──────────────────────────────────┘

          ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
          │ FELLOWSHIPS                      │
          └──────────────────────────────────┘
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[15] (ibid.)

Entry-level courses subdivide into those offered by career-oriented training institutions, which tend to have a more practical focus, and those offered by universities, which are geared more towards analysis and research.

Courses for working journalists divide into off-site and on-site options. Off-site training includes the short courses offered by the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism in South Africa (IAJ), the Zambian Institute of Mass Communications (ZAMCOM), and the Malawi Institute of Journalism (MIJ). In-house courses include those offered by the South African Broadcasting Corporation's Training Unit.

Developing a new training programme for media practitioners that answers to the multitude of needs and yet is viable for the training institution concerned as well is a challenge. Many southern African countries have small media industries. Therefore, market saturation of graduates from qualification programmes occurs quickly. Media training is expensive because of the equipment required. Another challenge is how to accommodate the many mid-career practitioners who have many years of experience: they have probably undergone many short courses, but have no formal qualification.

Developing standards to assess work-based learning is an important concern for media training institutions. Other than in South Africa, where the standards generation process is institutionalised through the South African Qualifications Authority framework, most southern African countries do not have such a framework. In Namibia, for example, the Namibian Qualifications Authority is still defining its role and functions and cannot render much support. However, the Department of Media Technology at the Polytechnic of Namibia is currently developing policy and guidelines for a Recognition of Prior Learning Programme, due to be introduced in 2005. This Programme will allow mid-career practitioners to assess their work-based learning and assess further training needs. In this way, the process of acquiring qualifications will be shortened for such persons.

Skills, knowledge and attitudes

The Media Training Needs Assessment study found that, with the advent of more commercially-driven media in the southern African region, there was a high demand for basic media training and the acquisition of technical skills – to the detriment of issue- or knowledge-based training.

To the extent that there was a demand for issue-based training it was invariably in the "hard" areas such as financial reporting.[16]

Gender can be, and is often, viewed as a beat on its own. In this respect it can be classified as a form of knowledge-based training. However, as gender cuts across all areas of reporting, the more challenging form of this training is in changing the mindsets of reporters so that they can recognise the gender dimensions of all stories. In this respect, gender is also an important component of attitude training. This encompasses ethics and the challenging of deeply ingrained prejudices. These may be around race, gender, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, HIV/AIDS, or any form of "otherness" one can think of.

Though inevitably shoved to the bottom of the training list, attitude training is at the core of the media profession. There is a saying that media practitioners can never hope to be objective, but they can certainly aim to be fair. To be fair, a media practitioner should at least acknowledge his or her prejudices; and s/he needs to understand that fairness is a cornerstone of media ethics.

All media practitioners require a mix of skills, knowledge and attitude learning to be effective. The Media Training Needs Assessment found that, in the southern African region, these tended to be viewed as separate subjects.[17] Thus, for example, are often taught as separate subjects, whereas the latter is simply a tool for in-depth reporting. One could add that integrating gender awareness into both the investigative journalism and computer-aided research components of training would yield a host of new sources and story ideas. Yet attitude training, and in particular gender-awareness training, is at present the most likely of all to receive short shrift.

Gender mainstreaming

This marginalising of gender concerns is not unique to the media or to media training. Across the globe, policymakers and development practitioners have grappled with how to integrate gender considerations into the everyday business of governance.

When gender inequalities first began to receive serious consideration, namely at the First World Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975, most governments responded with what is now referred to as the *Women in Development* or *WID response*. This involved the token addition of projects specifically to benefit women in their traditional areas of work, like sewing, knitting and raising/tending small stock, without questioning the roots of their lack of economic, social and political equality with men.

Most media houses and training institutions have passed through, or are indeed still in, a WID stage. The classic response of the media to pressure from gender activists – especially after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, where the media are 1 of 12 action areas – has been to devote specific space or airtime to "women's issues". These issues are seldom about how to get into politics, gain access to credit and land, or set up a thriving business: they are more often in the cookery and lifestyle genres.

In the case of developing skills in service, media training institutions in the southern African region typically offer isolated courses in gender and the media, or mention the topic in passing in an existing entry-level module, e.g. under "Diversity", "Society", "Community reporting" or some broader umbrella. Where courses are optional, e.g. in the case of in-service training, the general finding was that gender-specific courses were under-subscribed, and attracted a majority of women participants. They failed to reach those who most needed to be reached: the cynical male media practitioners and gatekeepers.

The recent trend in development discourse is away from the WID response towards the Gender and Development (GAD) approach. The latter views equality between women and men

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[16](ibid.)
[17](ibid.)

as central to sustainable development. It encompasses two key concepts: the empowerment of women, and changes in the attitudes of men that are essential for equal partnerships to emerge.

Central to the GAD approach is the concept of *gender mainstreaming*, defined by the United Nations Development Programme as[18] –

> … taking account of gender equity concerns in all policy, programme, administrative and financial activities, and in organisational procedures, thereby contributing to a profound organisational transformation.

GL's approach to gender mainstreaming in media education

Formed in 2001 by southern Africans with backgrounds in gender and the media, GL has followed a two-pronged approach in the training dimensions of its work. At a macro level, this has involved developing training tools and offering training courses in partnership with entry-level and in-service training institutions across the southern African region in various beats or knowledge-based courses, including gender violence, gender and HIV/AIDS, and – with six elections coming up in the region in 2004 – gender and democracy. GL is also now developing gender and media training tools in more skills-related fields such as photojournalism, the electronic media and, soon, in subediting.[19]

Where GL conducts direct in-service training with media training institutions it has tried to learn from some of the pitfalls identified in the Media Training Needs Assessment study, namely the need to move from event- to process-driven training.[20] Participation is competitive; participants produce programmes and supplements carried by mainstream media as part of their training; they are expected to produce at least two more stories after the training before they receive certification; and classroom training is complemented by a six-week online training course.

The second major track that GL has followed each year has been to engage with one or two media training institutions over an agreed extended period, and provide support in respect of mainstreaming gender into the curriculum and institutional practices. As illustrated in Figure 2 and as will become apparent in the remainder of this paper, the macro and micro approaches are not mutually exclusive.
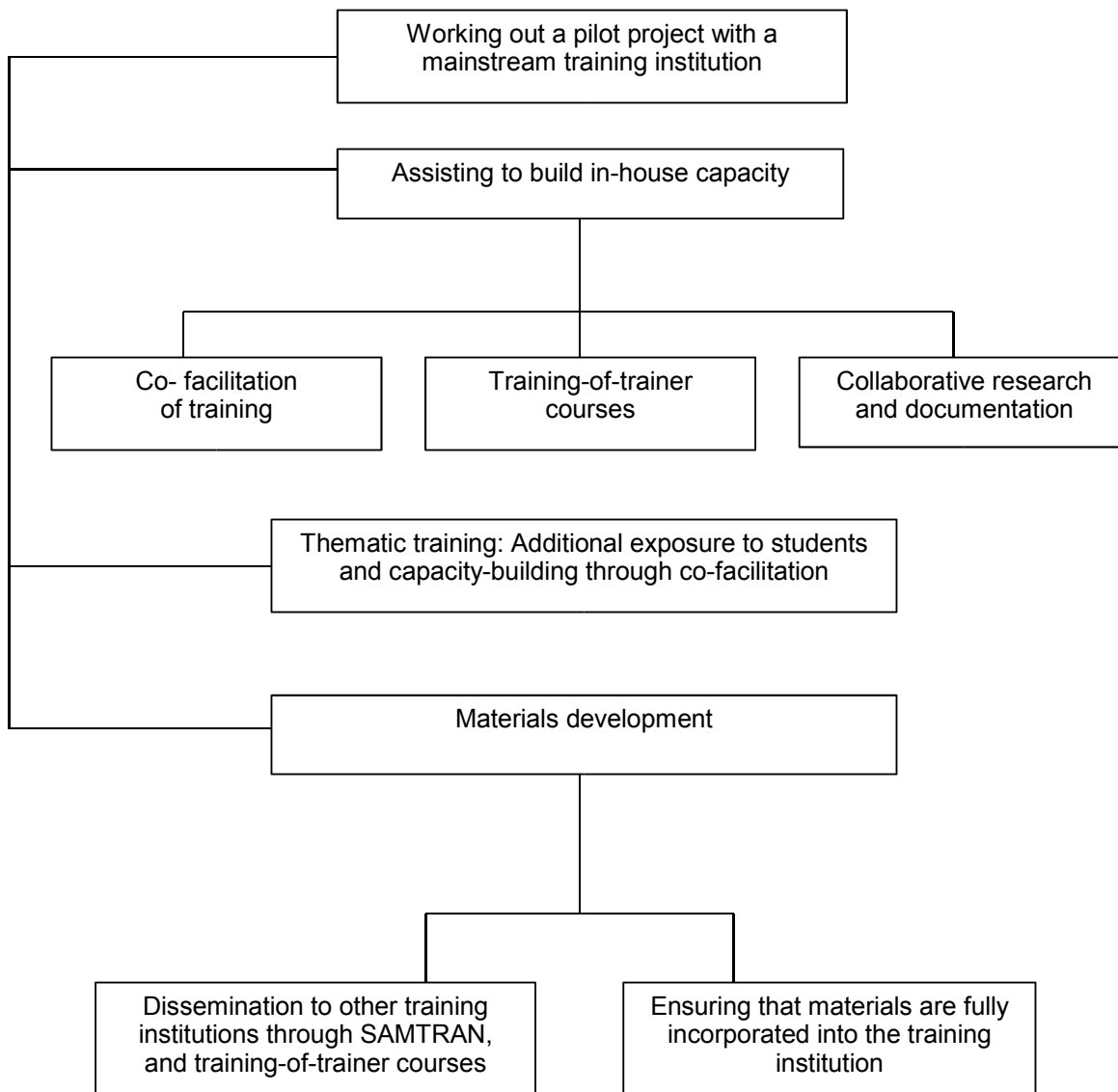
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[18](ibid.)
[19]For more detail see the publications section of the Gender Links website, www.genderlinks.org.za.
[20]Morna & Khan (2001)

Figure 2: Approaches to gender mainstreaming in media training

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┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Working out a pilot project with a   │
│ mainstream training institution      │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Assisting to build in-house capacity │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐  ┌─────────────────────┐
│ Co- facilitation│ Training-of-trainer│ Collaborative research│
│ of training   │  │ courses          │  │ and documentation   │
└──────────────┘  └──────────────────┘  └─────────────────────┘

┌────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Thematic training: Additional exposure to students│
│ and capacity-building through co-facilitation   │
└────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Materials development                │
└──────────────────────────────────────┘

┌────────────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ Dissemination to other training│ Ensuring that materials are fully│
│ institutions through SAMTRAN, │ incorporated into the training │
│ and training-of-trainer courses│ institution                  │
└────────────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────────────┘
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For example, the training tools produced as outputs from the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects have been used to train trainers in other media training institutions. Similarly, the training tools produced in the beat and skills training, as well as the courses offered, have had linkages to, and helped to bolster, the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects. The latter projects are by nature long-term, but they have the great advantage of providing the broader initiatives with a stable foundation; ensuring institutional ownership and buy-in; and, hopefully, ensuring their sustainability.

So far, GL has engaged in three such partnerships. Two have been one-year projects with in-service training institutions, the IAJ and ZAMCOM, catering to in-service media practitioners. The third is the three-year project with the PON: a career-oriented, entry-level institution.

Each project has its own specifics, but the projects have broadly included the following:

- Agreeing with the institution on the objectives to be reached and a work plan to reach them

- Building in-house capacity through co-facilitation of agreed courses/modules for gender mainstreaming
- Participation by trainers, as appropriate, in training-of-trainer courses and joint research initiatives, especially the GMBS
- Refinement of skills and broadening of the scope of the programme through special course components
- Development of relevant training materials
- Dissemination of training materials to other trainers, and
- Fully incorporating the materials into the host institution's curriculum.

To the extent that the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects have relied heavily on identifying champions within institutions and relationship-building, they have benefited from the Southern African Media Trainers Network (SAMTRAN). This grew out of the first meeting of regional media trainers organised by the PON in tandem with the tenth anniversary of the Windhoek Declaration on Press Freedom in May 2001. The Media Training Needs Assessment referred to frequently in this paper also served as a catalyst for SAMTRAN. The assessment, undertaken by GL for the Nordic SADC Journalism Trust, provided useful insight and contacts for this new organisation on the media training landscape in the southern African region.

Gender mainstreaming in in-service media training

The first of the gender-mainstreaming partnerships between GL and a media training institution took place with the IAJ in 2001, facilitated by the geographical proximity between the two organisations as well as the foresight and openness of the IAJ – the leading provider of in-service training in the new South Africa. With a strong emphasis on redressing the various imbalances in the media created by apartheid, the IAJ had a keen grasp of the importance of gender within the broader transformation agenda.

Indeed, the IAJ pioneered the idea of mainstreaming gender into all components of media training – the cornerstone of the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects. Courses for which the IAJ and GL developed a gender component included race and ethics; feature writing; subediting; and basic, investigative and in-depth reporting.

To take some practical examples of how this is achieved, the gender component of the course on race and ethics in August 2001 examined interviews in one newspaper with "people on the street" before and after the National Budget was announced. In the "before" interview, questions were put to seven people: three men and four women. However, the women comprised three white women and only one black woman, a pensioner. In the "after" interviews, the number of original interviewees dropped from seven to four: three men (two black, one white) and one woman (white, professional). This was a rather blatant example of whose voices were taken seriously in the new South Africa!

The course on investigative reporting considered a story entitled "Women miners toil for R1200", with the subheading, "But pioneers who have broken into a man's world are not complaining". In other words, the only reason that women were being hired was that they were willing to work for lower wages than men. The story was told mainly from the perspective of the male employer and union official, who saw nothing wrong with violating minimum-wage regulations. One of the women interviewed was identified by name, at her work place. The numerous bodies set up in South Africa to protect human rights were not consulted.

When participants stopped to think about it, they agreed that the real story in this case was not about women happy to pick up any crumbs from the table, but about blatant sex discrimination in the new South Africa – at once a more accurate and interesting angle.

The subediting course had a host of headlines, captions and illustrations to grapple with. An example was the coverage of a competition for "Best Father" run by a local NGO for Father's Day on 17 June 2001. The competition was designed to raise awareness on fatherhood. One newspaper covered a father in the Alexandra township who challenged the stereotypes of irresponsible fatherhood by caring for his daughter and helping with domestic chores. The headline, however, read "Dad is an ideal mom" in one line: reversing the important message in the story that the Dad was in fact an ideal Dad!

Encouraged by the responses of the participants – some of whom at first showed open hostility to being confronted with a session on gender, yet invariably commented that it had been an eye-opening experience – GL and the IAJ went on to develop a training manual entitled *Gender in media training: A southern African tool kit*[21].

In April 2002, 12 trainers from around the southern African region, including from ZAMCOM and the PON, carried out a peer review of the manual. GL has since conducted two training-of-trainer workshops using the manual, again attended by trainers from ZAMCOM and PON. These processes around the manual provided an important link between the IAJ and the other two projects, although were not the springboard for them.

The relationship between ZAMCOM and GL began with the co-hosting and co-facilitation of a one-week workshop on gender violence in November 2001 as part of GL's thematic training. The active participation of four ZAMCOM trainers from the radio, TV, research and IT departments in the workshop sparked a discussion on how ZAMCOM could ensure that gender was integrated into all its work.

The plan agreed by ZAMCOM and GL, running through 2002, involved working together on specific courses, developing local materials, and completing a gender and media handbook for Zambia that ZAMCOM had already initiated. In addition to participating in the peer review of and training-of-trainer course linked to the IAJ/GL training "tool kit", the ZAMCOM project coincided with the GMBS research launched by MISA and GL.

MISA and GL together contracted ZAMCOM to lead the research in Zambia. Two ZAMCOM trainers received monitoring training as part of the GMBS. The GMBS yielded useful case material for the Zambian handbook and for the ongoing training at ZAMCOM. Further case material emerged from the gender and HIV/AIDS workshop that GL ran in partnership with ZAMCOM in Zambia in March 2003.

In July 2003, ZAMCOM, in collaboration with GL and MISA Namibia, hosted a two-day workshop on the Zambian GMBS to engage editors and other media stakeholders in the findings of the GMBS – again putting it at the centre of gender and media initiatives in Zambia.

The final component of the ZAMCOM project, to be completed in 2004, involves a two-day workshop to devise a gender policy for the institute. This component, proposed by ZAMCOM, is so far unique among the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects and is conceptually sound.

The logic is that, if such projects are to be sustained, they should – to use a current media phrase – be "embedded" in institutional practice. ZAMCOM's gender policy will cover internal practices including recruitment, promotions, and the selection of participants; workplace issues; and the conduct of courses. It will also ensure that gender is mainstreamed into the content of training materials. This could offer a template for other training institutions.

Gender mainstreaming in entry-level media training

From the onset, the pilot project on mainstreaming gender into entry-level journalism training with the Department of Media Technology at the PON was designed to cover the full three-year programme. It commenced in 2002 when the PON introduced its three-year Diploma in

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[21]Morna (2002)

Journalism and Communication Technology. While the curriculum had already been developed and approved prior to the commencement of the project, it has since considerably influenced the teaching methods and objectives of the courses.

Background and characteristics of the PON Diploma Programme

Based on research findings showing that 65% of media practitioners in Namibia did not have formal qualifications,[22] and that the niche market of the PON offers a flexible course catering both for new entrants and those already in the field, the programme has three distinctive features:

- It is offered in the evening, to accommodate those with full-time jobs
- In the third year, the students choose one of three specialisations: Public Relations and Corporate Communication; Journalism and Broadcast Production; or Multimedia Design and Production, and
- The Department is currently developing a policy and related guidelines for recognising prior learning, which it plans to introduce in 2005. This will enable mid-career journalists to gain credit for their work-based experience and, thus, shorten the length of their studies.

In the 2002 intake, only 7 out of 25 students were not already employed in the media or communications field; while in 2003, only 7 out of 25 students were already working in the field. This mixture of full-time students and mid-career practitioners has resulted in a broad range of ages from 17 to 50 years. The mixture of young school-leavers and more mature, experienced mid-career practitioners has created interesting dynamics in the teaching and learning context, and has influenced the experiences gained from the mainstreaming project.
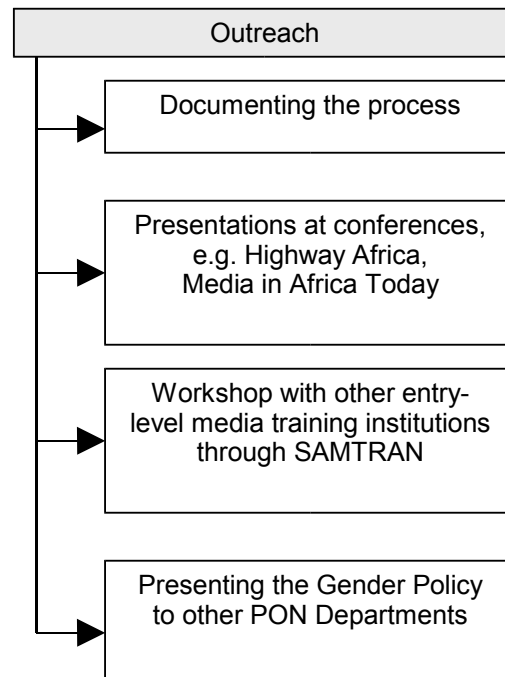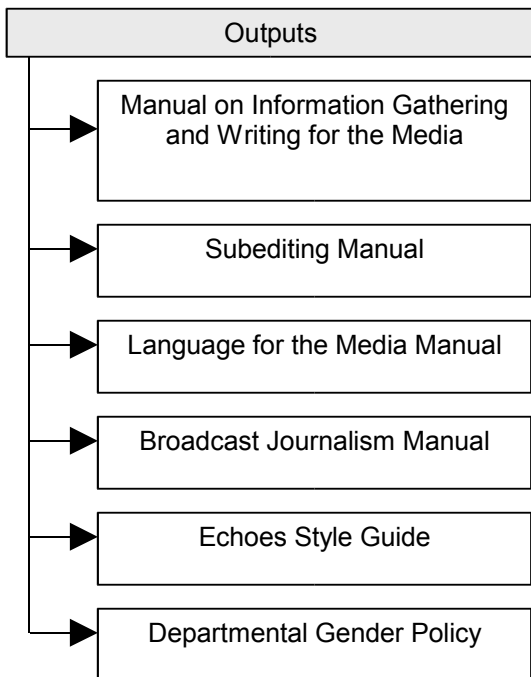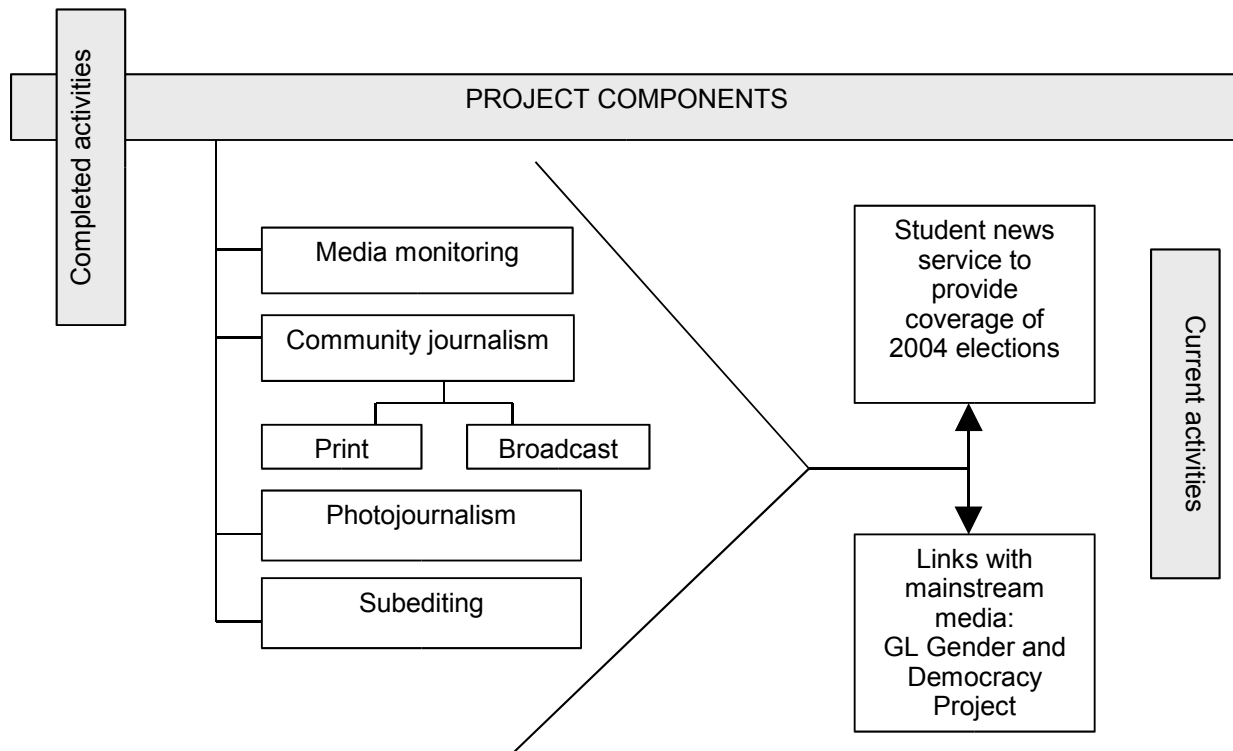
Components of the PON gender-mainstreaming project

The PON project has evolved organically, based both on the general needs identified by the Department's staff and GL's experiences from the other two projects with the IAJ and ZAMCOM. As shown in Figure 3, the components of the project can be categorised into (1) completed activities and (2) current activities with the students as part of the curriculum, (3) study materials development – the main outputs of the project, and (4) outreach and impact assessment. The fourth component is currently being implemented.

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[22]The survey was conducted in March 2000 among practitioners in the print and electronic media, in both government and private media houses in Namibia.

Figure 3: Conceptual framework for the gender-mainstreaming project

COMMUNITY JOURNALISM PROJECT

During the curriculum development process, PON staff had identified diversity and inclusiveness as important components of training. Therefore, the gender-mainstreaming project had an immediate resonance with the community journalism component of training.

Schaffer and Miller (1997) define *civic journalism*[23] as both an attitude and a set of tools for journalists: "The attitude is an affirmation that journalists have an obligation to give readers and viewers the news and information they need to make decisions in a self-governing society". This means that the journalists' goal should be to treat readers and viewers "as meaningful participants in important issues, as meaningful as the elites and the experts the journalists so often quote".[24]

In the first semester of the 2002 academic year the Information Gathering and Writing for the Media course undertook a community journalism project. This included a workshop by GL on gender-aware reporting that fed directly into story ideas and planning for an eight-page newspaper supplement called *Echoes*, carried by *The Namibian*, the daily currently with the widest circulation.

The topics and sources of the stories in the publication reflected an awareness of the need to include a wide variety of perspectives and to recognise relevant gender dimensions. The topics, in which the views of women and men are equally represented, included an investigate piece about sex work, problems residents face in a new and isolated housing settlement, and challenges of daily living in informal settlements.

A story about a dispute over fencing off a dam on the outskirts of Windhoek serves as an example of how gender awareness can enrich a story. A man who earns a living from fishing in the dam was upset about his loss of a livelihood; but a woman spoke up in favour of fencing off the dam because of the danger of children drowning.

In the second semester of the 2002 academic year the students undertook a field trip to the remote southern town of Karasburg, where they had the opportunity to integrate gender and other diversity considerations into visuals and radio journalism in a rural setting. Students produced radio programmes and photo essays on such subjects as substance abuse among the youth; employment creation projects in isolated villages; a home-based care project for people living with AIDS; and stories about Warmbad, a small town where the residents were fighting to renew their ownership of a historical spring.

During the week some students fell into the traps that culture and tradition in rural areas may impose on gender-aware reporting. The group reporting on the home-based care project, for example, observed that the majority of the volunteers in the project were women; yet they only interviewed the male leader of the group because he was the one speaking on the group's behalf.

A student from the group reporting on Warmbad, home of the Nama community known as the *Bondelswarts*, found out that the matron of the school hostel, a middle-aged mother of three children, was the reigning Miss Bondelswarts. The student decided to do a photo essay on her, concentrating on the Bondelswarts' colourful traditional outfits. However, he overlooked the angle of how the Miss Bondelswarts competition potentially challenged Western stereotypes of beauty. Examples such as these served as useful learning points in the debriefing after the field trip.

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[23]The Department of Media Technology has adopted the term *community journalism*, but the approach is often referred to as *civic* or *public journalism* as well.
[24]Schaffer & Miller (1997)

MEDIA MONITORING

The media monitoring assignment served as the second testing ground for mainstreaming gender. Following a workshop co-facilitated by the PON and GL on how to monitor the media from a gender perspective, students had to monitor the news of a specific beat of their choice for one month. They then selected and analysed examples of gender-aware and gender-blind stories as well as stories that perpetuated or challenged gender stereotypes. They also had to generate story ideas based on their monitoring, and pitch one of the ideas to a panel of editors.

The analyses revealed that there were very few gender-aware stories in the Namibian media. The pitching exercise served as a practical illustration of the deep-seated gender biases among predominantly male editors.

Due to last-minute cancellations by female editors, the panel consisted of two male editors. A female student, who had found out during the monitoring that out of 43 business stories not one story featured a woman as a source, presented a story idea about women entrepreneurs in the country. One of the editors summarily dismissed the idea as having been presented with "an attitude". He then went on to say that he would consider placing the story in the "women's pages".

The example provided a useful learning point about how gender-awareness training needs to include strong professional arguments to counter experiences such as this. The main line of argument could have been that, since women's voices were not heard at all on the beat, a story about women in business was new and, therefore, newsworthy. It might also appeal to a new segment of readers. Clearly, another lesson is the importance of gender-awareness training not only among media practitioners, but also among their decision-makers.

SUBEDITING

In the first semester of 2003 the project expanded to include subjects taught in the second year of the Diploma programme. Print design, editing and production courses were identified as the most important future entry points for gender mainstreaming as they build on the skills and knowledge learned in the first-year courses.

The concept was that second-year students would learn how gender dimensions came into a story at the production stage by editing, designing and laying out the second issue of the *Echoes* newspaper written by first-year students who had received the same sort of gender training – as the second-years had in the previous year. The training for the second-year students included a workshop where they developed an official style guide for *Echoes*.

REPLICATING THE PROCESS

It was in this second stage replication of the process that the biggest challenges so far were registered. Most of these problems did not stem from the mainstreaming project, but rather technical hitches in the process. Basic problems like lack of context and inadequate or no attribution plagued many of the stories written by first-years. In many cases the second-year student "editors" failed to point out these problems in time and guide the reporters adequately. The first-years also resented and rejected the advice given by their subeditors, apparently because it had come from fellow students.

Coordination also proved problematic. While in 2002 the project participants had consisted of one group of students and the lecturers who edited their stories, this time there were two courses, two separate groups of students, and five different instructors involved at different stages of the project. This resulted in communication breakdowns and – at times – conflicting instructions. As a result, the lecturer directly responsible for the project decided to delay publishing. The first-years rewrote their stories during the second semester of 2003, and

the lecturers edited the stories to ensure direct feedback with each student on problems in their stories. The stories were enriched by the rural-reporting field visit in September/October 2003 to Okakarara and Otjiwarongo, which included gathering visual material. The field visit was preceded by a GL-facilitated workshop on gender and images, using a new training manual that GL had developed with the Harare-based Southern African Media Services Organisation (SAMSO) entitled *Picture our lives: Gender and images in southern Africa – A manual for trainers*.[25]

The ultimate "test" in terms of replicating the process and evaluating the students' gender-sensitivity will be a Student News Service pilot project due to take place from July to December 2004. During this project, generously supported by the FES and other partners, the Department will constitute a student news agency called *Echoes News Service*. The Service will "employ" second- and first-year students as interns, who will then produce community-driven, issue-based coverage ahead of the three elections due to take place in November 2004. A research component of the project will study the level and extent of gender sensitivity and inclusiveness of the stories the students will produce.

The monitoring experience, which was not performed as thoroughly by the first-year students as the second-years had done in 2002, was repeated with more detailed guidelines on gender analysis during the second semester of 2003. The monitoring exercise is now a standard component of the practical Information Gathering and Writing for the Media course.

An important lesson from these experiences has been that any attempt to mainstream attitude or knowledge training into an already packed curriculum needs to be carefully assessed against the students' entry-level skills and knowledge. Equally important is coordination and proper planning, which should involve all people participating in the project and all lecturers teaching the courses in the programme – not only the ones directly involved in the project.

The need for all trainers to be involved in the process was discussed at a round-table meeting between the GL and all PON staff concerned in December 2003. This one-day workshop yielded a work plan for the Department on how to ensure that gender was mainstreamed throughout the curriculum. This process was followed by another workshop in May 2004 to formulate a gender policy for the Department. During the second semester of 2004 the Department will customise the policy to suit the PON's policy formats, and introduce it to the whole institution via Boards of Studies and the Senate.

Synergies

The synergies between the gender-mainstreaming project and other GL partner projects with the PON have helped to strengthen the project. These include the following:

- Two thematic training workshops on gender violence as well as gender, media and HIV/AIDS. The former workshop sparked the idea of producing publications as part of training that inspired *Echoes.* A number of second-year students participated in the latter workshop, providing an opportunity to deepen their knowledge-related skills on gender. Co-facilitation of these workshops with PON staff also helped to deepen the staff's gender awareness and training skills.
- As previously mentioned, the PON staff member responsible for the gender-mainstreaming project participated in the peer review of the IAJ/GL manual and in a GL gender and media training-of-trainers workshop. Many of the ideas from these workshops have carried through to the PON project. One example is that local guest writers have been asked to contribute to the Namibian basic reporting manual (see below), and interactive exercises have been included to make gender-awareness training lively and engaging.

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[25]GL & SAMSO (2003)

- The PON staff member responsible for the project also led the GMBS team in Namibia, while two students also participated in the GMBS. The GMBS research has raised the profile of gender and media issues in Namibia, and has helped to develop skills in monitoring the media from a gender perspective.
- As part of a GL initiative, two second-year students also had the opportunity to work with a team of seasoned reporters in producing a daily newspaper from a gender perspective at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002. This intensive on-the-job training had a dramatic impact on the performance of both students, but especially on the male participant who has become an eloquent proponent of gender-aware reporting.

Outputs of the PON gender-mainstreaming project

The main tangible outputs of the project are study material for the different courses taught in the diploma programme. At the curriculum development stage staff at the Department of Media Technology identified the development of locally relevant study material as key to successful delivery of the curriculum and achieving the programme's mission and objectives.

With the support of its main development partner, the Netherlands Institute for southern Africa (NiZA – *Nederlands Instituut voor Zuidelijk Afrika*), the Department embarked on a study material development project with the aim of producing a series of study material responsive to the curriculum objectives.

Raymond Joseph, a South African journalist and expert in community media, wrote the core chapters of the first book in the series, *Information gathering and writing for the media*.[26] GL and PON staff involved in the gender-mainstreaming project edited and expanded on the text, using examples from the monitoring and community journalism projects, to ensure that gender was mainstreamed throughout. The manual also draws on contributions from Namibian media practitioners. The chapters were tested with the students of the Information Gathering and Writing for the Media course in 2003 and will be printed in the second half of 2004.

Two more manuals were produced in 2003 that incorporate gender from the start. A GL trainer wrote a subediting manual and a style guide based on the experiences from a workshop she held with second-year students on Gender and Editing in May 2003.

Future activities of the PON gender-mainstreaming project

Now that gender has been mainstreamed into the Department's key activities, the main focus in the third and final year will be sustainability and outreach.

Because practical production, the formal-education equivalent of on-the-job training, has been one of the most successful ways to inculcate the principles of inclusiveness and diversity, the PON is looking at establishing permanent campus media outlets. For example, a pilot project of a student news wire service was launched during the second semester of the 2004 academic year. This project will focus on "alternative", community-based coverage of the elections at the end of the year. It offers yet another practical entry point for gender mainstreaming in political reporting and election coverage. Public relations, which is one of the three specialisations offered in the Diploma programme, is another area of focus in 2004.

Documenting the process and publicising it to the training community in the southern African region is another important component of the gender-mainstreaming project. GL and the PON staff involved in the project are currently writing a primer provisionally entitled "Mainstreaming gender into journalism education". The draft publication is based on the experiences of the three-year pilot project and plan to share the draft version of the primer with

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[26] Shilongo (2003)

other educators and trainers at the Gender and Media Summit in Johannesburg in September 2004.

Conclusions

Assessing impact

In his paper, *"It's the training that did It": A primer for media trainers to assess their impact*, Guy Berger (2001) of the Rhodes University Media Studies Department quotes Donald Kirkpatrick's (1998) four stages for assessing impact in any form of training:

- Reaction: Did the learners like it?
- Learning: Did they learn it?
- Application: Did they use it?
- Results/pay off: Did it make a difference?

At present, most media training in the southern African region is measured only in terms of the first criterion, "Did the learners like it?", through the administration of evaluation forms at the end of training courses. So far, this is mostly what we have to go on in assessing the impact of training in the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects.

Evaluations administered at the end of each of the IAJ courses suggest that the learners liked the courses, and that it opened their eyes. Many said they would apply this learning, as the following selection of comments reflects:

- "This module opened my world. I was not aware of the subtle nature of stereotyping, how this can be perpetuated through language, religion, etc."
- "The issue of ethics and gender had never been brought to my attention or to the debating table. Our journalists have never been aware of these aspects. I'll apply these lessons to change things."
- "When we analysed the day's newspapers, I realised that the messages that we send out are quite shocking."
- "The (module) demonstrated just how our lives are so fundamentally shaped by race, class and gender. It is essential to understand this in order to change our thinking and in reporting race and gender as human values."

At the end of the 2002 academic year, PON students filled out a questionnaire on their perception of the different components of the gender-mainstreaming project. These are few of their comments:

- *On the Gender in Media Workshop and the monitoring assignment*
  - "I learnt that there is a gender angle to every story – which I did not know."
  - "The workshop about gender was very informative and interesting. It is funny how journalists somehow overlook gender sensitivity. After the workshop I have really tried my best to do a story considering both sexes."
  - "It raised an awareness in me about the importance of gender in a story. I read stories from a gender perspective, what role it plays in a story."
- *On the field trip*
  - "The things we did [were] very useful, although it is sometimes difficult to bring the gender thing [into a] story. But we learned a lot."
  - "I believe that if we get exposed to more assignments like the field trip regarding gender and community journalism, it will help us a lot, e.g. to interact with the community."

The real test is the extent to which such learning is applied, and whether it makes a difference further down the road. Four years from now, GL and MISA plan to conduct a follow-up study to the 2002 GMBS. This will provide some measure of the extent to which training and advocacy work on gender and the media have made a difference.

In the medium term, GL, the PON and other partners would welcome a specific evaluation of the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects to track students and working media practitioners who have participated in such projects to their place of work, to assess the extent to which learning is being applied.

On-the-job training

In the course of engagements with editors on the findings of the GMBS, it became apparent that an area where greater emphasis needs to be placed in future is on on-the-job training. The disadvantage of media training that takes place in an institution or away from the newsroom is that journalists often return with innovative ideas to institutional environments that are not ready for change.

Until recently, GL training engaged on-the-job concepts, without actually being on the job. Since then, the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects have produced training supplements carried by mainstream newspapers such as *Echoes*, as well as the gender violence and HIV/AIDS supplements with ZAMCOM and the PON, as part of the community journalism course with the PON.

The challenge now is to do on-the-job training on the spot. In the case of entry-level training, the gender and elections wire service planned by the PON, as well as GL's newsroom gender and democracy training, provides an interesting new model for linking entry-level training with on-the-job newsroom training.

Sustainability

Projects involving attitudes, like gender awareness, are often initiated and driven by one or two individuals in an organisation. Sustainability of such projects, irrespective of how *success* is defined, depends on the entire organisation adopting the process and its principles. For example, two lecturers have driven the PON project: the challenge now remains to ensure that the entire Department adopts the process.

As mentioned earlier, the ZAMCOM approach of developing a gender policy alongside gender training tools and capacity is potentially a solid one for ensuring sustainability. This will be discussed with PON staff at the upcoming round-table meeting.

Gender mainstreaming in university media training

Through its various training initiatives, GL has had considerable contact with university trainers who are interested in, and are developing approaches for, gender mainstreaming in their curricula. In some instances, attempts are being made to link gender studies programmes with media training and to offer crossover courses.

There is considerable scope for sharing experiences on gender mainstreaming in media education between universities, as well as between vocational training colleges and universities, such as the PON and the University of Namibia. The authors, Pauliina Shilongo and Colleen Lowe-Morna, hope that the "Media in Africa" conference, in which a number of trainers and media academics from around the southern African region are participating, might provide the impetus for more collaborative efforts around gender and the media in higher education.

Innovative uses of IT

In all areas and types of media education, there is considerable scope for using IT more innovatively in the future. Despite the problems of access and connectivity, GL has followed up all its direct training with online backstopping support for those interested. Although only about 20% of the participants have responded, those who have appear to have benefited from this opportunity.

As initiatives around on-the-job training develop, online support would seem to be a logical way of sustaining training that involves identifying and following through on story ideas. IT also offers exciting opportunities for peer support and networking among trainers. An issue that constantly arises in training is the usefulness of case studies and examples for training, as well as how quickly these become dated in a field as perishable as the media.

In the latter half of 2003, GL indexed and archived, online, all the rich case material to emerge from the GMBS. A workshop was held with media trainers around the southern African region, especially those who had participated in the Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Projects, to discuss how this resource could be made into a "live" library through constant posting of examples archived by GL as part of its Electronic Gender and Media (E-GEM) project. In March 2004, GL launched the Virtual Resource Centre, an online resource for trainers with case studies and lesson plans developed from the material collected for the GMBS. The E-GEM project will mean, for example, that the manual on *Information gathering and writing for the media*[27] can be used by other entry-level training institutions, but with a separate compendium of local examples. Such institutions can then draw on the online resource for a wider variety of examples.

Multiplier effects such as these offer hope that the seed planted through a few strategically placed projects and interventions can, in the long run, cascade into a much more sustained drive towards gender mainstreaming in media education.

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FES Colleagues sharing a lighter moment with **Hon. Dr Mosé Tjitendero** (sixth from the right), Speaker of the National Assembly, Namibia, during a visit to the Parliament Chambers

Best-practice presentations

Angola
Mr Adão Augusto, Project Officer, FES Angola

FES Angola's work on gender issues

Political environment

The Angolan Republic is today a democratic state. The President, who is also the Chief of the Government, nominates the Prime Minister and his/her executive. The Parliament, elected in September 1992, is the legislative organ. In accordance with the Constitution, which was amended in 1996, elections are obliged to take place every four years. The minimum requirement for a seat in Parliament is 1% of the total number of votes. Every Angolan citizen is entitled to vote from the age of 18 years, and can stand for election.

Twelve years after the birth of democracy in Angola, the same 12 political parties elected in 1992 still dominate politics. The political system was marred by conflict, division and internal coalitions because of the civil war that lasted for more than 30 years. Political parties are still not well organised today, even though the government offers generous subsidies to those represented in Parliament.

The ruling party is the *Movimiento Popular para la Liberacão de Angola* (MPLA), with 129 seats in Parliament, followed by the *União Nacional de Indepênçia Total de Angola* (UNITA) with 70 seats. Out of a total of 229 members of the National Assembly, 16% are women. Women in government posts in general constitute only 2% of the staff.

Representation by women in political parties is also very low. Only the MPLA, the largest political party, has a 20% representation by women.

Economic environment

Angola has an open-market economy. The government continues to institute change through macroeconomic stabilisation measures and structural reforms.

Over the past three years, the labour market has been inundated with strike action, mainly in the health and education sectors. The major focus of discussion between employees and their employers has been the fight for a national minimum wage.

Women make up 59% of Angola's population. Unfortunately, discrimination against women is rife, particularly in the private sector. For example, in privately-run learning institutions, a woman lecturer is only given 15 days paid maternity leave, and she is responsible for obtaining a substitute during her absence. Such practices contravene the national labour law, which stipulates fully paid maternity leave for one month before delivery and three months thereafter. However, due to little trade union activity in the private sector, issues such as maternity leave are not actively pursued. Hence, many women rather seek employment in the public service.

Gender-related activities by FES Angola

FES activities in Angola consist of promoting women's participation in political and socio-economic platforms, and empowering them to defend their rights on all levels.

Some of the activities focus on capacity-building amongst women in political parties. Topics of training include several issues about elections, and participation in formulating their parties' election manifestos. Other activities concentrate on training women in trade unions to strengthen gender mainstreaming in such organisations. The FES also assisted women MPs set up two conferences to analyse the extent to which the undertakings made at the Beijing Conference were being implemented.

Gender-related support by government

The Ministry of Family and Promotion of Women coordinates gender issues. This Ministry offers capacity-building in various areas, as well as advocacy and empowerment, amongst other development issues.

There is no official gender policy.

Gender-related support by other institutions

Several NGOs contribute to a host of gender-related activities in Angola, like Women's Networking Angola.

The impact of gender-related support

One of the positive outcomes of gender-based support activities in the country has been that women in political parties have organised political committees for themselves. These are affiliated to Women's Networking Angola.

Other positive outcomes include the number of cases of violence against women having decreased, and gender mainstreaming having improved the level of understanding between men and women.

Finally, discussions on gender issues at a political level are moving closer towards a stage where appropriate legislation can be drafted.

Presentation time! From left: **Ms Linda Mudavanhu**, FES Zimbabwe; **Ms Katryn Banda Sikombe**, FES Zambia and **Ms Angela Ishengoma**, FES Tanzania

Botswana
Ms Gabi Lubbe, Gender Coordinator, FES Botswana

Leadership development for women in politics

Political and historical introduction

Botswana is known as one of the most successful democracies in Africa. Despite the problems currently being experienced, Botswana can look back on a peaceful and smooth transition to democracy.

Since independence in 1966, Botswana has followed the constitutional provision of regular elections every five years. After seven successive elections, the process can be acknowledged to be more than just a ritual: it is an integral part of the political culture. There are now institutionalised mechanisms of selecting leaders to the highest legislative institution on the land, the National Assembly.

The Botswana Constitution provides for a non-racial, multiparty democracy, which is based on the basic democratic tenets of regular free and fair elections, equality of all citizens, freedom of association, assembly and belief, and the rule of law. It also provides for a unicameral legislature where MPs represent their respective constituencies.

Botswana operates the Single Member District electoral system where 40 MPs are elected to the National Assembly on a constituency basis, based on the simple plurality (or "winner-takes-all") system. The National Assembly then appoints four specially elected MPs and the Speaker of the House.

Botswana does not have presidential elections. It operates according to the Westminster Parliamentary system, in which the presidential candidate whose party wins the majority of the National Assembly seats takes office as President. The President then selects his/her Cabinet from among the relevant party members in the National Assembly.

In addition to the National Assembly there is also the House of Chiefs, which is not an elective office, but a house that draws its membership from the traditional authorities – the *Dikgosi* ("Chiefs"). This house, which has 15 members, has no legislative powers; however, it advises government on matters of tradition and custom. *Dikgosi* and *Dikgosana* ("Sub-chiefs") preside over the *Kgotla* ("village assembly"), which is the traditional forum for discussing tribal matters, and adjudicate cases falling under the purview of customary law.

One of the weaknesses of Botswana's democracy has been the under-representation of women at virtually all levels of decision-making, both in the political sphere and in government bureaucracy. For a number of years, this situation was not even questioned in the country, particularly because – according to Setswana tradition – "women cannot or should not lead".

Following the 1999 elections, the number of women that gained parliamentary seats was eight. Six of these won their seats as a result of having contested the general election. The President later nominated two additional women MPs. In addition, for the first time since the country's independence, there are four women in Cabinet. Two more women have been appointed Permanent Secretaries.

Despite these gains, however, the challenges of achieving gender equality in Botswana politics are very evident. Clearly, if more women were to achieve positions of decision-making within the political arena, all political parties would have to devise strategies to ensure women were represented within party structures themselves, and that they went through the primary elections stage. Women's wings of political parties would have a central role to play in making

certain that such changes occurred, as the absence of women in leadership positions is generally seen as counter-productive, both in political and economic terms.

Women's participation in politics

The Beijing Platform for Action[1] states that –

> without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspectives in all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

There have been a number of developments in recent years that question the under-representation of women in politics and decision-making positions, and actively seek to address the situation. The main actors in this arena are Emang Basadi, the Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics, the Women's NGO Coalition, and the Beijing Conference.

Emang Basadi

Following the amendment of the Citizenship Act in 1982, a group of Batswana women met to decide how to challenge this law because it denied Batswana women married to foreign men the right to pass on citizenship to their children. The women felt that their democratic rights were being denied. They formed an organisation called *Emang Basadi*, which has since become a leading organisation in terms of advocating for women's rights. Emang Basadi has, since its formation in 1986, tried to lobby government to amend the Citizenship Act and to enact a gender-neutral piece of legislation. When these efforts did not seem to bear fruit, a Motswana woman, Unity Dow – who was married to an American citizen – took government to court on the grounds that the Act denied her enjoyment of human rights, and that such discrimination violated the country's Constitution. She won the case; and even though the state appealed, it still lost. Unity Dow later became the first woman Judge at the Botswana High Court.

Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics

Women acting in politics from all parties in Botswana founded the Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics (BCWP), a spin-off from Emang Basadi. The BCWP is a non-partisan organisation constituted to provide a forum for solidarity and support as well as a united voice on gender issues. This is achieved through training, research, lobbying and networking for politically active women. The BCWP is committed to a society in which women and men have equal opportunities to participate in all spheres of public and private life.

Women's NGO Coalition

All NGOs dealing with the empowerment of women in Botswana joined up to form the Women's NGO Coalition as their umbrella body, representing them vis-à-vis the government and the international community, i.e. the Beijing Conference.

The Beijing Conference

The Beijing Conference, just like the others before it (e.g. the Nairobi Conference of 1985), together with other regional initiatives such as the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, has been instrumental in focussing on the issues of gender, equality and development in many governments' agendas. The government of Botswana is a signatory to both

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[1] Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China – September 1995

the Beijing Declaration and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. These international initiatives have helped local women's organisations such as Emang Basadi, the Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics, and its collaborating partners, which needed a boost in questioning Botswana's democracy and its effectiveness – particularly in promoting participation by all and ensuring equality. Indeed, the results of the 1999 elections showed that all the different interventions from NGOs and the entire civil society concerning women's empowerment had begun to bear fruit.

The FES in Botswana

The FES's Botswana Office in Gaborone was established in October 1973. The FES signed an agreement with the government in April 1974, manifesting the strong ties with state institutions, civil organisations, trade unions and academic bodies. Strengthening political institutions was placed first on the list of cooperation priorities in order to enhance Botswana's development as a democracy vis-à-vis an adverse political environment in the neighbourhood. Projects focussed on political partners, small business, trade unions, radio journalists and academic research. Form the 1990s onwards, the scope of cooperation was consolidated and new themes were incorporated into the programme, such as local democracy**,** gender, youth and regional integration. Today, FES Botswana's main objectives are to support major institutional and political reforms to foster democratic stability in Botswana, on the one hand, and on the other, to promote the involvement of non-state actors in shaping policy and democracy.

Table 1: Population statistics[2]

Item	Related statistic
Percentage of the population that are male	48.4%
Percentage of the population that are female	51.6%
Women living in urban areas	52.9%
Women living in rural areas	51.6%
Men with no schooling	48.5%
Women with no schooling	51.5%
Urban female-headed households	44%
Rural female-headed households	50%
Life expectancy for men	45.1 years
Life expectancy for women	47.1 years
Female-headed farming households	35% of
Women public servants in senior management positions	33%
Parliamentary seats occupied by women	18%
Male share of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (Purchasing Power Parity/PPP in US$)	8.550
Female share of GDP per capita (PPP US$)	3.747

Table 2: Summary of women in politics in Botswana[3]

Item	Related statistic
Electoral system	Constitutional
Next elections	2004
No. of women in Lower or Single House	8 (of 44)
Percentage of women in Lower or Single House	18.0%
No. of women in Cabinet	4 (of 15)
Percentage of women in Cabinet	26.7%
No. of women Deputy Ministers	2 (of 6)
Percentage of women Deputy Ministers	33.3%
No. of women in local government positions	111 (of 486)

[2] UNDP (2004)
[3] Gender Links (2004)

| Item	Related statistic
Percentage of women in local government positions	22.8%

In Botswana the number of women in Parliament increased from 5.6% at independence to 18% by 1999. This is clearly far short of the mandated 30% requirement for SADC countries. Furthermore, it is felt that these women are given mainly social affairs portfolios like Health, Works and Transport, Environment, and Wildlife and Tourism, which appears discriminatory.

As Margaret Nasha, Minister of Lands and Housing and President of the Botswana Caucus for Women in Politics, has said, "Unless we work hard to reach the 30% target ourselves and be serious about it, this target dream will remain only a dream".[4]

Introduction of activity

In order to address this situation, the FES, with the financial support of the British High Commission and the British Government's Department of International Development (DFID) assisted the BCWP in organising 17 training workshops between May and October 2003 for 867 potential political candidates. The aim of these workshops was to prepare aspiring women politicians to use various methods/campaign tactics during the primary elections. Of the 867 candidates, 185 won their primaries in the end.

In recognition of the need to further strengthen the leadership and representational capacity of women political candidates, the FES, the DFID and the BCWP organised a series of leadership development workshops between May

Participants at one of the Leadership Development workshops.

and June 2004. The 185 winners of the primaries were invited to attend these workshops, which were held in different parts of the country. About 130 of these women participated. The aim was to enhance these women's abilities in terms of public speaking, lobbying and advocacy, and political campaigning, in order to prepare them for the general elections later in the year. In addition, the workshops sought to contribute to the 30% female representation in positions of leadership and decision-making, a target set during the Beijing Conference in 1995 and affirmed by SADC Heads of State and Government in 1997.
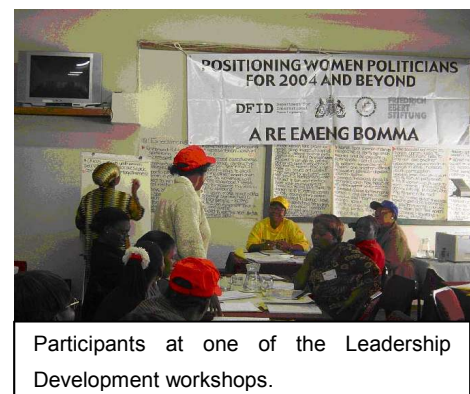
Leadership in the Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics (from right to left): **Ms Rhoda Sekgororoane**, Vice-President; **Hon. Magret Nasha**, President; **Ms Moggie Mbaakanyi**, Secretary-General

The specific objectives of these workshops were as follows:

- To review and share the key lessons learned from the primary elections experience, and develop strategies for the future
- To strengthen the leadership skills and capacity of a critical mass of BCWP stakeholders to prepare them for the upcoming general elections and beyond, and
- To increase the participants' knowledge and skills in campaign management.

Participants were from the Botswana Congress Party, the New Democratic Front, the Botswana Democratic Party, and the Botswana National Front. The BCWP's collaborating partners, the FES and the DFID, also sent representatives to the

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[4] Opening address at the workshop entitled "Positioning women politicians for 2004 and beyond", held in Gaborone, 16 April 2004

workshop. The BCWP President and Minister of Lands and Housing, Dr Margaret Nasha, attended two of the workshops.

Ms Ketsile Molokomme of Process Facilitators, a local consulting company specialising in organisational development processes, ran the workshop. Participation was used as a training technique throughout the process to ensure that the workshop built upon the participants' knowledge, skills and experience. Lectures were kept to a bare minimum. Plenary exercises, small group discussions with guiding issues for discussion, case studies, group brainstorming sessions and cartoons were some of the participatory techniques used in the workshop.

The Gender Policy Framework

The facilitator provided an overview of the background and policy framework that had resulted in the prioritisation of women in leadership and decision-making. The following key processes were included in the presentation:

International level	Regional level	National level

• The Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948)
• Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1980)
• UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993)
• Convention on the Rights of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights
• Beijing Platform for Action (1995)
	SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997)	• Botswana Constitution
		• Women in Development Policy
		• National Gender Programme Framework and the six critical areas of concern:
		  o Women and poverty, including economic empowerment of women
		  o Women in power-sharing and decision-making
		  o Education and training of women
		  o Women and health
		  o The girl child
		  o Violence against women including women's human rights

Key issues

Participants unanimously concluded that certain cultural practices and discriminatory laws were key factors in the marginalisation of women.

Cultural aspects

- According to cultural practices, a woman was regarded as a child and, therefore, was incapable of taking up leadership and decision-making positions.
- Culturally, women had no say; they were supposed to be seen but not heard.
- Culture relegated women to a subordinate position where they were expected to respect men at all costs, and to know their boundaries as women.
- Cultural traditions made women overly humble.
- Cultural proverbs such as *Mosadi, mosalagae* ("a woman's place is in the home") perpetuated the under-representation of women in leadership and decision-making positions.
- Religious beliefs have also assisted culture in perpetuating the subordination of women.

- Cultural practices contributed to socialising boys and girls differently: girls tended to be subservient, while boys grew up to take risks and, thus, not shy away from positions of power.

Legal aspects

- In legal terms, women were usually considered minors or children.
- The marital power provided to men under the law gave them absolute power over women.
- The law tended to concentrate decision-making powers in the hands of men.
- Ownership of property also favoured men.

Participants at one of the Leadership Development Workshops

Lessons learned and strategies for the future

- To deal with the problem of male political candidates using sex and favours: Educate and raise awareness amongst women on the pitfalls of being used.
- To address the problem of candidates not accepting defeat: Mechanisms should be put in place to counsel them. Winners' and losers' workshops to assist the healing processes could go a long way to address this problem.
- Planning and organisation are critical to any campaign: A campaign plan could assist in guiding the campaign team, even in the candidate's absence.

- Support through capacity-building and training provided by the BCWP has strengthened many women politicians. The mere fact that there is a Caucus for women is a big achievement – which men will find very hard to attain. The BCWP, however, needs to recognise that the women it exists to serve come from different political parties where they can be victimised if the Caucus's objectives are not fully understood. The mission and objectives of the Caucus need to be shared and understood by all political parties.

Source: Elvia van den Berg, 2001. *Towards Gender Equality in your Organisation: A practical guide on how to mainstream gender and improve the performance in your organisation,* Gaborone, Netherlands Development Organisation SNV; Ketsile Molokomme's Training Programme, Botswana

- The experiences recorded by women indicate that resources were a major constraint to successful political campaigns. For this reason, it was critical that the BCWP organise

interventions aimed at transferring fundraising skills to women politicians. Consensus was also reached on the fact that the Caucus was not a funding agency and, as such, could not raise funds for its members' campaigns.

Conclusions

The participants were delighted with the usefulness of, and lessons learned at, these workshops. In fact, their evaluations of this learning and educative process were unanimously appreciative. The FES, in turn, was impressed with their wholehearted participation and contributions during the workshop. The facilitator, Ms Ketsile Molokomme, also played a major role in the success and excellence of the workshops.

We wish all these women the very best in October's general elections, and sincerely hope that the outcome brings us closer to the 30% representation target.

One of the posters developed for use during the 2004 elections in Botswana

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FES colleagues working in small groups to come up with recommendations.

Some participants enjoying the teabreak during the Workshop (seated, from left): **Ms Portia Lebala** and **Ms Kaamilah Joseph**, both Project Officers, FES South Africa; **Ms Gabi ꜱbe**, Finance Officer/Gender Coordinator, FES Botswana.

Mozambique
Ms Manon Dietrich-Rossini, Project Manager, FES Mozambique

Organisation matters! The creation of the Women's Labour Caucus in Mozambique

Socio-political and socio-economic developments

At independence in 1975, after almost five centuries as a Portuguese colony, Mozambique was one of the world's poorest countries. Socialist mismanagement and 16 years of civil war had worsened the situation. In 1987, the government embarked on a series of macroeconomic reforms designed to stabilise the economy. The ruling party formally abandoned Marxism in 1989, and a new Constitution in 1990[1] provided for multiparty elections and a free-market economy. These steps, combined with donor assistance and with political stability since the multiparty elections in 1994, have led to dramatic improvements in the country's growth rate. During the last 11 years Mozambique's economy has grown by a steady 9% each year. For 2004, the prognosis is 8% growth. Especially through the opening of the gas pipeline to South Africa and the third expansion phase of the Mozambique Aluminium Smelter Project (MOZAL), the country's largest foreign investment project to date, new and important impulses for the Mozambican economy are foreseen. Also, the transport sector will have its share of the growth percentage with the expansion of harbours and the railroad network.

In spite of these gains, however, the majority of the population remains below the poverty line. Subsistence agriculture continues to employ the vast majority of the country's workforce. Heavy flooding in both 1999 and 2000 severely hurt the economy, and because of the continuing drought in the central and southern regions of the country over the past two years, over 40% of the agricultural production was lost.

A positive point for economic development is the fact that Mozambique's once substantial foreign debt has been reduced from US$6.1 billion to US$1.6 billion, through forgiveness and rescheduling under the International Monetary Fund's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) and Enhanced HIPC Initiatives.

Fiscal reforms – including the introduction of a value-added tax, the reform of the customs service, and the introduction of an extensive income tax – have improved the government's revenue collection abilities. Nevertheless, Mozambique remains dependent upon foreign assistance for much of its annual budget (about 60%).

Inflation was reduced to single digits during the late 1990s, but since 2000 it has returned to double digits. For 2004 Mozambique is factoring in an inflation rate of about 7%.

The first parliamentary and presidential elections were held in 1994 and the second in 1999. In 1998 the first municipal elections were held, followed by the second of these in 2003. In the latter election, the ruling *Frente de Libertaçâo de Moçambique* (FRELIMO) party was the clear winner in 33 municipalities, garnering about 70% of the seats in municipal councils. The opposition party, *Resistëncia Nacional Moçambicana* (RENAMO), only won a majority in four municipalities. The average participation by voters was just under 30% - double that of the first municipal elections, which were boycotted by RENAMO. The third parliamentary and presidential elections have been set for 1–2 December 2004.

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[1]RoM (1990)

A gender analysis

In connection with the Fourth International Conference on Women in 1995 in Beijing, a shift in emphasis from women empowerment to new concepts such as gender equality and gender mainstreaming occurred worldwide. In 1997, SADC Heads of State and Government adopted the Declaration on Gender and Development, which pledged to reach a target of 30% of women in all spheres of decision-making by 2005.

Currently, the proportion of women in Parliament in SADC is considerably higher than the African and global averages. With respect to women's participation in Parliament today, three of the top ten countries are in southern Africa: Mozambique, the Seychelles, and South Africa.

Mozambique, with 71 of 250 parliamentary seats occupied by women, boasts 28.4% participation by women in this sphere, and is very close to reaching the 30% target. However, this favourable figure contrasts sharply with the 14.2% representation of women in Cabinet. Out of 21 Ministers, only 3 are women – although they represent powerful portfolios, namely Planning and Finance; Women and Social Action Coordination; and Higher Education, Science and Technology. In addition, 5 women hold office as Deputy Ministers and 22 as National Directors. On the municipal level, however, women are very sparsely represented. Out of 33 Mayors, only one is a woman. Also, amongst the administrators on district level, very few are women.

In 2002, the gender-related development index was presented for Mozambique for the first time. According to the index, men profit far more than women from the improvements made in the education sector. Since 1980, the illiteracy rate among men has dropped by around 28%, while amongst women it has fallen by around 19%. Women were also shown to be underprivileged in the labour market. In the formal sector, 63% of Mozambican men receive regular salaries, compared with only 22% of women. The majority of women (94%) work as independents in the informal sector or as unpaid family workers at home, in the informal sector, in trade, or in agriculture.

The Constitution of Mozambique explicitly outlaws gender discrimination and provides for affirmative action.[2] FRELIMO has its own voluntarily adopted party quota of 30%, and because the electoral system is based on proportional representation, every third person on its list is a woman.

Mozambique took a big step forward towards gender equality between men and women at the end of 2003 when the National Assembly passed a new family law. The old civil code in place up to that point dated to colonial times and conflicted with the Mozambican Constitution. Under the civil code, the head of the family was automatically a man; he administered the property of the household by himself, and made all the decisions with regard to family issues. Women even required their husbands' consent before taking a job. In the new law, all gender-specific remarks have been deleted and no difference is made between a child born to parents who are legally married and one who is born to parents who are not. In addition, the husband no longer automatically represents the family; both partners can do so now. A husband or wife is no longer permitted to detract from their spouse's right to work. Furthermore, although a couple is obliged to live under the same roof, this need no longer be the husband's house.

The minimum age for marriage for both sexes is now 18. Previously, under the civil code, it was 16 for boys and 14 for girls. Under exceptional circumstances and only if their parents give their consent, a 16-year-old of either sex is permitted to get married.

Until now, only civil marriage received legal recognition. The new law now extends that recognition to religious and traditional marriages, and for the first time recognises "de facto unions" (a couple who have lived together for at least a year, but are not married to each other). Children born within such unions now have the same protection as children of married parents;

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[2](ibid.)

similarly, if such a union breaks apart, the husband can be forced to pay maintenance for the children. Furthermore, although the new law does not recognise or encourage polygamy, it also does not outlaw it. In terms of inheritance, the law specifically assigns the same rights to each of the wives in a polygamous union.

The new law also makes adoption easier. Now, any couple older than 25 who have been living together or have been married for at least three years can adopt a child. So can a single person, as long as s/he can provide the required moral and material conditions that would guarantee the child's healthy development. The upper age limit for adoption is fixed at 50, unless the child to be adopted is the son or daughter of a deceased or separated partner.

For the first time in Mozambican law, the concept of *foster family* has been recognised. During the 16-year civil war, it was very common for orphans or abandoned children to be integrated into foster families. This custom will continue to gain importance with the growing number of children who have lost their parents to HIV/AIDS.

The new law has taken many years to draft and discuss at every level of society. In this regard, the FES in Mozambique, in cooperation with Parliament and civil society, organised workshops and seminars to discuss critical issues in order to reach consensus. This long process has culminated in a massive victory for the human rights of women.

Currently, the Bill is under review and revision because some of the articles concerning forms of marriage alternative to the civil one were considered unconstitutional. Whether the Bill will be passed soon is uncertain, since the current parliamentary session is due to end before the parliamentary and presidential elections in December.

Women's Committees and the Women's Labour Caucus

One of the anchor points of FES gender work is its cooperation with the Women's Committees of the two trade union federations in Mozambique.

In 1987, a period of transformation in the trade union movement began, challenged by the processes of economic and political liberalisation. A few years earlier, in 1984, the Mozambican government had formally joined the IMF and the World Bank, which imposed a series of economic programmes that aimed to reverse the decline in domestic production; reduce financial imbalances; promote economic efficiency; eliminate the informal market; and restore healthy financial relationships with commercial and financial partners. The principal measures put in place to achieve these objectives were the removal of price controls as an incentive for producers; the adjustment of the terms of exchange both in the domestic and foreign plans; a reduction of public expenditure; and the privatisation of state-owned companies. The privatisation of state-owned companies aimed to –

- change technologies to increase the companies' efficiency and competitiveness
- modernise management techniques and increase productivity
- attract national and foreign investments
- generate income for the state, and
- grant citizens, especially workers, access to company shares.

During the transformation period launched in 1987, despite a 50% salary increase, the prevailing standard of living could not be maintained in view of the immediate escalation of prices brought about by structural adjustment programmes. Some 120,000 workers were retrenched during this period, and salaries were eroded. As a result, the majority of workers currently live below the poverty line. A third of the 1,200 privatised companies are paralysed or produce below capacity; salary payments are constantly delayed for lack of operating capital; and no capital exists to modernise production and increase competitiveness. For the trade union movement, this was a decisive moment: they were faced with the challenge of assuming

leadership of the workers in the context of market economy, whilst they had to change their character and functions to meet the dictates of a multiparty democracy.

In 1994, under pressure from the unions, the government created a Tripartite Labour Commission. In the same year, direct negotiations between the government, employers and trade unions took place for the first time. Matters brought to the negotiating table by the unions were demands to increase the minimum wage; reduce income tax on wages; extend public transport; and improve health services.

The trade unions had to clearly identify themselves as separate from the government as well as the ruling party. Strategies had to be developed both for the information and communication of a new image for the acting trade union movement, and for the capacity to intervene in the context of the new economic model. Pressurised by the need to respond to new demands concerning the protection of workers' rights, the labour movement searched for a platform of joint union action through the creation of the Labour Caucus in 1995. The two trade union federations (*Organizaçao dos trabalhadores moçambicanos–Central sindical*, OTM-CS, and *Confederacao Nacional Sindicatos Independente e Libre de Mozambique*, CONSILMO), two independent trade unions (the Journalists' Union and the Teachers' Union) and one association for retired workers (*Associaçaó dos Aposentados de Moçambique*, APOSEMO), participated in the Labour Caucus. The Labour Caucus has been an important platform for the discussion of and search for consensus with regard to the strategies and perspectives of the trade union movement, especially at a time when the trade unions saw their traditional foundations weakened by a reduction of their members from the formal sector's salaried workforce.

During this debate the need arose to act on the problems of women. On the one hand, Mozambican unions are members of the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordination Council that, in 1991, approved a Workers' Social Charter, reformulated in 1996 on the basis of observations made by member countries. On the other hand, by 1993, Mozambique was the only country in the Council not yet to have created women's structures within unions and which showed low levels of women's representation in their leadership organs. It was in this context that Women's Committees were created to represent women workers in all the central union organisations. In the case of the Free and Independent Union of Mozambique – now CONSILMO, a National Committee of Women Workers (COMUT) was constituted in 1994, and the *Organização dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique* (Committee of Women Workers) in 1996. These organs exclusively represent women, and assemblies of unionised women elect their leaders.

The creation of the Committees took place primarily through pressure being exerted on the union movement in Mozambique by external factors, and this was decisive in their integration and functioning. If this external pressure of regional and international union federations, along with the climate of so-called democracy in the country, led to the creation of Women's Committees in unions and their central organisations, women now grouped in such new organs continue having to struggle for recognition and acceptance. The limits and frontiers of the Committees were delineated, at the level of discourse and of practice, by the top union leadership. The discourses state that –

- women are oppressed by traditional society, which considers them inferior to men
- the emancipation of women needs to be realised through their integration at work, and
- women need to be supported in and oriented towards overcoming the beliefs and attitudes of the system of domination in which they were educated.

Although unions defined the full application of laws protecting women as a high priority, they simultaneously diminished the Committees' struggle to that of merely upholding the specific rights of women. The Committees, constituted as specific structures for women to enable them to participate in decision-making on women's issues in particular, limits not only their sphere of intervention, but also the competencies attributed to them. In this way, women can be excluded

from discussions and prevented from intervening in other levels of union functioning. One could see this situation as indicative of a fear of women's committees becoming autonomous to the extent that an independent dynamic of struggle for women's rights would spring up – which would, in turn, threaten the existing (male-dominated) hierarchies.

This shows that simply getting into decision-making positions is not enough. Women's participation in male-dominated institutions is often inhibited by patriarchal norms. Such norms make it impossible for women to operate effectively because of their position within the institution. Alternatively, if women have to work in a gender-hostile environment, they are not familiar with the working language and rules, and they lack adequate training, experience or support. For women to participate effectively in politics and decision-making, an institutional transformation has to take place: gender structures have to be established, and women have to be empowered through relevant training and support.

The FES in Mozambique has supported the Labour Caucus since the latter's inception in 1995. In 2002, during the Caucus's Sixth Plenary Session, the women workers represented argued that a national Women's Labour Caucus was needed to join women of both trade union federations by way of their respective Women's Committees, as well as women affiliated to the national trade unions and the association of retired workers – which were all members of the General Labour Caucus. June 2003 saw the establishment of this Women's Labour Caucus with the FES's support.

The Women's Labour Caucus aims to –

- promote a united trade union movement
- fight for and promote women's rights and interests
- fight for a gender perspective to be included in the trade union movement in particular and society in general
- fight for the promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women and men within the trade union movement in particular and society in general
- analyse and suggest solutions to common problems affecting female workers, and
- train and educate women about important issues relevant at the time.

As the elaborated positions are supposed to be incorporated into the recommendations to be made during the annual plenary session of the General Labour Caucus, the session of the Women's Labour Caucus should be held before the Annual General Meeting.

Through the creation of the Women's Labour Caucus, women have given themselves a separate platform to discuss and find solutions for or different perspectives on women's specific problems and questions, amongst other things. Thus, more general trade union matters and relevant themes and issues are also discussed, and the women's

Some workshop participants

argument can then be introduced into the General Labour Caucus as an already unified position. Through this structure, on an even higher level of organisation that unites the Women's Committees of both federations, women now also have a seat at the Tripartite Labour Commission' negotiating table, enabling them to hold discussions with government and employers.

Within the FES's cooperation programme with the Women's Labour Caucus, a regional seminar was organised from 26–28 May 2004 in Inhambane, a southern province of Mozambique. The most important issue on the agenda of the seminar, which brought together 30 women from the provinces of Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo, was the current debate about reforming the Labour Act. This issue was introduced by employers as part of the Tripartite

Labour Commission's discussions, and should be concluded in 12 months. The reform and its time frame constitute a huge challenge for the trade union movement. The employers have already drafted their terms of reference for the reform of the law, which includes a specific attack on the rights of women. They argue, for example, that 60 days' maternity leave is excessive, considering that women have the right to another 30 days' paid annual leave and, therefore, are absent from work for at least 90 days a year, considering that many female workers are pregnant once a year. The trade union movement now has to develop its own terms of reference for submission to the tripartite forum. In this respect, the representation of women through the Women's Labour Caucus plays an important role in the sense that they do not consider gender-relevant and women-specific issues as "matters of negotiation". If the Women's Labour Caucus are formally represented and organised, they have a voice and a vote on women-specific issues and can guarantee the representation of their interests at a much higher level.

Some women trade unionists deliberate in working groups during one of the workshops

The FES in Mozambique is planning to organise two more regional seminars in cooperation with the Women's Labour Caucus in 2004: this time in the central and northern provinces. These seminars will aim to ensure that the reform of the Labour Act can be discussed thoroughly amongst working women, so as to consolidate the Caucus's position when it fights for their members' rights and interests within the Tripartite Labour Commission.

Conclusion

With almost 30% of parliamentarians in Mozambique being women, the country ranks as the most likely in Africa to reach the 30% target by 2005. Their efforts will be aided by the creation of a National Network of Women in Parliament, which is in its infancy. The FES is currently supporting the founding committee, under the leadership of the Minister of Women and Coordination of Social Action, in their attempt to constitute the Network before the end of 2004. However, the plans might be hampered in several ways, considering that parliamentary and presidential elections will be held in December 2004.

Although the extent to which women are represented in Parliament seems to be a good sign for Mozambique, there is still much to be done in decision-making structures on other levels. Therefore, the work of the national Women's Labour Caucus is surely a further step towards representing women's issues and interests on wider, and increasingly more, levels.

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Namibia
Ms Anicia Peters, Gender Coordinator, FES Namibia

The gender dimension in politics, decision-making and economic empowerment at local level

Country overview

Namibia has only been independent for 14 years. Namibia, known then as *Südwestafrika*, was colonised by Germany from 1884 until 1915. In 1920, Namibia became a protectorate of South Africa as mandated by the League of Nations (later succeeded by the United Nations). During its rule in Namibia, South Africa introduced its apartheid policy. In response, from 1966 to 1990, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO)[1] waged a fierce liberation war for Namibia's independence. Resolution 435 was adopted by the United Nations Security Council in 1988 and a United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) was set up to supervise a ceasefire and the decolonisation of Namibia. Namibia became an independent state on 21 March 1990.

Namibia is governed by a Constitution that declared discrimination based on sex as unlawful. It also recognises the previously disadvantaged position of black men and women, and encourages the implementation of affirmative action policies to advance women's status and roles within society.

Namibia has a population of 1.8 million people, of which 67% live in rural areas. There are 11 main ethnic groups in Namibia. Some 51.5% of Namibians are female and 48.5% are male.[2]

Since independence, a number of laws have been passed to improve the situation of women in Namibian society. These are the following:[3]

- The Social Security Act, 1994 (No. 34 of 1994) provides that all employed persons and employers be registered with the fund, and that maternity leave, sick leave and death benefits are paid from monthly contributions received from both employees and employers. Women are paid 80% of their monthly remuneration with a minimum of N$240.00 and a maximum of N$2,400.00 per month for four weeks before and eight weeks after confinement.
- The Married Persons Equality Act, 1996 (No. 1 of 1996) provides for equality of persons within marriage and does away with the legal definition of *man* as "head of house". It also stipulates that women married in community of property have equal access to bank loans without their spouse's consent; and that immovable property be registered in both spouses' names.
- The Affirmative Action (Employment) Act, 1998 (No. 29 of 1998) directs that previously disadvantaged groups, women and disabled persons be considered preferentially for employment opportunities.
- The Combating of Rape Act, 2000 (No. 9 of 2000) gives greater protection to young girls and boys against rape and defines marital rape as illegal. It also provides stiffer minimum sentences for rapists.

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[1] Now the ruling *SWAPO Party of Namibia*
[2] NPC (2003:4)
[3] Parts of the explanations for these Acts were adapted from Ms Eunice Iipinge's presentation on Namibia's gender-mainstreaming efforts (see elsewhere in this publication).

- The Combating of Domestic Violence Act, 2003 (No. 4 of 2003) defines *domestic violence* as a specific crime, and broadens the definition of *domestic violence* to include physical abuse, sexual abuse, economic abuse, intimidation and harassment, as well as serious emotional, verbal or psychological abuse.
- The Maintenance Act, 2003 (No. 9 of 2003) provides that both parents are legally responsible for the support of their children, regardless of whether the children were born inside or outside of a marriage, or whether or not the parents are subject to any other system of customary law which may not recognise one parent's or both parents' liability towards the child (Article 3).
- The Electoral Act, 1992 (No. 24 of 1992) provides for the inclusion of at least one-third of candidates for Local Authority elections to be women.

Legislation currently being discussed in Parliament includes the Child Status Bill and the Labour Bill. The new Labour Bill revises a number of provisions in existing labour legislation, including gender-sensitive revisions, e.g. that women should receive their full salaries during a three-month maternity leave period, and not only a maximum of N$2,400.00 (80% of a maximum salary of N$3,000.00), as is currently the case.

Namibia also has a National Gender Policy and National Gender Plan of Action put in place by the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare. The National Gender Plan of Action will soon be under review.

Table 1: Women in government[4]

Structure	Number of women in decision-making positions in government	Total number of people in decision-making positions in government	Percentage of women in decision-making positions in government
Local Authority Councillors[5]*	135	304	44.4%
Regional Councillors	7	102	6.8%
Governors	1	13	7.7%
National Council	2	26	7.7%
National Assembly	21	78	26.9%
Cabinet	5	27	18.5%
Chief Executive Officers (Parastatals)	1	12	8.3%
Senior Managers (Parastatals)	7	64	10.9%

*	Elections are based on a party list system with a quota provision.

Bridging the gap between gender and development vs. women's empowerment

The Namibia Office views women's empowerment as an integral part of gender mainstreaming. It is still necessary to conduct certain types of activities for women only to build self-confidence and devise strategies among them, but most activities should be inclusive of both men and women as difficulties with the women's empowerment approach sometimes occurs. For example, women are taught about their rights and various legal instruments benefiting them, but when they go back home, the men (who are seen as heads of the household and decision-makers) often do not understand the sudden change and the results are often expressed as violence against women, escalating rape cases, etc. Likewise, traditional chiefs are the

[4]From the keynote address by Hon. N Nandi-Ndaitwah, Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, during a Breakfast Meeting of the Namibia Economic Society on "The status of women in political and economic leadership in Namibia: Where are women?", held on 8 September 2004 in Windhoek
[5] Figures reflect the situation after Local Authority elections in May 2004.

decision-makers within the community and should, along with men, be included during women's empowerment workshops.[6] In an attempt to bring men into workshops as stakeholders, we realised that the majority of Namibia's populace, both women and men, do not know what gender is about, nor what the fuss is to get more women into positions of power.

Since 2002, the FES has provided training on gender and gender mainstreaming for a number of organisations and institutions as well as men and women Parliamentarians and other elected representatives. The FES is also involved in a great number of activities aimed at empowering women in different spheres such as trade unions, economics, youth organisations, local government, and politics and decision-making. Some main partner organisations involved in these activities are the Namibia Elected Women's Forum, the Parliamentary Women's Caucus, several Parliamentary Standing Committees, regional youth forums, the Namibia Economic Society, and the National Union for Namibian Workers. However, for the purposes of this discussion, only one activity has been selected.

Getting the show on the road

In 2003, the FES considered the following question: If such a diverse group of educated and employed people did not understand gender, how was it being understood by perhaps uneducated and unemployed people in local communities? Then, even if all stakeholders understood why so much emphasis was being placed on the promotion of women in politics and decision-making, how exactly was this going to impact positively on the communities themselves?

The FES, therefore, began to organise localised workshops on increasing women's participation in politics, decision-making and economics. Initially, the workshops were held in cooperation with the Namibia Elected Women's Forum, which represents elected women on local, regional and national levels. Local authority women councillors were tasked with organising workshops in the community, together with women and men MPs. These workshops aimed specifically at the promotion of women in politics and decision-making; economic empowerment; and social issues in communities. Thereafter, similar workshops were conducted at the request of various partner organisations or at the FES's own initiative.

Workshop facilitators share a traditional drink with the local Headman (second from left) in Otjombinde, as custom dictates.

A new angle was that the clarification of gender-related concepts always set the stage for each workshop, as men in particular always questioned their presence when they felt that the sessions were really only meant for women. Gender concepts and associated power relations were clarified in the context of the particular group's own culture. In this respect, it was found to be imperative that the participants themselves agreed on all points. This approach proved successful in garnering agreement and active participation from both sexes throughout the workshop, even if the initial arguments between the sexes lasted longer than the time allocated for such topics.

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[6] During his speech delivered at the Gender Sensitisation for Members of Parliament and Political Leaders Workshop held at Parliament on 21–26 October 2003, the current Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Theo-Ben Gurirab, proposed that gender sensitisation workshops be held for traditional leaders as well.

Quite often, workshops and income-generating projects targeted women only. Unfortunately, excluding men from these activities prevents them from understanding why so much emphasis is placed on women's empowerment. For example, women would often contribute money to the household, but their husbands would still control how it would be used. By including a session on gender in such workshops or projects, the dynamics between women and men can change and both sexes will understand each other better.

The series of workshops in different regions and localities targeted mainly local communities. The target groups were made up of women, men, the youth, traditional leaders, elected leaders[7] and community leaders. The workshops aimed to achieve the following:

- Clarify gender concepts
  - Encourage participants to examine their own cultures with regard to the assignment of negative gender roles, especially to women
  - Include community decision-makers such as traditional leaders and community elders as "Custodians of Culture" in the process of examining and understanding the effects of negative gender stereotyping within cultures
  - Concentrate on rural communities in particular, with as broad as possible a participation by both men and women, the youth, councillors, elders, the economically active, and the unemployed
- Sensitise participants on the need for women's inclusion and active participation in politics
- Review, analyse and propose solutions faced by existing economic empowerment activities for both women and men, and initiate new activities
- Offer participants civic education, and
- Encourage general dialogue on community issues such as poverty, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, the youth and education, as well as any other issues deemed important, in order to provide a platform for councillors and the community to find workable solutions.

Workshops were conducted in collaboration with a variety of partners such as the Namibia Elected Women's Forum, the University of Namibia's Gender Training and Research Unit, the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, local NGOs, independent trainers, MPs, and Local Authority Councillors. Each collaboration took into account the type of requests received, or was driven by the FES.

Training methodologies were adapted to suit the needs of each particular participating group. By September 2004, 11 similar workshops[8] had been conducted, with mixed results - as outlined below.

Lessons learnt

- Language barriers have to be overcome by appointing a translator for the vernacular languages as participants can then freely express themselves.
- The specific cultural setting has to be examined beforehand in order to establish whether a separate session or the presence of a strong woman leader is needed for women to build up self-confidence.
- Organisers need to ensure beforehand that both women and men will participate, since the organisers themselves might show bias against men participating in a "women's workshop".
- An environment conducive to equal participation by all participants needs to be established in instances where different ethnic groups are present in a rural setting. For example, the

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[7] Elected leaders include MPs, Regional Councillors and Local Authority Councillors.
[8] Workshops were conducted at Eenhana, Epukiro, Farm Du Plessis, Gibeon, Keetmanshoop, Mangetti Dune, Otjinene, Sesfontein, Tallismanus, Tses and Uis.

San/Bushmen need encouragement beforehand to participate, in much the same way as women need it.

- Gender- and culturally-sensitive resource persons need to be appointed. That is, not only should the facilitator be gender-sensitised, s/he should know the participants' different cultures to avoid conveying perspectives from one cultural aspect only, since gender roles are drawn from all the participants.

Lessons learnt put into context

- It became evident during one workshop that in some instances men and traditional chiefs could not be included from the outset. Due to the traditional beliefs that women should be behind men and should not speak in the presence of men, women did not want to speak or were not afforded the opportunity to do so. The women were appointed as facilitators and chairpersons of various sections of the workshop, but the women were shy and uncertain of themselves and men used the opportunities to make unflattering comments so that the women retreated and left the facilitation and participation in

Some presenters during a workshop at Epukiro, Omaheke Region, during 2003

the workshop to the men. On the second day, most of the women had disappeared from the workshop and the number of men had increased. In this particular setting, it showed that women should rather be separated first and afforded the chance to facilitate the workshop on their own. In this way, they will be able to expose and nurture leadership skills and confidence can be instilled in their abilities before a second workshop is held together with men and traditional leaders. At first glance, this problem was not evident. The women complained in a separate session that men did not allow them to attend political meetings, and they were told to always remain behind the men. The men, on the other hand, said that they allowed women to attend political meetings, but that the women themselves were not interested. The men added that they always encouraged women to come forward.

      The other dimension during this workshop was diverse ethnicity. The San/Bushman community[9] was included with Otjiherero-speakers, and besides the dynamics between men and women, tribal issues became evident. The San/Bushmen, in much the same way as women, lacked the confidence to speak out, co-facilitate or even take up front-row seats when their Otjiherero-speaking employers were present too. However, this was countered effectively with the presence of MP from both ethnic groups.

- During another workshop, only women were invited to a similar workshop as the women councillors felt that the women should be targeted first. However, these same councillors appointed a man from a nearby town to facilitate the workshop. It transpired later that they had not felt confident enough to run the workshop themselves. During the workshop, the women councillors and participants alike discovered that they could in fact

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[9] See e.g. JF Maho's definitive publication entitled *Few people, many tongues: The languages of Namibia* (1998:107–108), where he explains that some consider the term *San* offensive, while others consider *Bushmen* offensive. Many writers now use the dual term *San/Bushmen* as an option.

handle the workshop alone. However, the facilitator did not relinquish his post because he felt he had been specifically appointed for the job. Thus, the women felt they were not afforded enough opportunity to try their hand at facilitation.

During the workshop, the women also realised that they should have included men from the onset, as they needed both sexes in the community to tackle problems. They recommended a similar exercise with all the men present. However, it was a good exercise since they discovered their "hidden" leadership potential and confidence, to the extent that they spoke up in front of the men.

- At a different workshop targeting specifically the San/Bushmen, the participants initially expressed their fear that, because they were illiterate, they would not be considered worthy of participating in the workshop. They also feared that, if they spoke in their mother tongue, their views and opinions would not be heard or appreciated. What became very evident was that the San/Bushmen considered themselves inferior to other groups and blamed themselves for this situation.

Although the workshop was conducted in Afrikaans, which most if not all of the participants understood, the participants preferred to speak in their mother tongue. Thus, a translator was appointed.

The concept of gender and associated power relations were explained using the San/Bushmen culture as a starting point. This concept was then linked with the need to include women in politics. Initially, the San/Bushmen people were shy and the four other participants assumed the leadership roles by occupying the positions for chairperson, secretary and rapporteur for the working group sessions. During the evaluation round, it transpired that most participants had a very limited understanding of politics and what political participation meant; but they all felt that the clarification of gender concepts had taught them more

Taking a lunch break during a workshop at Mangetti Dune, Otjozondjupa Region, during 2004.

about how men and women should interact, live together, have mutual respect for each other, and share decision-making roles in the household. Some men expressed the opinion that although they would agree to their spouses standing for political positions and could see the necessity for women to be treated as equal to men, but men had to remain the head of the household because women should not "wear the pants in the house". One male traditional leader also expressed surprise and happiness to see that some participants, most notably women, could actually speak in front of a crowd. He said that he had never even heard some of them speak before. As most participants had never attended a workshop before, but nonetheless felt sufficiently empowered to implement what they had learnt, they requested that follow-up workshops be held to check on their progress and further train them.

Conclusion

The majority of these workshops, as outlined above, have impacted on the lives of communities – as could be seen with the San/Bushmen: they have established income-generating groups; both women and men agreed that there was a need to include women in politics and decision-making; and they tackle community problems together. During many workshops, men also

pledged to assist and encourage their wives if they wanted to run for political office. In other instances, the relationship between husbands, wives and children in the allocation of household resources was altered to ensure a more equitable distribution. Both sexes were also beginning to question discriminatory cultural practices within the community. Another outcome of the workshops was that community members were brought closer to their elected representatives, who in turn were better able to assess community needs on the ground. Moreover, gender-sensitive women and men Parliamentarians served as role models to the electorate.

In terms of recommendations for future activities, the inclusion of traditional and community leaders needs to be enhanced because of their roles as Custodians of Culture. Separate workshops also need to be organised specifically for such leaders, as it is sometimes difficult for them to attend with their subordinates. To make such workshops more effective, specific gender-related legislation should be explained to them, since they have to implement such legislation.

During the Local Authority elections conducted in May 2004, a large number of women who availed themselves as candidates and attended such workshops were in fact elected as Local Authority Councillors. One needs to wait and see whether this will be repeated in the November 2004 Regional and National Assembly elections.

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South Africa
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FES South Africa and gender mainstreaming

Overview of South Africa's political, economic and social status

The advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 has not only brought new opportunities, but has also given rise to new or greater challenges in the political, economic and social spheres. In the socio-political sphere, South Africa has taken major strides in maintaining the stability of and consolidating its democracy. This has enabled the country to contribute meaningfully to global politics. On the African continent, South Africa continues to enhance its interaction with bodies such as SADC and the New Economic Partnership on African Development (NEPAD). Politically, South Africans have been freed from the social conditions that characterised the apartheid state.

Major advances have also been made in the economic sphere. Among the most notable is the decrease in inflation to 4%. The government is also focusing on the growth and development of the affluent "first economy" to boost the development of the "second economy", which is characterised by massive unemployment and poverty, for example.

On the social welfare side, social services to the poor have improved. For instance, South Africa's housing backlog has been cut down by the delivery of 1.6 million houses, with 63% of the country's households having access to electricity and proper sanitation. Social security has also been improved, especially as regards pensions and child support grants. In his recent State of the Nation address, President Thabo Mbeki committed the government to ensuring that the 7.7 million people who are dependent on the social grant actually receive it. Thus, in 2005, a new social security agency will be set up, and will be responsible for improving the efficiency of the country's social grant system.

Although South Africa can be described as a middle-income-earning country in per capita terms, it still faces many social challenges. Poverty, unemployment, crime, HIV/AIDS and inequality - especially along gender lines – remain the principal challenges facing the new democracy. These challenges are characteristic of the "second economy", and have given rise to a growing informal sector in which women in particular fight for their survival. Because of the high unemployment rate, more women than men create home industries such as dressmaking or "house shops", where they run small-scale businesses selling groceries or sweets from home.

Gender mainstreaming and national government in South Africa

According to the latest statistics, South Africa's population is estimated to be around 42 million. [1] Women comprise 52% of the population. Linking the above-mentioned social challenges to gender mainstreaming, the government acknowledges women are the most affected. Thus, the government is currently increasing its concerted efforts to push for gender equity. South Africa has comparatively good laws that protect women; the problem with these laws, however, is that they have not yet been properly publicised. One of the gender equity problems is that, when it comes to the implementation of these laws, men dominate.

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[1]CIA (2004)

On the national government side, progress has been made as far as incorporating women into government is concerned. Following the country's third democratic election in April 2004, women Premiers govern four of the nine Provinces. Moreover, the Cabinet consists of 27 Ministers, of which 9 are women; of the 14 Deputy Ministers, 8 are women; and the Speaker of the National Assembly is a woman.

Overall, advancing gender equality in government can arguably be said to have improved, since 32% of South African parliamentarians are women. This ranks South Africa eighth in the world as far as gender equality in government is concerned.[2] This is indicative of the progress made by women in the ten years of South Africa's democracy. Of course, this number could be increased.

In general, political parties have followed suit. They have women standing for election and as representatives in Parliament. The African National Congress, for example, adopted a 30% quota for women on its party list. Currently, women lead two political parties. However, although women have risen to higher positions in government, most women are still marginalised. The overall challenge is to get women's representation in local and provincial government up to 30%.

As regards the private sector, gender equity is very low. A study commissioned by the Employment Equity Commission in 2001 found that women were inadequately represented across all sectors of the economy. At management level, men held 87% of all top management jobs.[3] A recent survey conducted by the accounting and consulting firm, Grant Thornton, highlighted that South Africa had the third-highest proportion of companies that employed women in high positions.[4] Although the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa itself outlaws discrimination against women through legislation such as the Employment Equity Act, 1998 (No. 55 of 1998), in reality very few success stories exist about women who have managed to make it to the top. Overall, the labour market is still segmented in terms of race and gender.

FES South Africa and gender mainstreaming

FES South Africa was briefed about gender mainstreaming and was requested to keep the concept in mind when inviting participants to its various projects. Insofar as initiating its own gender-mainstreaming programmes or projects, the South Africa Office has been unable to owing to the lack of a gender coordinator.

Trade unions and gender

The Trade Union Desk at FES South Africa has not had any projects directly related to gender. However, it has received two proposals from the South African Municipal Workers' Union and the South African Catering and Allied Workers' Union, respectively. Unfortunately these proposals could not be accepted because of financial constraints.

In 2000, the FES offered financial assistance to publish "Women's leadership and gender strategies in COSATU", a book developed by the National Labour and Economic Development Institute, which is the research unit for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The book, based on research conducted by Liesl Orr, is in the final editing phase. FES South Africa has also assisted the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council Women's Committee, International Federation of Chemical Engineering and Mineworkers (ICEM) and Global Union Federation (GUF) in the organisation and financial assistance for meetings.

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[2]Garson (2004)
[3](ibid.)
[4]Hern (2004)

Financial assistance was also provided to Gender Links, which produced *Gender in media training: A southern African tool kit*.[5]

> Recently, the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union made history by electing a woman as its General Secretary for the very first time in the ten years of democratic rule in South Africa.

The ICEM held an African Regional Workshop in January 2003 to elect a Regional Women's Committee and to develop such Committee's terms of reference. Poor communication and a lack of resources were the main obstacles to realising this objective, and there was no focus to empower women to take up leadership positions. Thus, it was felt that culture and policies were not gender-sensitive.

In general, gender has been integrated into the budget (*Kursbogen*) and final evaluations are awaited to see how effective it will be. When the former Trainee Director returned from the "Women in Africa" meeting in Berlin held from 18–20 March 2003, she presented ways in which projects could be planned, from conceptualisation to reporting, taking gender mainstreaming into account.

Obstacles

The culture that men lead and women follow is still a contentious issue within the trade unions, especially the male-dominated unions such as the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) and the National Union of Mineworkers – an ICEM affiliate. At a bilateral NUMSA–IG Metall workshop in 2003, all of the participants were men: the only woman that attended was NUMSA's HIV/AIDS coordinator.

Most of the unions revolve around male-dominated industries such as mining and motor vehicles, where there is less participation of women. Although women comprise 37% of COSATU's membership, the leadership structure is predominantly male.[6]

Conclusion

At this stage it is not possible to conduct gender workshops because of budgetary constraints. The same can be said of funding projects, some of which range from R500,000 (€67,000) to R965,000 (€129,000). However, there is a need to be proactive in our programmes for the advancement of gender mainstreaming.

It also needs to be borne in mind that, currently, the consensus is that HIV/AIDS surpasses gender as a priority issue. More funding needs to be channelled to help those affected by HIV/AIDS because there are more pressing issues related to it – notwithstanding that it is simultaneously a gender issue.

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Tanzania
Ms Angela K Ishengoma, Consultant, FES Tanzania

Youth Leadership Training Programme

Introduction

The FES has been working in Tanzania for 36 years now. One of the reasons for its early presence in the country was the result of close friendship between *Mwalimu* ("Teacher") Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the first President of what was to become the United Republic of Tanzania, and Willy Brandt, a former German Chancellor. They worked together in the movement known as *Socialist International*, to which the FES belongs.

Considering the country's economic and political situation, the FES's work in Tanzania has always been challenging. The FES employs different strategies and collaborates with different partners at various levels not only to be able to achieve its development goals, but also to contribute to the promotion of democracy and social justice in the country.

Tanzania in brief

The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in April 1964 by the union of Tanganyika and the state of Zanzibar (Unguja and Pemba Islands). The country has a total area of 945,087 sq. km, of which 886,037 sq. km is the land surface and 59,050 sq. km is water (lakes and rivers).

A population and housing census conducted in August 2002 estimated the total population to be 35.92 million. The same source gives average population growth in Tanzania as 2.9%. About 51% of the population is comprised of women.[1]

Real GDP growth by May 2004 was 5.6%, although the target was 6.3%.[2] The inflation rate in the first half of 2003 was under 5%, but it had shot up to 6.5% by April 2004.

The majority of Tanzanians, especially women and the youth, still suffer from poverty, disease and discrimination. Although the country has a large land surface area as an economic factor, some customary and inheritance laws hinder women from accessing and owning land. Women and the youth are also reportedly more vulnerable to killer diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis.

Tanzania adopted a multiparty political system in 1992, and has 17 fully registered political parties – all of which are either headed or chaired by men. Since the first multiparty elections in 1995, the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party has won twice. The main opposition party is the Civic United Front (CUF).

There are 16 trade unions under the umbrella of the Trade Union Congress of Tanzania. The latter is headed by a female President for Tanzania Mainland, while in Zanzibar there are eight trade unions under the Zanzibar Trade Unions Congress (ZATUC).

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[1] URT (2003a)

[2] Planning and Privatisation, Office of the President (*hali ya uchumi*, meaning "economic situation")

Government efforts in promoting women and mainstreaming gender

The United Republic of Tanzania's Constitution guarantees equal civil and political rights for all, and specifically prohibits gender-based discrimination.[3]

During the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, the Tanzanian government representatives promised that leadership positions would be shared 50/50 across gender by 2000. This sounded over-ambitious in view of such a short period. In 1997, the government committed itself to ensuring the proportion of women in decision-making positions reached 30% by 2005. The government also signed the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development to ensure that women occupied 30% of government positions.

The government has taken notable positive measures to promote women at various levels. These measures include amending the Union Constitution in 2000, which now provides for 20% special seats in Parliament, and 33.3% in local government. The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar also amended Zanzibar's Constitution[4] in 2002, and now provides women with 30% special seats in the Zanzibar House of Representatives, and 30% in local government.

However, closer observation of the government and political leadership positions held by men and women raises concerns of inequality: parliamentary posts like that of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, and the Clerk of the National Assembly are all held by men. Furthermore, men occupy all the top government positions, namely the President, Vice-President and Prime Minister, and this practice has been maintained since the country's independence 40 years ago.

Within the trade union leadership, from local branches to national level, representation by women is 25%.

Legal provisions to advance women's and children's rights

On the issue of sexual violence the government enacted the Sexual Offences (Special Provisions) Act in 1998. The Act was designed to introduce into Tanzania's Criminal Law special provisions regarding sexual offences and offences in relation to children. The ultimate goal is to enhance the national endeavour to protect the rights of women and children. The Act is a relief to victims of violence and is an important instrument in safeguarding the rights, personal integrity, dignity, liberty and security of women and children.

In regard to property ownership, in 1999 the government gave effect to the Land Act and the Village Land Act. The Acts provide for equal access, ownership and control of land.

The Tanzanian government has also formulated the Gender and Women's Development Policy with the aim of giving direction to stakeholders in advancing women socially, culturally, economically, and politically. The focus is on gender mainstreaming; women's ownership of property; participation in decision-making in all spheres of development; and access to business and credit facilities as well as technology.

The Training Fund for Tanzanian Women and the Capacity-building Fund in the civil service have contributed to gender awareness-raising amongst MPs, policymakers, decision-makers, NGOs leaders, and private-sector representatives. With increased awareness and relevant education, women have been able to openly discuss and fight against socio-cultural barriers that discriminate against women and detract from their rights. Civil society groups and some religious groups have run specific campaigns against harmful cultural practices like female genital mutilation. Such campaigns have been successful in some regions due to the education provided to various gender activists in the country.

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[3] URT (1998)
[4] RGZ (1984)

Current situation

Despite the government's and other stakeholders' efforts, cultural and traditional practices have continued to perpetuate discrimination against women politically, socially, and economically. In this context, gender power relations between and among women and men are usually organised in a hierarchical way, with men dominating over women. This situation hinders women from enjoying the personal freedom and human rights granted to them under national and international instruments providing for equality between the sexes and for women's rights.

- As a member of the United Nations, Tanzania has signed and ratified a number of international and regional human rights instruments. These include the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1979.

  Tanzanian women and gender activists have continued to struggle for equal rights for, equal treatment of, and equal participation by women in all spheres. Lobbying and advocacy strategies have resulted in some significant changes in attitude by some decision-makers: more and more government plans, policies and programmes now incorporate gender components.

- According to the Ministry responsible for gender matters in Tanzania, the number of women Ministers in Cabinet is reported to have increased from three in 1997 to four in 2002 (the total number of Cabinet Ministers is 29). In Zanzibar, the number of women Ministers decreased from three in 1997 to one in 2002.

  The number of women Deputy Ministers on the Tanzanian mainland increased from three in 1997 to five in 2002 (the total number of Deputy Ministers is 18). In Zanzibar, the number of women Deputy Ministers has remained constant: one in 1997, and one in 2002/3 (the total number of Deputy Ministers in Zanzibar is five).

- In Parliament, members are selected by means of three different systems. One is through constituencies; the second is by way of special seats for women; and the third is by the President's nomination of ten members. Of the MPs elected from the constituencies, 12 are women – which is 5% of all MPs – while 48 women MPs were elected through the special seats system. Overall, the number of women MPs increased from 18% in 1995 to 22.7% in 2002.

About the youth In Tanzania

Young people between the ages of 15 and 35 constitute about 33% of the total population. Enrolment in primary education is on the increase, while post-primary education and training has decreased. Girls are worse off for various reasons, e.g. certain cultural beliefs and traditions discriminate against women and the girl child. Fewer females than males access post-primary education. Enhancing equity in education provision and quality assurance are major challenges being addressed by the government in the current education and training sector policy and development programmes.

According to the 2000/1 Integrated Labour Force Survey,[5] it was revealed that the youth were more vulnerable to the problem of unemployment in both rural and urban areas of Tanzania. Unemployment among youths aged 10–17 years was reported to be 11.2% in rural areas and

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[5] URT (2002a)

29.7% in urban centres. For those aged 18–34 years, unemployment was reportedly 8.6% in rural and 41.4% in urban areas.[6]

Tanzania is one of the sub-Saharan countries that have a high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate. About 2 million Tanzanians are estimated to be infected, of which 70.5% are between the ages of 25 to 49, while 15% are between 15 and 24 years of age. This shows how the youth in Tanzania live with the risks of acquiring the killer disease at any time in their lifespan.

Need for the Youth Leadership Training Programme

The position of the youth in the Tanzanian society is widely recognised, although there are opportunities lost due to a lack, for example, of information, capacity-building, knowledge/skills, youth networks, and access to economic resources.

Good leadership in Tanzania was articulated as a fundamental prerequisite for the achievement of a socialist-oriented organisation of society,[7] of which the major pillars were social justice and equality of rights and opportunities.

In its efforts to contribute to the process of preparing/empowering good leaders among the youth, the FES initiated the Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP) in close cooperation with Prof. Max Mmuya of the University of Dar es Salaam. The Programme, which was launched in November 2000, is designed for politically active young people. Its aim is to contribute to Tanzania's development by empowering the youth to lead in good governance and the democratisation process. The Programme instils in the youth the need to work according to ethical principles, serve as an example to others, be accountable for one's actions, be decisive and socially committed, be self-confident, and be gender-sensitive.

The objectives of the Programme are as follows:

- To enhance the capacity and moral standing of the youth so that they can become capable and reliable future leaders
- To contribute to efforts being made towards creating good governance, both nationally and within institutions, and
- To create among the youth and future political leaders a collaborative network within different sectors of society and different political views.

Nomination and selection procedures

YLTP MALE AND FEMALE TRAINEE REPRESENTATION 2000–2004

The FES, in collaboration with the trainers, identifies relevant institutions and organisations dealing with youth issues, and nomination forms are forwarded to the heads of such bodies to nominate potential candidates for the Programme. Nominations are invited from, for example, government institutions, political parties, NGOs, student organisations, trade unions, religious groups, and media institutions.

As a deliberate move towards balancing gender and promoting equal opportunity, the nomination forms state clearly that of the two nominees, one needs to be a woman. Nominees can be between 21 and 35 years.

After the nomination, the candidates take a written and oral eligibility test. Those who pass start the training. Since the beginning of the Programme, women trainees have been well represented, and the percentage increase in other intakes has been encouraging (see Figure 1).
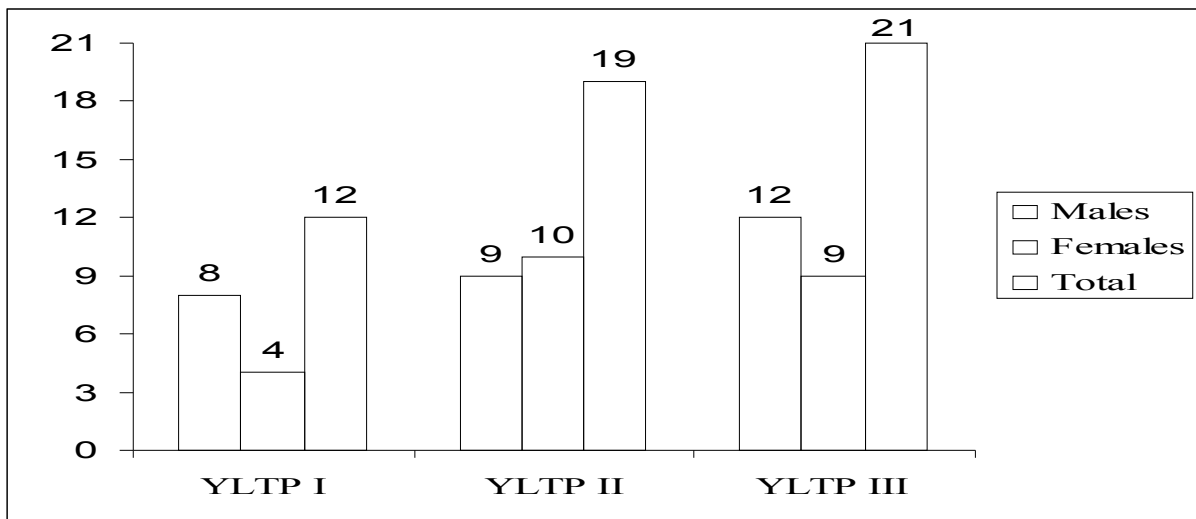
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[6]All (ibid.)
[7] Nyerere (1967)

Figure 1: Gender of YLTP trainees, 2000–2004

Programme implementation

The training sessions take place at the last Friday and Saturday of each month.

The first YLTP was conducted for 18 months. This was too long, according to the first trainees. The second one was, therefore, scheduled for 12 months. Unfortunately, the 12-month duration was criticised for being too short. For this reason training will be ongoing: apart from the regular monthly sessions, there will also be a 10-day "summer school".

The trainers develop the course content. Among the themes covered is one specifically on gender and development. This topic aims to meet the following objectives:

Some of the YLTP trainees during one of the sessions that took place at the FES offices in 2004

A cross-section of the YLTP II candidates share their ideas and a happy moment during the group-work session of the YLTP II interviews, conducted at the FES Conference Hall in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 1 February 2004

- To increase sensitivity to a broad range of gender issues at personal, interpersonal, institutional and community level
- To develop an understanding of basic concepts and approaches for analysing roles, relationships, and situations from a gender perspective, and

- To formulate strategies for incorporating gender considerations into the design, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects, and into the structure, policies and operations of institutions.

About 27 hours in the course are spent on discussing gender topics. At the end of the training, the trainees conduct a small research project on various topics that involve gender issues.
Gender balance is also considered when trainers are appointed, as Figure 2 shows:

Figure 2: Gender of YLTP trainers, 2000–2004
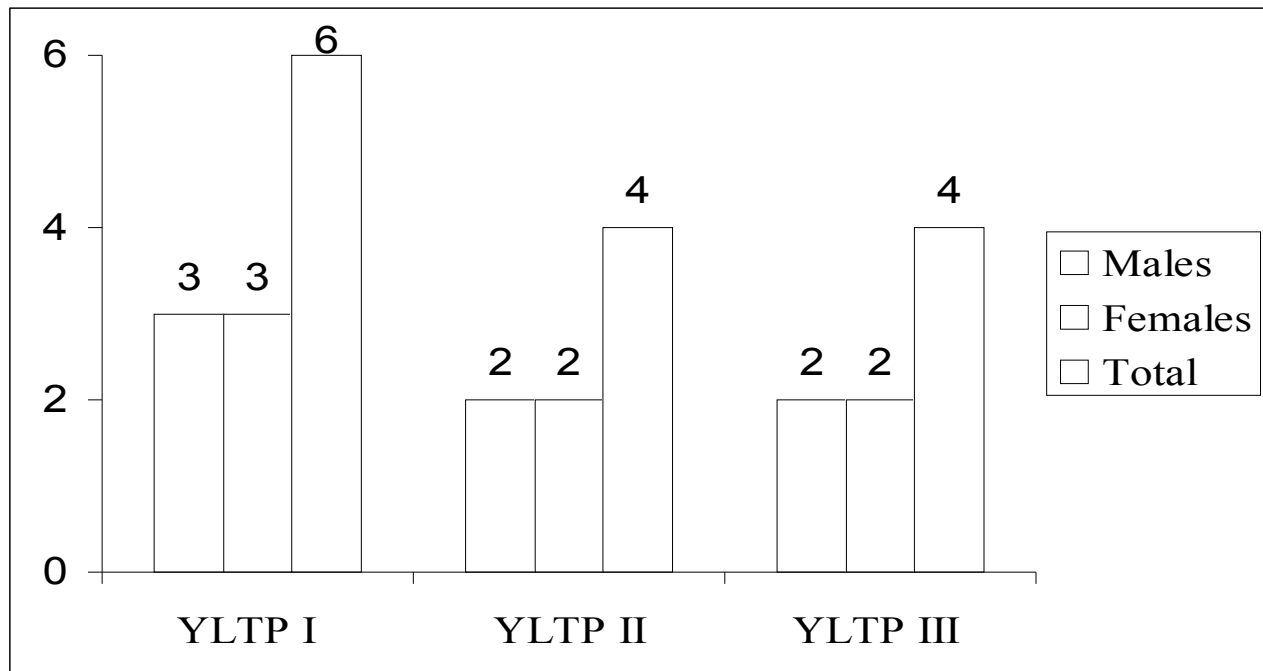
As a result of the Programme, the four best trainees were recruited as Programme tutors. Of these, two are women.
Apart from theoretical training, the trainees are provided with practical training opportunities as well. These include field excursions, study tours and summer schools. Important institutions such as the East African Secretariat, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the Zanzibar House of Representatives, and the Chief Minister's Office in Zanzibar were visited for the purpose of learning.
Networking and the sharing of experiences by the trainees have increased, despite their different political ideologies, and social and religious backgrounds.
The content of and methodology employed in the Programme have always been expected to intertwine and reinforce each other. Also, new themes are developed to meet the needs and interests of the trainees. Teamwork, group discussions and visualisation exercises form a major part of the training methodology. The trainees have said they greatly appreciated these participatory methods of teaching and learning.

Problems encountered during Programme implementation

Like many other pilot activities, Tanzania's Youth Leadership Training Programme has faced some problems. These include the following:

- **Time constraint:** The evaluation made by the YLTP II trainees revealed that the allocated training period was too short. In order to address this problem the organisers have introduced a "summer school", which will offer additional time for training.

- **Absenteeism:** During YLTP I and YLTP II, absenteeism was noted with concern. To combat the problem, the organisers developed a simple contract for all eligible trainees to sign before they start the Programme. This ensures they are present and participate fully in the training.

- **Drop-outs:** During YLTP I, four trainees dropped out, while three dropped out in YLTP II. Contributing to the problem are such factors as a lack of scholarships, and a lack of commitment by some of the trainees.

- **Logistical and organisational difficulties.**

Evaluation process

Usually, a Programme evaluation session is conducted each quarter. The organiser obtains the trainees' and trainers' views of how the Programme is conducted, and how best to improve it. In rare cases the organisers have also received comments and recommendations from civil society groups or the nominees' organisations.

At the end of their training, YLTP II candidates evaluated the Programme. Some 62.5% of the trainees indicated that it had offered excellent training, while the remaining 37.5% said it was very good.

A cross-section of YLTP II candidates share ideas during the group-work session of the YLTP II oral interviews, conducted at the FES Conference Hall in Dar es Salaam

Conclusion

Mainstreaming gender in FES work in Tanzania is a deliberate move, and cuts across many activities – including publications. The FES trained some of the heads of partner organisations in gender mainstreaming, so that they could plan and implement future activities with gender sensitivity.

FES Tanzania's efforts to date on gender mainstreaming and, particularly, the YLTP – which has been a real success story – strongly support the government's initiatives as well as the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, namely to achieve the target of 30% women in decision-making positions.

Given the FES Bonn headquarters' commitment and assurance that the YLTP in Tanzania will continue to be supported, the programme can be not only successfully sustained: it also enables FES Tanzania to reach its target of 50% representation by women in decision-making positions.

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Zambia
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Gender training for young politicians in Zambia

Social and economic Indicators in Zambia

At 40 years of independence, Zambia faces serious socio-economic problems. Sadly, there has been a characteristic paucity of response to the challenges. Immediately following independence, Zambia was a promising country in socio-economic terms: education and health programmes were expanded; agricultural output was relatively good; life expectancy was at a higher level than today; the foreign debt was manageable; and formal and informal institutional functioning was relatively good – just to mention a few of the positive aspects.

What went wrong? What is going wrong?

Today, Zambia is the only country – particularly in respect of those not affected by war – that has failed to make significant progress in improving people's lives. It has become routine for the country to be ranked low (163rd out of 173 countries) on the United Nations Development Programme's human development index. Some 80% of Zambians live in unacceptable conditions.

Living conditions

One of the classic examples of poor living conditions is where households do not have an adequate and nutritious food intake. This has been a major problem in Zambia – as reflected by the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection's monthly basket – which shows the generally large disparity between people's incomes and the requirements for a decent living. This situation has had a telling effect on the levels of malnutrition among children.

Health

- Life expectancy is at a record low, namely about 38 years
- One in six Zambian children is below the age of five
- Access to health facilities is still a huge problem, especially in rural areas
- 16% of the population is HIV-positive, and
- Institutional arrangements in the provision of health tend to disadvantage the poor even more; for example, despite the need for antiretroviral drugs by the poor, these drugs are being wasted.

In the past ten years, political changes occurring in many African countries saw the introduction of democratisation processes in Africa. This meant that different sections of society, regardless of class, race, gender, etc., were to be involved in all the processes of governance, since democracy accommodates all the sections of society. Despite the democratisation process in most SADC countries, some sections of the population – including women – continue to be excluded in areas of governance. While democracy was taking root, little attention was paid to gender issues.

Zambia has ratified all the international and regional (SADC) covenants on gender. At national level it adopted a National Gender Policy in March 2000. Among other things, this Policy acknowledges and seeks to enhance women's equal participation in decision-making.

While some member states like Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa have already managed to meet the SADC Declaration's target of 30% women representation in some decision-making positions, Zambia is among those that have not yet done so, and may not meet the target by 2005.

Table 1 below shows that gender imbalances in favour of men prevail in most spheres of decision-making in Zambia. The table also shows that Zambia has a mammoth task in increasing women's representation in decision-making.

Table 1: Women and men in decision-making positions, April 2004

Position	No. of women	No. of men	Total No.	Percentage of women
MPs	19	139	158	12.02%
Cabinet	4	20	24	16.67%
Deputy Ministers	3	39	42	7.14%
Permanent Secretaries	10	31	41	24.39%
Directors	17	77	94	18.08%
Councillors	95	1,205	1,300	7.30%

If efforts are not made to redress the above situation, Zambia may not meet the 30% target by 2005. This will be unfortunate because such imbalances have prevented women in Zambia from effectively contributing to and benefiting from the development process.

In spite of the obstacles that have hindered Zambia from meeting the 30% target, prospects still exist for increasing women's participation and representation in certain decision-making positions by 2005. The marginal increases recorded over the last few years attest to this. Further opportunities to increase the number of women in decision-making at all levels can be derived by way of the National Gender Policy, the establishment of Gender Focal Points in all Ministries, and the constitutional and electoral reforms currently taking place.

The Zambia National Women's Lobby Group is a non-profit, membership-driven NGO. It was formed in 1991 to promote the participation and representation of women at all levels of decision-making through advocacy, lobbying and capacity-building, in order to enable women to influence decision-making on development issues. The Lobby Group leads the way in promoting equal representation of and participation by women in decision-making at all levels of development.

The Lobby Group also contributes to democratisation and development in Zambia through its core programme, namely advocacy, lobbying, building women's capacities, and gender-based civic education on development issues, all of which aim to empower women to participate in decision-making. The Group's major activities include the following:

- Lobbying the President to appoint or nominate more women to decision-making positions at all levels of government
- Lobbying Cabinet and Parliament to domesticate and implement international conventions and protocols on women's rights, and
- Lobbying political parties and advocating for affirmative action by political parties to ensure increased participation and representation of women in decision-making within political-party structures.

Why give young politicians gender training?

For a long time, youths in political parties in Zambia were sidelined; they were only used as tools of violence – especially during election campaigns. The FES, therefore, in collaboration with the Anti-voter-apathy and Young Politicians for Change projects, embarked on a programme aimed at empowering youths with skills. The programme aims at enhancing young people's participation in politics, including gender issues.

The programme's gender component, which is run by a consultant, has the following objectives:

- To sensitise participants to gender issues that have contributed to the legacy of excluding women from politics
- To increase participants' self-confidence and improve their leadership skills in the areas of analysis and problem-solving, planning, consultation and public speaking
- To raise awareness about the importance of having women and men represented equally on local governing bodies
- To enhance participants' understanding of the structure, functions, importance and limitations of local politics, and
- To help participants create new and expand existing networks to increase women's representation in governance and politics.

The gender component of the programme is held first, mainly to equip the women participants with skills in public speaking, the use of the media in politics, etc. The purpose of this is to help the already disadvantaged women participants gain confidence during the workshop. The programme is innovative in that it recognises the important role the youth plays in political parties, as well as the need for gender equality amongst them if they are to participate effectively in politics. Because the youth is sidelined in most projects, the overall objectives of the programme are as follows:

Gender training for young politicians, Kasama, 18-21 April 2004

- To eliminate youth marginalisation in public decision-making bodies
- To disseminate the principles of democracy amongst provincial youth leaders
- To stimulate the youth's involvement at provincial level, in political organisation, in administration and in mobilisation, and
- To groom and prepare provincial youth leaders for the challenges of mutlipartyism and good governance.

Due to budgetary constraints and the fact that FES Zambia only has offices in the capital city, Lusaka, it cannot go back to the provinces to monitor the impact of its programmes. In this the FES relies on its partners such as the Anti-voter-apathy Project, which conducts monitoring.

Gender training for young politicians, Kasama, 18-21 April 2004

The positive outcome of the programme is that the youth in political parties have now realised they have considerable potential, and that they can contribute effectively to national
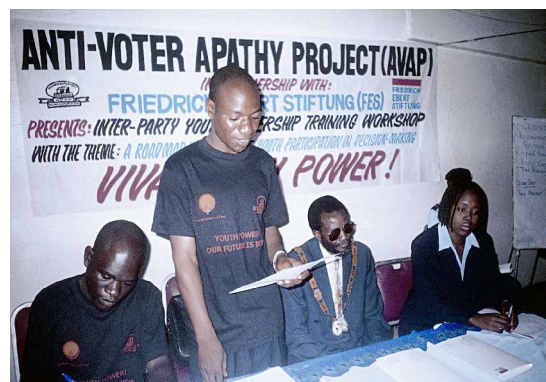
development. Moreover, since the programme was launched, the number of violent activities among the youth in political parties has reduced, while the number of young people aspiring for political office has increased. Most of the latter are now Councillors, while some have already declared an interest in presenting themselves for parliamentary office in the next presidential and general elections. Thus, the programme complements national gender-mainstreaming efforts by improving gender awareness in political parties, which in turn ensures that they promote gender quality in all their activities.

Gender training for young politicians, Mongu, 21-24 March 2004
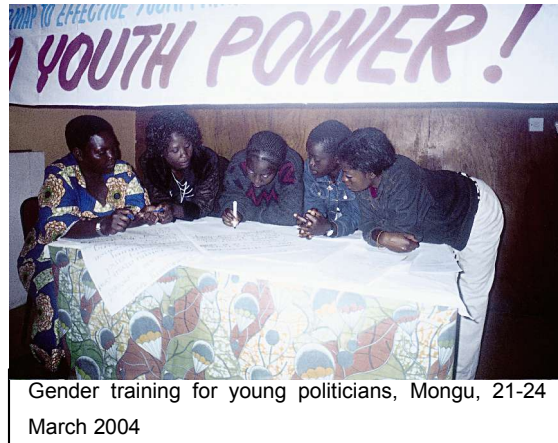
Zimbabwe

Ms Linda Mudavanhu, Media and Gender Projects Officer, FES Zimbabwe

Mainstreaming gender in Zimbabwe

Overview of Zimbabwe's status

Since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has seen positive developments in the legal, education, health and other sectors that have improved the status of women. Due to the current socio-economic and political problems bedevilling the country, however, these gains have largely been eroded.[1] This leaves Zimbabwe at a stage where the critical mass – 30% representation by women in decision-making positions – has not been built up.

On the political arena, the Women Leadership and Governance Institute Zimbabwe states that qualitatively, in the period 1986 to 2000, Zimbabwe took some steps to include women in leadership and decision-making politics. Again, however, these gains were mostly eroded during and after the 2000 parliamentary elections, which saw the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) making major inroads into the country's political scene. The ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front, thus adopted survival strategies that included elbowing women out and instituting violent campaign tactics – which made the political arena a dangerous space for women to be in. In the 2000 parliamentary elections, 48 of the 297 ruling party candidates were women, while for the MDC, only 17 of the 279 candidates were women. In the National Alliance for Good Governance, none of the 4 candidates were women, while 3 of the 33 independent candidates were women.[2] Table 1 below shows the current number of women parliamentarians in Zimbabwe in comparison with earlier years:

Table 1: Women in political decision-making during the Fifth Session of Parliament[3]

Position	Gender	First Session 07/2000–06/2001		Second Session 07/2001–06/2002		Third Session 07/2002–06/2003		Fourth Session 07/2003–06/2004	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Members of Parliament	Women	15	10.0	16	10.6	16	10.6	16	10.6
	Men	135	90.0	134	89.4	134	89.4	134	89.4
ZANU-PF MPs	Women	8	8.8	9	9.7	9	9.7	9	9.7
	Men	83	91.2	84	90.3	88	90.7	85	90.4
MDC MPs (main opposition)	Women	7	12.3	7	12.5	17	13.5	7	12.7
	Men	50	87.7	49	87.5	45	86.5	48	12.7

Table 2 below shows that the number of women in the Fifth Parliamentary Session has declined in comparison with figures for the Fourth Session:

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[1] Mhlanga (2003)
[2] WiPSU Zimbabwe (2002)
[3] Adapted from WiPSU Zimbabwe (2004:14)

Table 2: Historic overview of women's level of participation in Parliament[4]

Parliamentary Session	Period	Number of women in Parliament and Senate	Percentage increase/ (decrease)	Percentage of women in Parliament
First	1980–1985	13	---	8.6%
Second	1985–1990	15	15.4%	10.0%
Third	1990–1995	17	13.3%	11.3%
Fourth	1995–2000	22	29.4%	14.6%
Fifth	2000–2005	16	(27.2%)	10.6%

On the economic front, the country has undergone different phases in the land reform programme since 1980, climaxing in the "fast-track resettlement programme" in 2000. Although women constitute 70% of the agricultural labour force, the land resettlement process has benefited very few of them. According to Women and Land, Zimbabwe, only 16% of the female-headed households – i.e. representing 35% of Zimbabwean women – have been resettled under the A1 Model[5] since the inception of Phase 2 of the land redistribution programme in 2000.[6] The lack of gender mainstreaming in the policy documents governing land in the country is affirmed in its agrarian laws: most of the legislation on land rights is silent on the rights of women.[7]

FES Zimbabwe's activities

The major weakness of gender-mainstreaming efforts by FES Zimbabwe has been a lack of a deliberate approach to the issue. This is due to various constraining factors in the environment in which FES Zimbabwe operates, although all project officers are sensitive about the need for gender inclusion. Project officers have also tried to be gender-sensitive in their various project areas.

Trade unions

Discussions on policy regarding the role of women in trade unions have been held at General Council level in the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), thus attempting to include the gender component in trade union activities.

Approximately 20% of the trade union budget at FES Zimbabwe is reserved for women's activities in trade unions, while 25% of the FES's spending is reserved for empowering civil society organisations involved in gender-mainstreaming activities.

A new Labour Act that is gender-sensitive and takes into account the needs of women is now in place. FES Zimbabwe also facilitated a series of workshops with the ZCTU on this new Labour Act. One of these workshops focussed on the challenges that women face in the workplace, e.g. sexual harassment.

Through the help and the support of FES Zimbabwe, three out of seven of the leadership posts at the ZCTU are held by women: Vice-President (held by a woman for the first time in the Congress's history), Treasurer, and Second Assistant Secretary-General. The Vice-President has also been elected to be the President of the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordination Council.

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[4] (ibid.)

[5] The A1 Model was targeted at the rural landless, whereby farmers were to be resettled in villages or self-contained small farms of about 5 ha, depending on the natural farming region; Masiiwa & Chipungu (2004:12).

[6] *Women's ground*, No. 1, July–September 2003

[7] Mgugu & Chimonyo (2004:154)

Democracy and politics

FES Zimbabwe also worked with the Women in Politics Support Unit in their "Vote for a Woman" campaign in 2000, just before the parliamentary elections. Some of the campaign's objectives were to support women candidates in the pre-election period; raise awareness amongst the electorate in respect of women being effective leaders; and monitor and evaluate how urban council elections were processed. Various capacity-building and training workshops were held, with the starting point being the watching of a documentary, *More than just mothers*, which highlighted some of the challenges that Zimbabwean women in all sectors face.

FES Zimbabwe also supported gender development workshops held by the National Constitutional Assembly, in which proposals were made on how best to make the Constitution gender-sensitive.

Through FES's facilitation in 2001, the Women's Parliamentary Caucus was formed. The Caucus analyses and advances women's needs. It also examines how Parliament operates and how its operations can be improved. When the Caucus was founded, its sister organisation from Botswana was invited to Zimbabwe to share their experiences and information. Because of the political divide in the country, however, the Caucus does not currently operate at an optimal level.
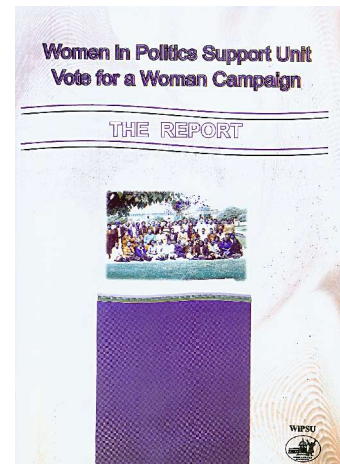
Economics

FES Zimbabwe has made serious attempts not only to empower women, but also to mainstream gender in all its activities. Research on the economy has tried to be gender-sensitive by including female contributors, e.g. *Post-independence land reform in Zimbabwe*, a study that discusses the controversies and impact of the land reform programme on Zimbabwe's economy.[8]

Workshops conducted have also tried to mainstream gender, e.g. one-third of the resource persons were women. Efforts are also being made to ensure a gender balance among selected participants, e.g. at the World Trade Organisation workshop held in Cape Town from 14–18 June 2004.

In budget activities, policy intervention measures have been suggested through research that takes into account the needs of marginalised groups such as women. TE Makwavarara, a senior economist and researcher in Zimbabwe, in a paper entitled *Making the National Budget more participatory and development-oriented*, argues that one of the reasons why past budgets have failed to promote economic growth and development was that they were gender-blind.[9] For example, the various phases of budgeting were not effectively participatory; nor were marginalised groups given the opportunity to contribute to the national budgetary process.[10]

In the past two to three years, the FES has worked with the Women's Land Lobby Group and looked at national policy gaps in relation to gender and the land. This Group has since emerged as a powerful land and gender intervention body in Zimbabwe.

The social dialogues that are held by the FES once a month also serve as an example of how gender is mainstreamed through the selection of resource persons and participants.

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[8]Masiiwa (2004)

[9] Makwavarara [n.d.]

[10] (ibid.:13)

Conclusion

Although the FES is trying to mainstream gender in all its activities, it has only been partially successful: more work still needs to be done.

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FES Media Project in Southern Africa
Ms Kaleni Hiyalwa, Project Officer, FES Media Project in Southern Africa

Gender and the media

Introduction

The FES Media Project in Southern Africa is currently operating in some southern African countries where the FES maintains country offices, namely Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Project is involved in media reforms and transformation activities on both national and regional levels. It works in cooperation with stakeholders such as media and media-related NGOs, media practitioners, other donor organisations, regional media bodies, and authorities that have a vested interest in media transformation and reform.

Gender and the media in southern Africa

Like anywhere else in the world, women's voices are not heard in or through the media. Very few women are quoted in the media as sources of news and information, unlike the male voices that dominate the news produced every day in the media and the press around the world.

When women's voices are covered at all, it is usually in advertisements where they are stereotyped as sex objects. Women's voices are not often heard on serious matters such as economics, politics or even agriculture, where they are the dominant workers. The media rarely seek expert opinions from women, even when they occupy professional positions.

According to the GMBS, the gender disparity in media coverage is wide.[1] The findings indicate that only 17% of the 25,110 news items examined represented the voices of women as compared to 83% male voices. Some 76% of the stories on economics and 90% on politics reflected male voices, while only 10% and 9%, respectively, reflected female voices. There is a great margin when it comes to men and women who create news on television and radio. A total of 54% of male reporters were involved in reporting economic affairs and 26% political affairs, while 20% and 16% of women, respectively, were involved in reporting in those two fields.

However women out numbered men in stereotyped reports. Of the sex workers represented in the media, women made up 91% and men 10%. Of the beauty contestants whose voices were heard in the media, 88% were women and 10% men.

The findings show clear gender disparities in the media coverage of news stories, especially the kind of stories covered, by whom they were covered, and what type of story was assigned to whom. All these categories of reports and reporting affect the orientation and attitudes of society, hence helping to entrench and reinforce the negative social attitudes and behaviours towards women. Therefore, there is a need for the media to join other efforts with sectors that are striving to change the old ways of reporting issues into gender balance stories.

Since the media are important tools for communication, and because they reach and influence many people simultaneously, it is important that positive gender images are reflected and portrayed in and through the media to counter the current gender stereotyping.

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[1]Gender Links & MISA (2003)

It is against this background that the FES Media Project saw the need to cooperate with its stakeholders and so contribute towards the attainment of gender equality. The main partners in this innovative project are as follows:

- Gender Links, an NGO that seeks to promote gender equality in the SADC region, and
- The Polytechnic of Namibia, a tertiary institution contributing to Namibia's development by providing career-oriented education in applied science and technology.

Gender mainstreaming in the media

The Project takes a holistic approach towards issues that would assist in achieving gender equality.

Polytechnic of Namibia

The FES sponsors the PON's Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Project, which seeks to mainstream gender into the journalism course content at the Department of Media Technology. This means that the course offers training and skills to students on issues concerning gender reporting in the media. At the beginning, the course was only supposed to be implemented for the first-year students. However, owing to its success, the FES and the PON decided to extend the project for another two years. The current year, 2004, is the third and final year of the FES's support. The experience has been a success as the students have not only been learning theory on how to cover gender-sensitive stories, but they have also learned practical skills such as writing stories, editing and subediting. The course also introduced a newspaper insert called *Echoes*, for which the students produce and edit stories.

The Project seeks to prepare students for a gender-balanced approach in their knowledge and attitudes. Students are expected to develop a culture of choosing gender-sensitive story angles rather than employ the traditional cultural mindsets that often approach stories from a male perspective. The course also envisages that graduate journalists, subeditors and editors will use the knowledge and skills to produce balanced news content.

The PON's Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Project is already seen as a model for tertiary institutions in southern Africa that are interested in including gender mainstreaming in their media and communication activities and programmes.

Gender and Media Baseline Study

The GMBS forms the foundation for gender and media activities in the SADC region. After the study findings were published in 2003, the FES and its main stakeholders stepped up cooperation in implementing the report's recommendations, with the aim of mainstreaming gender in media frameworks and news content.

Audience research

Through the FES's partner, Gender Links, it is currently financing the project entitled "Audience Research". The study aims to determine whether communication, journalism and media institutions have initiated and implemented gender-mainstreaming programmes. In respect of those that have, their experiences and challenges will be studied.

The knowledge and experience gained from this project is, in the long run, expected to be shared with other tertiary institutions in the southern African region.

Gender and Media Summit

In its findings, the GMBS recommended that annual meetings take place to report on progress made towards achieving targets on national action plans. In this context, a Gender and Media Summit was scheduled for September 2004 in South Africa. As a forum, the Summit will help strengthen the capacity of the gender and media networks; enable experiences, strategies and case studies to be shared; and ensure that the work drive is maintained.

The Summit will also evaluate what has been accomplished over the past year, and what strategies need to be developed. The summit is expected to be an appropriate venue at which to form what will be known as the Gender and Media Network: another high-level body to help accelerate and promote gender mainstreaming in the media.

Gender Links has also suggested that the PON's pilot projects be showcased at the Summit. The occasion will also serve as an opportunity to launch *A mainstreaming gender in Basic Journalism primer*, a joint publication by the two organisations.[2]

The Summit will bring partners such as media practitioners, media decision-makers, media monitors, gender activists, academics and researchers together.

Gender-sensitive in-house policies

As part of gender mainstreaming in the media, the FES, through its partner, Gender Links, is providing financial support to two pilot projects with the *Zambian Times* and the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation. This is in line with one of the recommendations made by the GMBS, which calls for media houses to show an interest in developing, adopting and implementing in-house gender policies, and to volunteer to join the effort towards make gender mainstreaming a reality.

The Zambian and Mauritian projects have shown positive experiences. The evaluation reports will be presented at the Summit as well, in order to address how gender mainstreaming is being implemented in these media houses, and what the challenges and the possible positive means would be used to achieve gender equality goals.

In-house gender-sensitive policies are aimed at sensitising the editorial staff and other media practitioners and members of media houses about the need for gender mainstreaming in news content, including the importance of women's participation at decision-making levels in media houses.

Publications and visuals

The cooperation between the FES and Gender Links has produced several materials for the promotion and advocacy of gender issues. These include training manuals for trainers and students, and public information materials. Some of these materials are still being worked on while others are being distributed to target groups as part of the advocacy campaign in the promotion of gender-mainstreaming activities.

The PON Project is also involved in producing training materials that are to be shared with interested partners, stakeholders and institutions in the southern African region. Materials produced in cooperation with Gender Links include the publications GMBS and *Gender in media training: A southern African tool kit[3]*, and a video entitled "Making every voice count". Besides these materials, the FES has collaborated with Gender Links in organising workshops, seminars, conferences and meetings. Another product of cooperation between FES Namibia, the FES Media Project, the PON, and the Namibian Parliamentary Women's Caucus is the sponsoring and production of radio spots in English and different local languages. The radio

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[2] Gender Links & Polytechnic of Namibia (forthcoming)
[3] Morna (2002)

spots are aimed at educating women, through radio, about their democratic right to participate in civic activities.

The FES Media Project maintains regular contact with its partners to discuss issues concerning the progress of the various on-going gender pilot projects in the southern African region. The Media Project also helped with covering travel costs, and provided venues for some of the meetings. In addition, the Project has been represented at certain gender forums organised in the southern African region, e.g. the launch of the video "Making every voice count", and the Gender and Media Network Meeting convened and organised by Gender Links in early 2004 in Johannesburg. Furthermore, the Project will be one of the sponsors of the Gender and Media Summit in September 2004 and will participate as a stakeholder.

Conclusions

Journalists are members of the communities we all come from. As a result, they mimic their cultures and traditions in their reporting, validating and reinforcing gender stereotypes. Gender-mainstreaming training gives them the necessary skills to recognise the angle of the stories they write or produce. With these skills they become sensitive to gender issues and can practice caution and sensitivity with respect to the negative implications, consequences and impact their stories may have on society.

Since the media control the major part of our knowledge, it is vital that its orientation on gender issues is not skewed. Once the media realise that women have the same rights and responsibilities to express themselves as men, and understand that women's voices need to be heard, gender equality cannot be too far away.

The vision is that the media have power to change the world through gender-mainstreaming strategies. The idea is to create a wider world of journalism: one that is inclusive of all issues, including gender-balanced reporting. Journalists' skills and knowledge need to be as broad as possible; they need to be aware that stereotypes and certain traditional beliefs, attitudes and manners no longer hold water.

Given the change in the world of journalism, society will be given an opportunity to carry positive gender images – and gender stereotypes will be buried forever in the dark corners of cultural and traditional history.

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Annexure 1

Programme

Time	Event
	Sunday, 11 July 2004
15:00	Arrival and airport transfer of delegates City tour
19:00	Welcoming dinner, Heja Lodge
	Monday, 12 July 2004
Moderator: Mr Jürgen Peters, Resident Representative, FES Namibia (Discussions will follow each presentation)	
08:30	**Registration and arrival coffee**
08:45	**Introduction** Mr Jürgen Peters, Resident Representative, FES Namibia
09:00	**Welcoming address** Hon. A Muharukua, Deputy Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare
09:30	**Session I: Country overviews** Ms Christine Warioba, Programme Officer: Gender, SADC Gender Unit • General existing structures, policies, action plans and strategies: Implementation, evaluation and monitoring of mainstreaming gender in the respective countries • Status and strategies of SADC countries in achieving the 30% target • Commitments and performance of SADC countries to gender equality • Status of national gender machineries • Problems and solutions
10:30	Tea/coffee break
10:00	Session I: Country overviews (Cont.)
11:00	**Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus** Hon. Teopolina Mushelenga, MP; Vice-Chairperson, Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus; Chairperson, Namibia Parliamentary Women's Caucus and Namibia Elected Women's Forum • Initiatives and progress of the Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus
11:45	**Session II: Namibia as a case study** Ms Eunice Iipinge, Coordinator, Gender Training and Research Programme, University of Namibia • Namibia's gender-mainstreaming efforts as a case study

Time	Event
12:30	Lunch
14:00	**Session III: Gender and Media Baseline Study** Ms Jennifer Mufune, Executive, Gender and Chapter Support, MISA Regional • Results of the Gender and Media Baseline Study: Regional study Ms Pauliina Shilongo, Lecturer, Polytechnic of Namibia • Gender mainstreaming in the Media Pilot Project
15:30	Tea/coffee break
16:00	**Session IV: The role of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung** Summary and general discussions on how FES offices can complement these efforts
**Tuesday, 13 July 2004**
Moderators: Alternating FES officers
08:30	**Gender aspects in FES project activities in Africa** Dr Ludgera Klemp, FES Bonn, Africa Department
09:30	Project overview on gender mainstreaming in the media Mr Peter Schellschmidt, Director, FES Media Project in Southern Africa
10:00	Tea/coffee break

10:30	**Best-practice examples of gender work in the FES**
	Each FES officer from the respective countries attending
	• Presentations and discussions on best practices
	  Angola
	  Botswana
	  Mozambique

12:45	Lunch
14:00	*Namibia* *South Africa*
15:30	Tea/Coffee
16:00	*Tanzania*
**Wednesday, 14 July 2004**
Moderators: Alternating FES officers
08:30	**Best-practice examples (Cont.)** *Zambia* *Zimbabwe*

Time	Event
10:30	Tea/coffee break
11:00	*FES Media Project in Southern Africa*
11:45	**Conclusion** • How can FES offices complement each other? • How would a regional exchange programme work? • Action Plan (if any)
12:45	Lunch
14:00	Conclusion (Cont.)

Annexure 2

List of participants

Name		Gender	Position	Institution	Postal address	Telephone (T) and Fax (F)
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Claassen,	Pam	Female	Chairperson	Namibia Gender Trainers' Network	PO Box 13301, Windhoek, Namibia	(+264–61) (T) 206 3029 (F) 206 3936
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Joseph,	Kaamilah	Female	Project Officer	FES South Africa	PO Box 412664, 2024 Craighall, South Africa	(+27–11) (T) 341 0663 (F) 341 0271
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