**“HOW TO USE SPORT AS A TOOL
TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUITY IN BOTSWANA”**

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Bachelor of Arts, Honours

A thesis submitted to:

The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts

Department of Geography and Environmental Studies

Carleton University

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September 2006

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395 Wellington Street
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395, rue Wellington
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Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-18275-8

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-18275-8

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ABSTRACT

Sport has the capacity to touch the lives of all people, regardless of gender, age, language, economic and social strata, geographic location, or cultural differences. The culture of sport has intersected with the women's movement to create an empowering environment for change. This particular research project is designed to examine and analyze what the international women's feminist sporting movement, in correlation with the Botswana national feminist sporting movement, has done in order to improve gender equity in Botswana through policy change and implementation. Secondly, this research project will recommend methods based on field research and study that can continue to improve gender equity through further policy change and implementation from the national level down to the grassroots level in Botswana by using sport as a tool.

Although legislative and policy changes of the last three decades have effectively addressed some of the longstanding problems of gender inequity, many practices within female sport and recreation continue to mirror and entrench women's subordinate position in society. Discrimination on the basis of gender, race, culture and social class continues to persist in Botswana. There are and cannot be any short-term solutions. Sport is not the answer to reaching gender equity, but the strides being made at the policy and grassroots level are contributing to positive action.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Acronyms and Abbreviations</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>ix</i>
 PART I: INTRODUCTION	 1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Outline of Thesis	5
 PART II: THEORY AND PRACTICE	
2.0 Sport and National Identities: A Geographical Analysis	9
2.1 The Geography of Sport	11
2.2 Culture	14
2.3 Sport and National Identity	15
2.4 Barriers to Participation	17
2.5 A Space and Place for Sport	21
 3.0 Conceptualizing Development, Women, and Sports	23
3.1 Theoretical Background: Feminist Post-Structuralism	24
3.2 Incorporating Gender	27
3.3 Relations to Power	29
3.4 Empowerment	30
3.5 Gender and Sport	32
3.6 Women's Experiences in Sport	34
3.6.1 Cultural Barriers	34
 4.0 Methodology	38
4.1 Formulating an Appropriate Cross-Cultural Research Methodology	39
4.1.1 Shifting Multiple Identities	41
4.1.2 Relations of Power	44
4.2 Highlighting Reflexivity in Research Relationships	45
4.3 The Research Journey	46
4.3.1 The Pre-Fieldwork Process	47
4.3.2 The Fieldwork Process	48
4.3.3 The Post-Fieldwork Process	53

4.4	Reflections on Research as a Dynamic Political Process	55
4.4.1	Acknowledging the Unintended Effects of Dilemmas in Research Encounters	55
4.4.2	Vulnerability	57
4.5	Research as Political Action	59

PART III: BOTSWANA: A CASE STUDY

5.0	Botswana: A Country Review	61
5.1	History	64
5.2	The Transition of Botswana	65
5.3	Botswana on the International Stage	67
6.0	Women in Botswana	71
6.1	Economics and Employment of Botswana Women	72
6.2	Poverty	75
6.3	The Formation of Women's Groups	77
6.4	Turning the Tides: Citizenship Law	81
6.5	Women Empowerment: The Struggle Continues	83

PART IV: USING SPORT AS A DEVELOPMENT TOOL

7.0	Using Sport as a Development Tool	88
7.1	History of the Women in Sport Movement	89
7.2	Benefits of Sports	91
7.3	Obstacles to Sports Participation for Women	95
7.4	Cultural Influences	98
7.5	Conclusion	100
8.0	Women And Sport Botswana Organization	103
8.1	The History of WASBO	104
8.2	The Re-emergence of WASBO	107
8.3	Probable Reasons for WASBO Inactivity	112
9.0	Female Athletes in Botswana: Personal Stories	115
9.1	Athlete Stories	117
9.2	Existing Pre-conceived Gender Roles in Botswana Culture	131
9.3	Existing Pre-conceived Gender Roles in Botswana Sport	134
9.4	Changing Culture	135
9.5	The Benefits of Sport	136
9.6	Encouraging Girls to Participate in Sport	139

PART V: CONCLUSION: A WAY FORWARD

10.0	Suggestions for Using Sport as a Tool to Promote Gender Equity	141
10.1	Changing Policy	142
10.1.1	Changing the Mindset of the Political Sector	143
10.2	Changing Culture	146
10.2.1	Rural Areas	148
10.3	Education Campaigns/Awareness/Spokespersons	150
10.4	Creating Role Models	152
10.5	Using the Media	154
10.6	Solicit Funding	157
10.7	Forming Effective Strategic Partnerships	157
10.8	Providing Resources and Resource Organization	158
10.8.1	Commonwealth Games Canada Involvement	159
10.9	Creating Programs	162
10.9.1	Dedication Solely to the Cause	164
10.10	Women Taking Ownership	164
11.0	Conclusion	166
	<i>Bibliography</i>	174

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	The Fieldwork Process: Methods Employed by Phase	49
Table 8.1	WASBO Aims and Objectives	106
Table 8.2	The WASBO Executive Committee	113
Table 9.1	Elite Female Athletes in Botswana	115

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A	Officials Interview Guide	183
APPENDIX B	Athletes Interview Guide	184
APPENDIX C	Questionnaire for Female Athletes	186
APPENDIX D	List of Interviewees	190
APPENDIX E	Proposed WASBO Structure	191
APPENDIX F	WASBO Roll-Out Program	192

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ASRH	Adult Sexual Reproductive Health through Sport
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BISA	Botswana Institutions Sports Association
BNOC	Botswana National Olympic Committee
BNSC	Botswana National Sports Council
CGC	Commonwealth Games Canada
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COSASA	Confederation of Southern African Schools Association
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DSR	Department of Sport and Recreation
GAD	Gender and Development
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IWG	International Women's Working Group
IYSPE	International Year for Sport and Physical Education
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
OAU	Organization of African Unity
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SVM	Sports Volunteer Movement
UB	University of Botswana
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WASBO	Women and Sport Botswana Organization
WID	Women in Development
WIS	Women in Sport
WLSA	Women and Law Project of Southern Africa
WSD	Women, Sport, and Development
WUSC	World University Service of Canada

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have been a part of my graduate education, as friends, teachers, and colleagues. Firstly I would like to thank my academic supervisor Iain Wallace, who helped me during the formative stages of my thesis, and drastically helped me to polish up my thesis at the end. Additionally, Fiona MacKenzie was instrumental in helping me to understand feminist post-modernism, and taught me how to write an appropriate research methodology. Without the help of these two Professors, my thesis would not have had the required academic proficiency required of a Graduate paper.

In addition to the academic help provided by my Professors, I would like to deeply thank two individuals who helped me finish this thesis. If it were not for the unending support of Amy Martinuk, I might not have gotten beyond the stage of procrastination, and my thesis would still be sitting as unidentifiable research. Her role of 'unofficial thesis advisor' was more help than she knows. The other individual who was instrumental on this long road is Edmund Wolfe. He edited the entire thesis for me, and was able to pick up on mistakes or inconsistencies that I had missed. He also enriched my paper by adding his own personal thoughts and comments based on the two years he lived in Botswana.

There have been two organizations that have been involved in the production of my thesis, and I feel the need to acknowledge all of the support provided to me by them. The first organization is Commonwealth Games Canada, the organization that originally sent me overseas to discover the beauty that is Botswana. They have fully supported my research both financially, and from a source material standpoint. My contact at CGC has made all the difference in the world and my deepest gratitude is extended to Sara Nicholls. The other organization that has been so influential is the BNSC, and subsequently WASBO. When I returned to Botswana to conduct my research, they let me use the WASBO desk, files, computers, and provided conference rooms for me to conduct my interviews. Without the unfaltering support of these organizations, I would not have been able to effectively conduct the required research.

Finally, I would like to thank those closest to me, whose presence has enabled me to make it through this process relatively unscathed, by keeping me sane. These are Cara Prest – my 'sister', Sarah Pegg, Chantal de Paulsen; Nishee Babootee, Gaya Sanmugam, Lara Hollett, Julie Rogers, Samantha Roeland, and Leanne Stein - for traveling around the world with me to get away from it all. Most of all, I would like to thank my mom for her absolute confidence and belief in me. Her unfaltering support and encouragement helped make the completion of my Graduate work possible. The knowledge that these individuals will always be there to pick up the pieces is what allows me to repeatedly risk getting shattered.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Poverty, inequality and violence against women continue to tarnish women's lives all over the world, and economic prosperity and social justice elude all but the fortunate few (Porter, 1999, p2). Women's lives are not only shaped by the fact that they bear children but also by the specific environment in which they do so, and in which they work and make decisions about their lives. In order to understand the lives of any group of women, one needs to know the context in which they live. The study of the women in Botswana must begin with a basic outline of the country and its political economy.

Botswana is a land-locked country located in Southern Africa, surrounded by Zambia to the North, Namibia to the West, South Africa to the South, and Zimbabwe to the East, as seen in Figure 1.1 (Times Map of the World, 2005).

Figure 1.1 Map of Southern Africa

The fact that Botswana has remained relatively untouched by political unrest, apartheid, and economic crashes, makes it somewhat of an anomaly compared to its surrounding neighbours. This relatively young nation has never had to fight for independence, as it was released by Britain from its protectorate status in 1966 (Picard, 1985, p19). Independence occurred because Sir Seretse Khama gave up his claim to the traditional title of 'Chief' and founded the first political movement called the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). Sir Setetse Khama met with the British, asked for, and was granted their independence, as Botswana did not have any valuable commodities, and the British had not invested their wealth within the country. Initially, economic life in the protectorate consisted mainly of family-based subsistence agricultural production. Shortly after independence, Botswana discovered vast amounts of diamonds, and has steadily increased its economic activity since then (Picard, 1985, p22).

Before independence, all women regardless of their age or position as heads of households were considered legal and political minors. With the coming of independence, women have gained new political rights. Women can now vote, undertake most legal proceedings, and hold land in their own names. In addition, education and jobs offer at least some women the possibility of economic autonomy and the opportunity to live independently of a man (Brown, 1989, p257). This situation means that while there are greater opportunities for some people, including some women, there are also greater risks for the majority who lack the education and economic resources to take advantage of the opportunities. In fact, because of widely held chauvinistic and

paternalistic social views, even elite women do not receive equal treatment with men in Batswana¹ society (Brown, 1989, p267).

The international women's movement has already had a positive effect on Botswana's women. It has helped raise their consciousness, has provided research and funds for women's projects, and has served to help legitimize the idea of redressing the inequities that women face (Brown, 1989, p268). Sprouting from the international women's movement was the 'Women in Sport' movement, which received international recognition at a conference in Brighton England in 1994. The movement originally began with the focus of involving more females in sport, and the identification of the need to eliminate stereotyping within sport. Sport was seen as a by-product of development, not as an engine (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, 2005, p1). However, this paradigm has recently begun to shift towards the recognition of the gendered nature of sport, and how it can be used to promote development in most countries of the world.

Development is about more than economic growth. Development is a process of enlarging people's choices and increasing the opportunities available to all members of society. Based on the principles of inclusion, equity and sustainability, emphasis is on the importance of increasing opportunities for the current generation as well as generations to come. The basic human capabilities that are necessary for this are to "lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of community" (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, 2005, p1). Sport can directly help build these capabilities.

¹ A person of Botswana heritage is known as a "Motswana", while the plural form is "Batswana".

Incorporated into the definition of “sport” are all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. This thesis deals with the notion of “sport” in its broadest range including play, recreational activities, organized, casual or competitive sport; and traditional sports, games, and dance (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, 2005, executive summary). This wide-scoped and rather imprecise terminology may enable a further acceptance of sport within a culture that does not put much validity into sport, and in turn, enable girls and women to benefit from positive health, physiological, and psychosocial improvements (Meier, 2005, p6).

The Magglingen declaration 2003² was founded on the principle of sport as a human right which had the potential to improve physical and mental health and help overcome trauma. All sections of the recommendations refer to the importance of measures to include women, girls and other marginalized groups in sports initiatives (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2006a). This is because sport can add tremendous positive value to international development and cooperation work for the benefit of women, men, girls and boys irrespective of the degree of development within the country. Despite this broadly shared conviction, there is still a lack of substantiated analysis to support this purported potential of sport and its specific impact on gender relationships (Meier, 2005, p4).

What key factors are preventing women and girls from getting involved in sport activities in developing countries? How could those possible constraints be approached? Do specific types of sport really matter regarding social norms and cultural stereotypes?

² The first **International Conference on Sport & Development** was held in Magglingen, Switzerland from February 16-18, 2003 and brought together 380 representatives from the international political scene, United Nations agencies, national and international sports organisations, the media, as well as numerous athletes past and present. The result of the conference was the Magglingen Declaration (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2006a).

Are some types of sport more likely to clash with social norms? Could traditional games be a possible route of access for females into professional and semi-professional sports, or are such patterns even counterproductive, because they consolidate existing patriarchal structures? This paper deals with such questions and provides an analytical framework as well as field experience and specific results from Botswana which should encourage further debates and research in the field of sport, gender and development.

1.1 Outline of Thesis

Part I of the thesis is this short introduction chapter that serves the purpose of introducing the concept of using sport as a development tool to promote gender equity in Botswana. By intertwining aspects of culture, geography, history and gender in a theoretical framework of analysis, Part II of this thesis argues that it is possible to understand the inter-connectedness of the geography discipline as it relates to sport by using feminist post-structuralism as the main gender specific framework for analysis. In order to relate the intertwined aspects of geography, sport, and development, it is necessary to establish the geographic themes that explain how this can be done. Chapter 2 outlines the three broad geographic themes and explains that the nature of geography has meant different things to different people, and is therefore always negotiated. As a human geographer, I suggest that geographic analysis can be used to further understand the intricacies of national identity and culture through sport.

Chapter 3 delves into the world of feminist post-modernism as the tool being used by this thesis to examine the notions of power, and empowerment from the perspective of the minority sub-Saharan woman. This study calls into question the taken-for-granted assumptions about the 'sporting woman' as an undifferentiated, homogeneous group with

a common, shared culture. I explore the cultural barriers of sport that are outwardly imposed on the Black African woman, as well as the internal conflicts that are related to sporting myths that exist within the community. In the fourth chapter, I outline the methodology that I developed in order to put into practice the conceptual framework.

I present different aspects of Botswana, the country selected for my case study, in Part III. In Chapter 5, I review the historical struggles of Botswana through to the transition of becoming one of the wealthiest economies in Africa, while remaining an open democracy with a government that believes in its people. Even though Botswana is considered one of Africa's 'star performers' on the economic stage, there are still certain aspects of the country that have required significant international aid, and one of these issues is the status of women.

Chapter 6 presents the phenomenon of the female breadwinner in Botswana, and explores all of the implications that have arisen because of this longstanding characteristic. The culture is changing towards a "Westernized" degeneration of the extended family system, and because of the significant increase in the rates of unmarried parenthood and divorce, men can no longer be relied upon to take care of their women and children. Even with Botswana's outstanding economic reputation, many women are living in poverty within the country, and because of gender inequity that exists, have a very hard time breaking out of the negative cycle. However, Botswana's open political system, and the "Western" influence on gender equity, have resulted in the formation of Botswana women's groups that are encouraging women to stand up beside their men. This has resulted in the creation of space for women to challenge both old and emerging relations of male domination before the new ones can solidify.

One of the newer methods being used by women to challenge male domination is to use sport as a development tool, which is the concept explored in Part IV. Chapter 7 explores the momentum gained by the international 'women in sports' movement over the past fifteen years. I highlight the benefits and opportunities that exist within, and because of the sporting world for both small girls, and grown women. However, if it were as easy as naming the benefits associated with sport, then every female in the world would be participating, but they are not. This is why I then explore the cultural barriers, and obstacles experienced by women all over the world that are stopping, or hindering their participation. This is why it is imperative to listen to local voices from the 'South' in order to produce creative and collective solutions to give women all of the tools necessary to continue their development as individuals for the overall betterment of the country.

In Botswana, the group that has been created to promote gender equity through sport is called the Women and Sport Botswana Organization (WASBO). In Chapter 8, I explore the history of WASBO, and present the initiatives that have been fulfilled by the organization since its inception in 1997. However, WASBO has recently experienced a period of inactivity and I explore the reasons that might explain this phenomenon in the last part of this chapter. It is important for WASBO to re-focus its initiatives, as it has the potential to play a very important role within Botswana society and culture, which can be supported through the testimonies of the nine elite female athletes in Chapter 9. These athletes provide their personal stories of struggles and successes; because sport has shaped who they are, and given them opportunities to not only excel on the playing field, but also within society in general.

As feminist research is defined as research for social change, attempting to inform and change policy can be, and usually is, one of its many goals (Cottrell, 1999, p89). Using the suggestions of the local elite athletes, the surveyed female athletes, the administrators of top level sport within Botswana, and additional sport development related research, I present ideas and suggestions for the betterment of the WASBO organization within Botswana in Chapter 10. The proposals are designed to help WASBO from the national level, down to grass roots initiatives; and also to provide ways that international agencies can continue to help in the development of women through gender equity.

I conclude the thesis by suggesting that sport is one of the world's most powerful communication tools due to its near universal appeal, its convening power and its many positive associations. Sport will not provide the ultimate solution to solving Botswana's gender inequity problem; however, it can be used as an effective tool of development to promote gender equity in Botswana.

CHAPTER 2

SPORTS AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES: A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

Geography is basically concerned with three broad themes. The first theme is the location and spatiality of terrestrial phenomena. The second theme is human-environment relations; and the third theme is regional differentiation. In addition to the three main themes, there are two recurring concepts in geography. These are space and place (Bale, 2003, p1). The subject is popularly associated with 'knowing where places are' or 'knowing what places are like', because the academic discipline of geography is a human construction, its character and content vary considerably between individual geographers and national 'schools' of geography. Some geographers adopt descriptive approaches, others are more analytical, and some are more concerned with human geography than with physical geography (Bale, 2003, p1).

According to Tuan, humanistic geography reflects upon geographical phenomena with the ultimate purpose of achieving a better understanding of a person and their condition, while geographers are constantly trying to re-address what it is that constitutes the focus of what geographers do (Tuan, 1976, p266). "In their passion to achieve conceptual coherence and narrative continuity, historians of geography have frequently used their own definition of what constitutes geography as a lens through which to examine and reinterpret the past" (Livingstone, 1992, p5).

Writing in 1988, Michael Dear authored a response to the 'postmodern challenge' for human geography by suggesting the need to state a hierarchy in the structuring of geographical inquiry. In doing so, he suggested that geographers give priority to certain of the traditional sub-disciplinary fields while downplaying various others of the sub-

disciplinary concerns which have occupied human geographers past and present (Philo, 1993, p1).

In suggesting that some subdisciplines are less central than others, I mean to imply some priority about the search for geographical knowledge. A provisional privilege for political, social and economic geography has been advanced. It follows that certain subdisciplines are less significant. For instance, the geography of sport is not central to the structure and explanation of geographical knowledge (Dear, 1988, p271).

Dear actually shifts to the periphery the sub-discipline that is sports geography. It is revealing that Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley pick up on this point and then challenge Dear's arbitrary wielding of notions such as 'scholarly merit' and 'social relevance'. As an example in their book, they wonder if "the geography of the sport of soccer governs key aspects of political, social and economic conditions of Rio de Janeiro, rather than vice versa" (Scott and Simpson-Housley, 1989, p235).

Obviously, not all geography scholars agree with Michael Dear. In fact, it becomes hard to agree with Dear's view when he seems to have ignored the fact that sport is political, social, and economic and is therefore a part of each of the three geographies that he prioritized.

According to Philo, all manner of insights about the workings of human society can best be found, not from the most obvious sources comprising or recording the seeming economic, political and social core of a given people's world, but from sources which on first glance may seem quite marginal, peripheral, insignificant and even esoteric (Philo, 1993, p1). In essence, although some geographers might consider the sub-

discipline of sports geography to be insignificant, it has the potential to elicit some key observations about different aspects of life already studied by human geographers.

The traditional neglect of sport by geographers, and of geography in sports studies, is illogical for several reasons. First, sport is a major aspect of economic, social and political life. While sports take up huge amounts of space in the media, which is a socially significant construct, it has also been the subject of significant political and environmental debates. Second, space and place, which are regarded by many as the two geographical fundamentals, are central to both geography and sport (Bale, 2003, p2).

Both geography and sport are concerned with space and the way it is occupied, and they both focus on the way people move and interact in a geographic space. In addition, regions form a central feature of the organization of sports, and places are the means of identifying most sports teams. Sport is affected by, and increasingly affects, the physical environment and landscape, and sport is a world of territoriality and hierarchies (Bale, 2003, p2). All of these reasons can readily make a case as to why geographers should consider studying the 'trivial' phenomenon of sport.

2.1 The Geography of Sport

According to the Dictionary of Human Geography, the 'Geography of Sport' is defined as "the study of spatial variations in the pursuit of various sports and of the impact of sporting activities on the landscape" (Johnston, et al., 2000). In 1989, Bale wrote the first general text on the geography of sport. He identified three main components used to link sport with geography.

The first component was to study the changing spatial pattern of sports activity with the diffusion of a new sport from its origin, and then link it up with the study of

sporting regions. A sporting region is an area that identifies with a particular sport, sometimes referred to as a locality. The second component was to study the 'sports landscape' and how it changes in the design and visual impact of stadiums and golf courses. The third component was to give prescriptions to change the spatial organization of sport and sporting landscapes (Johnston, et al., 2000).

As Bale set out the parameters by which to study the geography of sport, theories also had to be implemented. The four major theories that were used to analyze sport were Functionalism, Marxism, Post-modernism, and Feminism.

From a functionalist perspective, sport is greatly valued as it has many positive benefits. It contributes to the smooth running of the social system and it acts as a form of 'cultural glue' which helps to hold society together. From a neo-Marxist perspective, sport can either liberate or constrain. It largely serves the interests of dominant groups and institutions. But it can also act as a site for resistance or change by subordinate groups or individuals. The feminist perspective on sport is that it reinforces patriarchy and traditional masculine and feminine values. In fact, it often tends to promote masculine values over feminine. However, it can also act as a site for women, or men, to challenge these traditional values (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p51).

In terms of outlining sports as a microcosm of society, Post-modernism seems to be the best theory to analyze sport. From a post-modernist perspective, sport is a paradox. It can be highly significant to individual self-image and lifestyle, but it is ultimately superficial. It can be highly symbolic of society, but it is ultimately unreal, because it truly is just a game, rather than actual life. It is in this sense 'hyper-real' (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p51).

One of the dominant theorists to create the post-modern tradition is Foucault. He argued that the transition from traditional to modern societies has been characterized by a profound transformation in the exercise of power. No longer embodied in the person of the monarch and exercised upon a largely anonymous body of subjects, power in modern society is more insidious and subtle, requiring self-surveillance (Hall, 1996, p54). Sport is embedded with power relations from an international level down to a community level. It is quite difficult to comprehend sport and sporting events without reference to relations of power. These relations are put into operation by the people that attempt to control how a sport is to be organized and played, and by whom; how it is to be represented; and how it is to be interpreted (MacClancy, 1996, p5).

Within sport discourse, there are “disputes about the essence of sport and about the defining characteristics that allow particular activities to be classified as sports” (Hall, 1996, p55). What is it about the social relations and distribution of political and economic resources that have meant that some games and physical pursuits have become institutionalized features of a particular culture while others have not? An example of this is the meaning of ice hockey to most Canadians, or the meaning of cricket to most Indians, and how the sport reflects and shapes their identity on both a national scale and at the international level.

Sports geography may therefore be an exceedingly helpful realm of analysis as geographers try to unravel the mysteries bound up in how geographical knowledge is constructed outside of the rules of academia. Geographers can look carefully at how people in both the past and present have become involved with bodily activities, games and sports. In the analysis of sporting phenomena, there is no intrinsic condition

preventing researchers from finding keys to what specific segments of humanity are, have been and will become (Philo, 1993, p2).

2.2 Culture

Foucault also insists that the body is a historically and culturally specific entity (Hall, 1996, p54). There are virtually no other places where the body would get more attention than within the world of sports. Foucault also stresses the importance of language and representation, the principal ingredients of any discourse. The meaning of discourse in this sense is the structured ways of knowing how language and representation are able to produce and shape culture (Hall, 1996, p55).

In this instance, culture that is derived from sports can be formed. The culture consists of beliefs, values, norms, and of signs that include symbols of verbal as well as non-verbal communication (Hart, 1972, p.97). Athletic achievements are concrete, visible, measurable, and culturally valued. They are obvious, tangible proof of what people can do (Nelson, 1998, p10).

Often, sport has been considered outside of ordinary life and responsibility, outside of the scrutiny that other values and norms receive. However, the ritual, costumes, and space especially set aside for games and sporting activities have often given sport a specific environment and experience that can be represented in other cultural forms. For example, significant sporting venues often tend to have their own art and sculpture, and the sports played there often have their own music and cultural norms for expressing the pleasure and displeasure of the spectators. The Coliseum in Rome and its unique cultural rituals are recognized the world over as symbols of the sometimes cruel and unusual “sporting” activity from the city’s ancient past. It is impossible to

divorce the Coliseum from the unique cultural fabric of Rome and its history. Indeed, sport is an expression of the socio-cultural system in which it occurs (Hart, 1972, p99).

It seems to be important to understand the underlying cultural values of sports. Values are those general orientations in a socio-cultural system that are not always obvious to its members, but are implicit in actual behaviour. On the level of individuals and personality systems, values are expressed partly through attitudes (Hart, 1972, p99). For instance, good health holds a high value in the Canadian culture, and this might help to explain why sport, as an expression of the evaluation of good health through the participation in sport is important in Canadian society. In this example, there is a positive value represented by good health through participation in sport.

Since sport expresses basic cultural values, it has the potential to pass these values on to its participants. Based on studies about the process of socialization, the exposure of children to competitive sport may cause these children to become achievement-motivated. In fact, the earlier this exposure occurs, the more achievement-motivated they become (Hart, 1972, p104). Therefore, the exposure to sport enables a child to learn about the cultural values that exist within their regions and nations at a very young age, thereby encouraging the mandatory socialization into a culture. Overall, from primitive societies to modern societies, sport socializes individuals to the system of values and norms of the society, and in primitive societies it also socializes towards adult and warfare skills as well (Hart, 1972, p105).

2.3 Sport and National Identity

“The individual, while she exists and acts as an autonomous being, does so only because she can first identity herself as something greater” (Hall, 1996, p612).

Individuals feel the need to belong by being a member of a society, group, class, nation-state, or some arrangement to which they may not attach a name, but which they recognize instinctively as home.

The idea of a person without a nation seems to impose a great strain on the modern imagination. There has become this idea that a person must have a nationality as surely as they must also have a heart and lungs. This belief is not necessarily true. However, the fact that it seems to be so obviously true is indeed another example of the breadth and scope of nationalism (Hall, 1996, p612). What does it mean to proclaim oneself as having a Canadian, British, Ethiopian, or Batswana identity? Indeed, what constitutes identity itself? Usually national cultures are thought of as 'something' into which a person is born and that this 'something' forms a principal source of cultural identity (Maguire, 1993, p71).

Sport is well placed to contribute to this process of identity formation and invention of tradition. Sport can induce feelings of community identity, place-pride, 'place-boosterism' and belonging (York, 1991, p13). Sometimes the nationhood of countries is even viewed as indivisible with the fortunes of the national teams of specific sports. (Maguire, 1993, p73)

This is obvious when looking at the Botswana National Football Team and its impact on the Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana. The Football Code³ has an important role to play within the community, evidenced every time the National team has a match. Men, children, and even women dress in the country's national colours of blue, black, and white and head out to the national stadium to watch Team Botswana play against another nation. Men can be heard shouting about how they gave up their beer

³ A Code is the association that governs a specific sport within Botswana

that week in order to save up to buy tickets to the game. For the Batswana that cannot afford the tickets, there are many Tuck Shops⁴ around the city that are crowded with spectators, mostly men, who watch the match on television with bated breath. Their songs, shouts, and cheers can be heard around the city for hours leading up to the game; during the game; and after the game, regardless of the outcome of the match. If the Zebras⁵ won, the songs are uplifting and full of pride; if they lost, the songs are mournful and full of sadness. Either way, it is virtually impossible to avoid the throng of football enthusiasts on a Zebra football game day. It plays an integral and necessary role in the lives of so many of the residents of Gaborone by giving them a true community identity.

Sport-based identities are not necessarily exclusive. There are instances when someone might actually have multiple identities either simultaneously, seasonally or consecutively (MacClancy, 1996, p3). A woman, for instance, may enjoy in different contexts the identity that comes from being a starting forward in a prestigious field hockey club, a committed follower of the city hockey team, a second-string member of the local volleyball team, and a noted chess player at her community college. In a potentially complex manner, sports have a way of fabricating a space for individuals in their own social world (MacClancy, 1996, p4).

2.4 Barriers to Participation

Within a society, there exist subsystems that have their own subcultures, which provide another condition for sport (Hart, 1972, p.103). Within societies, sport can be structured along such societal subsystems and concepts such as differing classes (low, middle, and upper), gender (male/female), urban versus rural areas, level and type of

⁴ A Tuck Shop is a small outdoor stall that sells snacks, and drinks. It is similar to Canada's version of a corner-store.

⁵ Zebras is the name given to the National Football Team, as it is Botswana's national symbol.

school system (public/private, primary, secondary, university) and community level (community, municipal, and provincial/state, national). It should be said that sport usually functions towards the integration of people, as is the case where a whole country or community identifies with its own representatives in a contest. Thus, sport often functions as a means of integration, not only for the actual participants, but also for the represented members of such a system (Hart, 1972, p105).

The key influences include the level of disposable income, levels of educational attainment, a person's occupational status, social class, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, ability and disability. Where there is prejudice, discrimination, power differentials and social exclusion in society, these will be also manifest in sport, as a microcosm (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p37-44). Ultimately, inequality is shaped by different social, cultural, political and economic influences.

Social influences can either encourage or discourage sports participation. In terms of exclusion, influences can also act as potential 'barriers' to participation. These can be further categorized as physical, economic, social, and political.

Physical barriers to participation might include the location of facilities, activities and services and physical access into and within those facilities, activities and services. Affordability, cost, and perceived value at that cost would be considered economic barriers. The motivational barriers to participation that can exist are related to the perceived absence of value in activity, or toward a conflict with self-image when viewed in the light of the perceived image of an activity (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p44).

Cultural barriers to participation might include direct conflicts with the code, custom, convention or values inherent in an activity. Indirectly, they might exist because

of a discomfort that is attached to the perceived cultural image of an activity. Political barriers to participation are related to a lack of ownership over the existing choices within sport. This may stem from a lack of representation, consultation or involvement in decision-making about the choices, which can lead to feelings of being unattached to the choices (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p44).

These barriers are enforced by male, upper-class values. This is because in most societies, sport is still considered to be a part of the male culture with a specific sense of identity, loyalty, and allegiance (Maguire, 1993, p71). In fact, many sports landscapes remained unevenly populated in terms of gender and social class because gender bias long served to exclude women from certain sports, and the rationale was universally accepted (Cohen, 1993, p308).

The current visions and images of women in sport, especially in the developing world, are circumscribed by existing societal values and sanctions. The possibility of involving more women in sport in the future is dependant on contemporary social emphasis. At any particular time, a host of variables pertaining to beliefs, attitudes, and actions characterize any given social phenomenon (Hart, 1972, p431).

Reducing inequalities and overcoming barriers is one of the roles for sports development strategies. Sports development is a proactive, interventionist and promotional tool used to target groups or areas that are suffering social, economic and recreational disadvantage. While sports development may be justified by a variety of social, recreational and health motives, it is a valid end in itself (Houlihan and White, 2002, p3).

Sport development initiatives must challenge the inequitable nature of existing physical, economic, motivational, cultural and political barriers. Of course, there are limitations as to what can be achieved solely within the realm of sport. Many barriers have foundations constructed with input from broader processes and institutions in society (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p44). However, if sports development strategies can address socio-structural issues, then they are on the way to establishing a 'cure' that can treat the 'disease' of social inequality.

The Olympic Games are a perfect example of a long-running sports development initiative that has broad international participation, and is largely inclusive of women. This movement has had a profound effect on the development of sport worldwide. Traditionally, developing countries have looked forward to the day when they can join the Olympic opening ceremonies procession behind their symbols of nationalism and compete with the major Western powers. "If some countries interpret this commercial enterprise as a commodification of sport, many developing countries see it as a means to foster national unity, integration of internal dissenting factors, international recognition, and the emancipation of women" (Cohen, 1993, p309).

Sport is more than just an activity. It has far more meaning for the individual, and significance to society, and does not exist in a 'vacuum'. Because of the unequal processes and practices that exist in society, it makes it very difficult for sport and recreation development professionals to develop a 'Sport for All' philosophy. Inequality exists on the field of play, just as it does in the rest of society (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p44).

2.5 A Space and Place for Sport

Sport does not merely 'reveal' underlying social values; it is a major mode of the expression of social values that in many ways mirrors the essence of society, and can be used to reflect on important elements of society. Sport has an advantage over literature, theatre and other forms of cultural expression in being more readily comprehensible to the public, as comprehending sport does not require the same level of education. It has also had the advantage over political meetings and parades by being less demanding in intellect and patience (MacClancy, 1996, p11).

Sport, in sum, may be used to fulfill a variety of functions. It can be used to sharply define the already established boundaries of moral and political communities. It can be used to assist in the creation of new social identities, and to give physical expression to certain social values while acting as a means of reflecting on those values. And lastly, it can serve as a potentially contested space by opposed groups (MacClancy, 1996, p7).

As it has been shown, sports geography can entail more than simply mapping the places of origin of professional sports players. Sports geography can now carefully examine the many different ways in which the spaces, places and landscapes of sporting activity are deeply implicated in shaping society. Both developed and developing nations have their political-economic and social-cultural processes structured and restructured by the geography of sport, though less is known with respect to developing societies (Philo, 1993, p4).

Sports geography is concerned with the exploration of three key aspects. The first is with sports activity on the earth's surface and how the spatial distribution of sport has

changed over time. The second is the changing character of the sports landscape and the symbiosis between the sports environment and those who participate in it. The third is the making of prescriptions for spatial and environmental change in the sports environment (Bale, 2003, p5).

The geographical concepts of space and place are central not only to a definition of sport but also to an enhanced understanding of sport's significance. The spatial character of sport helps distinguish it from activities such as play, recreation and work. In addition, place not only influences sporting outcomes but also provides a social anchor to which clubs can relate. (Bale, 2003, p5)

According to Livingstone, "geography has meant different things to different people in different places and thus the 'nature' of geography is always negotiated" (Livingstone, 1992, p28). Human geographers may now have to include sports geography in their views on the 'nature' of geography, and how geographic analysis can be used to further understand the intricacies of national identity and culture.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUALIZING DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN, AND SPORTS

"Men are from Mars, women are from Venus, and children are from heaven"
(Messner, 2002, p1). *If men and women are from different planets, how is it that as children, they are all from the same place? In short, human beings are born female and male, but they learn how to grow up as women and men (Meier, 2005, p6).*

The most obvious source of information to comprise or record the economic, political, and social core of a given people's world might not always be the best choice to make. Instead, it might sometimes be more insightful to examine the workings of human society from a source of information that on first glance might seem marginal, peripheral, or perhaps even insignificant. However, something as 'trivial' as the phenomenon of sport might enable researchers to look carefully at how people past and present have become involved with and shaped by the sporting discourse.

Within the discourse on sport, there are disputes about the essence of sport and about the defining characteristics that allow particular activities to be classified as sports. What is it about the social relations and distribution of political and economic resources that have meant that some games and physical pursuits have become institutionalized features of a particular culture while others have not (Hall, 1996, p55)? According to the UN Inter-Agency Task Force, sport is defined as "all forms of physical fitness, mental well-being, and social interaction of a person. These include play, recreation, organized casual or competitive sport, and indigenous sports or games" (UN Inter-Agency Task Force, 2003, p8). Interest in sport exists in a social context across the globe.

As already discussed, the distribution of sports across the globe has mimicked the distribution of humans. Sports influence, define, and assist in the creation and contest of

identities, and do so at a series of levels and along a range of cultural domains. Sport is directly influenced by society and consequently many of the wider processes of society express themselves in the realm of sport. Loosely translated, this means that where there is prejudice, discrimination, power differentials and social exclusion in society, these will be also manifest in sport (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p37). Sports may also be used to underline or contest the current gender divisions of a particular culture (MacClancy, 1996, p14).

3.1 Theoretical Background: Feminist Post-Modernism

The field of development produces its own types of language and forms of discourse. By investigating the discourse of 'development', it is possible to explore the modalities through which it makes its arguments and establishes authority. It is also possible to explore the manner in which 'development' constructs a unique worldview, which can bring about both intended and unintended changes through the ways in which ideas are translated into real effects (Ferguson, 1994; Crush, 1995). In this sense, discourse is much more than language. It also embodies multiple relationships expressed through social roles, cultural practices and political positions. Discourse shapes political relationships from the household level to the broader international levels, (i.e., the politics between the North and the South) all of which deploy and channel power (Opp, 1997, p14).

The search for broad generalizations has been rejected by postmodernists. Instead, they call for the recognition and celebration of difference among people. They want to recover the previously silenced voices and the relation of those voices to

knowledge, context, and locality in order to fully appreciate the specificity and power of language (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p2-4).

Feminist theory seems to be a natural fit to postmodernism as feminists also want to recover the voice of a previously oppressed group of people - women. Both theories are critical of alleged neutrality and political power of academia and knowledge claims, and question the rigid disciplinary boundaries within academia. Both reject theory that generalizes from the experiences of Western, white, middle-class men and women. In addition, they both challenge global, all-encompassing worldviews, whether they are political, religious, or social. Therefore, feminist research reflects this plurality and there can be no one feminist method. There is an affinity between feminist research and cross-disciplinary work.

Feminist experience with development policy has taught that differences cannot be codified through the naturalization of a single category of women taken to have cross-cultural validity. Narrow frames of reference and generalized view-points that form the basis of dominance politics have fragmented women's symbolic environments without offering a culturally meaningful alternative (Goetz, 1991, p151).

Women's solidarity, and a concern with making the feminist movement serve the interests of all women, especially the most vulnerable and disadvantaged, is central to the concept of feminism. These interests provide the possibility of a significant feminist contribution to the reconfiguration of development work (Porter, 1999, p4). Feminism is a concept that can encompass both an ideology and a movement for sociopolitical change based on a critical analysis of male privilege and women's subordination within any given society (Porter, 1999, p5).

Postmodern feminist thinking is skeptical towards Western hegemony, and particularly towards the assumption of a hierarchical North/South divide. It is equally skeptical of the very notion of truth, and casts doubt on the concept of an integral knower, or truth telling agent (Goetz, 1991, p150). It provides new ways of thinking about women's development. "It welcomes diversity, acknowledges previously subjugated voices and knowledge(s) and encourages dialogue between development practitioners and their 'clients'" (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p17). In some quarters, there is a tendency to undervalue women's knowledge unless it comes from Northern institutions or carries the seal of approval from Northern experts. Postmodern Feminism rejects this tendency, and suggests the need for a more inclusive, open approach to women's development (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p18).

The transition from the closed patriarchal concept of 'women' to the open exchange with other social view-points requires that postmodern feminists self-consciously place in the foreground those locations from which we claim to know, remaining all the while acutely aware of our partiality. Postmodern feminists' partiality is precisely what will enable them to identify with others without claiming to be them, or forcing others to see the 'Western' way. This sounds like an impossibly unstable concept of feminist consciousness, perhaps self-contradictory or continually shifting, even seeking to re-anchor personal and social identities. However, the feminist thought process of recognizing a diversity of individual views is necessary for the project of reshaping what is known and how it is known. It is precisely through this continually shifting, alternative approach that postmodern feminism can most deeply challenge existing structures (Goetz, 1991, p151).

3.2 Incorporating Gender

In the past decade, North American feminists tried to soften traditional biological patterns and broaden people's minds by introducing the clear linguistic distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' (Meier, 2005, p5-6). While 'sex' is a natural category that reflects biological difference, 'gender', although often based on biological sex, is a socially constructed identity that is acquired over time (Kothari, 2002, p44). Lorber defines gender as a "process of social construction, a system of social stratification, and an institution that structures every aspect of our lives because it's embedded in the family, the workplace, and the state, as well as in sexuality, language and culture" (1999).

It has become increasingly fashionable among academic feminists to think of gender not as some 'thing' that one 'has', but rather as constructed in a situation through the performances of active agents (Messner, 2002, p6). The term 'gender' became popular in development discourse to serve as a replacement for 'women and development'. It is of Western origins and is in several respects a second-generation concept of equity (Snyder and Tadesse, 1995, p14). "The idea of gender as a performance analytically foregrounds the agency of people in the construction of gender, and thus highlights the situational fluidity of gender" (Messner, 2002, p6).

Feminist research itself derived from a theoretical perspective that acknowledges the pervasive influence of gender divisions on social life. Gender must be seen as decisive in organizations because most have cultures in which men's experiences are ascendant and women's are subordinate (McKay, 1997, p13). Assertiveness to achieve goals is a necessary human trait that need not include aggressiveness against others.

Feminists can and are making these distinctions with positive implications for the quality of life and humane values (Oglesby, 1972, p202).

Like-minded feminists from around the world were provided with an intellectual meeting-point when they were given a chance to rally around the commitment to understanding class, race and gender inequality in a global context (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p14). Feminist advocates prefer the term 'gender' over 'women and development' because they claim that gender more easily accommodates race, class, ethnicity, and male-female power relationships (Snyder and Tadesse, 1995, p14). The resulting dialogue, increasingly known as Gender and Development (GAD), focuses on gender rather than women.

GAD allowed a more flexible appreciation of the dimensions of power between men and women in any community (Porter, 1999, p9). It allowed consideration of both men's and women's roles and responsibilities, and emphasized the relationship between men and women in the development process. It also allowed political, social and cultural factors, as well as economic ones, to have a place within the analysis (Porter, 1999, p10). This meant that the possibility of transforming gender roles was established, as the gendered division of labour and power is constructed, and not a natural part of life (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p14).

Genuine partnership between North and South, combined with attention to women's lived realities and understandings, can lead to development policies that foster self-reliance and self-esteem. This focus on different ways of thinking will enable GAD researchers to examine women's knowledge and create policies and projects that decrease patriarchal control over women's bodies and labour (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p19).

Dialogue across differences is not simply a matter of good will. This dialogue “requires recognition of the power of language, a conscious effort to situate one’s own knowledge and a willingness to open oneself to different world views” (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p19). Gender analyses of power relations, both at the micro level of the individual and the household and at the macro level of the state and international agencies, have been important in reshaping development approaches and exposing the ways in which theories, concepts and methodologies within development are inspired by patriarchal influences (Kothari, 2002, p45).

Empowering women in the South to articulate their own needs and agendas requires an approach to development that accepts and understands difference and the power of discourse, and that fosters open, consultative dialogue (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p19).

3.3 Relations to Power

Feminist theorists are attracted to the work of Michel Foucault because he places the human body at the centre of the historical struggle between power formations. Foucault helped shape the post-modern tradition, by arguing that the transition from traditional to modern societies has been characterized by a profound transformation in the exercise of power. Influenced by the work of Foucault, Parpart and Marchand define discourse as “a historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs... the site where meanings are contested and power relations determined” (1995, p203). Power is “the ability to control knowledge and meaning, not only through writing but also through disciplinary and professional institutions, and in social relations” (ibid.). Knowing this is the key to understanding and exercising power

relations in society. Feminism has allowed for an understanding of these structures of power, and therefore enabled a more constructive use of power in the discourse of development (Antrobus and Christiansen-Ruffman, 1999, p187).

Sport is embedded with power relations from an international level down to a community level. It is quite difficult to comprehend sport and sporting events without reference to relations of power. These include who attempts to control how a sport is to be organized and played, and by whom; how it is to be represented; and how it is to be interpreted (MacClancy, 1996, p5). This feminist post-modernism approach goes beyond simply examining sport as an aspect of popular culture. It also analyzes the reproduction of social inequalities through sport and the power relationships between gender, race and culture in a 'globalized' world (Lenskyj, 1994, p6).

3.4 Empowerment

"We want a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. Each person will have the opportunity to develop her or his full potential and creativity, and women's values of nurturance and solidarity will characterize human relationships. In such a world women's reproductive roles will be redefined: child care will be shared by men, women and society as a whole – We want a world where all institutions are open to participatory democratic processes, where women share in determining priorities and decisions"

(DAWN vision for Third World Women cited in Nzomo, 1995, p131).

The women's movement in developing countries is not something new, nor was it introduced by western feminists, as some people suggest. Marilee Karl mentions the first International Feminist Congress for Latin America held in 1910 in Buenos Aires, and the Sri-Lankan Women's Franchise Union that led the demand for the female vote in the nineteen-twenties (cited in Touwen, 1996, p23). Women in Africa organized themselves

on a regional basis as early as 1962 when the 'All African Women Conference' brought them together to discuss politics and the colonial system (ibid.). However, this was still on a relatively small scale. Most of the development work was being done by men, for men.

The limitations to the gender-blind development approach inspired a shift to gender in the 1980s, combined with a growing awareness that attitudes about femininity and masculinity influenced gender relations and reinforced women's subordination (Parpart et al., 2000, p10). Slowly, activists and theorists from the South, and to a lesser extent from the North, began to discuss the need for a new approach. This approach had to be one that highlighted the need for women to become empowered in order to challenge patriarchal and political-economic inequalities (Parpart et al., 2000, p10).

The empowerment approach has developed largely independently of the development establishment in reaction to the perception that women's needs and goals have been, and continue to be subsumed to the imperatives of technical development agencies (Goetz, 1991, p139). This approach informs some of the more successful examples of women's development projects, which are based on the grassroots experiences of Third World women and respond to their contextually defined needs (ibid.). This approach has inspired links between feminists in the South and feminists in the North who are concerned with global and gender inequities (Parpart and Marchand, 1995, p14).

Understanding and facilitating women's empowerment requires a more nuanced analysis of power. "Empowerment is not simply the ability to exert power over people and resources" (Parpart et al., 2000, p4). Drawing on Foucault's writings, Parpart et al.

argue that empowerment involves the exercise rather than possession of power (ibid.). “Empowerment must be understood as including both individual ‘conscientization’ (power within) as well as the ability to work collectively, which can lead to politicized power with others, which provides the power to bring about change” (Parpart et al., 2000, p4). Empowerment is a process whereby women and men experience, as well as challenge and subvert power relationships.

The champion of the Empowerment approach was the network of Third World activists, researchers and policy-makers participating in the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) project (Tadesse, 1995, p13). DAWN addresses broader power issues in stressing the importance of the different sources of oppression that limit women’s possibilities in development. In its openness to such considerations of power, this approach challenges the social and cultural inequities at the root of sexual hierarchies (Goetz, 1991, 139). The position of the DAWN group offers a more culturally meaningful approach to the questions of difference in feminism (Goetz, 1991, p152). Today, many African people, especially women, still clearly identify with the DAWN vision, which was cited at the beginning of this section (Nzomo, 1995, p131).

3.5 Gender and Sport

To effectively analyze the implications of sport for gender relations in a ‘globalized’ world, the theories of knowledge must recognize the differences of culture, age, race, class, disability and sexual orientations. However, the theories must also motivate and enable the researcher to work against exploitative relations between women (Hall, 1996, p72).

The history of modern sport, as in all areas of popular culture, is a history of cultural struggle. Men have long regarded women as the weaker sex whose natural charm, beauty, and femininity was in danger of being destroyed by participating in vigorous physical activities, such as sports (Calhoun, 1987, p169). The female role in society depended on a culture that stressed obedience as the main value-orientation, while the male culture was strongly oriented towards achievement. Today, this situation still exists to a certain degree, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. This is one of the reasons why a disproportionately high number of men participate in sport, while there are a much lower percentage of women involved in sport (Hart, 1972, p.103).

Another reason to explain the inequality in sports participation has to do with a nation's stage of economic development. According to Calhoun, the 'Third World' nations have one foot in a traditional pre-industrial society, which means, among other things, a patriarchal society. The other foot is in a society where a women's place is no longer exclusively in the home but also in the workplace and other social activities (Calhoun, 1987, p168).

The current visions and images of women in sport, especially in the 'developing world', are restricted by existing societal values and sanctions. The possibility of involving more women in sport in the future is dependent on contemporary social emphasis. At any particular time, a host of variables of beliefs, attitudes, and actions characterize social phenomenon. "The concept of 'women in sport' represents a syndrome of theoretical stances towards both women and sport as well as their interactive relationship" (Hart, 1972, p.431).

3.6 Women's Experiences in Sport

Researchers have regularly universalized 'women's experiences in sport' as if there was some 'generic' sporting woman. In fact, this is untrue as all women do not experience sport in the same way, if they experience it at all. Intrinsic to this approach was the concept of 'women in sport', implying that sportswomen are a homogeneous group with a common, shared culture. Since the dominant female sports culture is assumed to be white, western, middle-class, heterosexual and able-bodied, women who come from minority groups and from countries outside the 'West' have been marginalized. Their experiences, problems, struggles and achievements have been excluded from mainstream history and practice (Hargreaves, 2000, p6).

Systemic racism accounts in large part for existing differences between the representation of black women and white women in sport and recreation leadership. Black women's access to higher education and employment in sport leadership continues to be constrained by racist policies and practices. As is the case with sex discrimination, racial discrimination is not adequately addressed by the simple removal of barriers. System-wide affirmative action initiatives are needed to address issues of differential power and privilege accorded to black and minority women in a racist and sexist society (Lenskyj, 1994, p25). Even beyond the external forces imposed outside of the minority community are the internal conflicts that exist within the community because of culture.

3.6.1 Cultural Barriers

The minority woman has to be very determined to be a full-time participant in sport. This is because, for the most part, her heritage and birth culture speak loudly and forcefully against her involvement with most forms of sport. She is often expected to

fulfill traditional roles as 'wife', 'mother', and 'homemaker'. Departing from tradition has the tendency to mark her as disobedient, strong willed, strange, and much too different from the norm to be accepted by her family and other members of her minority group (Acosta, 1993, p208).

In Africa, women are underrepresented both in culture-intensive imported sports such as cricket and field hockey and in culture-neutral sports such as sprinting, long-distance running, and high jumping. The reasons for female under-representation in the two types of activities overlap but are not identical. The culture-intensive imported sports are elite-specific. Some African women are 'Westernized'; however, in general, the level of 'Westernization' is still more pronounced among African males than among females (Baker and Mangan, 1987, p220).

As well, there are many cultural myths that exist within African society. One of these myths is that there is an assumption that as the weaker sex, women must be protected from the vigours of sport, which ultimately prevents them from developing physical sporting skills. However, this is quite a patriarchal, male-dominated view because in sub-Saharan Africa, women often do more of the heavy physical labour than men. Women walk longer distances, carry heavier loads, and learn a greater variety of balancing skills than their men (Baker and Mangan, 1987, p220). If African women can be so 'physical' in their economic activities on the land, then why have they been so slow in excelling in the physical world of sports?

Maybe officials have been promoting the wrong kind of sports. Maybe they should promote marathon walks, as women often have to walk long distances to get water in rural areas, and young girls have to walk far to get to school. Officials could also

consider promoting weight lifting, as women are often carrying a large amount of weight in bundles in their hands and on their head, while carrying a baby on their back. If not weightlifting, then they should at least promote gymnastics, as this type of work requires graceful carriage and balancing skills (Baker and Mangan, 1987, p221).

However, the purpose of this integration of work culture and sport culture could be more than just to give greater access to new competitive sports. The purpose should also be to encourage men to share the chores that were previously reserved exclusively for women. This process of turning work chores into sport narrows the gender gap in both work and play as a result (Baker and Mangan, 1987, p221).

Another cultural view that exists in sub-Saharan Africa is the attractiveness of a woman's body and how that relates to sport. Traditionally, the measure of attractiveness was the level of fatness of a woman. There was a ceremony that was called the 'fattening ceremony', which was designed to put on weight in order to acquire elegance and poise (Baker and Mangan, 1987, p222). This creates a distinct gap between the criterion of sexual beauty and the criterion of sporting competence

The more elitist, Westernized African women are less likely to be involved in hard physical labour than the women in traditional, indigenous roles. Slimness is a measure of attractiveness and physical fitness, although women are still afraid of developing a 'man's body' from participating in sports (Baker and Mangan, 1987, p223). Therefore, there are more women participating in sports within the 'Global North' of Africa; however a much higher percentage of the black female population lives within the 'Global South'.

As sports have been a male-dominated venue for so long, by cultures and ideology, women have not been allowed to participate (Baker and Mangan, 1987, p223). This is slowly changing, especially in the 'Western' world, but there is still much that needs to be done in order to allow the same opportunities to exist for females from all the corners of the World.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

One dimension of feminist research is what is referred to as 'experiential analysis', learning from your experiences through reflection and discussion. A feminist research method will help me to "contextualize research objectives, recognize the impact of positions and discourse, and [also] the partial truth which results" (Sylvester, 2000, p36). If feminist research is research for change, it must be grounded in women's experience and women's lives. It is not just research, but also development at the national and community levels (Cottrell, 1999, p87).

If I wish to understand why and how development has succeeded or failed, I have to ask the people about the meaning they give to life and to the development offered or imposed on them. This meaning is often hidden or implicit in people's common sense knowledge and may be difficult for them to articulate. It may require participatory methods in order to understand people's perceptions (Touwen, 1996, p24). It is important to recognize that local actors are not passive, powerless, un-knowledgeable and gender-neutral subjects. Instead, they can be seen as actors who can institute change, create and perpetuate knowledge, and play a hand in shaping and transforming their social and physical worlds. Often, this change is not always viewed as the most positive by 'development' practitioners. The attitudes, opinions, priorities, and knowledge of local actors are central to understanding what 'development' has meant for those spaces and peoples who it defines as its objects (Crush, 1995, p21).

The research also requires an appropriate methodology which turns critical theoretical concepts into gender-sensitive practice by recognizing research as a dynamic

and social encounter, complete with dilemmas, subjective interpretations, multiple meanings and human agency. It is important to understand the complexities of a situation before attempting to solve the problems (Narayan, 1989, p260). It is through the “elucidation of actors’ interpretations and strategies, and how these interlock through processes of negotiation and accommodation” that perspectives which emphasize people’s realities can be achieved, perspectives which recognize the multiple realities and shifting identities of various actors, including the researcher herself.

In this chapter, I outline the impact of critical theoretical conceptualizations on how research is lived and experienced, in order to make the manner in which the data were obtained and interpreted transparent. I recount the research journey as a series of processes, highlighting the manner and context in which the data were collected. Finally, I explore methodological insights and issues which emphasize the research as a dynamic political process involving the active collaboration of Batswana women and men.

4.1 Formulating an Appropriate Cross-Cultural Research Methodology

In developing an appropriate methodology for exploring the gender relations that currently exist in Botswana, I wanted to make sure that I used methods which are sensitive, respectful and accountable within research relationships, and which call for action research which has transformative potential for improving the lives of participants in a positive and locally determined manner (Kirkby and McKenna, 1989). This approach challenges conventional modes of ‘development’ and research which perpetuate ahistorical, apolitical, and gender-neutral understanding of local realities of people and spaces.

Recognizing, implementing and incorporating the agency of participants into research design are a way of working against generalizations. These strategies acknowledge the voices of people and recognize them as differentiated agents who live and experience a host of multiple and simultaneous issues in their everyday lives (Abu-Lughod, 1993, p27). Incorporating agency entails recognizing the individual capacity of people to process social experience and to actively devise ways of coping with life, even under the most extreme forms of coercion (Long, 1992, p22). It recognizes that people are social actors who are knowledgeable, capable of solving problems, negotiating and manipulating social relations, monitoring and observing themselves and others, as well as strategizing, resisting, innovating and experimenting.

Hence, the dimension of power is inseparable from the notion of agency and recognizes that individuals can engage in projects on their own terms. Participants can create and re-create structure within research relationships. In doing so, they can influence and interpret their externally determined structure and objectives through the pursuit of their own interests and the assertion of their own agency (Huntington, 1998, p104).

Qualitative methods offer an effective avenue for understanding gendered realities. They focus on people's lived realities by emphasizing their voices, perceptions and experiences, thereby reducing the risk of arriving at false assumptions about life (Lughod, 1993, p13). Personal narratives, in particular, are useful in unsettling generalization, subverting the process of 'othering', and asking questions about how people live and experience gender relations when viewed through the realm of sport (Mies, 1991, p63). If knowledge is central to understanding local realities, then what is

the role of 'outsiders' in theorizing, analyzing, and researching issues that they have not themselves experienced or lived?

This argument reinforces the feminist post-modernist notion of multiple identities and rejection of any one truth. All observations, perceptions and knowledge vary according to the positionality of the knower and are subjective in that they are shaped by the individual experiences within and across different social and cultural settings, and therefore can only be partial (Mbilinyi, 1992, p54). There exists no unitary speaker about, for and as 'woman', and there exists no true 'insider', making the notion of total identification between the researcher and researched a paradox (Mies, 1991, p61).

Women, by virtue of their gender, do not necessarily share a common experience, as individuals' experiences differ considerably in relation to class, age, education, race, sexual orientation, and mobility (Mbilinyi, 1992). This is a notion that even extends to women researching gender in their own societies (Mohanty, 1991a). Taking this argument a step further, there similarly exists no rigid understanding of an 'outsider', as we assimilate cross-cultural experiences into our own understandings of realities and meanings about the world, and form alliances and political projects as we become closer and more familiar to participants over time, and vice versa (Mbilinyi, 1992).

4.1.1 Shifting Multiple Identities

Mbilinyi argues, "Our identities are not given or reducible to our origins, skin colour, or material locations. Identities or positions are the product of struggle and they represent an achieved, not an ascribed trait" (1992, p35). Identities can change over time, when challenged with new situations.

I grew up as a Canadian having lived my entire life within Canada. However, at the age of 23, I was selected to go on an internship through Commonwealth Games Canada (CGC). I moved to Botswana, and spent a year in the country as a development worker with the Women and Sport Botswana Organization (WASBO). During my year in Botswana, I became an observer and participant in the activities of WASBO, through which I became part of a large network of women belonging to different socio-economic strata of society with varying backgrounds. I participated on numerous women's sports teams in varying roles and really immersed myself in the Botswana culture. I felt a strong sense of belonging within the culture and community that existed within Botswana, and was often accepted as a Botswana in social situations. Returning to Botswana in the role of researcher less than a year later made me recognize the constructed nature of the categories 'insider' and 'outsider'. My own multiple and shifting identities highlighted some of the dilemmas discussed above and produced an interesting situation.

My identity simultaneously straddled various axes of difference, including gender (woman), age (young), ethnicity ('outsider'/*lekgoa*), skin colour (Caucasian), as well as socially and professionally ascribed positions as a WASBO program officer – social scientist; Development agent – Researcher; and Intern – Student. All these differing dimensions of my positionality interacted, opposed and contradicted each other, and shifted and changed over time in differing circumstances. They affected the way I represented myself, my work and the meanings I accorded to them, and also influenced the way people perceived me.

I found myself silencing aspects of my identity in certain interactions and encounters, while emphasizing others as a conscious, and sometimes sub-conscious, strategy in the politics of representation. For example, during encounters with officials who respected education (officials at the University of Botswana, or within the Botswana Government), I presented myself as a Canadian *lekgoa*⁶ who was working on her Masters thesis to further her knowledge with respect to gender equity in Botswana. During encounters with officials from the sporting sector (officials from the Botswana National Sports Council (BNSC), or WASBO), I presented myself as a Canadian *lekgoa* who previously held the position of WASBO program officer who was interested in compiling information for improving sports development within Botswana. I also found myself emphasizing my institutional affiliations in order to increase my chances of gaining access to information and documents.

On the other hand, in encounters with certain athletes who I also consider to be friends, I found myself downplaying my *lekgoa* identity and emphasizing my 'reformed Motswana identity' by speaking Setswana with the participants, and recounting past WASBO events in friendly terms. I found that this approach of emphasizing my ties to their community helped to decrease their feelings of vulnerability during the interview, and put the participants more at ease.

These seemingly contradictory identities as both 'outsider' as well as 'insider' caused certain conceptual and practical dilemmas. To a large extent, I am an 'outsider' within Botswana. Being educated and socialized in the 'North', placed me in a more powerful position in terms of status as a researcher. On the other hand, as someone who

⁶ A 'lekgoa' is the Setswana word to describe a white foreigner in Botswana. The literal translation is "person spit up from the sea".

had lived a full year in the culture working directly with the issues being discussed, and become partly socialized in the 'South', I considered myself, to some extent, an 'insider'. I also realized, however, that having shared feelings of having lived in the 'South' was not enough to accord me this status and that various axes of difference, power, and positioning in the global system separated my realities from those of the research participants. Critical approaches to research recognize that the topics we study and the methods we employ are inextricably bound up with the politics of practice (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Despite being in Botswana as a student, my continued affiliations with international (CGC) and national institutions (BNSC, WASBO) put me in a more powerful position than many of the participants (who were older and wiser than me) in my study.

4.1.2 Relations of Power

The meaning and significance of these shifting and multiple identities can be better understood within a critical discussion of 'the field' which moves away from notions of 'here' and 'elsewhere' as mere features of geography, and considers research sites as "sites constructed in fields of unequal power relations" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p35). The conventional idea of going to 'the field' is often equated with entering another world with its own discrete and bounded culture, and 'going home' is equated to leaving that other world and re-entering to academia, or the centres of research and development (ibid).

Nonetheless, my fieldwork was marked by a profound sense of separation between places. These feelings were complicated by my own shifting positionality and feelings of power, and powerlessness, in relation to place. Despite this initial feeling of

distance, a reflexive and critical engagement of the research process provided a means of bridging the space between the everyday lived realities of participants and my own reality by conceptualizing these interfaces as political and social spaces mediated by discourses of knowledge and power.

4.2 Highlighting Reflexivity in Research Relationships

While positivist research encourages the researcher to remain outside the world studied so as not to lose 'objectivity' and not 'bias' the findings, a feminist post-structuralist approach emphasizes a reflexive approach which highlights that the researcher is integral to the process, and therefore both actor and subject in study and analysis (Mbilinyi, 1992, p53). The goal is not rampant self-reflexivity as an end in itself, which is a form of "self-absorbed navel gazing" (Lal, 1996, p207). Rather, the goal of self-reflexivity is to make the research process transparent and counter the notion of 'neutral' research and knowledge production (Mbilinyi, 1992, p59).

Although participants play an active role in the research process, there is a marked power imbalance centering on the vulnerability and lack of control of participants in the research itself and the production of knowledge that results from it, as it is the researcher "who eventually walks away" (Cotterill, 1992, p604). Unless the research is designed to do so, participants have no control over how the research is written, interpreted or how it represents their realities. It is the researcher who in the end controls the final interpretation of the data no matter what form it takes.

Writing and recounting is itself an activity which is marked by the positionality and subjective experiences of the researcher (Mohanty, 1991a, p33). It is not just a matter of 'unbiased reporting' of research findings. The researcher's conception of the

'problem', choice of methodology, epistemologies and interpretation of the data invariably colour the research findings, as well as influence events and the construction of the ethnographic text (ibid). To capture this process, I found continual reflection on the research process was facilitated by the use of a personal journal.

4.3 The Research Journey

Making the research transparent makes it possible for others to understand how the results were obtained, and makes evident power relations, methodological problems and ethical issues that were encountered. This approach turns a critical eye on conventional conceptualizations of 'the field' as a taken-for-granted space where an 'other' culture or society lies waiting to be observed or written (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p2). By writing this section as a research journey involving diverse social agents, I move beyond the notion of fieldwork as a top-down and unilateral encounter, and present it as a series of mutual and dialogical encounters (de Vries, 1992), and as a continuous negotiation between the researcher and the researched.

Although I describe the research journey in terms of the methods used, it consisted of a series of inter-related processes and simultaneous methods with multiple linkages from one process to the other, which made the research journey a complex, inter-dependent and an ever-changing experience. By recounting the research journey as a series of dynamic, interlinked and evolving processes, the intention is to highlight the methods used, and also the problems and issues encountered, and therefore reflect on the research findings in an honest, transparent, anti-reductionist and anti-positivistic manner.

4.3.1 The Pre-Fieldwork Process

Pre-fieldwork planning involved formulating the research proposal and institutional links, and was an intense process which began months before the fieldwork and played an integral role in shaping the research and methods used. While the research proposal is rarely included in writings about research processes, it is an integral part of it, setting the parameters of the research, as well as its possibilities. My main concerns centred on acquiring funding, anticipating the interest of participants to a pre-determined subject of study, and ensuring a balance between my own objectives and those of the organizations that would use the final report in their development agenda.

My funding was granted by Commonwealth Games Canada based on a mutual interest in exploring the benefits of using sport as a tool to promote gender equity. I was supported in-country by WASBO, based on the shared vision of promoting women and sport participation in Botswana. Both of these organizations provided me with an open and constructive space for exploring gender and sport issues, as well as valuable background and logistical support.

I selected Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana, as the research site before going back to begin my fieldwork. There were many reasons I chose this research site. The first is that all of the national government structures which effect change in the country are located in Gaborone. These include The Botswana National Sports Council (BNSC), the Women and Sport Botswana Organization (WASBO), the University of Botswana (UB), and all of the major government departments, including the Department of Sport (DSR). This meant that all of the officials that I wanted to interview for my research were accessible in the city. Gaborone is also where the national sports teams

train and where I would be able to find the elite athletes whom I wanted to interview. Lastly, with a quarter of the population of Botswana residing in the urban centre of Gaborone, having migrated in from smaller cities and rural areas, there would be a much higher percentage of the female athlete population surveyed (CIA Factbook, 2005).

4.3.2 The Fieldwork Process

The official, university-sanctioned fieldwork process took place over the course of a month beginning in April, 2005, and ending in May, 2005. However, in addition to the recent fieldwork, the year spent working within the country as a development worker impacted and influenced my research findings as well. I gathered input and contributions from the members of WASBO and other Batswana in order to develop and shape the full scope of my research project and agenda. In total, it was a dynamic process, and encompassed various qualitative methods which were used simultaneously. These included attending an organized WASBO meeting, open-ended interviews with key government officials, open-ended interviews of elite female athletes, and surveys of female athletes. To be able to make statements of a more general nature, I needed to complement my data with available statistics from organizations within Botswana, and the research findings of others who have done similar research.

The methods used in the research can be divided into two categories: (i) group methods, and (ii) individual methods. Table 4.1 illustrates these different methods and describes chronologically their use at different phases of the research.

Table 4.1 The Fieldwork Process: Methods Employed by Phase

GROUP METHODS PHASE				
WEEK NUMBER	1	2	3	4
Attended WASBO Executive Meeting		✓		
Researching through past WASBO Meeting Notes and Information	✓			
INDIVIDUAL METHODS PHASE				
WEEK NUMBER	1	2	3	4
Interviews with Officials	✓	✓	✓	
Open Ended Interviews with Athletes	✓	✓	✓	✓
Survey Distribution/Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓

(i) Methods Employed in Collaboration with the WASBO Executive Committee

As membership in women's groups is an important channel for accessing resources and a crucial coping strategy for women, it was important in terms of learning about group dynamics, problems, activities and collective understandings of gender and sports issues.

The WASBO Executive Committee meeting took place in the offices of the Botswana National Sports Council, which is where this group normally meets. During the year I lived in Botswana, I was an active member of this group, and it was interesting to sit back and observe the proceedings from my new role. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss what projects WASBO had completed in the previous eight months, and to discuss the future initiatives to be carried out by the organization. While participation was encouraged from (?) all members of the group, hierarchies within the group were

very evident and certain members tended to dominate the discussion while other members stayed silent.

(ii) Methods Engaged in Collaboration with Individuals

The aim of the study was to understand whether or not a gender inequity situation currently exists in Botswana. If this situation did exist, then it was my role to discuss potential solutions with the participants. The bulk of the methods utilized centred on individuals since personal interviews with both women and men would present insight into their everyday lives, and having personal interviews enabled the participants to fully discuss the situation.

Interviews with Officials

In order to collect the necessary information on practical applications of policy programs aimed at gender equity, I interviewed five key officials who hold significant positions within the sporting world of Botswana. The purpose of these interviews was to gain a further understanding of gender and sport issues from an 'official' point of view. I interviewed Edmund Dladla, the Director of Sport and Recreation of Botswana; Dorcas Makgato-Malesu, the Chairperson of the Botswana National Sports Council (BNSC) and the Women and Sport Botswana Organization (WASBO); Kagiso Kemeong, the Executive Secretary of the BNSC; Dr. Akpata, the Director of Athletics at the University of Botswana, and Veronica Chube, the desk officer assigned to WASBO.

During the year that I worked in Botswana as a WASBO program officer, I had developed different degrees of relationships with each individual that I interviewed, and was able to set up the interviews with most of the participants while still in Canada. I carried out all of the interviews in each participant's respective office, and conducted all

of the interviews in English, as each participant is fluent in the English language. The interviews were semi-structured with an interview guide⁷, and I tape-recorded the conversations so that I could be more focused on the participant discussions. The content of the interviews focused on the gender situation that exists in Botswana from the perspective of each participant, and how sport can be used as a development tool to improve the gender situation. I also asked what types of partnerships exist between sporting organizations in Botswana, what sort of laws and policies exist with regards to gender equity, and what the organizations are doing to implement their plans of action.

Open-Ended and Semi-Structured Individual Interviews with Elite Female Athletes

Open-ended and semi-structured individual interviews provided rich ethnographic accounts. No two interviews were the same and the thrust of interviews depended on the participants themselves. They ranged from encounters where participants were open, leading to a more fluid approach such as a personal narrative, to interviews where participants were slightly more hesitant which led to more sporadic question-and-answer sessions. I found this had a lot to do with my level of closeness to the participant. Those who I considered to be friends were extremely open in their accounts, and those who I did not know as well were a little bit more guarded. According to Cotterill (1992), this is understandable, as a shift sometimes occurs from public to private accounts when levels of trust, confidence, and familiarity in the research relationship are established over time.

The athletes selected for the open-ended individual interviews were chosen based on already established personal relationships and general knowledge of the elite female athletes in Botswana. These females are the best athletes in their sport and very well known in the country. When WASBO discussed potential candidates for its mentorship

⁷ A copy of the 'Officials' interview guide is located in Appendix A.

program, many of these athletes were selected as being worthy role models within the sporting community. Each female athlete I asked to participate in my research study volunteered without hesitation.

The interviews were conducted in English, and usually lasted around two hours. I tried to conduct them in a comfortable, private, quiet location, but I do not think one interview took place that did not have some form of interruption. I would either go to the houses of the participants, or they came to the National Sports Council Stadium to meet me as it is a central location that is familiar to all national team athletes. The purpose of the open-ended interviews was to be able to document their life story specifically geared towards how they used sport as a way to break out of their initial marginalized situations.

I started all of the interviews by asking the participants to talk about themselves – their sporting background, their family life growing up; their current family life; their economic situation; their knowledge of health issues; their education level; and how they have incorporated sport into their life in order to address gender inequities for themselves. At first, I would use the interview guide which outlined the main questions, topics and issues for discussion⁸. However, I quickly learned to trust my instincts and allowed the participants' accounts to lead the focus. In the end, nine elite female athletes from the sporting codes of volleyball, chess, softball, table tennis, athletics, and basketball were recorded and over sixty pages were transcribed.

Survey Data Collection

To collect the necessary data on the position of female athletes on a broader scale, I used a more standardized survey to be filled out by female athletes who either are

⁸ A copy of the 'Athlete' interview guide is located in Appendix B

participating in, or have participated in sport⁹. I asked questions pertaining to personal information such as age, occupation, level of education, income level, athletic background, personal role models, and involvement in sport outside of being an athlete. I then delved into their opinions on women in leadership positions, their personal perception on the role that sport plays on influencing their lives, and what role sport, if any, could provide with regards to gender equity.

This aspect of my research was probably the most difficult and tiring. It was quite easy to find the female athletes by attending various team training sessions, visiting national team camps in Gaborone, and having my female athlete friends distribute the surveys to their team-mates. However, it proved to be quite difficult to get the surveys back, let alone with significant responses that could help my research. I distributed over 100 surveys while in Botswana, and only got back 32 surveys. Out of those 32 surveys, only 21 were complete. Out of the 21 surveys that were complete, only 10 or so surveys looked like they would be useful. In the end, the survey data was not really useful to my research as it wasn't a true representation of a sample of the population.

Based on the responses that I received from the athletes when I handed them the surveys, they seemed to feel that the survey was too long, and they would end up getting bored half-way through the survey. They would put it aside to fill out later, and never got back to completing the questionnaire. In the future, if I were to distribute surveys again, I would ensure that they were kept to a maximum of two pages.

4.3.3 The Post-Fieldwork Process

Post-fieldwork processes included the analysis and synthesis, as well as the writing and dissemination of the research findings.

⁹ A copy of the 'Athlete Survey' is located in Appendix C.

Analysis and Synthesis: Distilling the Research Findings

The analysis and synthesis of the research findings were carried out in the context of relevance to key literature. This proved to be a time-consuming activity, given the amount of data collected (recorded tapes, transcripts, field notes, and journal entries).

‘Producing Deliverables’: Writing and Disseminating the Research Findings

Sharing a textual account of the research provides academics, researchers, government officials, development groups and women’s organizations an opportunity to access current research on gender, sport, and development pertaining to people’s lives in sub-Saharan Africa. This thesis, which represents the first written body of work to emerge from research concentrated on using sport as a development tool to promote gender equity in Botswana, will be made readily available. Copies of this thesis will be distributed to the Carleton University library, Commonwealth Games Canada in Ottawa; the WASBO office (and consequently the BNSC office), and the Department of Sport in Gaborone, in addition to being shared privately with interested parties.

The findings will also be shared with the female athletes interviewed in an abbreviated newsletter summary report that will be given to WASBO to distribute. In addition to written dissemination, oral and visual methods of disseminating the research findings are being developed with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and hopefully with the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) at an academic conference. I also hope to be able to travel back to Gaborone and present the findings at a WASBO Executive Committee meeting where all of the interviewed participants are invited. This would give me a rare opportunity to share the findings after extensive analysis and synthesis, and would illustrate a commitment to local participants.

4.4 Reflections on Research as a Dynamic Political Process

Although I anticipated numerous methodological dilemmas in carrying out research in an honest, sensitive and ethical manner, I recognized that the lived research experience could potentially confound, challenge and ‘scramble’ my neat and pre-conceptualized categories. As Cotterill suggests, some events, experiences and feelings are unpredictable at the research planning stage and only emerge as the fieldwork progresses, and is lived and experienced (1992, p602).

Reflecting critically on the research has allowed me to view it as an inherently political process – an encounter of active enrolment and collaboration; a dynamic process of dialogue rather than a unilateral process in which various actors perform and live out their agency in a host of strategic ways in addressing their interests, agendas and articulating their knowledge (de Vries, 1992). Viewed in this manner, researchers are not authoritative, neutral agents who stand detached from what they are describing; and participants are not passive ‘Third World’ objects waiting to be discovered. All stakeholders are actively engaged in the research. The research process, and the research findings, may have effects that alter the relationships of power and agendas for change that later play out.

4.4.1 Acknowledging the Unintended Effects of Dilemmas in Research Encounters

Acknowledging the unintended effects of research entails looking critically and reflexively at our own assumptions, knowledge, and identities, in relation to those of the participants’ own understandings, representations and interests. The unintended effects and unexpected dilemmas which arose within this research revolved around issues of language, and other aspects of the research.

Bridging the Cross-Cultural Divide of Language

The language divide and barrier caused by my being an ‘outsider’ without being fluent in Setswana gave rise to unintended effects which were evident in only two interviews. The more educated a person is in Botswana, the more English they learn in the schools. By the time they get to University, all of the classes are taught in English. Therefore, all of the officials and athletes I interviewed who possessed a University degree were all completely comfortable speaking English. Based on my knowledge of Setswana, and the participants’ knowledge of English, I felt comfortable conducting the interviews without a translator. However, there were two athletes who were not very comfortable speaking English, although they understood the questions I was asking. This problem was solved when I asked the questions in English and they answered the questions in Setswana. I later got the answers translated; however, this prevented me from asking any pertinent follow-up questions.

I am thankful that I had lived within the culture for a year because I realized that there were significant cross-cultural differences and individual interpretations pertaining to language, including English itself. Something as simple as a question directed at the athlete asking where they “work-out” would have gotten questioning looks as they describe ‘working-out’ as “going to train”. Understanding the cultural and local linguistic subtleties was crucial in avoiding misinterpretations.

Other Reflections on the Research

Throughout the research process, I often felt guilty about the time the research methods were taking from the lives of the athletes without some form of compensation. The participants were so willing and helpful when it came to meeting me to discuss their

lives, that I often felt selfish for making them travel to meet me at the National Stadium. Their lives are already so full of work, school, volunteer work, and training – many of the national team athletes barely have time for themselves – that I felt guilty taking away time that they would otherwise use to further themselves.

I was able to rationalize this guilt by reasoning that the time that they were taking out of their lives to help with this research was akin to giving hours up to volunteer to help other women within their community. The Botswana culture is built around helping out their fellow ‘sisters’ and ‘brothers’ through hardships. Therefore, I felt that the information that they were providing could be used to help other young females achieve what they have already achieved. For this reason, I could understand why they would be willing to give up their time.

4.4.2 Vulnerability

Research is a fluid encounter where power balances shift throughout the research process (Cotterill, 1992, p593). Power is not simply concentrated in either the researcher or the ‘researched’, or distributed in a straightforward vertical interaction, but rather it is a dynamic, multi-faceted and moving force which is exercised in all directions (Martin, 1995, p89). Relationships of power in research are influenced by structural factors and wider discourses of knowledge, but they are also part of a negotiated process which interacts with personalities and ideologies, thereby creating spaces for domination and resistance (Martin, 1995, p91). Although researchers are usually in a more powerful position in terms of their positionality, there are times when the researcher is also vulnerable (ibid.).

As a researcher, I experienced vulnerability and feelings of powerlessness during interview situations with both the officials and the female athletes. During the interviews with the officials, I would feel powerless when the participants withheld information and chose not to answer questions. Feelings of powerlessness also came from constant interruptions in the interview environment, which involved secretaries walking into the office, the work phone ringing, or usually, the participant's personal mobile phone ringing. Having lived in the culture, I knew that this was common practice, but it was frustrating as I often had to stop the tape recording and wait patiently for the participant to become available again.

In interviews with athletes, none of the participants ever refused to answer questions, but some of the responses to the questions would be guarded. Additionally, there were interruptions by people walking in or mobile phones going off. In one interview, the participant received a call on her mobile phone during the middle of the interview, and left to go and pick up her husband. We had to reschedule the interview for a later date. Again, this is all of a part of the culture, and I realize that I am intruding on their lives, but it still left me with feelings of powerlessness.

The most intense feelings of helplessness I experienced came when the female athletes would divulge painful personal information and become visibly upset when recounting their difficult circumstances. I was torn between my role as researcher and that of a friend. According to Cotterill, "Close friends do not usually arrive with a tape-recorder, listen carefully and sympathetically to what you have to say and then disappear" (1992, p599). I felt the need to do more than just listen to their stories. I wanted to try and make a difference in their lives as well. While some feminists argue that the

researcher can only be a sympathetic listener, I would argue that by listening, empathizing and writing the experiences of women, and by placing the participants' voices and experience at the centre of research, it is possible to make visible what was invisible before, and thereby create a political process for change.

4.5 Research as Political Action

In order to position the purpose of research beyond its role as purely 'academic', and into the realm of 'creating a political process for change', the vibrancy and dynamism within research must be recognized. This resonates through the agency of its actors. Research is a site for strategic intervention – a political process which is not just for sharing knowledge, but for forging links between different knowledge systems. These systems are based on different positionalities and subjectivities, and trace lines of possible alliances and common purposes between them (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p39). In this sense, research is less a 'field' site for the collection of data, but more a site for strategic intervention and positive transformation (ibid.).

Research can transform 'information' about the lived experiences of local women into action. One of the most significant purposes of carrying out research is to highlight new information as a corrective measure to combat the gaps and erasures of hegemonic conceptualizations of development – to make visible those people who have been kept invisible, to debunk the myths and dissolve the misconceptions about people's lives as lived (Mohanty, 1991b, p34).

In transforming 'information' into action, it is necessary to recognize that it is not appropriate to advocate change to local structures or call for alternative institutions or organizations from the 'outside', as these must be locally determined, approved and

sanctioned by the participants themselves. To this end, it is the responsibility of the researcher to engage in research as mutual collaboration. Such a project must focus on placing the voices and experiences of participants at the centre of analysis, writing and processes for change. The onus is also on the researcher to seek and incorporate feedback from participants themselves in order to ensure that the findings and textual accounts reflect their needs, constraints and problems (Kirkby and McKenna, 1989).

Research findings and more detailed information must also reach other social scientists, researchers, and scholars. Most importantly, information and research findings must reach the development organizations that are willing to work towards positive social change. These organizations possess a greater awareness of local realities, and often have the support of the participants themselves. Research must have practical applications and should benefit those who have given up so much of their time in participating as well as sharing their experiences, words and lives (Mies, 1991).

This potential of research for transformative socio-political change can also be wasted if no conscientious effort is made to distribute the research to those who can benefit the most, and to those who are capable of effecting change. Because of this, the sharing and dissemination of research and information is of the utmost importance. Sharing of information and research results should be aimed both at local participants at the grass-roots level, and at other stakeholders. Information for individuals in the community should be presented in an accessible manner, which is why I plan on producing a newsletter to fulfill this obligation.

CHAPTER 5

BOTSWANA – A COUNTRY REVIEW

Though Botswana is about the size of France, it is one of the least densely populated countries in the world. Estimates by the Botswana government suggest that the total population of the country is around 1.65 million people (CIA Factbook, 2006). The country's population distribution is so skewed that an eastern strip only 80 miles wide is the most developed region of the country containing over 80% of the total population (Picard, 1985, p4).

Botswana is much more ethnically homogeneous than most other African states, with the majority of the population descending from Setswana speaking tribes. Because Setswana speaking tribes represent such a large proportion of the population, Setswana is one of the national languages in the country. The other national language is English and is used to communicate with the other non-Setswana speaking people in Botswana. This includes other tribal groups, such as the Kalangas, or Basarwas; and 5% of expatriates who are drawn to Botswana for various reasons, including business ventures, the search for a better life, or development work (CIA Factbook, 2006).

Botswana's climate is generally sub-tropical, with desert and near desert-like conditions existing in the bulk of the country as the Kalahari Desert is the major ecological influence on the country. The shortage of water, which is sometimes severe and results in drought, is a major impediment to development in almost all areas of economic activity. Rainfall ranges from a high of 27 inches (68.5 centimetres) in the east to a low of 8 inches (20.3 centimetres) a year in the west (CIA Factbook, 2006). The hottest months of the year are December, January and February and rain is most likely to occur between November

and April. The most striking thing for a visitor to Botswana is the dryness and the dust which particularly impacts the new arrival in the winter months as it is extremely dry and frost conditions are possible at night (Picard, 1985, p7).

The small percentage of the country that is not desert-like lies in the northern part of the country which is within the tropics, and the eastern strip which lies to the west of the border with Zimbabwe (Picard, 1985, p7). The eastern part of the country is the most fertile because of the sufficient rainfall and the availability of an underground water table. Most of the arable agriculture occurs here for growing much needed food crops, as well as ample grasslands to support Botswana's ample cattle herds (Picard, 1985, p6).

Map of Botswana (www.godisa.org)

Botswana stands out as an example within the rest of Africa as a country that has had significant economic development, good governance, and a multiparty, liberal

democracy. It can be compared to a country such as Switzerland, “an exception that confounds generalizations, but whose very exceptionality prompts analysts to see it as a hopeful model for other societies” (Stedman, 1993, p1).

Unfortunately, Botswana has also had to deal with a rampaging HIV/AIDS epidemic, not unlike the rest of the African continent. However, Botswana is extremely ill-fated as it actually has the highest HIV prevalence rate (36 percent) in the world, in part due to its polygamous culture. The Botswana government is struggling to come to grips with the development and implementation of an appropriate national response to mitigate the development impact of the disease (Hope, 2002, p8).

The economic and social impacts of AIDS on Botswana are already severe, and will have serious effects on long-term growth and development if the epidemic can not be curbed. The impacts are already being felt in terms of the declining productivity of the labour force thanks to an acute shortage of educated and skilled people lost to the disease. The shortage of skilled labour results in declining business profitability, which in turn results in lower rates of GDP growth. In addition to the economic impacts, there will be an increase of poverty; an increase in the number of destitute orphans; and a lower life expectancy (Hope, 2002, p8). In order to support efforts to combat the disease, the government will have to spend more money in order to educate its population in an attempt to change its behaviour. The most recent campaign rolled out by the government is the ‘ABC’ campaign which focuses on ‘Abstinence’, ‘Being faithful’, and ‘Condomizing’.

Even with the impacts of the HIV/AIDS crisis, Botswana still provides a striking contrast to the rest of Africa, which is in an extraordinary economic crisis (Lewis, 1993, p14). Botswana has been transformed into the second richest economy in Southern Africa,

with a per capita income of US\$10,500, and is now classified as an upper middle-income country (CIA Factbook, 2006).

There is one abundant resource in Botswana that has evoked global interest and has helped to ensure strong economic growth – diamonds. Mines at Orapa, Letlhakane, and Jwaneng have made Botswana the second largest producer in the world (Hope, 2002, p7). The primary source of economic growth is the mining sector, which now accounts for more than one-third of Botswana's GDP, while the agricultural sector accounts for less than 3 percent (Hope, 2002, p2).

The crucial question to be answered is how Botswana has maintained a working democracy and managed its national resources in an apparently economically rational manner when so many other African states have failed on both counts. This question may be answered by analyzing the reproduction and transformation of key features such as leadership, internal politicking, and consensual decision making involving international expertise (Peters, 1994, p49).

5.1 History

Originally christened Bechuanaland by the British, Botswana had able and reliable traditional leaders for at least a century before reaching independence. Chiefs ruled, but they did so through traditional institutions such as the *kgotla*¹⁰, where there was an opportunity for men to express their views in an open forum, in an effort to achieve a degree of consensus. According to custom, openness and consultation were always essential (Lewis, 1993, p21-22).

¹⁰ The central *kgotla* of the chief was the public assembly place where he not only delivered judgments and laws but where he listened to his people (Peters, 1994, p33).

The Tswana *morafe* (chiefdom) was a state with a strongly centralized structure that was focused on the Chief. He was considered the source of authority and order, and was the center to which goods and services were due and from which flowed protection, rain¹¹, and wealth. The political and administrative organization was built on a ranked hierarchy of constituent groups, with rules of succession down a patrilineal line that maintained the Chiefship within one ruling group (*dikgosi* or royal families).

Sir Seretse Khama, the first president of Botswana, was the grandson of Khama the Great, one of the chiefs who first dealt with the British. Sir Seretse was originally forced out of his successor line because of his marriage to a *lekgoa*, English woman, whom he met while studying in the United Kingdom. However, his experience living abroad taught him many things, including how to give up his claim to traditional titles, and he founded the modern political movement, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). He was president from 1966 until his death from cancer in 1980, and was succeeded by his chief organizer, Dr. Quett Masire. Botswana's second President was a farmer from the southern part of the country who was self-taught as both a master farmer and an economist. Both of these men were committed to non-racialism, non-tribalism, democracy, and consultation. (Lewis, 1993, p22) President Festus Mogae is the reigning leader in Botswana, initially elected in 1998 (CIA Factbook, 2006).

5.2 The transition of Botswana

Botswana came to independence in 1966 as a bureaucratic state through a generally peaceful, colonially-mediated process, "with no particular commitment to the emancipation of women beyond the right of suffrage and the same ambiguities about women's status

¹¹ Rain is considered to be good luck for Batswana people. With rain comes higher agricultural yields, and good fortune. The money in Botswana is called "Pula", which directly translated into English, means 'rain'.

embedded in its Constitution as could be found elsewhere in Southern Africa” (Allen, 2001, p43). It also came to independence as one of the poorest countries in the world. Over half of its government budget was financed by grants from Great Britain, about two-thirds of its workers had jobs in South Africa, and drought had killed about a third of its total cattle herd (Lewis, 1993, p13).

This former British protectorate had little hope for long-term viability at independence as it was surrounded by hostile, white-minority-ruled regimes in Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe; it was economically dependent upon foreign aid and South African imports and infrastructure for its very survival; and it was stricken by the worst drought in living memory (Zaffiro, 1993, p139). Botswana was counted among the poorest countries on earth.

The discovery of a lucrative mineral sector was the major engine of growth for the economy of Botswana, although other sectors have also contributed to the economic success of the country in the post independence period. Botswana enjoyed a significant growth in its agriculture sector as the first fifteen years after independence witnessed the wet phase of a major 20-year climatic cycle in southern Africa (Lewis, 1993, p14). There was also a significant expansion of the national cattle stock and of beef exports in response to the favourable export prices offered by the European Community (Hope, 1997, p17).

On the political side, Botswana did not have the major tribal differences of other countries in Africa, since a substantial majority of the people came from Setswana-speaking tribes (Lewis, 1993, p14). For much of the post-independence period, Botswana was one of the fastest growing economies in the world, in sharp contrast to the economic stagnation and deterioration of most of Africa (Hope, 2002, p2).

Botswana has therefore been able to move from a pre-independence poverty-stricken economy, dependent primarily on the cattle industry and subsistence agriculture, to rapid growth with substantial increases in export earnings and government revenues dependent on the mineral sector (Hope, 2002, p2). Real GDP per capita was about nine times higher in 1991 than in 1966 when the country became independent (Hope, 1997, p17).

Botswana's rapid economic progress can be attributed to the country's internationally acclaimed good governance, which included sound management of national development efforts, and encompasses political accountability while maintaining transparency from a bureaucratic perspective. The government exercised legitimate power and gave its people the freedom of association and participation, freedom of information and expression, and capacity building (Hope, 1997, p16). The process of political adaptation over the past thirty years has involved political negotiation and cultural transformation, both nationally, and internationally. This has not been an easy task as the pre-existing social forms have had to acquire new meanings and older conceptions have been applied to new situations (Peters, 1994, p16).

The presidential management styles of Sir Seretse Khama, and his successor's, Dr. Quett Masire and Mr. Festus Mogae, are characterized by a particular willingness to seek out and accept expert information and advice before making major decisions. Reliance on expert advice is a trademark of elite political culture in Botswana (Zaffiro, 1993, p140).

5.5 Botswana on the International Stage

Botswana does not exist in isolation; it has intricate economic, political, and social links to the international community. Botswana, as a nation state and thus a state actor,

claims certain rights, privileges, and responsibilities and interacts with other states on a bilateral or on a multilateral basis. On the basis of such contacts, it belongs to intergovernmental organizations of varying geographical scope and functional specificity (Dale, 1985, p209).

Botswana is a member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and is a member of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) (Molutsi, 1993, p51). These links emphasize that Botswana is influenced by, and is involved in organizations at the regional, continental, and international levels. Botswana's active role in regional political and economic forums has helped boost its international image. Botswana has earned itself a good name and a leadership role within its member organizations (Molutsi, 1993, p58).

One value important in explaining the success of Botswana and its leadership on the international stage is its openness, tempered with humility. Botswana has always sought to learn from what others have done, from both their successes and their failures. Leaders have always been genuinely inquisitive and not afraid to stop a speaker and say, "I don't understand what you just said, please explain it again" (Lewis, 1993, p22-23). This attitude has been a critical element in nurturing an open policymaking process where the leadership is encouraged to participate fully in the economic policy debate. Policies as widely divergent as those on exchange controls, health care, and foreign commercial borrowing were developed based on those used in other countries (Lewis, 1993, p22).

Development policy and performance in Botswana has attracted considerable attention in recent years from the international community (Hope, 2002, p1). Botswana's democratic ideology and the country's geo-political situation have caused many countries,

such as the United States, Canada, Germany, and the Nordic countries, to respond with multifaceted assistance (Molutsi, 1993, p52). Expatriates play a much greater role in the management of development policy formation and on the development agenda in Botswana than they do in any other country in Africa (Hope, 1997, p136).

In addition to the policy assistance, Botswana has been fortunate to be one of the leading recipients of both foreign financial assistance and private capital investment which provide funds, goods, and specialized services necessary for the formidable development tasks that beset Botswana (Dale, 1985, p210). These two sources of support contributed significantly to the establishment of a strong economic base.

The vast amount of aid funnelled into Botswana by international organizations and foreign governments has been crucial to Botswana's economic development. The assistance involved grants and low-interest loans, provision of skilled volunteers, and bilateral technical assistance personnel. Through the latter Botswana received cheap but highly skilled manpower in the areas of health, education, water, road construction, economic planning, and development administration (Molutsi, 1993, p52). International assistance provided to Botswana has greatly contributed to creating conditions for development by creating jobs, developing social services, and building infrastructure. At an economic level, "resources and technical personnel have generously been provided by foreign governments and international organizations to assist the efforts to create a democratic society in Botswana" (Molutsi, 1993, p60). These resources have gone a long way to provide basic necessities of life such as water, food, health, and education to a substantial section of the population, including those in rural areas.

Botswana had the foresight to realize that it can realize some of its objectives faster than would be the case without aid. In this way it is evident that foreign influences have contributed to the sustainability of democracy in Botswana (Molutsi, 1993, p59). However, the government is trying to promote the development of its own people and has the stated position that “the replacement of expatriates in the Botswana public sector should be done over the long term so as to allow Botswana nationals to acquire the necessary skills and expertise to make meaningful contributions to development management when they assume positions previously held by expatriates” (Hope, 1997, p136). In the meantime, the Botswana government will continue to take all the assistance it can get when related to developing as a nation and as a people.

Botswana’s commitment to democracy has been one of the main reasons that Botswana has received so much aid (Stedman, 1993, p5). However, the negative consequence to collaborating with foreign influences and receiving aid is that it may have undermined the community’s own self-help efforts. Foreign involvement has often set the agenda for development, creating dependency, and unsustainable programs. This has clearly been the case in the programs initiated for women’s groups in the country. The withdrawal of aid accompanying Botswana’s recent transition in status to a middle-income country has caused enormous financial and support problems for these groups (Molutsi, 1993, p60).

CHAPTER 6

WOMEN IN BOTSWANA

In Botswana, women have had the right to vote since independence. Therefore, the question of equity is not whether women have the right to vote, but whether they are active players within politics and scholarship. Are women's actual actions, organizations or attempts to influence the quality of their lives by some political means seen as part of the process of democratic politics or democratization?

"Including women as actors in a narrative of democracy and democratization is, on the most basic level, a question of equity and of the meaning of democracy" (Allen, 2001, p40). In the history of Western liberal democracy, which is the model adopted in Botswana, women were denied political rights and gained those rights only after long and difficult campaigns (ibid.).

The widely held view that Botswana women benefit from the resources of their husband, fathers or male friends, has three obvious flaws. Firstly, it assumes that all male-headed households have resources to support their members. Along with the exploitation of women, Botswana's economy also exploits and impoverishes many men. Secondly, this position ignores the marginal position that women occupy in many male-headed households. Third, it turns a blind eye to the fact that the process of modernization, urbanization, and industrialization have contributed to the displacement of some of the institutions which used to be important sources of welfare and support for women and children (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p54-55).

The national economy is dominated by foreign influences and the local power elite. Industrialization and urbanization have significantly affected the family institution

and the lives of Batswana women (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p55-56). The migration of rural Batswana men to urban Botswana and South Africa, along with the diffusion of foreign culture in Botswana, has undermined traditional values. In a traditional Setswana society, men and women participate in the raising of children. Society expected adult men and women to marry and support their families and relatives (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p56). However, these traditional views are changing, and this has resulted in a significant increase in the number of unmarried mothers.

Women are not only heading households as individuals in today's society, many are also raising children without the help of these children's fathers. This in turn increases the burden on the women's families as many of them are still young and living with their parents, or working in towns where they consider their parent's home as their own (Brown, 1980, p11).

6.1 Economics and Employment of Batswana Women

The emergence of the phenomenon of 'the female breadwinner' can be attributed to many factors in Botswana's changing society. There has been a significant increase in the rates of unmarried parenthood and divorce, as well as the degeneration of the extended family system which has resulted in the decline of the traditional mutual assistance pattern. According to many of the women surveyed in Botswana by Logong Raditlhokwa, this is because of Western influences on Botswana society. When this is combined with men's promiscuity, which is based on the old polygamous culture, heavy drinking, and the rising crime rate which results in the imprisonment of more males; women are trapped within a difficult situation (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p55).

With 30% of the households in Eastern Botswana, and 35% of those in Kgatleng headed by women, and with so many unmarried mothers, the problem of employment should not be brushed aside with the hope that jobs for men automatically mean better lives for women (Hope, 2002, p7). Single mothers encounter serious problems which make the raising of children an arduous duty. One of the most vital problems women face in Botswana is the fact that Batswana men can find jobs where women cannot, and the jobs that men do are better paying (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p57).

Women comprise approximately 36 percent of formal sector employees and 75 percent of informal sector employees. This trend is consistent with the findings for developing countries generally¹² (Hope, 2002, p6). “Many poor married women who join their husbands in developing countries’ cities are more likely to work as housewives, and look after their children and working husbands” (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p34). Unmarried women who are illiterate and poor tend to work as domestic workers and prostitutes. They may also accept other ‘low-status’ jobs. There is already a concern about the increasing rate of prostitution in Gaborone (Interview transcripts).

The women who are working in the domestic sector have been neglected by both the state and feminists. They have no minimum wage policy, and lack an association or union that can represent their interests. The oppressive working conditions in this sector, as well as the fact that the supply of migrant women from both the rural areas of Botswana, and immigrants from neighbouring countries exceeds the demand for domestic workers, helps to explain why there is a large reserve army of unemployed women in Gaborone (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p34).

¹² Data on the informal sector is scarce and where it does exist, it should be treated with caution since there is no proper recording of statistics in this sector.

In addition to the education barriers to employment, there are also some geographical barriers as well. In the old days, the women were responsible for the fields and received many of the benefits as a result. The men would come to help during the important agricultural seasons, then go back to the town or their cattle home post, as the boys were used as herders. With the discovery of diamonds and gold in Botswana, young men (and not young women) were recruited as migrant labourers, and the dry climate of Botswana means that girls are in lower demand as farm labour (Allen, 2001, p52). Even when there was a demand for agricultural work, it was found to be unprofitable to pursue when mining was yielding such large economic profits. The consequent decline of the agricultural industry, as well as the low demand for domestic workers, left many peasant women without any viable alternative employment opportunities (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p54).

Even though this caused an increase in poverty for many women, other women were more fortunate and were given a chance to break out of their cycle of poverty through education. When young girls could not be used for labour, it resulted in more girls attending school as often as, or more often than boys. With the expansion of education after independence, female school attendance, literacy, and education levels increased. This meant that as wage employment expanded significantly in the 1980s, women moved into jobs usually filled by men. In fact, a small, but significant, proportion of these women gained university or professional training (Allen, 2001, p52). For the most part though, the political and economic hegemony of urban centres in Botswana has resulted in limited opportunities for both urban and rural women

(Raditlhokwa, 1993, p46). The most recent statistics estimate the number of households living in poverty to be 43 percent (Hope, 2002, p6).

6.2 Poverty

“Poverty restricts the development of human, social, and economic potential” (Hope, 2002, p7). Despite Botswana’s rapid growth and considerable economic success, there is growing concern that uneven development, as exhibited by persistent poverty, widening income inequality, and rising unemployment, is becoming a severe problem with the potential to affect the country’s political economy and stability in the future (Hope, 1997, p17).

Several questions have been raised about the real nature of Botswana’s democracy. Why is there is such a large income inequality within the country? What is democratic if only a few are made rich and many poor? (Peters, 1994, p169). Persistent poverty in Botswana can be partly explained by the grossly skewed distribution of wealth and the lack of potential for income generation (Molutsi, 1993, p59). “When we speak of the ‘poorest of the poor’ we are always speaking about women. Poor men in the developing world have even poorer wives and children” (Ojinnaka, 1992, p46-47).

One of the other factors related to poverty in Botswana that is not discussed much in the literature is the feminization of poverty. The troubling existence of gender inequity in Botswana, particularly on female-headed households in the rural areas, has had a serious poverty impact (Hope, 2002, p7). Until recently, women were restricted in the acquisition of land, cattle, and credit and there were also problems related to their access to education in their early years. This put them at a greater disadvantage than men when seeking to become economically active (Hope, 1997, p26). Women in urban centres have seen their

situation improve over recent years; however, women in rural areas are still living with serious gender inequality.

In Botswana, cattle are a source of economic and social power. Many Batswana women are prevented from owning cattle by both the cash economy and inheritance practices which are biased in favour of males. Therefore, the monopolization of cattle by Batswana men enhances their economic independence and power (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p47). Even when a poor woman managed to acquire a few goats or a cow, her master (the male that directly controls her life) would appropriate them. This tyrannical conduct is justified to the woman by her keeper saying that she had no need of cattle, as she had only to mind her duty in attending those of her superior, and she might always be certain of receiving as much milk and food as would be necessary for support (Interview transcripts).

Most women migrate to urban city centres, such as Gaborone, to find jobs so that they can support their children. Therefore, in a country like Botswana where the fertility rate is relatively high (especially in the rural areas), and men are 'irresponsible', women's reproductive role is likely to lock them in a vicious cycle of poverty. The Botswana government has failed to develop and implement successful social programs for poor mothers (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p33).

The failures of rural programs that are meant to alleviate women's poverty can be explained by the fact that these programs failed to properly analyse the existing socially constructed barriers that promote female marginalization. These programs are not based on the experiences and understanding of the most marginalized women, especially those living in the remote areas. Although many poor women might benefit from state-supported self-help or cooperative capitalism, the new institutions tend to promote individualism, which

further alienates these women from their traditional methods of supporting each other (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p29).

Economic and social development has a negative impact on the status and self-image of women; however, so do the conservative cultural ideologies and customs of Batswana men. Women from all class backgrounds are disadvantaged when it comes to the power that emanates from economic status. Even in depressed communities poor men abuse and exploit women (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p28).

The formulation of class and gender-sensitive agricultural policies and programs are recommended because if the situation of poor working and unemployed women is not addressed, the magnitude of their problems will increase (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p34). If the government is not willing to implement these programs, then perhaps one of the women's groups who have formed to combat gender inequities will address this issue.

6.3 The Formation of Women's Groups

Throughout the campaigns for women's rights, women in groups and as individuals have made gainful use of the openness of Botswana's political system to push gender issues into political discourse and to bring about notable changes in the public discourse on gender (Allen, 2001, p51). "Examining the conditions that make it possible for women's groups to organize and to succeed can provide a useful measure of the substantive democracy in a system, an understanding of the class base needed for effective women's mobilization and protection of their rights, and an idea of how women's groups might develop as part of effective coalitions seeking popular democracy" (Allen, 2001, p39).

The existence of active women's rights campaigns began at the end of 1986 when the various women's rights activities coalesced into "Emang Basadi!", which is translated

into English to mean “Stand Up, Women!”. The name was adapted with a pointed change from the national anthem, which urges men to “stand up and defend the nation”, thus encouraging women to “stand up beside your men.” Emang Basadi defined itself as an ‘action group’ rather than a service group. Its goal was to set out to influence state policy and practice, and it operated independently of government and political parties in order to avoid silencing of censorship (Allen, 2001, p54).

The group was founded by Joyce Anderson, a local gender activist born in Botswana who has always hated the way her fellow country-women were treated. When she was growing up, she realized that women were treated as small-minded and that they were not trusted to take care of the family belongings (Setsiba, August 18, 2005). Anderson founded Emang Basadi with a dedicated, well-educated team of women made up of university lecturers, lawyers, journalists, teachers, civil servants and other professionals, and a few self-employed businesswomen. These women are clearly privileged relative to the majority of Botswana women, both urban as well as rural. However, very few have ties to the dominant property-owning class, despite the success of some of them in gaining political or judicial office (Allen, 2001, p54).

When Emang Basadi began its struggle for gender equity in Botswana, it was “greeted with great hostility (by both men, and traditional women) and viewed as a phenomenon for women married to whites or divorcees who had failed to man their homes” (Setsiba, March 14, 2006). As a conservative society, Botswana felt that the introduction of gender equity would erode their values. When Mmasekang Molosi, a woman who lives in a rural area in Botswana, was asked to comment on gender equity, she responded by saying that “In our culture, a man is the head, the provider and the role of the

wife is to support him” (Setsiba, March 14, 2006). Anderson withstood this type of pressure mounted against her at work, within the city, and even within her own small community. She has declared that “Their talks made me persevere. I knew our society was sick and needed someone who could articulate the issues of gender” (Setsiba, August 18, 2005).

Emang Basadi’s first strategy was one of education and information gathering. It sought ways of educating poorer urban women and rural women about their rights, and of building a network of urban women wage-workers and women in producer cooperatives. It then focused on politics, as no political party was advocating for women’s rights. In the period of the run-up to the 1989 election, Emang Basadi moved to direct involvement in electoral politics, adding recruitment and training of women candidates to its campaigns of education and information gathering. The leading opposition party, the Botswana National Front (BNF), identified itself as a left party, but had no platform on women’s interests and no Women’s Section, only a Youth Section dominated by young men (Allen, 2001, p43-45).

In 1993, sixteen women’s organizations formed themselves into an NGO Coalition, bringing the previously more service-oriented groups like the Botswana Council of Women into common action with Emang Basadi. Together, they expanded education efforts for the women in Botswana, which include pamphlets, conferences, workshops, radio, newspaper articles, and meetings around the country during the run-up to the 1995 United Nations Beijing Conference on Women (Setsiba, March 14, 2006). Rural as well as urban women had heard Emang Basadi’s radio program and came to hear ‘what is the oppression that

women are talking about' and to get information on their rights, and many wanted to know how to form women's groups in their own villages (Allen, 2001, p47).

Emang Basadi and other women's groups, in the run-up and follow-up to the Beijing Women's Conference, held meetings for women in rural areas in order to further educate women on the issues of gender equity. These women often expressed interest in women's rights, curiosity about Emang Basadi, and desires for help in learning how to speak-up in *kgotla* instead of asking men to speak for them (Allen, 2001, p50). "Many participants urged the NGOs to continue workshops after Beijing to provide 'leadership skills and assertiveness training' so that women would have the confidence to 'venture into the political field' instead of 'whispering their ideas to a man' to speak for them" (Allen, 2001, p47).

The Botswana women's movement came into being, won significant victories, and has been able to consolidate and protect those victories against government resistance and backlash and move even further (Allen, 2001, p41). Emang Basadi opened an office with staff and issued a Woman's Manifesto urging the government to approve the draft 'National Policy on Women' and elevate the Women's Affairs Unit to a Department, which it eventually did in 1997 (Women's Affairs Website, 2006).

In Botswana, there exists a vigorous and successful women's rights movement, spearheaded by Emang Basadi. This movement helped to bring 'silenced' issues into open public debate, pushed a process of change in men's attitudes as well as women's, and pressured government to move significantly against women's subordination (Allen, 2001, p43). How was this possible?

6.4 Turning the Tides: Citizenship Law

Central to the development of women's rights discourse and of a women's equal rights movement in Botswana has been the Citizenship Law¹³ of 1982-84 and its successful 1990s challenge (Lockwood, 2002). The Citizenship Act was passed in 1982 (amended in 1984) after its presentation at rural *dikgotla* (village meetings), in which the government claimed it was received positively. Opposition voiced by urban women, such as Unity Dow and Joyce Armstrong, was rejected as unrepresentative of Botswana's women's views.

Organized opposition¹⁴ began in 1983 at a conference on Women and Development organized by the Women's Affairs Unit of the Ministry of Home Affairs, comprised of two female staff. The opposition called on government to end all laws that discriminated against women. From that conference grew publication of materials to educate women about their rights and about discriminatory laws (Allen, 2001, p43). Frustrated by parliamentary intransigence, women from Emang Basadi joined with the local branch of a regional women lawyers group, the Women and Law Project of Southern Africa (WLSA), in support of a suit challenging the Citizenship Law¹⁵, filed in 1990 by Unity Dow, a

¹³ The Citizenship Law changed citizenship in Botswana from being based on birth in the territory, as it had been since independence in 1966, to a basis in birth by descent. This meant that for married women, the citizenship of the father only, not the mother, henceforth determined the citizenship of the child. A woman citizen married to a foreigner could no longer pass her citizenship, with its significant educational and economic benefits, to her child (Lockwood, 2002).

¹⁴ The opposition launched a campaign of collecting affidavits from women who were married to or had children with non-citizens. They did this in order to demonstrate that the 'foreigners' involved were predominantly South African refugees, many of them ethnic Batswana, not rich white expatriates or Zimbabweans or other Africans seeking university places and university and government jobs, as was sometimes alleged by defenders of the Act. Emang Basadi argued that the effect of the Citizenship Act was to render these women's children stateless (Lockwood, 2002).

¹⁵ In her suit, Dow argued that the Citizenship Law discriminated against her on the grounds of sex in violation of Section Three of the Bill of Rights of the Botswana Constitution, which provides that "every person in Botswana is entitled to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual... whatever her race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex" (Lockwood, 2002).

feminist, activist lawyer and director of the Methaetsile Women's Information Center, a women's rights information center in Mochudi (Allen, 2001, p44). The High Court agreed that since society had changed, women 'can no longer be viewed as being chattels of their husbands,' and the Constitutional provision takes precedence (Allen, 2001, p44).

The government, however, continued to stonewall, and women activists again increased their pressure. In March 1994, Unity Dow led a group of more than 50 women married to foreigners to the passport office demanding passports for their children. Finally, after refusing to leave the government offices without at least receiving receipts for acceptance of application fees, they got them (Lockwood, 2002). These women were able to get substantial publicity in the local, regional, and international press, and on the Internet African news services, to the embarrassment of the government.

According to Allen, "The challenge to the Citizenship Law was an important movement-building and consciousness-raising project for women's rights advocates in Botswana. It showed that neither a political nor a legal strategy by itself was enough, but that a legal challenge rooted in and supported by political mobilization could win"(2001, p45). The Citizenship Law accordingly became a symbolic expression of defence of those relations of male power over women that permeate all cultural, family, economic, and political life in contemporary society. Challenging the law then became a symbolic expression of opposition to those often unacknowledged relations of male domination that infuse contemporary life in Botswana (Allen, 2001, p46).

What began as a demand for equal rights was transformed into an unmasking and direct challenge of male power. The striking down of the law catalyzed the further challenges to that power, further changes in discriminatory legislation by Parliament,

further mobilization by women to gain political power, and further transformations in female identity (Allen, 2001, p46).

6.5 Women Empowerment: The Struggle Continues

Other discriminatory legislation has been changed without additional court cases. These include the Employment Act, the Mines and Quarries Act, and the Deeds Registry Act (Ntsabanye, 2004). Additionally, after much criticism of the requirement that girls who fall pregnant must leave school and not return until the following year, in a different school (which is the major cause of girls dropping out of secondary school), the policy has been changed to allow them to return to the same school and to sit for their exams if in their senior year (Allen, 2001, p46).

In 1997, the United Nations Development Program announced a \$1.8 million Gender Program for Botswana, which emphasized training and support for advocacy. Additionally, Botswana has now signed the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Within the region, SADC has adopted a target of 30 percent women in each member parliament by 2005, which Botswana has agreed to try to meet. The 30 percent ratio is determined to be the ratio necessary to apply change (Allen, 2001, p46-47). However, as of the last elections, only 2 female members of Parliament were voted into power. Many women rights activists feel that this is because women are pulling each other down (Mmegi, March 10, 2005). This is common in many countries though, and is an additional reason to continue to educate women about gender equity.

In September, 2003, Mosadi¹⁶ Seboko was enthroned as the first female paramount chief ever in Botswana. She is the leader of the Baletes, one of the eight major tribes in Botswana, who settled in Ramotswa, a small village outside of Gaborone.. Mosadi, backed by her mother and seven sisters, challenged and overcame cultural stigma enforced by her own male family members to keep the chieftdom a patriarchy. Ironically, she used the 38-year-old Constitution written by males, with its guarantee of freedom from discrimination to become Chief. Botswana's women's rights leaders urged her forward, saying that women must grasp power, not wait for it to be handed to them. Today, Ms. Seboko seems very comfortable in her role as Chief and has endeared herself to much of the tribe with her straightforward manner, accessibility and focus on the problems of Ramotswa's youth. Of course, she is also outspoken about women's rights as well (LaFraniere, December 11, 2004).

Gender has been adopted as an area of development within SADC, and the positive progress made by Botswana on the issue of gender equity inspired SADC to locate the Gender Unit in Botswana with Emang Basadi activists appointed to its staff. Unity Dow, the lawyer whose challenge to the Citizenship Law catalyzed so much with regards to gender equity, now sits as a High Court Judge (Allen, 2001, p49). However, there are negatives that come with all these pieces of good news.

Appointing Unity Dow to the High Court is a significant step for women, but it also has the effect of removing her from politics, and from Gaborone. Appointing Emang Basadi activists to the SADC Gender Unit brings a strong feminist perspective to bear on

¹⁶ Mosadi Seboko's first name is a reflection of her father's shock when he first saw her as his first-born child. In the Balete royal family, it is a given that the chief's firstborn child will be a boy so that he can inherit the throne. Translated from Setswana, Mosadi simply means 'woman' (LaFraniere, December 11, 2004)

regional issues, but it also reduces these activists' focus on Botswana (Allen, 2001, p54). Additionally, the appreciable increase of women's participation in the formal sector in the SADC region has not obliterated the traditional social subculture that discriminates against and downgrades women within Botswana (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p64).

Women's rights advocates of course continue to face significant opposition at all levels of society and government. The gaining of equal legal rights has brought into visibility the widespread system of male domination expressed in laws, customs and discourse, but the transformation of relations of domination has just begun, particularly in personal relations (Sebitsa, March 14, 2006, p1).

Gender discourse has expanded to include domestic violence, rape, and sexuality, but men's power over women in personal relations is very resistant to change. Efforts to address consequences related to violence against women rather than tackling causes are not likely to result in a sustainable improvement. Projects aimed at assisting battered wives easily do more harm than good by disregarding the crucial importance of the wives' financial dependence upon their husbands (Dube, 2002, p1). The recognition or absence of the wife's legal rights concerning housing, family property, or child custody and maintenance, should inform such projects. However, this is rarely the case. Projects designed to assist battered wives often include penalizing abusive husbands, routinely seeking their imprisonment, which leaves the battered wife homeless and penniless (Tomasevski, p552-53, 1998).

As has been previously stated, Botswana has the highest rate of HIV infection in the world, and the women's rates are higher than the men's. Prevention strategies that rely on education about infection will fail as long as male dominance leaves most women unable to

protect themselves against infection because they lack the right or the power to refuse unsafe sex from their male partners (Allen, 2001, p49). However, this attitude is exactly what the women's groups are working on changing within the Botswana culture.

In these critical periods of social and economic change, gender relations are also undergoing forced transformations. This is resulting in the creation of space for women to challenge both old and emerging relations of male domination before the new ones can solidify. No other organized group in Botswana from outside the ruling elites has been as successful, particularly in such a short time, as the women's rights movement. It has been very effective in using openings within liberal capitalist democracy to move toward long-term goals of genuine equality and social justice (Allen, 2001, p54).

The mobilization and success of the women's rights movement in Botswana shows that democracy in Botswana is far from an empty formal claim. Women working together for collective rights and interests bring the discourse and practice of their collective political struggle at home into Botswana's political life. Women are now capable of challenging both dominant traditional political values and the dominant liberal capitalist democratic discourse. Participants in this discourse include the government, the ruling party, corporations, or traditional leaders, who confront the individual citizen, voter, and employee or subject (Allen, 2001, p55).

Even though there have been significant strides made with regards to improving the gender inequity situation that exists within Botswana, too many of the country's programs are still 'gender neutral' and insensitive to the degenerative conditions of deprived women. For this reason, much more work needs to be done to enhance the status of women and children. However, the success of any programs in this area can only be guaranteed if

women can be given a chance to participate in their formulation, implementation and evaluation (Raditlhokwa, 1993, p59).

In order for women to be involved, they have to want to be involved. They need to have the confidence to want to make a difference and they have to be shown how to stand up and fight for their rights. For most individuals, this does not come naturally, and they have to be put in a situation where they are given the opportunity to learn the skills required to make a difference. Using sport as a tool to provide women with an avenue to learn these skills is a relatively new field of study that has the possibility of creating substantial benefits to the women in Botswana.

CHAPTER 7

USING SPORT AS A DEVELOPMENT TOOL

Over the last three decades, there has been considerable organized, focused attention on women's roles in development. Over the last 15 years, an organized international 'women in sports' movement has also gained momentum. Nevertheless, female participation in sport still raises a series of questions, issues and reactions that are theoretically challenging, culturally revealing, and programmatically pressing (Saavedra, 2006).

Advocates for female involvement in sport often approach the situation by arguing their case by comparing the rights of men to women in the sport world. It is argued that girls and women should have as much access as boys and men do to all of the benefits that sport provides, both large and small (Saavedra, 2006). "Participation in sport is a right that every human being should enjoy without hindrance, just like playing is for children" (International Olympic Committee, 2006).

The recommendations outlined in the Magglingen Declaration of 2003 are to prioritize the inclusion of women, girls and other marginalized groups in sports initiatives. However, apart from identifying the need to eliminate gender stereotyping, there is still little recognition of the gendered nature of sport in most countries of the world. Sport can add significant impact to international development and cooperation work for the benefit of women, men, girls and boys, irrespective of the level of economic or social development of a country (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2006a).

The concept of “sport for all” is central to this understanding of sport. “Sport for all” initiatives aim to maximize access to, and participation in, appropriate forms of physical activity. Emphasis is placed on participation and the inclusion of all groups in society, regardless of gender, age, ability or race (United Nations, 1995). This is especially significant for involving more females in the world of sports as they have traditionally been relegated to the sidelines.

7.1 History of the Women in Sport Movement

The first official conference to address women’s issues occurred in 1975 in Mexico City. Out of this conference, the UN declared 1976-1985 to be the International Decade for Women. Each succeeding women’s conference, culminating in the 1995 Beijing conference, marked a growing appreciation of the fundamental interrelatedness of women’s issues with not just those of development, but with all world issues. The succession of conferences also marked an increasing visibility and efficacy of women from the “developing world,” adding a greater diversity of voices (Division for the Advancement of Women, 2006).

The Beijing Conference produced a declaration and “Platform for Action” to which 189 governments committed their efforts and resources (Saavedra, 2006). A primary goal expressed in the Platform is to remove “all the obstacles to women’s active participation in all spheres of public and private life” (United Nations, 1995). Advocating just this, an international ‘women in sport’ (WIS) movement emerged in the 1990s. Through international collaboration and activism, the WIS movement endeavored to raise the profile of women in sport. Similarly to the ‘women in development’

movement, there were conferences, declarations, and new organizations (Saavedra, 2006).

Jennifer Hargreaves (2000) has noted that these movements have been dominated by western feminist perspectives and have only slowly become more inclusive. Even when there are representatives from the South at these meetings, they often represent the elite in their own countries. It is in very rare circumstances that grassroots activists get much of a chance to share their views. Citing these movements as evidence that “sisterhood is global” masks layers of hierarchies and privileges, inequalities and inequities, and the diversity of women’s and girl’s realities. Paying attention to these realities can help lay the positive foundation for what is not a movement, but an emerging interest in the nexus of women, sport, and development (WSD) (Saavedra, 2006).

In general, the WID movement has not focused much on sport. At the same time, the WIS movement only began to focus more on development as more Third World participants became involved. Initially, the WIS movement mainly concentrated on sport-related topics and had a rather elitist ‘First World’ character. WIS is rooted in the development of women’s sport, and not primarily in women and development through sport (Saavedra, 2006). Both movements have served to give notice to both the development and the sport establishments respectively, that women’s perspectives must be considered, women must be involved, and gaps in this should be proactively addressed (ibid, 2006).

The World Conferences on Women and Sport led to major progress in the field of female sports around the world. The ball got rolling in Brighton, UK in 1994 when the famous “Brighton Declaration” was drafted and an International Working Group on

Women and Sport (IWG) was established. This Group is an independent coordinating body consisting of representatives of key non-governmental organizations from different regions of the world. It gives itself the over-arching objective of “promoting and facilitating the development of opportunities for girls and women in sport and physical activity throughout the world” (International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2006). As more and more developing countries are joining the WIS movement, the objectives are constantly shifting towards development issues (Meier, p7, 2005).

The 1994 conference was followed two years later by the first Women and Sport conference hosted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). This Conference was followed two years later by a World Conference on Women and Sport in Windhoek, Namibia, which established the “Windhoek Call for Action”. This document went beyond pushing for women’s participation in sport, and began promoting sport as a means of achieving broader goals in health, education, elimination of violence and human rights. This was the first time on an international stage that the role of sport was so broadly recognized in the role of advancing the status of girls and women. Conferences have been held every two years alternately between the IOC and the IWG. Each conference has pushed the visions of women and sport to the next level, and designed ideas and materials to increase the development of women in sports, and through sports (International Platform for Sport and Development, 2006).

7.2 Benefits of Sports

Many view female involvement in sport as a potential radical and transformative process for women and girls, and possibly for the world of sport and society in general. “Sport as an embodied practice may liberate girls and women from constraining

hegemonic feminine ideals, empower them within their communities, provide positive health and welfare outcomes, and ultimately transform gendered notions, leading to a more egalitarian world and unleashing the productive, intellectual and social power of women” (Saavedra, 2006). This then would contribute to overall economic, social, and political development.

Knowledge of the links and causal factors involved in sport and development is still in its infancy, especially as it applies to females. And yet, enthusiasm for sport and the pressing needs of development mean that programs and projects to ensure participation are going forward based on the known and presumed benefits of sport to girls and women (Saavedra, 2006).

Participation in sport has significant physical benefits such as general fitness, contributing to people’s ability to lead long and healthy lives, improving their well-being, extending life expectancy, and reducing the likelihood of several major non-communicable diseases, particularly heart disease, diabetes and certain cancers (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p. 2, 2005). Besides the well-known health benefits of being physically active, and the often visible ‘fun factor’, there are also the social and psychological benefits both for individual and group situations.

Sport is said to influence personal and social competencies such as self-confidence, self-discipline, and body awareness. Sport actively educates young people about the importance of certain key values, such as honesty, fair play, learning mutual respect, teamwork, communicative skills, and adherence to the rules and respect for their importance. It provides a forum for them to learn how to cope with competition and deal with their emotions, not only how to lose but also how to win. Sport is a way to build

understanding for the value of common bonds (Meier, p9, 2005; United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p. 8, 2005).

Sports programs serve as an effective tool for social mobilization, supporting health activities such as HIV/AIDS education and immunization campaigns. They can be a useful platform for preventive and peer education against HIV and AIDS and other major illnesses affecting populations and high-risk health groups (Saavedra, 2006). Where poverty and the HIV/AIDS pandemic leads to increasing numbers of neglected children and orphans every year, participating in sport and play activities can make an inspiring difference in everyday life. "For orphans, street kids or children from shattered families for instance, sport programs can give them a reason to get up in the morning and for being looked after once or twice a week" (Meier, p9, 2005). Sport reaches out to young people of all social groups.

Sport can cut across barriers that divide societies, making it a powerful tool to support conflict prevention and peace-building efforts, both symbolically on the global level and very practically within communities. When applied effectively, sports programs promote social integration and foster tolerance, helping to reduce tension and generate dialogue. The life skills learned through sport help empower individuals and enhance psychosocial well-being, resulting in increased resiliency, greater self-esteem and improved connections with others. The convening power of sport makes it additionally compelling as a tool for advocacy and communications (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p.1, 2005).

Sport offers opportunities for play and self-expression, beneficial especially for those young people with few other opportunities in their lives. It also provides healthy

alternatives to harmful actions, such as drug abuse and involvement in crime. Within schools, physical education is an essential component of quality education. In addition to physical education programs promoting physical activity, there is evidence that these programs also correlate to improved academic performance (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, executive summary, 2005).

The skills and values learned through sport are especially important for girls, given that within sub-Saharan culture they have fewer opportunities than boys for social interaction outside the home and beyond family networks. One of the central paradigms of development is to ensure that girls receive equitable access to quality education. In order to achieve basic education for all, the way education is provided needs to be expanded, and perhaps sport related programs should be considered as a viable option (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p9, 2005).

Through sport, girls are given the chance to be leaders and improve their confidence and self-esteem. Sport also allows girls to become more engaged in school and community life by enabling them to acquire new interpersonal links and access to new opportunities by providing them with a forum to share time and values with other girls. Sport provides young people with their own space, both physically and emotionally, which is especially important for girls (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p9, 2005).

Providing girls with access to sport can also contribute to achieving gender parity in education. Given that sport is a traditionally male domain, girls' participation in sport challenges stereotypes of girls and women, breaking down entrenched attitudes (ibid). One of the most important aspects of sports is the exposure given to female athletes as

they gain recognition in their community or country. They are able to become mentors for other girls, and give them a role model to aspire towards (Interview transcripts).

Therefore, in multiple ways, sport presents itself as a viable tool in the development tool chest. Under the premise that women and girls are often disadvantaged relative to males in their societies on many factors such as social status, physical mobility, education, freedom, and range of choices, if sport offers a means of empowerment, then it makes sense to support opportunities for girls and women to participate. Positive and successful experiences in sport have the ability to encourage girls and women in other areas of life, acting as a microcosm of society (Saavedra, 2006).

Kabeer defined empowerment as “the power within” which is both an individual as well as a collective process involving all levels of society and structural changes (1999). Sport and other recreational activities enhance female empowerment by promoting education, networking, leadership and negotiation skills. Certainly, those aims could partly be reached by sewing courses or literacy programs as well. However, because of its historical association with masculinity, sport can additionally challenge traditional gender structures in a society, thus promoting equity and increasing empowerment (Meier, p10, 2005).

7.3 Obstacles to Sports Participation for Women

In sport, there exist some considerable infrastructural, material or technical barriers linked to female participation in sport programs. Some of these issues are cross-cutting and deal with mobility (public transportation); clean and sheltered changing rooms and showers; guaranteed and easy accessibility to facilities; distances between sport sites and residential areas; appropriate sport apparel; adequate lighting; and

appropriate scheduling of activities to fit into the lives of the participating women (Meier, p14, 2005).

While sporting opportunities are often linked with education, the two can be in conflict at an individual and institutional level, especially with limited resources. Physical education classes are often the first ones to be reduced or cancelled in schools in hard economic times, or when there is conflict or pressure from other academic fields. Grassroots sport-based initiatives receive little support from governments (Toolkit Sport for Development, 2006).

Looking at developing countries today, the responsibilities of production, and reproduction that women undertake are major barriers for women and girls getting involved in sport programs. “Particular economic circumstances and systems of sexual division of labor mean that women and girls through much of the world have heavy demands on their time and energy with little leisure time available” (Saavedra, 2006). For many women, sport will not be a primary concern, especially where basic needs such as food, shelter, safety, health care and education are far from adequate (Interview transcripts).

Women’s work at home as providers of food and caring for the family is not often considered to be ‘real’ work. Consequently, these obligations which are ‘instinctive’, regularly delivered, and socially engrained do not seem to deserve leisure time. Girls are taught those role patterns from a very young age, and are often prevented from meeting peers and playing outside (Meier, p11, 2005). “A woman or girl seen to dishonor her referent group or overstep gender boundaries may face physical and social punishment by the family or retribution from elements within the community” (Saavedra, 2006).

Especially in conservative settings such as Botswana, there are major obstacles linked to specific types of sports that challenge gender norms. Contact sports that deal with aggressiveness, such as rugby, hockey, and football, are traditionally associated with males. Any situation where there might be 'pain and blood', such as boxing, is not considered to be an acceptable female activity, and women find it very hard to break into these sports (Interview transcripts).

Additionally, research has shown that girls and women do have more of a tendency than males to greatly underestimate their bodily capacity, athletic performance and strength (Young 1990). In Botswana, women may be forced to curb their athletic performance because they have to fight the myth that when women develop 'unsightly' muscles, it interferes with health and reproductive cycles (Interview transcripts). Another cultural myth that women in Botswana have to deal with is in regards to the onset of menstruation. For instance, once women reach the age of puberty, they may be restricted in many domains including socializing, bathing, mobility, and school attendance. "Insufficient information, fear, shame, and lack of adequate material related to the menstrual cycle are preventing many female teenagers from taking part in social and sport activities. Some cultures and societies do also marginalize unmarried young mothers and exclude them from schools, public life and locally organized activities" (Simwapenga-Hamusonde, 2003).

Young emphasized that "most girls learn culturally appropriate female styles of movement through imitation" (Young, 1990). In contrast to many boys, girls in developing settings do not often have any female role models regarding sport to look up to. When females in Botswana were asked to name their sporting role models, most of

the women responded by naming a man. In the cases where they named female role models, the individual rarely came from the developing world. Instead, they named famous athletes from the United States, like Marion Jones¹⁷.

Convincing families, parents and communities to endorse the participation of girls and even involving them in more concrete ways (e.g. administration, logistics, etc) may be essential. However, most of the obstacles hindering female participation in sport programs depend very much on different cultural traditions and contexts that exist within their society (Meier, p14, 2005).

7.4 Cultural Influences

In contrast to infrastructural obstacles, possible constraints or conflicts one could encounter within society or specific cultures are much harder to identify and to resolve. In most developing cultures and societies, and even within developed countries, alliances between femininity and sport are often still considered incompatible (Meier, p14, 2005). “Research has shown that fathers and brothers primarily tend to defend traditional patriarchal principles and family honour, while mothers predominantly feel responsible for daughters to behave ladylike in order to find a husband and to become ideal wives, mothers and homemakers” (Meier, p14, 2005). “Deviant” females are considered a disgrace to the entire family in many cultures.

As sport is considered to be a “mirror of society” reflecting cultural values and social norms, Creedon (1994) took it one step further and characterized sport as a “microcosm of gender values”. Both sport and politics are historically largely male-dominated areas. Accordingly, apparent female ‘asportism’ is not necessarily due to a

¹⁷ Marion Jones is a well-known track and field athlete from the United States. She has been deemed the “fastest woman on earth” and participated in numerous international events, including two Olympic Games.

lack of interest, and more due to traditionally patriarchal structures, cultures and social systems, and is therefore acquired, not inborn (Meier, p11, 2005).

It is not that women and girls are unfamiliar with physical labour, nor that these women and girls have not participated in what constitutes as sport, leisure and play in their particular communities, especially by the 21st century. While modern claims for women's political participation are basically recognized around the world, women's involvement in sport is still viewed as "unfeminine", and females are largely under-represented at all levels in sport - as athletes, coaches, referees, managers, media personalities, etc. (Meier, p14, 2005).

This is partly because, for many males and females, sport still exemplifies and upholds essential masculine traits, and becomes a code for heterosexual male superiority and domination over the feminine. Female participants in the world of sport put their "femininity" at risk and threaten the social order (Saavedra, 2006). Therefore, female involvement in sport is often a transgression that needs to be managed, explained, encouraged, or prevented, but somehow is not 'natural'. Because of this, it is important to stress that opponents of female sport participation are not only men, but need to be identified in every socio-cultural setting (Meier, p11, 2005).

The acceptance of letting girls and women participate in sport programs depends on the perception of hegemonic female and male beauty ideals in society. Sport is often celebrated as a sanctuary of heterosexuality and male virtuosity. A successful male athlete becomes a hero, an idol, a beauty ideal or even a sex symbol (Meier, 2005). For females in many cases, regardless of their sexuality, they disturb this social order and put their

femininity at risk. Those homophobic implications put pressure on heterosexual female athletes to play the “femininity game and stigmatize homosexuality” (Hargreaves 1994).

‘Femininity’ is not a mysterious quality or essence that all women have by virtue of their being biologically female. Instead, it can be viewed as “a set of structures and conditions that delimit the typical situation of being a woman in a particular society, as well as the typical way in which this situation is lived by the women themselves” (Meier, p15, 2005).

Cultural expectations may make females more compliant and less able to resist potentially abusive aspects of state organized sport development programs. In most traditional settings, accepted feminine behaviour would be described as being beautiful, tender, emotional, submissive, obedient, weak, and passive. At the same time, male characteristics would occupy fields of strength, muscles, self-confidence, ambition, power, activity and aggressiveness (Meier, p15, 2005). Even if sport activities are not taking place on a competitive level, such stereotyped preconceptions exist. However, a woman who wants to be successful in sport competition has to demonstrate at least some of those ‘typically male’ attributes (ibid). Trespassing on those culturally and socially defined boundaries means challenging, and in the end, transforming well-protected gender norms.

7.5 Conclusion

The terms “equality” and “equity” are often used as synonyms in everyday speech and common debates, or more precisely “equality” is still often used exclusively, but implicitly representing both meanings (Meier, p8, 2005). The “Montreal Tool-kit” states that “gender equity is the principle and practice of fair and equitable allocation of resources and opportunities for females and males. Gender equity eliminates

discriminatory practices that are barriers to full participation of either gender” (The Montreal Took Kit, 2006).

In recent years, there has been a notable move in the discourse from requesting ‘gender equity in sport’, to pushing ‘sport for gender equity’. “This paradigm change goes beyond ‘including women’ in existing projects. This shift defines gender equity as an objective in sport for development initiatives, rather than simply promoting the participation of women and girls” (Sancar/Sever 2005). This means that special needs of a specific target group, such as adolescent girls, young mothers, orphans, or married women, have to be understood within a cultural context and must be taken into account (Meier, p7, 2005). Therefore, local voices from the South have to be sought out and empowered to play an active role in the WIS movement.

Be it in a more formal or informal manner, development through sport has gained recognition and a place on the agenda of the international community. This has led to numerous projects being implemented at all levels within the sporting community, although much more needs to be done. Although sports development cannot be a universal remedy to solve all the issues of society, nor a priority compared to life-subsistence needs of disadvantaged communities, it can generate many positive effects and be a valuable tool for development. It is both a means and an end in itself (International Olympic Committee, 2006).

According to the IOC, sports development should have a place in a country’s overall national development policy (International Olympic Committee, 2006). The Botswana National Sports Council (BSNC) has created a Vision 2012, which provides guiding principles for the development of sport in the country. This Vision is designed to

align itself with the Botswana Vision 2016¹⁸ national manifesto. Creative and collective solutions by the BNSC's women in sport group, WASBO (Women and Sport Botswana Organization) will be necessary to give women all of the tools necessary to continue their development as individuals for the overall betterment of the country.

¹⁸ Vision 2016 is a statement of long term goals for the people of Botswana to meet the four national principles: Democracy, Development, Self-reliance and Unity. These principles are designed to embrace change and relate to Botswana's current level of development (gov.botswana.com).

CHAPTER 8
WOMEN AND SPORT BOTSWANA ORGANIZATION
(WASBO)

“Women And Sport Botswana has the vision to be a stable, strong, and proactive advocacy body. It wants to influence and direct policy on women and sport in all structures under the BNSC by networking with other stakeholders, and ensuring a high level of participation of women and the girl child in sport and recreation at all levels in a free and non-discriminatory environment”
(WASBO Files, 2005).

The Women and Sport Botswana Organization is a national structure designed to create opportunities to increase the role and participation of women and the girl child in sport through advocacy, awareness, capacity building and national co-operation. WASBO operates under the umbrella of the Botswana National Sports Council (BNSC), which is the governing body responsible for policy coordination and implementation (Department of Sport and Recreation, 2004). WASBO is charged with the policy coordination and implementation with regards to women’s sporting issues and operates as a gender equity ‘watchdog’ over the thirty national sports associations, whose roles are policy implementation for sport development within their respective sports. WASBO also holds an international membership in the women and sports branch of the Supreme Council of Sports for Africa (SCSA).

The Botswana National Sports Council executive secretary, Kitso Kemoeng, has publicly declared that investing in the well-being of women and sport is one way of improving the living conditions in society. "When women are healthier and more active, their chances to contribute to family income, raise stronger and healthier children, and make responsible family planning decisions are enhanced" (Mmegi, March 14, 2005). He continued by saying that "Sport and physical activity also deliver health benefits particularly in the areas of family planning and safer pregnancies and, indeed, deliveries. We need to encourage and promote participation of the women and the girl child at all levels, and strive to eradicate all forms of gender driven discrimination in our sport" (Mmegi, March 14, 2005).

What is extremely interesting about these statements by the Executive Secretary is that they are meant to support equity within sport; however, Mr. Kemoeng actually ends up reinforcing patriarchal Botswana views. He approaches the idea of getting more females involved in sport by stressing their maternal health, and what they can do to become a better mother, and housewife. He is telling females what they can do to be more effective for their men. This is a view that is actually contrary to the empowerment approach. Ironically enough, these statements were made at a Women and Sport Botswana Evaluation Workshop that was held in Gaborone, which was designed to offer the movement a chance for introspection into its activities since WASBO officially launched its revised national strategy in 2004.

8.1 The History of WASBO

In 1994, the people of Botswana were undergoing cultural changes resulting from the judicial reviews taking place based on the pressure applied by the growing women's

movement in Botswana. Because of these changing views, and Emang Basadi victories, the Botswana government sent female Motswana representatives to the very first women and sport conference that took place in Brighton, England. When the representatives returned with new ideas on women in sport, the BNSC formed an interim committee to specifically assess and address the topical issue of women and sports and sports administration as per the 1994 Brighton declaration. Dorcas Makgato was named the interim committee Chair of WASBO.

Dorcas was a first-born Motswana woman who had a long history in sports as both a volleyball athlete and an administrator. She decided at a very early age, after seeing the powerlessness that her mother experienced at the hands of her father due to her limited education, that she was going to be educated, empowered financially, and provide herself with her own opportunities. Dorcas studied and worked abroad in England after completing her high school in Gaborone. She returned to Botswana, and began working in Orapa, eventually making her way back to Gaborone and becoming very involved in sports as a volunteer. She was an excellent choice to spearhead the women and sport movement in Botswana because her self-proclaimed stubbornness would propel her to persevere through any barriers encountered along the way.

Dorcas, together with the interim WASBO committee, held a National Forum that convened in 1997 at one of the finer locations in Gaborone, the Grand Palm Hotel. This Forum comprised stakeholder representatives from government, non-government organizations, BNSC, affiliates, and the community. After this 3 day event, a nationwide tour was undertaken by the substantive elected WASBO committee at Orapa, Letlhakane,

Francistown, Maun, Palapye, Mahalapye, Phikwe, Kanye, Lobatse and Jwaneng. Dorcas has described this as a very comprehensive and exhaustive tour.

Following this thorough consultation at the national level, as well as participation in the Regional and Continental strategy formulation forums, Women and Sport Botswana recommended a strategic plan, which was to be used as the national strategy for the committee. Table 8.1 lists the WASBO aims and objectives found in the strategic document.

Table 8.1 WASBO Aims and Objectives

• Encourage and promote sustainable participation of girls and women at all levels, and abilities in sport for recreation and excellence. Strive to eradicate all discrimination encountered by women in sport • To promote healthier lifestyle and community based participation in sport • To ensure provision of accessible facilities and equipment which are women friendly • To ensure formation of sustainable structures to ensure continuity • To establish a network among all women and stakeholders involved in sport for the purpose of resources sharing, exchange of ideas, skills and information. • Promote and support established sports codes to ensure equity in the allocation of resources • To promote education, mobilization of women in sport through better training and coaching techniques and administration • Encourage, promote, and co-ordinate sport competitions for women at District and National level • To work for the advancement of goodwill, unity, solidarity and peace through the National fellowship of women in sport. • To act as a contact and reference point for National, Regional and International women and sport groups, focusing on international developments on women and sport. • To raise the level of sport consciousness and participation of women and girls in BNSC affiliates and non-affiliates with the aim of promoting equity.

After the national strategy was laid out, a substantive election was held, and as the pioneer in women and sports, Dorcas Makgato was elected as the Chairperson, a post she still holds. Because of the importance the BNSC was placing on women and sports, WASBO fought for the placement of a desk officer to sit within the BNSC. The request

was granted, although the desk officer was also required to look after other specialty associations as well. Veronica Chube was hired, and began her work at the BNSC. Although WASBO started off with gusto, it soon fell into a period of inactivity, which will be discussed further on in this chapter.

8.2 The Re-emergence of WASBO

In 2002, Dorcas attended the 2002 IWG Women and Sport Conference held in Montreal, Canada. At this conference, she made important contacts with an association called Commonwealth Games Canada (CGC). Throughout the conference, the Chairperson of WASBO discussed with the Chairperson of CGC the possibility of receiving a CGC development intern to aid WASBO revive its organization and place further emphasis on women in sport within their country. After nearly a year and a half of further communication and applications, the WASBO request was granted, and a CGC intern was sent to Botswana in September 2003 to begin the process of revitalizing the organization. I was the selected individual who went and lived in Botswana for the full year.

I arrived in Botswana, and began working with the WASBO desk officer at the WASBO offices housed within the BNSC at the National Stadium. After four months of consultation, and research, the WASBO 'Roll-Out Plan'¹⁹ of implementation was finalized and approved for implementation at the end of December 2003. The target dates for the completion of the objectives within the 'Roll-Out Plan' were dated from 2003-2006.

¹⁹ The WASBO Roll-Out Plan can be found in Appendix D.

At the end of December 2003, WASBO created Sub-Committees to aid in the implementation of the 'Roll-Out' Programs²⁰. These were designed to encourage ownership of the programs by the General Membership, which was mostly comprised of Motswana females, although some males also participated in the process. The 7 Sub-Committees were the:

- Policy Committee
- Special Events Committee
- Research Committee
- Leadership Committee
- Marketing and Fundraising Committee
- High Performance Committee
- Workshop Committee

The Sub-Committees began actively meeting and started implementing the 'Roll-Out' Program through their duties. At the beginning of February 2004, WASBO designed and printed 1000 posters with the caption "*Now is the Time! Sports for all*", which included many recognizable Motswana female sporting celebrities adorning the poster. The posters were then distributed to women and men in various regions, and were distributed throughout 2004 to promote female participation in sports.

WASBO had its very first Sensitization workshop in Francistown at the end of February 2004. The Workshop was a success and fulfilled all of the development objectives from the 'Roll-Out Program (i.e. Advocacy and Awareness, Capacity Building, etc.). It attracted more than 110 women and men from different sporting backgrounds. In fact, it went so well that WASBO was able to secure funding to host two more Sensitization workshops before the end of March. The first one was held in

²⁰ The creation of the seven sub-committees was my initiative, and I thought that it would help to create ownership of the 'Roll-Out' Program. This idea worked at the on-set, and began to achieve part of the program objectives, but they eventually stopped meeting. This meant the onus was placed back on the executive committee members, and specifically, the WASBO program desk officers.

Gaborone, and the second one in Maun. At that time, the main aim was to host the major areas of Botswana before the end of 2004.

Also in March, WASBO sent a small delegation of Executive Committee members to the IOC Women and Sport World Conference in Morocco. The International Olympics Federation hosted the Conference and the WASBO delegates came back with many new ideas for Botswana women and sport. In the month of April, WASBO worked in conjunction with the Botswana Sports Volunteers Movement (SVM) and hosted a leadership conference for thirty leaders in influential positions in both Francistown and Maun. The courses were a great success and the attendees learned a lot about leadership during the two weeks.

During the months of September 2003 to April 2004, WASBO had managed to form partnerships and strategic alliances with different countrywide implementing partners. These partners are the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR), the Sports Volunteer Movement (SVM), the Women's Affairs Department, and the National Olympic Committee (BNOC).

At the end of April, the partnership between CGC and WASBO expired because CGC could only provide a development intern for eight months, due to funding. However, at this time, WASBO had become more of a household name commanding increased media attention at its events, and had strengthened its national membership to over 130 members looking to advocate for women and sport. I agreed to volunteer with WASBO in order to accomplish one last event before leaving the organization in local hands²¹.

²¹ I decided to stay in Botswana for an extra four months, and work with WASBO because we had discussed the organization of an international conference in order to dispel sporting myths. Since WASBO

From the months of May until August, WASBO continued to be influential within the nation as it planned and implemented many small initiatives within communities. The major focus of WASBO during this time was the planning of a Regional Conference that was to be held in October 2004²². All of the Southern African countries were invited.

At the beginning of October 2004, WASBO was forced to cancel the International Conference due to the fact that the President of Botswana called the national elections on October 30²³, which was one of the dates of the Conference. The fully planned conference was postponed, and due to the amount of work it would take in order to reschedule all of the attendees, conference hall, presenters, etc. the conference has now been postponed indefinitely.

Although I left WASBO in September 2004, the organization was still supported by a Motswana desk officer to oversee all of the day-to-day affairs of the program. In addition, the Executive Committee, and General membership was still able to continue the implementation of the 'Roll-Out' Plan.

With regards to the conference, the WASBO desk officer felt that it is too big of an undertaking for the organization, and did not want to pursue it anymore, even though the conference was fully endorsed by the executive committee and specifically by the

had gained significant recognition, and I saw how sport was able to make a difference in the lives of the women that we had touched, I decided that I wanted to be further involved on a larger scale by organizing the conference. The option of presenting sport as a development tool on an international level around Sub-Saharan Africa was an opportunity too good to pass up.

²² The Conference theme was "Marketing the Myths: Changing Culture and Systems of Sport." The main aims of the Conference were to share ideas on development of women in the southern African region, to address and dispel the existing myths, and to advocate for change within the women's sporting communities. WASBO had invited speakers from as far away as Canada and Denmark, as well as South Africa, Mozambique and local Botswana speakers. The conference was expected to host 500 Conference delegates and was supposed to be a phenomenal learning experience for all those in attendance. The Conference was completely planned and ready for participant registration by the end of August 2004.

²³ It is country law that nothing else can take place on the date of an election.

Chairperson. After the decision was made to postpone the conference, WASBO remained inactive until February 2005.

In February 2005, the executive committee met for the first time and only four of the elected executive committee members came to the meeting, with an additional interested member also appearing. At the meeting, the committee discussed how to raise funds in order to send a few WASBO representatives to the World Conference in Japan. It was also proposed that two evaluation workshops should be held for the Gaborone membership, representatives of codes and the regional executive committees. The Department of Sports And Recreation had agreed to fund the two workshops. As of the last contact with WASBO, one of these one-day workshops was held in order to consider a “way forward” for WASBO.

The one very bright spot within the organization is that it was funded for the very first time by the BNSC. It has gone from having no budget at all, to being awarded 300,000 Pula (Cdn \$75,000) for the 2005 year based on the WASBO efforts from 2004. The money has remained relatively untouched, as WASBO seems to have become virtually inactive since being awarded the funding.

However, WASBO just recently sent a large group of female representatives to the fourth IWG Women and Sport Conference held in Japan in May, 2006. It is possible that the funding was spent sending the women to participate in the conference, which was a fantastic opportunity to promote further leadership of women through sport in Botswana. In any case, the funds were likely spent on a very small number of women, rather than on actively using the money to help the thousands of women within Botswana. This is unfortunate as all this does is benefit an elite few insiders rather than

addressing grassroots needs, which suggests that feminist principles can also be compromised in practice.

8.3 Probable Reasons For WASBO Inactivity

WASBO is typical of any other non-governmental organization that has to operate on a shoestring budget with overworked volunteer staff and directors. Table 8.2 shows the current members of the WASBO Executive Committee, along with the role they serve on the Committee, their paid employment, and additional volunteer commitments.

Many of the members of the executive committee, who are still active, serve as volunteers elsewhere, are too busy with their own careers, or are still actively involved in playing sports. They do not have the time to dedicate themselves to daily operational tasks in order to create progress for the organization. They are more than capable of creating ideas at meetings and volunteering their time for organized functions, but that is about all the time they have to give. Of course, this is only half the committee, as the other half appears to have dropped out of the organization based on a lack of participation.

That then leaves the job to the paid desk officer. Unfortunately, WASBO is not the only association that she is responsible for, and the other associations appear to have taken up the majority of her time. WASBO is not a priority, and there seems to be a lack of interest and passion for going beyond what the job requirements are.

Table 8.2 The WASBO Executive Committee

NAME	WASBO POSITION	PAID EMPLOYMENT	OTHER VOLUNTEER POSITIONS
Mrs. Dorcas Makgato-Malesu	Chairperson	Director Corporate of Barloworld, an International Company	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairperson of the BNSC • Vice-President of SCSA, Zone 6²⁴ • President of the Technical Commission of SCSA, Zone 6
Ms. Game Mothibi	Secretary General	Teacher, Guidance Counselor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secretary General, Botswana table tennis association • Secretary General, Zone 6 Confederation of table tennis • Member, women's working group of African table tennis federation • Youth Officer, ASRH²⁵
Mrs. Eva Mwila	Finance and Planning *	Manager Position at First National Bank of Botswana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Additional member, BNSC
Mrs. Dorcas Montlane	Representative from SVM	Teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairperson, Botswana Sports Volunteer Movement (SVM)
Ms. Onkemetse Kgotlaetsho	Publicity and Marketing *	Physical Education Teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrator, Botswana Netball Association • Member, SVM
Ms. Mothusi Tseleng	Representative from DSR	Administrator with DSR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unknown
Ms. Tjiyapo Mokobi	Representative from the BNOC	Librarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secretary General, BNOC
Ms. Glenda Moleofi	Additional Member	Physical Education Teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairperson to the President, Botswana Women's Football Association • Football referee, Botswana Football Association
Ms. Veronica Chube	WASBO Desk Officer	BNSC Sports Development Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, SVM • Member, Botswana Karate Association
* denotes inactivity as a WASBO member			

In addition, the Chairperson has expressed that she no longer wants to be involved with WASBO, having publicly stated that the general membership “must elect a new leader. I am due to step down. I believe in leadership, one does not need to stay too long

²⁴ Zone 6 is the region that comprises the 13 most southern countries in Africa. These include: South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Madagascar, Zambia, Malawi, Zambia, and Mauritius.

²⁵ ASRH is an acronym for Adult Sexual Reproductive Health through Sport.

in office as she or he becomes complacent. I believe there are other capable women out there to take over” (Mmegi, March 14, 2005). Even the Executive Secretary of the BNSC is supporting the resignation of Dorcas, stating “Having brought the movement to this level, I challenge [the general membership], as WASBO, to find a replacement for her as leader of this movement with immediate effect” (Mmegi, March 14, 2005). However, WASBO is not necessarily willing to let Dorcas leave the organization without a suitable replacement, and is not actively seeking a replacement either. However, this again means that WASBO, as an organization, is not a priority.

The Roll-Out Program exists with specific plans for a way forward for WASBO. Media attention has been generated over the past few years, and there is significant interest for the program at the national level and within the Districts. There are numerous volunteers willing to donate their time to planned causes and spreading the message of WASBO. However, the program has remained relatively inactive for far too long. There is no one in a paid position with the time, dedication, and creativity to run the program from the inside, and generate events.

This is unfortunate, as the work that WASBO has the potential to do can really empower women in sport, and could directly eliminate gender inequities. As has been previously shown in other chapters, sport has the power to assist in the transformation of a culturally determined male-dominated society like Botswana. In the following chapter, nine phenomenal female athletes give their accounts of how sport has helped them change their lives and make them the people that they are today.

CHAPTER 9

FEMALE ATHLETES IN BOTSWANA: PERSONAL STORIES

Some cultures consider sports and physical education as a vehicle for shaping boys into men who will lead society (Meier, p8, 2005). By this same reasoning, sports and physical education can be used as a tool to shape girls into women who will also lead within society. In this chapter, the personal stories of nine female elite athletes from Botswana are presented. They discuss how they were able to use sports as a tool to help shape who they are both as athletes and as productive individuals within society.

Many of these elite athletes came from rural areas where the gender inequity situation is exacerbated, and they were able to use sport as a means to break free from cultural norms and traditions. Additionally, some of the athletes were able to use their prowess in sport in order to break out of the poverty cycle, and are now able to provide for themselves while being the heads of their households. They are past the point where they require financial help from men, or other family members, and are able to be financially independent.

All of these athletes were born and raised in Botswana, and have similar views about the pre-conceived gender roles, and the gender inequity that exists with Botswana. By using personal examples, these athletes want to share their life experiences to help others understand the plight of so many women in Botswana. These athletes want to pass on their knowledge to these women in order to help them make their lives better. They are keen to share their views about the benefits of sport, and how it can be used as a tool to promote gender equity within their country. Table 9.1 provides a summarized version of the athletes' backgrounds.

Table 9.1 Elite Female Athletes in Botswana

Name	Age	Home Village (s)	Level of Education	Occupation	Sporting Code(s)	Involvement in Sport Outside of Competition
Tsoseletso Nkala	34	Goquintze (r); Maun (r)	Masters in 'Maths'	'Maths' Teacher at 'Maru a Pula', a Private School	Athletics & Volleyball	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coach – Kutlwano Volleyball Club • Committee Member – BNSC • 'Unofficial' Executive Committee Member - WASBO
Game Mothibi	26	Kanye (r)	Post Graduate Diploma in Education	Moral Education Teacher, Guidance Counselor; Government School	Table Tennis (TT)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth Officer – ASRH • Secretary General – Botswana TT Association; Zone 6 Confederation of TT; WASBO • Member – Women's Working Group of the African TT Federation
Lekedzani Bayi	24	Tsebe (r); Pikwe (r); Francistown (u/r)	Honours Degree, Physical Education	Physical Education Teacher, Government School Part-time student at UB, Masters in Physical Education	Athletics; Volleyball	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coach – Kalavango Volleyball Club • Coach – University of Botswana Volleyball • Member – WASBO • Personal Trainer – BNSC national training recreation complex
Goitseone Mongologa	27	Selibe-Pikwe (r)	Post-Graduate Diploma in Education	Moral Education Teacher, Government School	Karate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Sports Volunteer Movement • Member – WASBO
Amantle Montsho	22	Maun (r)	Standard 7 *	Olympic Athlete	Athletics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A – although she plans on becoming more active after the 2008 Olympics
Boikhutso Mudongo	26	Tonata (r); Francistown (u/r)	General Business Diploma	Business Undergraduate Student in Cuba	Chess **	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coach – junior club members • Secretary General – Chess Club • Member, SVM • Member, WASBO
Glenda Moleofi	40	Gaborone (u)	Physical Education Honours Degree	Physical Education Teacher at Westwood International Part-time Masters Student in Physical Education	Football	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairperson – Botswana Women's Football Association • Coach – special Olympics program • Additional Member – WASBO Executive Committee
Mosetsana Tumotumo	24	Palapye (r); Gaborone (u)	Honours Bachelor of Accounts	Bank Management Trainee Program	Volleyball	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member - WASBO
Pelo Maruza	23	Kasane (r); Maun (r); Francistown (u/r)	Honours in Public Administration (ongoing)	Student, University of Botswana	Basketball; Swimming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coach – Club Basketball • Swimming Instructor
(u) denotes urban upbringing; (r) denotes rural upbringing * Canadian equivalent is Grade 7 ** Chess is considered to be a sport under the sporting codes within Botswana						

9.1 Athlete Stories

Tsoseletso Nkala

“Tsosi” is one of the most phenomenal athletes that Botswana has ever seen, regardless of gender. She is a 34 year-old woman who has competed on national teams in both Athletics and Volleyball for over fifteen years. She has competed in over 100 international competitions and traveled to countries all over the world. Her major competitions include the 1994 Commonwealth Games held in Canada, and the 1998 Commonwealth Games held in Malaysia. She has also competed in the World Junior Championships in Canada for Athletics; the World University Games in Spain; many African Cup of Cups for volleyball all over Africa; many African Women’s Cup of Nations all over Africa; and been to countless Zone 6 competitions for both sports around the region. In addition to her role as an athlete, she also coaches the men’s side of her club volleyball team and sits on decision-making committees for the BNSC, where she has been asked to select national team members going to major competitions. Tsosi is also actively involved with the WASBO Executive Committee as a major decision-maker even though she has no official portfolio position.

Tsosi’s hard work and dedication for her country have been recognized on several occasions as she was twice nominated as the Botswana Female Athlete of the Year at the BNSC annual awards; and even once nominated as the Sports person of the Year, where she competed against two men for the title. She has earned the nickname “Scud” from the press and her fellow athletes because of her speed as a runner, and as a description of how fast she hits the volleyball on the court. Even Tsosi will admit that she is not considered an average, normal individual within her culture.

“What I do, it’s not normal. Unfortunately, because of our system, women are not very encouraged. In our culture, women follow what men do, and one or two women are referred to as brave when they take up ideas. Too many women are comfortable with nothing, or very little. There’s not a lot of self-motivation for women to say ‘I’m a sportswoman. I’ve traveled the world.’ Look at women in other countries, and the positions they hold. In Botswana, we’re indirectly looked down upon. But that’s ridiculous. We’re literate enough to be able to stand up and say that this is what we feel, what we think, listen to our ideas” (Nkala, 2005).

Tsosi was not always this outspoken, and actually came from a very desolate existence before sport entered her life. She was born in Goqintze, a very small town in the west of Botswana. Growing up, her family was very poor, and she was sent to live with her aunt and uncle in Maun. Because of her family’s lack of financial resources, Tsosi was consequently shipped around to different relatives to live in order to help lessen the burden on her own parents. Tsosi’s parents are very traditional, and the village life truly upholds conventional culture.

In the rural areas, sport is not considered to be worth anything as it takes time away from the rest of all the daily chores. If Tsosi was caught playing as a young girl, her mother would beat her. It was actually her teachers at her government boarding school that supported and encouraged her love for sport. The first time she tried doing the long jump at a primary school competition, she broke the school record, for both boys and girls, with a jump of 4.5m. Her expatriate coaches began buying her shoes and bringing her on “free trips” to Gaborone to compete in national competitions.

If Tsosi had not played sports, she feels she would be a very different person today. "I would probably have five kids, and maybe even my PhD, you never know. But, what I do know is that I used to be kinda shy, not very vocal, or forthcoming. I didn't really know how to stand up for myself. Now, I can look at somebody and say 'If you don't like me, what I'm doing, then fine... you go your way, and I'll go mine.' I have that confidence now. If I have an idea, I want people to listen to me. Without sports, I wouldn't have enough guts to be an assertive person. I don't think I'd be like that without sports. It gives me that strength" (Nkala, 2005).

Game Mothibi

Game played on the Botswana national table tennis team from 1997-2000, with her biggest competitions taking place around Southern Africa in the Zone 6 Championships. She is still an avid table tennis player, but has also expanded her involvement in sport to the administrator level. Game has been referred to as 'the ultimate sporting volunteer' and will do everything within her power to help whoever is in need. She serves as the Secretary General in the Botswana Table Tennis Association, and also in the Zone 6 Confederation of Table Tennis. She is also involved with the Women's Working Group of the African Table Tennis Federation. During university, Game served the volunteer position of the 'youth officer' for the Adult Sexual Reproductive Health through Sport (ASRH), and traveled the country to educate youth on HIV issues by using sport as a tool. Recently, Game accepted the post of Secretary General for WASBO. She is an extremely giving individual, which can be attributed to the kindness displayed by her parents when she was growing up in Kanye, a village in the southern region of Botswana.

“I’m the fourth daughter of Reverend Mothibi. I’m from a Christian family. My mom is active in a Church in Gaborone. Growing up, we were a middle-to-low income family. It was not easy for my mom to give us everything we wanted. It was hard for her to look after five children, but in any case, she gave us education, and made sure we got other stuff other children were getting. My mom is very responsible. I wanted to be like her and do something for society” (Mothibi, 2005).

Game started playing table tennis because all her family members played the sport, including her mother. “My family had a feel for table tennis. I had a friend who was once the National Champion, so he used to go and teach me to play. Mom was a teacher then, and we used her school’s equipment, so we used to play there” (Mothibi, 2005). Game’s passion in table tennis grew, and she was selected to the national team after she won the BISA National Championships.

Game says that sport has played a very big role in shaping who she is today. If Game had not played sport, she says that her life would have been very different. “Looking at my friends now, they spend plenty of time doing nothing. Every time I have to sit down and think of all the things that I have to do in my volunteer work, and it’s a lot. I think ‘I’m supposed to be doing this for WASBO’, and so on. So I believe if I wasn’t part of this sports fraternity, I think I’d be using my time to hook up with guys, and go to parties. Right now, I don’t drink alcohol. I think because of sport, I haven’t been exposed to any of that and I don’t take pride in drinking alcohol. I might be a rascal if I wasn’t part of sport. A lot of my friends are a part of the sporting world now because I made friends when I got to sport... a lot of them. People in sports are very friendly people” (Mothibi, 2005).

Lekedzani Bayi

'Leke' is one of Botswana's most promising athletes. At the age of 24, she has already competed on the international stage for the Botswana national teams in both athletics and volleyball. Her major competitions in athletics include several Zone 6 championships as a sprinter; and participating numerous times in the COSASA²⁶ games all over southern Africa as a sprinter and long jumper. At the age of 20, Leke switched her specialty to volleyball, and has competed in the 2004 Volleyball World Cup Qualifiers in Egypt; the African Junior volleyball championships in Tunisia; and Zone 6 volleyball championships. Leke also coaches the Kalavango Volleyball Club, and both the men's and women's university teams. She also volunteers as a women's personal trainer at the BNSC's national training facility, and is an active member of WASBO. Her interest in sports has driven her to pursue her Masters degree in physical education, part-time.

Leke was born in Tsebe, but spent the younger part of her childhood in Pikwe because her father worked in a mine in the small mining town. As an engineer, her father was able to support the family; her mother had the full-time job of taking care of the family at home. According to Leke, her mother's situation was not at all unusual for women from a traditional cultural upbringing. "Back in the days, men were taken to school, and women were not. My mom went through that. She passed, but wasn't allowed to go further than that because she was a woman. She had to choose to be married, or stay with her mom and help her out for the rest of her life. Her brothers were taken to school, and they make money. She was married to a man who loved her but he

²⁶ COSASA stands for 'Confederation of Southern African Schools Association'

was so traditional, and didn't allow her to go school. He made her stay and be a house wife" (Bayi, 2005).

This traditional attitude placed their family into an unexpected situation of poverty. In 1996, while Leke's mom was pregnant, her father became ill, and passed away. This made their living situation drastically change, as her father had been the family's breadwinner. They had to move to Francistown so that her mother, who was uneducated, could open up a small tuck shop out of their house. Things that other people might take for granted, such as electricity, running water, etc., were hard to come by, and many times, their family went without, although her mother did the best she could to take care of all of them. However, they all had to learn to take care of themselves as well, and Leke attributes sport to helping her through the tough time.

"Sport has played a very important role in shaping who I am today. I am a very self-determined, intelligent person, who is very confident, and has a lot of self-efficacy. I have the self-confidence that I'm able to go get a goal and achieve and not be afraid like a lot of women in Botswana. Because of our cultural background, they are not confident enough to go there and get what they want because they're still restricted by our culture. As you get into sport, it's one aspect that takes you out of the culture and puts you into a different dimension where you are able to look at yourself as an individual, not as how you should be perceived in a certain society. Sport actually takes out all the rules that bind people, and doesn't make them confident. It made me see myself as an independent woman who can be able to make a difference in the world" (Bayi, 2005).

Goitseone Mongologa

Goitseone Mongologa is an extremely accomplished national team athlete. Her sport is karate, and she has established herself as one of the top competitors in the world. Her very first international competition was at the age of seventeen, when she traveled to South Africa for the World Cup of karate. A decade later she is still competing on the international stage. Her major competitions include the 1999 All African Games in South Africa; 2001 All African Games in Madagascar; 2003 All Africa Games; the 2003 Commonwealth Games in England; the 2004 Africa Cup in Durban; and the 2004 World Cup in Mexico.

All of Goitseone's hard work has been noticed by her country as she has been nominated for the BNSC female athlete of the year four times, and has actually won the award in both 1999, and 2003. In addition to her role as an athlete within karate, she also coaches karate for students in high school. She has also been involved as a volunteer with both the Botswana SVM, and WASBO. When Goitseone is not participating in sports, she teaches moral education in a government school located just outside of Gaborone.

Goitseone grew up in the village of Selibwe-Pikwe, along with her eight brothers and sisters. "My father... we were not well off. Where I grew up, we were 9 children all living in the same room. It was very difficult. My parents broke up when I was in Standard 5 or 6. We just all lived with our father – he gave us food to eat. My mom is around – it's like if you meet them, you would not think that they are separated – they are just two friends. My father made all the decisions in the household. My mom just comes and checks on us every time. When they were together, my Dad controlled the finances

of the household because my mom wasn't working then – she's still not working” (Mongologa, 2005).

Goitseone is the third-born in her family, and so far is the only one of her siblings to attend University. However, she can easily attribute this fact to her involvement in sports. After joining karate, Goitseone's life drastically changed for the better. “Karate helped me a lot. After joining the national team, I began taking care of myself, not being dependant on my parents, and it helped me to grow up” (Mongologa, 2005). Sport has helped Goitseone achieve more with her life than she ever thought was possible, and she would like to encourage young girls to use sports to give themselves a chance as well.

Amantle Montsho

Amantle Montsho is Botswana's very first female Olympic athlete. Her event is the 400m sprint, and she has been running with the senior national team since 2002. Her major competitions include the 2006 Australian Commonwealth Games; 2005 Zone 6 Games in Namibia; 2004 Greece Olympics; 2004 Africa Senior Championships in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and the 2004 Zone 6 Games in South Africa.

Amantle grew up in Maun with her mother, father, and three sisters. Her mom works in a hotel, and her dad works in supplies. Their family was able to survive off the money that her parents made, but they did not have luxuries in their lives. Amantle went to primary school, and then ended in junior school. She did not go to senior school because she failed her courses. Without running, Amantle feels that she would be like her older sister doing nothing but helping her mother at home.

Other than training for the national team, Amantle does not work in any type of paid employment. She is given money by the national team when she is 'on camp' and

this helps support her family when she returns home to Maun. She sees what her life would be like if she did not play sports, and is happy that she has been given this opportunity. Her family has never traveled outside of Botswana, and Amantle knows that she never would have either if it were not for sports.

Sports have given her the confidence and desire to go back to school or get a job to help her grow up and become an adult. She says that it feels good to have this type of confidence. Even when other women in Botswana tell her that she looks like a guy because she has 'big muscles', she does not care because she is not living for them. She is living for her sport, and her training helps her run faster. Amantle has not seen another girl that looks like her in Botswana, but when she travels, she sees other women from the United States, or South Africa that look like her. "In the United States, there are many girls who have muscles, and nobody tells them that they look like guys, because there are so many of them that look that way. It's normal, I'm normal. My parents are proud of me and I like who I am" (Montle, 2005).

Boikhutso Mudongo

Boikhutso Mudongo is a 26 year-old business student on a BNSC sponsored sports scholarship at a university in Cuba. She is also an international chess player who has been granted the title of FIDE Master²⁷, with the high hopes of becoming a Grand Master some day. Her major competitions include the 1998 33rd Chess Olympiad in Russia; the 2000 Zonals where she was awarded her title; the 2000 34th Chess Olympiad in Turkey; the 2001 Africa Individual Chess Championships in Egypt; the 2002 35th Chess Olympiad in Slovenia; the 2003 All Africa Games in Nigeria; the 2004 36th Chess

²⁷ In Chess, there are different titles awarded to individuals once they hit a certain ranking among other chess competitors. The rankings are "FIDE Master"; "International Master"; and "Grand Master".

Olympiad in Spain; and the 37th Chess Olympiad in Italy. In 2002, Boikhutso was named the Botswana Sportswoman of the Year at the BNSC/Barloworld National sporting awards.

Mudongo was born in Francistown²⁸, but grew up in Tonata, a very rural village in Botswana. When she was quite young, both of her parents were working, so her family had all the basic necessities to survive, but they were definitely not a rich family. In 1990, when Boikhutso was still quite young, her parents divorced. Her whole family moved to Tonata with her mom to live with her grandmother. During the weekday, she would go to government school, and on the weekends, she would go to her grandmother's cattle post to help plough and take care of the livestock. Her mom started making all of the family decisions as she was the only authority figure in their lives. She would take care of them, and worked as a farmer to support their family.

Mudongo started playing chess in 1993, and was introduced to the game by her brother, who had learned it in the army. At junior school, she really started playing seriously, as she had finally found something in her life that really motivated her to work hard, and was really supported by her uncle. Boikhutso feels that chess has contributed greatly to her life. She feels that youngsters nowadays are spending most of their time with bad habits, like drinking and smoking. Boikhutso does neither, and says that "Thanks to chess, I grew up differently from other teenagers. Without chess, I would be doing nothing" (Mudongo, 2005).

When Boikutso graduates from school, she plans on being independent and supporting herself. She eventually wants to get married and have kids, but she will not 'need' to have a partner in order to survive. She feels that sport has greatly contributed to

²⁸ Francistown is the second largest city in Botswana. Its population is about 60,000 people.

that independence, especially if she compares herself to other females in her culture. “Sports can make a difference for young girls, as it’s made a huge difference in my life” (Mudongo, 2005).

Glenda Moleofi

Glenda is one of the pioneers of women’s soccer as both a player, and an official, in Botswana. “Soccer for women only started back in 1997, and I’ve been involved in soccer since it started... in fact, I was with those who helped it to start. As time went on, we found that we were not allocated qualified referees for our games. And then, there was a soccer officiating course that was run by the UK Association. I attended this course, and became a soccer referee” (Moleofi, 2005).

In 1999, the same year she was accredited as a FIFA referee, because of her hard work, quick progress, and dedication as a soccer official, she was awarded the “Best Referee’s Award” at the national BNSC sports awards. She was also awarded a trip to the United States in 2003 to attend the Women’s Football World Cup Symposium and she had the opportunity to watch the final game. Recently, she received the ‘American Ambassador’s Award’ – they call it the Vanguard Award – which is presented to females for being in sports, and for being a role model.

Outside of her role as an active football athlete, and official, Glenda has also been involved in women’s football as the Chairperson of women’s football. Additionally, Glenda sits on the WASBO Executive Committee as an additional member, and has actively supported Botswana’s Special Olympics movement. Glenda has been involved with sports for as long as she can remember.

“I grew up as a tomboy. I used to put on my brothers’ clothes, make wire cars, and play marbles with them [her brothers]. I grew up playing with boys. That is how I came to be involved in sports. Especially, these sports traditionally known as men’s sports. I used to take part in Athletics in school” (Moleofi, 2005). Glenda had a bit of a different upbringing though as she grew up in Gaborone. “I did my primary and secondary in Gaborone. And then, I did my Cambridge²⁹ in Lesotho³⁰. When I got there, I was the only Motswana playing sports such as netball... and I was running with boys – long distance running” (Moleofi, 2005).

Although Glenda was very encouraged by her parents to play sports; she acknowledges that there is still a lot of cultural resistance to sports. “I think it’s not good that people resist sports because of culture. People need to be educated. Parents need to be educated. The government needs to take the initiative to educate Batswana and to let them have the light. Our government is not supporting sports at all – so there’s that belief that sports is just play, that it’s a waste of time. If people can have that light – they can know that sport is life – they can move away from that cultural barrier” (Moleofi, 2005).

Mosetsana Tumotumo

Mosetsana Tumotumo is a 24 year-old national team volleyball player who has competed in the U19 African Volleyball Championships in Tunisia. She is also the ‘Setter’ on the best club team in the country, and has traveled to numerous club tournaments. She recently graduated from the University of Botswana with a Bachelor of Accounts, and aspires to be a Head Accountant with one of the big banks.

²⁹ The Cambridge Overseas Higher School Certificate represents the equivalent of completing high school in North America

³⁰ Lesotho is a small country to the south of Botswana, located around the Drakensberg mountains, surrounded by South Africa.

Mosetsana was born in the village of Palapye, and spent most of her life living in the village, although she did some schooling in Gaborone, when she went to live with her cousins. A huge emphasis on education was always placed on Mosetsana as both her parents both worked within the education system. Her mother was a teacher, and her father used to be the Head of a primary school around Palapye. Mosetsana has a traditionally large family with seven siblings. She has two older sisters, and an older brother, who all work in mines in Botswana. “Compared to other families out there, we were just an okay family. Everything I needed I got. I never had to struggle to get something. Not that we were well off, but everybody got what they wanted. We never had to struggle to get food. We never had to struggle to do a lot of things. In villages like Palapye, things like TV, we had those, we had all the basic things – maybe if you wanted something that was out of your mind, then they wouldn’t give it to you. But all the basic things we were supposed to have, I had” (Tumotumo, 2005).

Mosetsana’s love for sport can be credited to her education in Gaborone, as she was forced to join sports at English medium school, and her parental support. “My parents never had any problems with their kids playing sport. They always encouraged us to go and play soccer, and volleyball. They would tell us stories about how they used to be the best and that we should learn from that” (Tumotumo, 2005).

Sports have played a very important role in Mosetsana’s life. “Sports has molded me into the person that I am. When you play sport, you’re able to control your feelings. When you’re in a game, there is a lot of emotions – feelings that change from this to that – it teaches you how to handle yourself. And it keeps you busy. You don’t do all these other time wasting things like smoking, excessive drinking. For me, it has helped me a

lot. I've never imagined myself without sport. Because ever since I was young, I've always seen myself as somebody who loved sport. Yes, sport makes me a healthier person. I have confidence in my body because of sport. All the compliments I get every day are because of sport" (Tumotumo, 2005).

Pelo Maruza

Pelo Maruza is a 23 year-old public administration student at the University of Botswana (UB). She is also a member of the Botswana National Basketball team, and swims with the Botswana Swimming Association, which is trying to develop into a National team. With the National Basketball team, Pelo has traveled to South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Lesotho for Zone 6 Basketball international competitions, and to the Zone 6 University Games. On her club team, Pelo is the Manager and sometimes acts in the role of the coach.

Pelo had a very interesting childhood. She grew up all over Botswana. She started off her primary school in Kasane, a small village up north, and then moved to Maun, which is where her mom still lives now. Then, she moved to Francistown to attend private high school, and then came to Gaborone for University. Pelo is the only child, as her biological father left their family when her mom was two months pregnant.

"Lots of people raised me. Because of the family situation, my mother left to find work in 1982. From when I was young, I grew up in the cattle post; and I grew up with my great Aunt and great Grandmother. When I was of age, I went to Kasane and lived with my mom, and her sister – with extended family. Then, my mom took me and raised me, still with the help of my extended family. I grew up in a situation of poverty"

(Maruza, 2005). Pelo's mom then met her future husband, and things changed within her family.

"My step-father is white; he's from England. Basically, we lived the type of life that accommodated him. We had to have a car, and I was sent to a private school. According to the society, we are now one of the elite. My mom was always struggling before she met my Dad. Well, we have cattle, and fortunately for me, her older siblings all had jobs, and we stayed around their homesteads. But, when she met my Dad, she didn't really need to concentrate on making her own wealth. People still see him as rich, even though he's not" (Maruza, 2005).

"I come from a life with a very strong backbone – and sport has really helped me that way. Helped me keep fit, meet a lot of people, appreciate things, see things in a different way, more practical, and with education. I started when I was young, now I have a lot of involvement in sports – it is my life. Without sport, my life would be terrible" (Maruza, 2005).

9.2 Existing Pre-conceived Gender Roles in Botswana Culture

All of the athletes interviewed feel that there are substantial gender discrepancies that exist in Botswana culture. "There are a whole lot of cultural things that exist in Botswana. Up until only ten years ago, women who were married to foreigners were not allowed to pass along their Botswana citizenship. It was all up to the lawyer, Unity Dow, who fought for women's rights and now the Botswana citizenship can be passed along through the mother or the father. But there's so much more than that. When we talk about physical labour, it is culturally made for men. Girls don't herd cattle, and they don't chop wood because it is taboo" (Nkala, 2005).

Boikhutso feels that in the Botswana culture, it is known that the man is the head of the family. The only work that women did was for their family, to look after children, and do housework. In Botswana culture, the father does not have much of a role in raising the children. “Mothers want girls to focus on the kitchen, and house cleaning. The boys are encouraged to go to the cattle posts, and garden with the father” (Mudongo, 2005). Another athlete echoed this sentiment by saying that “Culturally, a woman was taken as the first child of the husband, not the husband’s equal. That’s how I grew up. I learnt that a woman was not equal to the husband – they were equal to the children, but the first child of the husband. Obviously, this didn’t give women a chance to make any major decisions about the family. I remember when I was young, and I wanted something, and I’d ask my mom, she’d say ‘Ah, go and ask your Daddy.’ Something simple, she can’t do that. If your Daddy said yes, then she could provide it... she can help you with that particular thing” (Tumotumo, 2005).

Outside of the household, gender inequity exists when it comes to power and decision-making positions as well. “Men can get better posts than women. When I look outside, I can see that there’s not fairness. There is an equity issue here. More guys are highly educated than women, and this is a problem. In some cases, you find teachers... there was a case where a teacher got a student pregnant; but there was a lack of evidence, and it worked out a lot better for him, because most of the students were from poor families and he got away with it. Back to the issue of guys, they do get away with more and they get more” (Maruza, 2005).

All of the athletes agree that the gender inequity situation is exacerbated in the rural areas of Botswana. “I know for a fact that things in villages are still very difficult

for women. If I can give an example: I used to visit some place in Bakalape – a place around Francistown – and the old man there had 3 wives. Between the three families, he managed to give only one wife attention, and he doesn't care about the other two. And they are not even supposed to complain, and they know they're not supposed to complain. They're not supposed to ask where their husband is. It's in them, that they have to wait for him. But it doesn't work that way for women. They are definitely not allowed to be married to three husbands. But a man can marry as many as he wants" (Mothibi, 2005).

All of the athletes agree that women are oppressed, and many feel this is because of the way that they are socialized. The deeply rooted culture has augmented women's inferior status within society. "Because of how they're socialized, women don't even have the courage to say 'I'm here, I can do this', or 'No, don't do this.' Or they don't sit down with their husband and decide together which house to buy, or which car to buy. I believe because of the way we are socialized, we don't even take ourselves forward and say 'No, I want to be part of this, I want to be part of the decisions. I'm part of this family; you're not the only head of the family. We are head of the family together because we have children'" (Tumotumo, 2005).

Pelo Maruza feels this is because men are taught from a young age that they must work hard because they have to bring money into the household to survive. She wonders what would happen if women were told that as well, and theorizes that it might change the way that they are (Maruza, 2005).

9.3 Existing Pre-conceived Gender Roles in Botswana Sport

The gender inequity situation is further emphasized in the sporting world. “In sport, there are definitely gender roles – women should be a certain way and men should be another – definitely here in Bots. The small boys are encouraged to play sports, while the small girls do not have as much interest as the small boys. If the father participates in sport, they will take the boys to the sport, rather than the girls (Mongologa, 2005).

Tsosi remembers that when she was a child attending primary school, girls were only allowed to run up to 400 metres in athletic competitions. They were not allowed to run beyond that because they were girls, and it was not possible for them to run for that long. She remembers the reaction of Batswana when the first Motswana woman, Dorothy Jensen, ran a marathon in 1990. “The whole nation was shocked. She had done something completely against our culture” (Nkala, 2005). Game remembers that in her physical education class, the girls were made to play netball, and the boys were made to play football. There was no choice in the matter (Mothibi, 2005).

Amantle, Botswana’s first female Olympic athlete feels that there are definitely differences between the way that men and women are treated in the sporting world. She feels that the women are constantly told to be serious, while the men are just expected to be serious on their own. “Bobby, [her national team coach] tells me to be serious, not to look at guys – and I don’t. But I haven’t ever heard him tell guys not to look at women” (Montsho, 2005).

Tsosi brought up a good point that this phenomenon is not just experienced within her own country. “We’re not the only ones that do this. Let’s look at the International Olympic Committee. The triple jump was only introduced for women at the last

Olympics in 2004. How long has it been around for men? There are lots of sports that are like this on the international stage. There are always cultural aspects that separate gender. Women can only go so far, while men can go all the way.”

9.4 Changing Culture

All of the athletes unanimously agreed that gender inequity exists within Botswana, but that their culture was slowly changing. There were two generic reasons for this change in culture. The first reason is because culture is dynamic, and ever-changing, especially because of international influence. “We’re now living in a world where there are a lot of other people coming in, influencing how we behave, maybe the way we are educated now, it tells us that this is what should happen nowadays. In a country like ours, there are a lot of people coming in from outside, and they somehow influence the way you view other aspects of life, and give you a choice between what you had and what they have, and you weigh and compare between the two and you feel, okay now, this is much better than the one that we have. The culture that I was always brought up to learn, it’s good. But sometimes, you just weigh and pick the one you feel is good for you, and suitable for you and people around you. Basically, it’s changing because of the introduction of people, the interaction of the country with other countries, the level of education people are getting” (Tumotumo, 2005).

This influx of people into Botswana has also encouraged a more affluent lifestyle, and when only one partner is working, it is not enough to support the family. This has created a culture that is starting to rely more on a two-person working household, especially in urban Botswana. “In the villages, life is very slow, and it’s easy to get food. In order to survive, you do not really need money if you have cows because you can

plow, and get milk. Life in the city is very fast, and the work is very hard and difficult in comparison. You need lots of money to survive. Also, more women are single and independent in the cities. The women have to work to support their families” (Mudongo, 2005).

Lekedzani agrees that the culture dictates that there were very specific roles for women and for men, and that this still exists in the village. However, she feels that women in the urban setting are starting to work for themselves, and are able to take care of themselves. She feels that women are asserting their independence (Bayi, 2005). Game feels this has a lot to do with women changing their attitudes, and believing that they are just as capable as men to work in fields traditionally designated for men. She also feels that the changing culture has encouraged men to seek out positions in fields that are traditionally associated with women as well (Mothibi, 2005).

As female athletes, all of the interviewed individuals have sought a role within society that is traditionally considered to be a field with a dominant male influence. They are all in the privileged position of being financially independent and attribute the influence of sport to contributing to their autonomy. “I make my own decisions. I don’t feel well off, as such – but my life is stable. I’m able to pay my bills, not asking for any other person to pay for my stuff. I can do everything for myself. Sport has greatly helped in this lifestyle” (Mongologa, 2005).

9.5 The Benefits of Sport

All of the athletes were very eager to express the multiple benefits that they had received from being involved in sport. “From my personal experience, sport can do a lot! Sport builds your character, and brings out a lot of things you never knew existed. It

brings out the 'you' that can stand out in front of a crowd and say 'I don't like it' or 'This is what I believe' and 'We're equal and you should listen to me.' When kids start getting involved in sport, they almost automatically take over the leadership of whatever club or society that they're involved in, because they're basically the same people that run the club. Right then and there, they're already groomed to say 'no' to this, or 'yes' to that – if you agree, say yes, if not, say no. If most of our youth were going into sport, we'd actually be building strong characters and people who can say 'let's go this way' – people who can speak their mind and have confidence" (Nkala, 2005).

Boikhutso agrees that sport has helped her to achieve more confidence and strength. Because of the doors that sport has opened for her, she now has the courage to travel outside of her country by herself. "Most people in Botswana, let alone women, don't travel outside of this country. Sport has opened the door to a world outside of Botswana, and I want to keep traveling" (Mudongo, 2005).

In addition to an increased sense of confidence, many of the athletes felt that their academic prowess can be directly attributed to sport as well. "It took a lot of dedication, commitment and determination to be on the National Team – it was always my goal. It's always been every athlete's goal, but it was definitely my goal. And I did everything, trained hard, and put so much into it, so I could achieve that goal to be a national team athlete. I trained a lot, put my mind to it, and I was eager to learn from the various people that coached me and taught me to achieve in sport. I was able to take what I learnt through sport, and transfer it to my studies. And now I'm doing my Masters" (Bayi, 2005).

Mosetsana agrees that sport has helped her academic career because it keeps her so busy that she has had to develop good time management skills. “As an athlete, you have to tackle the training, school, the social time, the interaction. I haven’t been flunking. Most of the people you see who don’t play sport, they flunk a lot because they have a lot of time to do nothing, and you know, when you have a lot of time, and you’re just sitting there, you do a lot of things, and forget the whole reason you’re in school. But because of volleyball, I’ll think ‘Oh, I’ve missed a lot’. I study and study until I feel I’ve covered enough. That’s been helpful to me” (Tumotumo, 2005).

In addition to the direct benefits that sport provides, it has also served as an effective deterrent for the female athletes. According to Boikhutso, “If you can encourage more girls to come play sports, it will reduce pregnancy. When you look at girls who get pregnant, it is because they have nothing keeping them busy. If you have something to keep you busy, you don’t have much time for boys. And even if you have a boyfriend, then you don’t have time for them. Just ask my boyfriend, he says he suffers” (Mudongo, 2005).

Lekedzani agrees that sport has the ability to keep females from getting pregnant by comparing it to her own experience. “I have no children, which is my choice. I can say that sport did have an impact on that decision. When I’m involved in sports, it’s a busy life, and I don’t think about a lot of things. The national team and competitive clubs take me to different things. My focus can’t be on kids. It’s on being the best that I can be. Sports had an influence on me not having kids at an early age. Some of my friends have kids at an early age, and I’m like ‘Wow!’ Because I’m involved in something special, I don’t want a kid yet, but there will be a time when I want kids” (Bayi).

Many of the athletes have also indicated that sport is a deterrent from doing drugs, smoking, and drinking alcohol. It provides a venue that encourages a healthier lifestyle. “My age mates – they are involved in things that have ruined their lives – like alcohol – most especially, alcohol. So really sports have shaped my life. Because even now, at the age of forty, I train a lot. If I don’t train, I don’t feel well. Because I enjoy health and wellness – it gives me pleasure – I train three or four times a week. Most of my friends have gained weight and think that I haven’t. When somebody asks me how old I am – I tell them I’m 29 – I feel very young” (Moleofi, 2005).

9.6 Encouraging Girls to Participate in Sport

Every single athlete fully believes in the power of sport to make a difference in the lives of everyone, and especially women. They all wanted to give personal messages in order to convince small girls to become involved in sport. Whether it is at an elite level, or just for fun and recreation, they all felt that sport was extremely important to the healthy development of small girls.

Even though each individual athlete specializes within one sporting Code, they all said that it did not matter which sport someone got involved in. It is the nature of sport, and the benefits derived from playing any sport that will provide girls with the advantage in Botswana society. Whatever their motivation needs to be, girls should be involved in sport.

“I would tell small girls to join any sport – not necessarily karate – but to join any other sport, and enjoy the life there. Sports keep you away from these other behaviours like drinking, too much alcohol, and smoking. If more women were given a chance

within sport, they would go out and further their education, and improve their lives” (Mongolova, 2005).

Even if there is opposition from the culture, from friends, or even from family, all of the athletes feel that girls should persevere in their ambition to be involved in sport. “I would really encourage young girls to play sports. When I was in senior school, a lot of people were telling me I’m wasting my time playing, because I always had training after school. But at the end of the day, you’d find I excelled more than people who are just sitting there. At 5pm, they go home, watch TV, whatever. I’d really tell girls if they are passionate about sports, I’d tell them to go for it. At the end of the day, sports can open up your mind. You know, when you’re from training, you’re able to study, you can do a lot of things, and you can satisfy lots of things. You become healthy, and have good physical fitness. There are just some people who are interested... if you’re interested, go for it” (Tumotumo, 2005).

CHAPTER 10
SUGGESTIONS FOR USING SPORT AS A TOOL
TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUITY

In recent years, there has been a notable move in the discourse from requesting ‘gender equity in sport’, to pushing ‘sport for gender equity’. This paradigm change still includes women in existing projects, but also goes beyond. This shift defines gender equity as an objective in sport for development initiatives, rather than simply promoting the participation of women and girls (Sancar/Sever 2005). This report has shown that sport - from play and physical activity to organized and competitive sport - is a powerful and cost-effective way to support gender equity objectives.

The many benefits of sport and physical activity are not only enjoyed by the individual, but felt throughout society. Therefore, there is a crucial need for the Botswana government, non-governmental feminist organizations, and concerned stakeholders to integrate sport and physical activity into policies and programs across a range of sectors. These include health, education, and economic and social development. By promoting sport in a strategic, systematic and coherent way, the potential of sport as a tool for gender equity can be realized (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p21, 2005).

When sport is used as an instrument for gender equity, it must be implemented in a way that is culturally relevant, which is why it is important to heed the suggestions of local knowledge. Specific socio-cultural and socio-economic parameters have to be taken into account, including the access to and control over resources, dynamics of power, and different gender roles (Meier, p8, 2005). Sports programs must be based upon the “sport for all” model, ensuring that all groups are given the opportunity to

participate, particularly those who gain additional benefits, such as women. Sports programs must also be designed explicitly to draw out the core skills and values that can be learned through sport (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p21, 2005).

10.1 Changing Policy

Securing the Botswana government leadership is essential to ensure that sport and physical education are incorporated into country development policies and agendas. Governmental commitment is also crucial to ensuring that the root causes of the issues that challenge human development are addressed, and sport is used as one of the tools for that (Toolkit Sport for Development, 2006).

Currently in Botswana, the Department of Sport and Recreation's (DSR) activities, actions, and thoughts are influenced by the policy of sport and recreation. According to the Director of DSR, the department is promoting the policy, and making sure that their key strategic partners are involved in the process. The DSR policy recognizes that in order to guarantee mass participation in sport, the role of women must be defined, and everybody must be included. "For us as a government, you see that by investing in sport then we all benefit. When people are fit, sport impacts on productivity; it promotes physical, mental and spiritual health" (Dladla, 2005).

The Botswana National Sports Council (BNSC) has the role of facilitator between policy and implementation for all of the thirty sporting associations within Botswana. When interviewed, the Executive Secretary of the BNSC suggested that the only way to change policy within the sporting associations is to encourage the affiliates to rehabilitate their constitutions to accommodate women, and also to be receptive to innovative activities. However, according to Veronice Chube, the WASBO program officer, "It's

not enough. WASBO has a policy that can be recognized by everyone – the Roll-Out Program and the Strategic Plan – those are in place. But there must be something very concrete that is endorsed by the government and the affiliate stakeholders for it to work. There is some inclusion in the DSR policy, but it's not enough" (Chube, 2005).

WASBO should call upon all of the governing sport bodies within Botswana to take into consideration the issue of gender equity in all their policies, programs, and procedures. They need to recognize the special requirements of women so that they may play a full and active role within sport.

10.1.1 Changing the Mindset of the Political Sector

According to one of the athletes interviewed, the BNSC is a "toothless tiger" when it comes to improving women's development. "It's there, it's scary (because it can withhold funding if a Code does not measure up to expectations), but it's harmless (because it rarely exercises the right to withhold funding). It doesn't do anything. It's not even pushing the various codes to say 'why aren't there a lot of women?' Why do we need international organizations to point out that we don't have a lot of women in sport? It is only recently that they got a development officer that actually sees that there's a problem. If you want women in sport, you have to reduce your expectations in order to get them involved in the first place; and from there, they will learn and grow. We still need development. We need programs designed to get women involved. BNSC is not pushing this at all. Why are they okay with national teams only having men? Are women incapable? Or are they just not pushing this" (Female athlete, 2006)?

This athlete stipulates that the BNSC is not pushing more female involvement because it is led by a lot of males, many of whom are not even qualified. She laments the

fact that she cannot apply to BNSC for positions because they are already occupied by unqualified people. Mr. Kemeong defended the organization by indicating that the current Chairperson is a woman, although she is not involved in the everyday running of the BNSC.

The Executive Secretary also emphasized that there were only about 3 or 4 sporting codes, based on tradition, which would be uniquely for men. These include boxing, rugby, motorsport, and football. When asked about the openness of the BNSC to include females in traditionally male sporting codes, Mr. Kemeong indicated that the BNSC was open to that idea. "Some men codes like football come to us to say, 'We want to have a women sector'. We are open to that. We don't say 'Hey, stop it, football is not for women'. We do have ladies' softball; we do have bowling, ladies golf, so we are supportive to the creation of women's structures to ensure they are accommodated in the sporting sector" (Kemeong, 2005).

Mr. Kemeong went on to explain how the BSNC has opened up to the idea, and let it happen. "Football started without women and we brought women into the process and they are allowed to take part. And I guess even though I wasn't here at that time, soccer started with men only, and it was allowed to happen. It's the democratic way. If women decided that they wanted to play rugby, I don't think that it's for us to step in the way. What we may need to do is create a letting environment to let them play rugby, to ensure that rugby is not as dangerous to them as it is to men. To ensure that rules are in place to make women's rugby equitable to men's rugby" (Kemeong, 2005).

Why is it then that a female athlete's perspective is so different from a male administrator's perspective? Perhaps it is because the mindset of the BNSC is changing

along with its policy, but that paradigm change has not trickled down to all of the affiliates yet. Or, as another athlete has suggested, the Affiliates do not feel the pressure to change their mindset because WASBO is positioned equivalent to the Affiliates, under the branch of the BNSC. The Affiliates are under no obligation to adhere to any of the proposals set forth from WASBO's agenda.

"WASBO should be positioned where it can influence right from the top. I'm not saying it should be part of any Ministry because it should still be a sub-structure, but not under the BNSC. Right now, WASBO does not make decisions, we make recommendations. As much as we all know that we have a problem here – we're not getting enough women involved in sport – both competitively, and especially in managerial or leadership positions. BNSC knows there's a problem, Affiliates know it's a problem and everybody is really trying to get women involved. The problem with WASBO being where it is under BNSC is that your position influences how people see you. The Affiliates don't have to listen to WASBO – they only have to listen to the BNSC. However, if WASBO was above the BNSC, not necessarily making decisions for them, but providing recommendations that holds some weight. If the message is coming directly from the Chairperson, then the Affiliates are much more likely to listen" (Nkala, 2005).

Seeing as how DSR and the BNSC appear to be supportive of gender equity initiatives, it is really up to the Affiliates to start implementing the policy and strategic plan. The recommendation is to give WASBO more power to actually influence the mindset of the Affiliate structure so that gender equity is more of a focus within sport.

10.2 Changing Culture

Mr. Kemeong admits that Botswana culture considers women to be a delicate species that has to be handled in a certain way, and that women have to dress in a particular way. He points out that modern sport demands that women dress in a way that is different from the cultural expectations in Botswana. He insists that trying to bring down the cultural barriers and misconceptions for both female athletes, and on those supporting female athletes are the biggest challenges that the BNSC faces (Kemeong, 2005).

An interesting dilemma that female athletes additionally face is the fact that the Director of Botswana's sport and recreation program shares the traditional cultural views of many other individuals within Botswana. "Culture is built within us. We know that women play the important roles of being 'managers of the home'. They are the Ministers of Home Affairs, which is similar to our Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. That's precisely what women do. They take care of the home, the children, the house chores, the finer details of running a home - including the budget - it's an immense responsibility. The men, on the other hand, perform the role that is similar to Foreign Affairs. We are more interested in doing work outside the home. But the work outside and inside the home is equally important" (Dladla, 2005).

It is positive that Mr. Dladla recognizes that the work done within the home is just as important as the work done outside of the home, but it is interesting to note that he fully believes that these pre-defined roles encompass the lives of females and males. This is especially intriguing as Mr. Dladla is in charge of the national sporting policy, which affects the role of both men and women within sports.

Mr. Dladla's attitude lends support to Meier's suggestion that it is important to make a point to include local authorities, parents and boys in order to change common attitudes towards girls. Just by promoting female sport and by encouraging girls and women to be physically active, gender norms are already challenged (Meier, p8-10, 2005). It is imperative that sports programs both in and out of school include all people and ensure equal opportunity to participate regardless of gender, ethnicity or ability (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p9, 2005).

Dr. Akpata, the Director of Athletics at the University of Botswana, wonders why sport seems to be enjoyed by only a select group. He questions why more women are not getting involved, as it does provide so many benefits. He suggests that if sport were considered to be as much a part of Botswana culture as cooking, dancing, and singing, then many others would get involved, reducing the issue of gender equity within sport. "We should do sport because it's a way of life. You go to read when you're in school – for example music, or arts – you don't do it just because you're going to become a musician or a painter. You might become those things, but you do it because it's part of the culture, and tradition of the people. I look at sports from that same perspective – sports should be the way of life for a group of people. Yes, there are tons of benefits – health, inclusion, social awareness, interaction – we get that, but if we look at it as part of life, as something that every nation should do, it would mean more to people who take part in this. In certain cultures, which I will refer to as 'physical cultures', you have to go out and exercise with sports. If its part of the way of the people, I'm sure it would include everyone" (Akpata, 2005). Saavedra suggests linking sporting opportunities with

other activities, such as music and literacy programs, visits to health clinics, market days, etc., in order to help integrate sports into the culture (2006).

To take it even one step further in challenging culture, the sport and development organization has suggested having a female coach or referee for male or mixed-sex groups in order to imply that women are capable and familiar with a male-dominated field. Furthermore, mixed-sex sports activities may provide males with an opportunity to witness the skills of talented female players, thus enabling them to challenge dominant stereotypes regarding the capacities of women and girls (International Platform on Sport and Development, 2006b). Glenda Moleofi, Botswana's first female referee, is a great example of a woman that impressed men by placing herself in their world.

In order to include as many individuals as possible in sports and games, the nature of activity has to be adapted to the needs of targeted participants, based on the constrictions of their environment. This might mean introducing alternative games or modifying certain rules and techniques focusing on participation and fun, rather than on performance and competition (Meier, p21, 2005). This is often the case within the rural areas of Botswana.

10.2.1 Rural Areas

In the rural areas, one of the biggest mitigating factors is the time constraints placed on individuals, and especially women. Traditional gender roles are intensified in the rural areas and women are relied upon to clean, cook, look after children, and perform the agricultural duties. Additionally, there is an increased occurrence of poverty, and women are relied upon to fulfill their gender roles without electricity and running water, which again takes more time to complete their duties. As the women hold the traditional

gendered female role in the villages, the men might not be as supportive as they would be in the urban setting.

Pelo Maruza is emphatic that WASBO should start their programs by going to the rural areas to help change the village culture. “I think they should start with rural areas because some of the things I see there... these people have no idea, they are stuck. Guys can go around and support themselves financially because they are taught how when they’re young. Then a woman finds some guy that makes her pregnant and she thinks it’s the end. Use sport to show them it’s not the end of the world. Show them there are other ways. It will not only help our economy, but it will also bring awareness, not just in sports – but also with HIV/AIDS that is killing us. This needs to be introduced out there in rural areas where they don’t have cinemas or other things to keep them busy. Sport can help change that” (Maruza, 2005).

According to Tsosetso Nkala, one of Botswana’s formidable female athletes, the rural life operates in a completely different sporting structure. “In the rural areas, at the recreation level, there are no structures. They don’t exist. Therefore, women who are not actively involved in sport need to be taught different ways of doing physical activity. They can form walking groups, aerobics, etc. Once people are involved in activities, it is easier to go to them and say ‘You’re involved in this, so why don’t you consider helping out the local netball team and getting involved?’ Even if it’s not as an athlete, they can still be involved. They might feel that they can put together and administer a netball team in a small village to compete in a rural league. Then, they’re making a difference” (Nkala, 2005).

Due to the fact that sports programs concern entire communities, identifying the ‘gatekeepers’ (village elders, fathers, older brothers, teachers, etc.), lobbying and involving local authorities are a must. This is because the programs that are instituted for girls by development agencies will disappear if the gatekeepers are opposed to the programs and feel as if it was forced upon them. Before a program is introduced, a proper communication and information campaign has to be delivered. This might even include sessions with local medical doctors who refute myths connecting girls’ sport participation and reduced child-bearing capacities for instance (Meier, p21-22, 2005).

Game Mothibi is very insistent that sport can definitely be used as a tool for development in the rural areas. “If you encourage all the women to come and be fit in sport, and accept sport, it can play a role, even in the villages. Every village I can think of has a football pitch – I don’t know how they do it, but they have it. Also, there are so many netball pitches out there too. Therefore, they have the facilities. People can come just to play. We can get all the ladies to play in the village, and sometimes even have mini-tournaments using the ladies. If we can really take sports to people, it can help. There is interest in the village, maybe we should nurture this interest, and make use of it” (Mothibi, 2005).

10.3 Education Campaigns/Awareness/Spokespersons

WASBO’s priority is to lobby for equity, and to increase the representation of women in sport in Botswana. Dorcas Makgato-Malesu, the Chairperson of WASBO, stated that it is one of WASBO’s goals to try and come up with familiarization programs in order to keep the topic alive, and get people to talk about, and understand the issues (WASBO Files, 2005). This seems to be extremely important as every athlete

interviewed suggested some sort of campaign to spread the message and speak to women in Botswana about sports.

“If they had the means, I would want WASBO to speak up and be heard more. It seems to me that when WASBO has a workshop, only a few people are aware of it. But, I’d like a situation where WASBO covers a lot of areas around the country and a lot of people would be aware of it. We should be able to hear ‘WASBO, WASBO, WASBO’ everywhere we go – it should be big, and it should grow. Right now, I think it’s only really ladies that recognize WASBO, and not enough men. The workshops should teach empowerment, and specifically address skills and development tools to get into power and decision making positions; how to become an official; ways to implement grassroots programs in rural areas; and give ways to volunteer and help out with the Codes” (Tumotumo, 2005).

Game Mothibi (2005) adds to this by stating that “I believe that by advocating for women, we are sensitizing the culture. Even women themselves do not understand gender equity, and we need to teach them what it is. Right now, they think it is that we want to be equal to men in every way, including natural ways that we can’t change. But, there are lots of things we can change. If we sensitize the community and advocate for women’s rights, I think we can achieve gender equity.”

Methods for raising awareness include using public service announcements, in-stadium videos and banners, half-time shows, publications and linkages on event web sites. Some of the key considerations regarding public education campaigns for sport and development are (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p19, 2005):

- Public campaigns should have clear strategies and focused objectives, and consideration should be given to the various ways to use sport as a vehicle to send messages.
- When designing communications initiatives using sport, program objectives, target audiences and the media to communicate must be clearly defined.
- Athletes who serve as spokespersons or ambassadors must reflect the values of WASBO.
- Care should be taken when partnering with elite sport for communications purposes given potential conflicts of interest in getting the public and media's attention during "noisy events" and the potential commercialism involved.
- At the local and national levels, sport should also be considered as a highly effective tool to support social mobilization efforts and a practical method of engaging diverse communities in broader activities, particularly in support of large-scale immunization campaigns or other health initiatives.

WASBO could model a campaign to end 'Gender Inequity' after the UNDP's campaign 'Teams to End Poverty'. The UNDP's campaign draws upon the advocacy power of sports stars including Ronaldo, Zinedine Zidane, Martina Hingis, Sergey Bubka and Jacques Villeneuve (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p16, 2005). WASBO could use its national female sporting heroes to campaign within the country.

Veronica Chube (2005), the WASBO program officer, has declared that the awareness of female participation in sport will be the main focus of WASBO.

10.4 Creating Role Models

Around the world, successful and socially accepted or even admired women in historically male-dominated fields, such as sports, are creating visions for girls and opening doors for new opportunities (Meier, p18, 2005). However, when the female athletes were interviewed or surveyed, it was rare that any of them even mentioned having a role model growing up. When they could think of role models, the responses were varied and interesting. Some athletes described male sport athletes as their role

models; others mentioned women from the United States; and others mentioned an individual, not necessarily involved in sport, from their personal environment. What was so intriguing was that all of the athletes unanimously declared that having sporting role models was extremely important for young girls that are currently growing up in Botswana.

“I think WASBO must create role models for people to look up to, because it shows you somebody that you want to be like, and maybe even beat. I think there are some women right now in Botswana that you can look at, and say ‘Wow – that woman is the thing, even if she’s on the same level as you. But she is incredible because she has that drive that makes you want to say ‘Wow, she really is something, and can really play sport!’ What WASBO should do is just try and make women be aware that they can also do sports as much as the men. For example, the first lady just went to the Olympics. If WASBO can highlight things like that, it can give women role models” (Tumotumo, 2005).

The popularity of sports stars allows them to effectively reach diverse audiences, as well as attract the media’s attention. In addition to raising awareness about issues, athletes serving as spokespersons can generate the interest of fellow athletes and team members, and contribute to resource mobilization efforts (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p16, 2005). At the local level, WASBO can develop national poster campaigns that highlight well-known female athletes to increase the involvement of women in sports, and to communicate messages about the prevention of HIV/AIDS. Positive reinforcement by national sporting celebrities can help to drive a message home.

A lot of women out there are only now realizing that sports can help them in a lot of ways.

According to Saavedra, when there are role models and positive outcomes associated with it, sport for women and girls will move up in priority. In other words, success breeds success. If women's sport brings things that are valued, such as remuneration, educational scholarships, transferable skills, media exposure, travel opportunities, or access to vital resources, then it will be more keenly encouraged and embraced (2006).

10.5 Using the Media

The print and broadcast media are further avenues for advocacy through sport. Profiles of individuals who have been affected by sport, accounts that highlight charitable involvement of athletes, or stories that bring light to WASBO-related activities raise awareness about development issues. However, the virtual non-existence of Botswana female sports idols can be partly attributed to the media's clearly imbalanced coverage of female sports in general. Studies have shown a gross difference regarding media coverage between men and women (Meier, p16, 2005). In Botswana, this could be attributable to the lack of female journalists covering sports. At sports-related press conferences, the majority of the journalists are men, with only a couple of women.

"Our media in Botswana doesn't say a lot about women in general. What you find is that they write a lot more about men than women. Just recently, our female volleyball team went to Egypt for the World Cup Qualifiers, and they didn't write a thing about it. Nobody said a thing about it because we're expected to lose, I guess. But our men's national team went on camp maybe two or three weeks after us, and they were

talked about, published everywhere, and praised all over the newspapers. The media wanted our country to know about the men's national team going to the Qualifiers. The worst part about it is that we were going very far outside of the country, all the way to Egypt. And they were just going to South Africa. My mom knew I was on camp because I told her, and my friends knew because I was telling them. But other people out there, maybe my friends who are in the outskirts – they didn't even know. We even asked our volleyball federation, BVF, and they didn't even support the women's media coverage. This could be because it's all run by men, and they don't even believe that we could do anything newsworthy. It's in-bred that women can't do anything. And if a woman does achieve, it's a surprise. They concentrate on that one woman that does achieve, instead of trying to develop more. It's inbred that women can cook and have babies, while men can do a lot more than that. So, men are put in the limelight and women are put backstage" (Bayi, 2005).

Game Mothibi (2005) agrees with Lekedzani Bayi about the unfairness of coverage between the men and the women. "Let's take karate as an example. The men and women go out together most of the time to events like the Commonwealth Games, or the World Championships. Out two biggest karate athletes are Goitseone Mongologa and Andrew Dobolo. They both bring home medals, and perform very well, but all the attention goes to Andrew. This is because most of the media are men." Even Goitseone (2005) agrees stating that "I've read so many sports papers, and all I see is men. Women are rarely shown."

When the question was asked whether or not the media has the ability to hinder gender inequity, many female athletes had strong feelings to express. One athlete in

particular felt that “The media does hinder – it hinders gender roles and gender inequity. It hinders female participation in sport, and hinders female girl-child development in sport. It hinders female development in our own country – because it’s men who lead it. Women are not thought of as people who can do anything in our country, and the media are perpetuating this. That becomes a pre-disposing factor to all the other factors that come to mind when somebody says ‘No, women can do this.’ The media doesn’t promote gender equity because the media takes out what it’s been given by the Affiliates. If it’s not given the information about the female athletes, then it can’t print the information” (Bayi, 2005).

Game Mothibi (2005) agreed with the fact that the media hindered gender inequity, but suggested that it can play a very important role to improve it as well. Mosetsana Tumotumo (2005) seconded that thought and suggested that the media is starting to change and represent female athletes to a certain extent. She suggested that the media can cover female competitions, present females as role models by printing profiles, and discuss what is happening with the WASBO movement. It can help to promote gender equity within sports. Lekedzani Bayi (2005) adds to this thought by suggesting that the media has the capability of promoting the awareness to the whole sporting world led by men. She suggests that it is up to the women to go to the media, and get them to change their ways.

In the sports pages, women should always be presented along with the men’s sports. Goitseone Mongologa (2005) recollects that every time she reads the sport part, she sees men’s football, and suggests this alternative, “Maybe the next time I read the paper, the football part could be focused on football for women.”

10.6 Solicit Funding

One of the most important initiatives for a development organization is to solicit funds in order to run its programs. Botswana just recently sent its first woman to the Olympics, and the Chair of the WASBO program suggested that Botswana could have started sending women to the Olympics a long time ago, except for limited funds donated towards women's sports (Makgato-Malesu, 2004).

WASBO should try and develop a special fund to be earmarked for the promotion of women's sport at all levels as well as for the training of women administrators, technical officials and coaches with particular emphasis placed on the rural areas.

There are two suggested ways to raise funds. The first one is to conduct small-scale fundraising initiatives such as concerts and festivals to raise the funds (Bayi, 2005). Holding sports events can provide additional opportunities in marketing and fund-raising. The second suggestion is to form effective strategic partnerships that can donate money towards the WASBO program (Makgato-Malesu, 2005).

10.7 Forming Effective Strategic Partnerships

Future solutions to challenges of such vast magnitude as the eradication of gender inequity in Botswana can only be found by building partnerships and alliances, in particular at the community and national levels. If WASBO can establish strong relationships with sports federations and associations, it is an effective way to tap into existing networks and structures on regional and national levels, which allows a larger and more diverse audience to be reached within Botswana (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p16, 2005).

“We can’t work alone. We have strategic partnerships. We have a membership to SCSA, membership to Zone 6 women in sport, and we work with the local committee, DSR, and Women’s Affairs. We’ve got other partners because we can’t work alone, largely due to the fact that the bulk of our constituents are within other structures (Makgato-Malesu, 2005). Strategic sport-based partnerships can be created within a common framework providing a structured environment allowing for coordination, knowledge and expertise sharing and cost-effectiveness (Montreal Tool Kit, 2006).

Local development through sport particularly benefits from an integrated partnership approach to sport-for-development involving the full spectrum of actors in field-based community development including all levels and various sectors of government, sports organisations, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the private sector. The most influential partnership to pursue would be with ‘Emang Basadi!’ as it is an organization that has an even longer history of campaigning for women’s rights within Botswana. Perhaps together, these organizations could really start to make a dent in gender inequity (Chube, 2005).

10.8 Providing Resources and Resource Organization

In order to strive for change, untiring efforts, combined with innovative aid measures are needed. Such interventions may last for decades before eventually being successful (Meier, p18, 2005). One of the direct resources suggested throughout the interviews was to build some recreational facilities that included the provision of childcare specifically for women so that it provides a safe space for women to play sport (Mongologa, 2005).

From an economic standpoint, it was suggested that more funds become available to give women a chance to excel with the elite scholarships. Many of the athletes felt that the majority of these 'study-abroad' scholarships went to men, while the women were left to their own devices within Botswana (Montsho, 2005).

In addition to providing resources, resource organization is also very important. Key aspects of this include ensuring physical education is offered in schools; providing recreation programs to women with little or no opportunities to play; and increasing the active participation of families and communities (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, 2006). This resource organization can be enhanced with the involvement of international organizations, such as Commonwealth Games Canada (CGC).

10.8.1 Commonwealth Games Canada Involvement

There are some very specific problems that have occurred within WASBO that CGC can directly influence in an effort to improve the program.

1. As WASBO is understaffed, the primary solution is that there needs to be a full-time WASBO desk officer in Botswana who is solely responsible for implementing WASBO policy and programs, without needing to concentrate on other, more demanding organizations. This person needs to be creative, energetic, and familiar with the cultural situation. They need to be willing to go beyond the job description.

CGC's Involvement:

- It would be highly beneficial to WASBO if CGC employed an individual who is familiar with WASBO so that they would be able to get directly involved with the program right away in order to re-vitalize WASBO. The contract would be most

effective if it were 2 years, as the Roll-Out Program is supposed to be achieved by the end of 2006, and has now lost a year due to inactivity. Therefore, the Roll-Out Program's new target date would be the end of 2007.

- If this were not a possibility, CGC should consider sending another CGC intern to Botswana in order to provide WASBO with the help that they need. The only negative aspect to sending an intern is that it will take time for them to adjust to the culture, way of life, and the WASBO program itself and they won't be quite as effective within the short time that they are sent in-country. As they can only go for 8 months, and it takes about half of that time to begin to make a difference, this is not long enough to be thoroughly effective. However, WASBO can use all the help it can get right now, and an intern would surely provide the organization with the much-needed help.
 - The best case scenario would be to send both a CGC employee who is familiar with WASBO and a CGC Intern, as they could work together in order to help WASBO achieve the Roll-Out Program objectives and goals. The intern's learning curve would be drastically reduced with another person there who is familiar with WASBO, and this would enable the intern to be more effective, at a much quicker pace.
2. In the creation of ideas and initiatives for WASBO, it would benefit the WASBO organization to see tangible evidence of organizations that have achieved in the past and continue to achieve in the present. At this stage, these organizations could come from anywhere in the world.

CGC Involvement:

- Offer idea support, documents that have worked in similar countries, tangible examples of other successful programs with step-by-step instructions on how to achieve within their own country.
3. WASBO was funded 300,000 Pula (\$75,000 Cdn) from the BNSC in 2005. This is a significant achievement. However, more money and fundraising techniques are always required, and they really need to find ways to fundraise on a larger scale than what they currently have planned.

CGC Involvement:

- Continue to provide information on international funding options for WASBO to explore. There are many avenues to explore, and CGC has more knowledge about these avenues than WASBO does.
4. There really needs to be a 'changing of the guard' within WASBO. It has not happened on its own because many of the Committee members feel that Dorcas Makgato-Malesu, the first and only Chairperson of WASBO, is the only capable female competent enough to run the organization. However, there are very capable women within Botswana to effectively take over the Chairpersonship. However, these women just need to realize their own potential and run for the elected positions.

CGC's Involvement:

- Encourage this change, and support the women who are trying to get into positions of leadership. The presence of a knowledgeable CGC staff member within WASBO, working alongside the Motswana desk officer will help the

transition from the old staff to the new staff. Their combined knowledge would help ensure that the right people are running for the elected positions, as they could be approached properly to gauge their interest in WASBO.

- Long-term, WASBO really needs to have its own WASBO desk officer from Botswana who is solely responsible for the organization. The only way that WASBO will achieve sustainability is for it to be run by its own people (a proposed organizational chart is in Appendix E). This will be possible once the program is running on its own, and has generated funds in order to hire its own WASBO desk officer. In the meantime, CGC would offer the best help by providing staff to aid this transformation process. WASBO has the capacity to be amazing; it just needs the time, dedication, and effort to get there.

10.9 Creating Programs

Throughout the interviews with the athletes, there were many suggestions on sports programs to implement through the WASBO program. Game Mothibi stated that people like to be involved, so maybe WASBO could bend its strategy and organize activities, rather than just sit down and talk to Botswana women about everything. “Let’s call women from their Chibuku³¹ and hold football tournaments, cricket tournaments, and table tennis games all organized by WASBO. We need more than sensitization and feminist workshops. That stuff is important, but I think we can draw more women who like to be involved through actual sporting activities. In that way, I think we can improve the situation” (Mothibi, 2005). Just by setting up sporting activities, which are traditionally a man’s domain, gender norms are being transformed.

³¹ Chibuku is a traditionally brewed beer in Botswana.

Live loudspeaker coverage of the game, national guests of honour, and hundreds of parents, children, and curious spectators have the ability to create a decent framework for those girls to present themselves and their skills. If playing female soccer in public is an unusual picture for the time being in Botswana, constant claims and regularly recurring events will help to overcome awkward feelings and eventually deconstruct and rearticulate gender norms, thus broadening horizons (Meier, p19, 2005).

In Zimbabwe, Commonwealth Games Canada partners with provincial health units to deliver biweekly aerobics programs, open to all women in urban and rural communities and reaching an estimated 200,000 participants. Included are discussions on women's rights, parental guidance, basic health, family planning, pre-and post-natal care, HIV/AIDS education and counseling services (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p12, 2005). Tsosetso Nkala has expressed an interest in starting up the same type of program in Botswana, and could use the support of WASBO to make her dream become a reality.

Goitseone Mongologa suggests holding coaching clinics for every single one of the sporting Codes in Botswana, and make sure that they are only available to women. The only men required to be there would be the instructors, and hopefully enough women could become certified that the female instructors could continue to lead the courses (2005).

Each year, WASBO should organize training courses for women in coaching, technical activity, administration and even media/journalism. It is not too difficult a challenge to select competent women to train within the urban city of Gaborone, as the women have shown that they are more likely to come forth and request training. However, the rural sector provides a larger challenge for targeting likely female candidates. This is where regional WASBO executive committees would be used to

nominate women to come to Gaborone to receive specialized training. The DSR has affirmed their commitment to provide funds to aid females from rural areas to attend workshops and courses in the capital city. If there is a region that has a large group of females that have requested training, then the WASBO Executive Committee can set up workshops within the regions.

10.9.1 Dedication Solely to the Cause

Many of the athletes have commented that WASBO has had a series of creative bursts, followed by long periods of dry spells “WASBO is not anywhere now – it used to be, it started growing, but it stopped. This is because the people running the organization are involved in a lot of different jobs. WASBO should get capable human resources who have the time, and are determined enough to see the programs through. Right now, the WASBO development officer doesn’t have any back-up support from anyone. Programs aren’t running, and it’s at a standstill. WASBO should hire qualified, competitive people who know what they want” (Bayi, 2005).

10.10 Women taking Ownership

It’s up to women themselves to tell the whole country that they want to be administrators, managers, coaches, and that they want to lead just as much as men. They cannot tell people who are already in the positions that they want their jobs, as those people are unlikely to give up their positions. However, when positions become available, it is up to women to apply for those posts. In order to do this, they need to be qualified, and it is up to them to become qualified. Sign up for the courses offered by the various women’s organizations. Ensure that WASBO is offering skill-building courses, and empowerment workshops. Women need to continue to establish women-led

organizations in order to train women as leaders. When a woman is occupying two roles, and cannot give her full time and effort, perhaps she should step aside, and give another woman the chance to learn how to lead. With the policy in place, and the culture changing to allow gender equity, the onus is placed on women to stand up and grasp the opportunities being given to them.

“It’s up to us women to stand up for ourselves. If we want it changed, we can do it ourselves. We are sick and tired of being blamed for HIV, being told how HIV is in our population because of us. We’re sick of being poor, being unable to take care of our kids because our husband passed away, and we can’t even take care of them because we don’t know what to do because they had the job. We want to occupy those positions that are occupied by males, because we can do it. We can do as good of a job as men can, if not better. We can be mechanics – the only restriction is physiological – but that doesn’t mean we can’t do it; because we can. We can’t be waiting for a man to do that – we have to fight for ourselves, and forget fear” (Bayi, 2005). “Gender has nothing to do with it” (Makgato-Malesu, 2005).

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

As a development worker, I was at a distinct advantage as a researcher in Botswana. Not only did I live in the country for a year; I lived within Botswana and among Batswana for the full year. My social circle consisted of native Batswana, and not white expatriates; I learned Setswana, the national language; I participated on sports teams as an athlete, coach, and trainer; I taught swimming lessons to women in Gaborone; and I became a resident of the country, almost staying an additional year. I became known as a *Motswana sa lekgoa*, which translated into English means that I was a 'white Motswana'. It was a huge compliment as it meant that they felt that I had grown up among them. However, the term *lekgoa* was still applied because even though I fit so well within the culture, my white skin colour still differentiated me from all the rest of my friends.

This differentiation meant that I was revered, to an extent, as a knowledgeable, influential individual that had all of the answers, and could help to save a program. This assessment was not based on my university education, my feminist standpoint, or even my past involvement in sport, but was instead based on my white skin colour. Unlike the rest of the strong racial tension in the Southern African region, people in Botswana tend to strongly respect and value white expatriates, rather than loathe them. Had I not spent a year living among the Batswana, I feel that I would have received very different responses during my research.

Everyone I interviewed would have been more guarded in their answers, and I would not have gotten such candid responses. I felt that the strong friendship I developed

with the elite female athletes during my year of residency helped to reduce the barriers that would have otherwise existed based on skin colour. Because of this, the athletes felt comfortable opening up about rather painful circumstances. Even in situations where officials remained guarded as they knew they were speaking to a researcher who was concerned with gender equity, my personal connection and knowledge of the individuals enabled me to sort through their presented bias, and they would become more forthright. This increased level of ingenuous responses, coupled with my own lived experiences, enabled me to present a more detailed set of recommendations for further feminist development within Botswana.

Development is the process of enlarging people's choices and increasing the opportunities available to all individuals within their society. Based on the principles of inclusion, equity and sustainability, emphasis is on the importance of increasing opportunities for the current generation as well as generations to come (Montreal Tool Kit, 2006). Sport for development can be defined as using the power of sport to build on the values of development, such as equity, inclusion and sustainability, furthering social inclusion and cohesion, and contributing to health, education and economic development (Hylton and Totten, 2001, p44). Using sport as a development tool impacts individuals, communities, and countries. It is a catalyst for change.

Sport has the ability to transcend differences of nationality, sex, age, social position, geographical location, and political attitudes. It has proved to be useful because the inherent qualities of sport make it easily understood and enjoyed. The sport development initiatives must challenge the inequitable nature of the existing physical, economic, motivational, cultural and political barriers.

The barriers that exist in Botswana in both the rural and urban areas have similarities, but can also be quite different. For this reason, sport development programs being implemented need to take the differing factors between urban and rural life into consideration to become effective. As women are more confined to their gendered female roles in the rural settings, programs should focus on using sport to work on general, individual, confidence-building life skills. Additionally, men would need to be educated on the benefits of sport for women as well.

In the urban areas, where the women's groups have been advocating for the past fifteen years, gender equity development is more advanced, and women have already made strongholds in their equity fight. Programs in the urban areas can focus more on specific skills, such as the acquisition of power and decision making positions or increasing funding on a larger scale for female athlete development. Furthermore, as the social networks in the urban areas are fragmenting, the sporting programs could focus on urban community building.

As one of the world's most powerful communication tools due to its near universal appeal, sport has the capacity to reach a range of audiences in a variety of ways, particularly groups that are otherwise difficult to reach (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force, p15, 2005). Especially in reaching development aims, sport has to be considered as an instrument focusing on broad popular activity, not solely on competition or even professionalism. Not every participant has to make it to the Olympics (Meier, p12, 2005).

Mosetsana Tumotumo agrees that sport is a very powerful tool that consists of much more than just playing a game. "Sport is not only about getting to a field, kicking

the ball, getting the ball, running around. Sports open up your mind to a lot of possibilities, helps you develop your mind psychologically. A woman is a person – she plays just as much as a man does. She can do as much as a man does. There are boxing females out there that are doing their thing. There are rugby teams in Canada and everywhere – they're doing okay. I think if women were being given that opportunity here in Botswana; where people actually believe in you enough to give you that opportunity, then you really develop that drive in all areas of life, and you can really achieve. Running around is not just for men. That on its own can give you that motivation. If that man can do this, then I can do it" (Tumotumo, 2005).

Several researchers have drawn on feminist principles and examples of successful feminist organizations in order to specify strategies for dismantling the institutional barriers that systematically favour men and disadvantage women within society, and specifically the sporting world (McKay, 1997, p145). From a practical standpoint, picturing representatives from the feminist movement and from the women's sport movement standing together on the same bridge is not easy. Competition is fundamental to sport, whereas a cooperative model is predominantly espoused by feminism. The two groups appear to be worlds apart. However, the majority of women in physical education and sport are feminists at heart (Baily, 1993, p297).

Of course, female athletes do not necessarily see it this way. They do not necessarily call themselves feminists. They swim, surf, ski or play field hockey because it is fun and challenging. It makes them feel good, and they like the way it makes them look. Sports allow them to eat more without gaining weight, and it gives them energy and confidence. Even more than that is the social aspect of sports, which gives time

spent with friends, female or male. Many are ignorant about the women's rights movement (Nelson, 1998, p11). However, the truth is, even when feminism is not an individual's motivating force, it is the result. Regardless of the factors that lead to her involvement, "athletic training implicitly challenges patriarchal constraints on a woman's behaviour" (Nelson, 1998, p12).

Lekedzani Bayi agrees that she did not begin playing sport for any particular political reason. "I didn't come into sport to say 'Hey, it's going to change my life.' I got into sport because I had an interest – it became an interesting thing. As I was tangled in it, I unintentionally realized it was opening me up to be who I wanted to be. Because one thing you have to understand is once you know what you want, you open your mind up to a lot of possibilities" (Bayi, 2005).

Women's presence in weight rooms and gyms, like women's presence in board rooms and bars, is subtly and insistently changing how society views women, and how women view themselves. Sport alters the balance of power between the sexes. It changes lives. It empowers women, thereby inexorably changing everything (Nelson, 1998, p12). Feminism is intrinsically about political power. When females team up, working together toward communal goals regardless of differences in race, class, physical ability, and sexual preference, female athletes create unity through diversity, laying the groundwork for empowering political change (Nelson, 1998, p11). Feminism is about having the freedom and liberty to make individual and collective decisions.

Sports have freed women, and continue to free women, from restrictive dress, behaviours, laws, and customs. More importantly, sports have freed women from the belief that they cannot or should not achieve or compete or win. Sports embody freedom

because of the unrestricted physical expression, the travel across great distances, and the liberated movement (Nelson, 1998, p11).

Because of the sporting recognition experienced by one of the female athletes in Botswana, she feels that men treat her with a lot more respect because they are able to see that she is on a level playing field with them. “They don’t think of me as an incapable person. They think I can do anything. I think sport can cut out and improve gender inequity in our country and can make a difference in the perception that women are incapable. Through sport, men can see that women are capable. Sports can both reduce gender inequity, and improve gender equity, even if it’s by something as simple as improving the way females are perceived” (Bayi, 2005).

One of the elite female athletes feels that people who do not participate in sports are not as willing to open their minds to new possibilities. “I think non-sporting women stick to the values of their culture. They stick to the idea that a woman should be a certain way in society and they live according to societal norms. Sport takes you out of the perception of how you should be, and makes yourself ask questions such as ‘How should I be?’ or ‘If I’m ready to do this, is it the right thing for me?’ You’re able to know the difference between right and wrong – know the difference of what you want in life. If they’re in sport, I think they will be confident enough to want to go out and make a difference to themselves and the people around them” (Nkala, 2005).

The opportunity for extending the goals of the feminist movement to the world of women’s sport belongs to those individuals intimately connected to it. The students, athletes, teachers, coaches, researchers, representatives, and administrators of sport programs must challenge the issues that have thus far stunted progress in women’s sport.

Building alliances with the feminist movement will increase the power base for both sport and feminist organizations (Baily, 1993, p303).

The global community is constantly changing; the political dynamics have created opportunities not believed possible just a few years ago. The ease of travel and sophisticated communication options has increased interaction among women cross-culturally. This can be evidenced by the interaction that occurred between women from CGC and women from WASBO at the Montreal Conference for Women in Sport. The positive interaction resulted in a Canadian intern being sent to Botswana to help promote sporting programs within the country for women.

The achievement of gender equity requires the full involvement of men and women, as well as boys and girls in a participatory process that requires a mindset removed from stereotyping male and female roles in society. A complicating factor is that ideas about gender roles and gender relations are often deeply engrained in educational systems and social structures (Meier, 2005, p8). The role of sport in this context is to help aid the social transformation process.

In Botswana, WASBO makes a concerted effort to involve men in their workshops, and planned activities. The WASBO Committee members realize the importance of the 'Sport for All' philosophy adopted by the BNSC. Without the support and involvement of the Botswana men in the country, changing culture and encouraging gender equity becomes an insurmountable task (Makgato-Malesu, 2005).

As every socio-cultural setting needs specific assessments and measures, further research has to be done on local, national and international levels. It is important that 'Western' perspectives are identified as such and constantly questioned to avoid

generalizations that are not fitting with the developing world (Meier, 2005, p22). The 'Women in Development' and 'Women in Sport' movements have influenced one another defining the field of gender, sport and development. Even though more and more conferences on this "triad" are taking place in developing countries or in the North with Third World participation, people from the grassroots level, especially women, are rarely actively involved (Meier, 2005, p7). Therefore, local voices from the South have to be sought out and empowered to play an active role in this debate. This essential cooperation and common knowledge will allow future research to give substantiated evidence to support the often claimed potential of sport and its specific impact on gender relationships (Meier, 2005, p22).

Regardless of the degree of impact, sport development processes can be used to at least tackle part of society, and continue the process addressing gender inequality in Botswana. Sport has the capacity to touch the lives of all people, regardless of gender, age, language, economic and social strata, geographic location, or cultural differences. Sport is a powerful vehicle that should be increasingly considered by the Botswana Government, the non-governmental women's organizations, and interested stakeholders as complementary to existing activities. It is time to build bridges for the feminists and sports women to stand on together.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Officials Interview Guide

NAME

OCCUPATION

ROLE IN THE BOTSWANA SPORTING WORLD

BACKGROUND - Home Village
 - Level of Education
 - How They Got Involved with Sport
 - What Steps Have Been Taken to Get to This Position? (Other jobs)

PRECONCEIVED GENDER ROLES – Do they exist? Give Examples

GENDER EQUITY – Understanding of:

1. Women and Poverty – Economic Development/ Access to Jobs
2. Power and Decision Making – More men or women?
3. Education and Training – Access to/ more men or women?
4. Health – Access to/ At risk – HIV/AIDS/ Reproduction
5. Violence – Men/Women Men/Men Women/Women
6. The Girl Child – Any different than the boy child?

Does gender inequity exist in Botswana?

SPORT AS A DEVELOPMENT TOOL: defined many ways – this is one:

Sport for development can be defined as using the power of sport to build on the values of development, such as equity, inclusion and sustainability, furthering social inclusion and cohesion, and contributing to health, education and economic development. Using sport as a development tool impacts individuals, communities, and countries.

Agree? Disagree? How would you describe the process?

What is your organization doing to promote gender equity through sport?

What sorts of policies/laws exist with regards to gender equity? (Can I have access to them?)

What is your organization doing to implement these?

Do you work alone as an organization, or do you have partnerships with other organizations? (both sport, and non-sport) – please describe links – how they work/ benefits/negatives

Is sport really a catalyst for change? Why or Why Not?

APPENDIX B

Athlete Interview Guide

NAME

AGE

OCCUPATION/ EDUCATION LEVEL

SPORT CODE - Level of Competition – National Team, etc... (more than 1 Code?)
 - Countries Visited; List all games/events/competitions/awards, etc.

ROLE IN THE BOTSWANA SPORTING WORLD – athlete, coach, administrator,
volunteer work, WASBO, etc.

BACKGROUND - Home Village, Conditions in the Home Village growing up
 - How They Got Involved with Sport
 - What Steps Have Been Taken to Get to this level as an athlete?
 - Describe household – mother, father, siblings, roles
 - Degree of marginalization
 - Role models? Any Batswana women?
 - What role did sport play in shaping who you are today?

CURRENTLY - Where do you live?
 - Who is the Head of your household?
 - Do you make enough to support your family?
 - Do you have children? Where are they?
 - What is your current involvement with sport?
 - If you had not played sport, how do you think your life would be
 different – use examples of women/siblings you know who haven't
 played sports

PRECONCEIVED GENDER ROLES – Do they exist? Give Examples

GENDER EQUITY – Understanding of:

1. Women and Poverty – Economic Development/ Access to Jobs (soldiers/ Managers, gender specific jobs, unpaid labour – being a mom, etc.)
2. Power and Decision Making – More men or women? (Chiefs just now becoming women)
3. Education and Training – Access to/ more men or women? (in grade school, middle school, high school, university – men/women ratio? – why?)
4. Health – Access to/ At risk – HIV/AIDS/ Reproduction
5. Violence – Men/Women Men/Men Women/Women
6. The Girl Child – Any different than the boy child?

Does gender inequity exist in Botswana?

How does the media treat women and sports in Botswana?

Do you think the media helps or hinders existing gender inequities? Especially gender roles?

SPORT AS A DEVELOPMENT TOOL: defined many ways – this is one:

Sport for development can be defined as using the power of sport to build on the values of development, such as equity, inclusion and sustainability, furthering social inclusion and cohesion, and contributing to health, education and economic development. Using sport as a development tool impacts individuals, communities, and countries.

Agree? Disagree? How would you describe the process?

What role does the Botswana National Sports Council have in improving women's sports in Botswana?

Have you heard of the Women and Sport Botswana Organization (WASBO)?

Can you name some of the initiatives that WASBO has undertaken to improve gender inequity?

Is sport really a catalyst for change? Why or Why Not?

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire for Female Athletes

My name is Meagan Keaney and I am a graduate student in the Department of Geography at Carleton University, in Canada. I am here in Botswana to try and understand how sport can be used as a development tool to help promote gender equity. The benefits of this study are that you are providing valuable insight into the idea of gender equity within Botswana and offering ways in order to improve this. This information will go to the Women and Sport Botswana Organization (WASBO) and enable them to implement their programs more effectively for women in Botswana. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from this study at any time. Thank you for your participation

General Information:

What is your age? _____

What is the highest level of education you have attained? _____

What is your occupation? _____

What is your income level per year?

☐ P0 – P25, 000 ☐ P25, 000 – P50, 000 ☐ P50,000 – P75,000

☐ P75,000 – P100,000 ☐ P100,000 – P150,000 ☐ P150,000 – P200,000

☐ +P200,000

General Sports Related Questions

Are you still an active athlete? Y / N

What sports do you play? _____

Are you on the Botswana National Team? Y / N

If NO, have you ever played for Team Botswana? Y / N

What major competitions have you participated in? _____

What other countries have you been to because of sports? _____

How old were you when you started playing sports? _____

Why did you start playing sports? _____

Role Models:

Did you have a sporting role model? Y / N

If YES, who was it? _____

What country was your role model from? _____

What gender was your role model? FEMALE / MALE

Do you think it's important to have a sporting role model? Please justify your response.

Leadership

Are you active in sports beyond being an athlete (i.e. coaching, administration, officiating)? Y / N

If YES, what roles do you fill? _____

Why did you decide to fulfill this role? _____

What benefits exist with this role? _____

What negatives exist with this role? _____

How do you feel that the Chairperson of the Botswana National Sports Council (BNSC) is a woman? _____

Does this affect women's sport in Botswana? Please justify your answer.

Do you think more women should be involved in leadership positions? Please justify your answer. _____

If YES, why do you think that there aren't more women in leadership positions? _____

What can be done to improve this? _____

The Influence of Sports

Do you think that sport can help women to gain more confidence to run for leadership positions? Please justify your answer. _____

Do you think that women can benefit economically because of involvement in sports? Please justify your answer. _____

Do you think women's participation in sport can have any impact on ending domestic violence? Please justify your answer. _____

Did being an athlete have any influence on your education choices? _____

If you played sports as a child, what did this do for you? _____

How do you think participation in sport can help the girl child? _____

As an athlete, do you feel that you live a healthier lifestyle than you would if you weren't involved in sports? _____

For you personally, what are the benefits to being a female athlete in Botswana? _____

For you personally, what are the negative consequences to being a female athlete in Botswana? _____

If you had never been involved in sports, do you think your life would be different than it is today? Please justify your answer. _____

(If you have not heard of it, it is an organization that is designed to help improve the current sporting situation for women in Botswana)

[illegible]

189

APPENDIX D

List of Interviewees

Elite Athletes

Name of the Athlete	Sporting Association(s)
Tsoseletso Nkala	Volleyball; Athletics
Game Mothibi	Table Tennis
Lekedzani Bayi	Volleyball; Athletics
Goitseone Mongologa	Karate
Amantle Montsho	Athletics
Boikhutso Mudongo	Chess
Glenda Moleofi	Football
Mosetsana Tumotumo	Volleyball
Pelo Maruza	Basketball

Officials

Name of the Official	Official Sporting Position
Dorcas Makgato-Malesu	Chairperson of WASBO; Chairperson of the BNSC
Edmund Dladla	Director of Sport, Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR)
Kagiso Kemeong	Executive Secretary, BNSC
Dr. Akpata	Director of Sport, University of Botswana Athletics
Veronica Chube	WASBO Program Officer

APPENDIX E

Proposed WASBO Structure

APPENDIX F
ROLL OUT PLAN OF ACTION

TABLE OF ACRONYMS

CH	- Chairperson
DSR	- Department of Sports and Recreation
EX	- Executive Committee
F&P	- Finance & Planning Officer
FC	- Fundraising Committee
GM	- General Membership
HC	- High Performance Committee
LC	- Leadership Committee
MC	- Marketing Committee
ME	- Ministry of Education
NA&A	- National Associations & Affiliates
OC	- Olympic Committee
P&MS	- Publicity & Marketing Secretary
PC	- Policy Committee
RC	- Research Committee
SEC	- Special Events Committee
SG	- Secretary General
SVM	- Sports Volunteer Movement
WA	- Women's Affairs
WC	- Workshop Committee
WO	- WASBO Program Officers

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

GOAL: Increased Access for Women and Girls to Physical Activity and Sport Services Programs.

OBJECTIVES	MAJOR ACTIVITIES	ACTION ITEMS	TIMELINES	STAKE-HOLDERS	OUTCOMES
To audit legal and policy frameworks.	Review gender inclusion policies	• Audit existing policies	Ongoing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • PC • NA&A • DSR • EX 	Report on policies
		a) National Sport & Recreation Policy	May 2004		
		b) Rules & regulations of Codes	May 2004		
		c) Constitutions for Codes & Affiliates	May 2004		
		d) Codes development programs	May 2004		
To facilitate the establishment of gender sensitive constitutions.	Recommend policy changes	a) Create recommendations for each of the policies b) Evaluate all policy proposals effective from July 2004	June 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • PC • CH • EX 	Recommend for adoption at AGM
To ensure that facilities are accessible to all women of different age groups and abilities.	Carry out a study and recommend standards which ensure accessibility	a) Create a checklist of standard requirements	December 2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • RC • WA • DSR • NA&A • BNSC 	Study Report and Recommendations
		b) Carry out a research study	June 2004		

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES (Continued)

OBJECTIVES	MAJOR ACTIVITIES	ACTION ITEMS	TIMELINES	STAKE-HOLDERS	OUTCOMES
To consult with stakeholders to ensure equitable distribution of resources	Monitor equitable distribution of resources in the country	a) Assess & evaluate funding allocated to women at all levels	Feb / March 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DSR • WA • WO • RC • NA&A • BNSC 	Equal distribution of resources between men & women
		b) Create funding proposal at all levels	July 2004		
		c) Evaluate all funding proposals effective from June 2004	Ongoing after July 2004		

MARKETING AND FUNDRAISING

GOAL: To focus, mobilize and energize multi-disciplinary key stakeholder partners and the citizens of Botswana in the promotion and delivery of physical activity and sport for women and girls.

OBJECTIVES	MAJOR ACTIVITIES	ACTION ITEMS	TIMELINES	STAKE-HOLDERS	OUTCOMES
To focus and mobilize the promotion and delivery of physical activity and sport for women	The creation of aggressive marketing strategies	a) Formulate marketing strategies	Oct 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • DSR • MC • P&MS • WA • BNSC 	Marketing strategies
		b) Launch marketing strategies	Dec 2004		
To generate funds to sustain the WASBO program	Develop and implement fundraising projects	a) Develop & plan fundraising proposals	Ongoing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • F&P • FC • WO • DSR • SVM • NA&A • BNSC 	Sponsorships and donations
		b) Solicit funding from stakeholders	Ongoing		

ADVOCACY AND AWARENESS

GOAL: To increase the status of women and girls involvement and successes in physical activity and sport.

OBJECTIVES	MAJOR ACTIVITIES	ACTION ITEMS	TIMELINES	STAKE-HOLDERS	OUTCOMES
To determine the current status of women in sport	Research on females and sports	Carry out a baseline study	February / March 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • RC • NA&A • GM 	Study Report
To sensitise individuals, institutions, the media and policy makers on gender imbalance in Sports	Mass mobilization & education of stakeholders	a) Organise workshops for the Districts	February / March 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • EX • WC • DSR • BNSC • GM • MC 	Awareness, Recruitment, & Buy-in by community at large
		b) Organise a National Workshop	May / June 2004		
To educate and motivate women to actively participate in sports	Create role models	a) Creation of high performance female in sports profiles	March 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HP • WO • NA&A • BNSC • OC • P&MS • ME 	Increased & higher level female participation in the sporting world
		b) Market the athletes	Ongoing		
		c) Mentorship program	Ongoing		
		d) Create and maintain an achievements database	Dec 2004		

FORMATION OF EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

GOAL: To develop efficient structures and coordinating mechanisms to eliminate barriers for women and girls in sport.

OBJECTIVES	MAJOR ACTIVITIES	ACTION ITEMS	TIMELINES	STAKE-HOLDERS	OUTCOMES
To form management & leadership structures at all levels	Creation of a leadership base	a) Form a national structure	May/ June 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH • EX • SG • WO • GM • BNSC • SVM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Committees • Strategic partnerships • Women Representation at all levels
		b) Form district structures			
		c) Link up with existing structures			
To ensure effective, regular communication with all stakeholders	Establish effective channels of communication with existing structures & new committees	a) Provide all committees with relevant contact information	2004-Ongoing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEC • WO • BNSC • NA&A • EX 	Timely, effective communication
		b) Take advantage of special days (i.e. Women's Day)			
		c) Progress reports on a quarterly basis			

CAPACITY BUILDING

GOAL: To increase the number of women and girls involved in physical activity, sport leadership, and decision-making positions – as athletes, coaches, volunteers, administrators, and officials.

OBJECTIVES	MAJOR ACTIVITIES	ACTION ITEMS	TIMELINES	STAKE-HOLDERS	OUTCOMES
To facilitate the increase of effective women athletes and leaders	Hold confidence building workshops for women in all districts	a) Identify potential leaders	March 2004 - Ongoing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • LC • ME • DSR • BNSC • EC • NA&A • HC • WC 	Increased leadership involvement of women in all sport structures
		b) Apply the mentorship program	April 2004 - Ongoing		
To increase the exposure of women in sport	Organise exchange programs	a) Create data bank of National and International resources persons, facilities, sport institutions, and sport profiles	December 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WO • LC • ME • DSR • BNSC • EC • NA&A 	World wide exchange programs
		b) Facilitate the organisation of the required programs	2005 - Ongoing		