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INVESTIGATING THE NATURE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN BOTSWANA PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS: A CASE STUDY OF BOSETU

BY

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697744

RESEARCH REPORT

Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M.A. in Labour and Globalisation

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Labour Policy and Globalisation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other University.

Signed_____ _____day of_____2013

Tshetsana Ntebalang Motsatsing

DEDICATION

To my two girls, Mpho and Chabo and all the women of the world. Ke a lo rata!

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This study would not have been without the assistance, guidance and motivation of the many mentioned below. I am greatly indebted to the following:

God, the Almighty for his grace and generosity. He has been the pillar of my strength and I say to you, Lord, You are so beautiful!

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My family and dearest friends, my mother and father who had been in and out of hospital during my period of study, Thank you for allowing me to finish this study while you are still alive! My baby daughters, Mpho and Chabo for allowing me to achieve my dreams even though it meant not being there when they needed me most. My brothers and sisters for the support, understanding and the confidence they had in me. A special thanks to a friend and chauffer, Buca who believed in me throughout.

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ABSTRACT

There is a general view that women have joined trade unions in large numbers in the work environment. However, it is clear that in spite of such large numbers, there are low levels of representativity as well as low levels of active involvement among the women members. As a consequence, women do not have enough bargaining power within the unions. This study investigates reasons for this low level of representativity and active involvement of women members in BOSETU. This research, therefore, aims at finding out the extent to which Botswana secondary school women unionists face challenges in terms of their participation and representation in BOSETU.

The data was collected from a sample of female and male trade unionists from Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union (BOSETU), which is one of the Botswana Public Sector Unions. This study adopted a qualitative research methodology using a triangulation of methods through the use of interviews, observation and documentary analysis. There were two separate interview schedules; one for the women unionists and the other for key informants.

The study drew on Feminist Theories such as patriarchy to explain the low levels of participation and representation of women in trade unions. The study further points out that there are marginally more women in BOSETU than men. However, in spite of this numerical advantage, their membership is neither proportionally represented in the union leadership hierarchy nor is their participation in union affairs robust enough. These findings are consistent with the literature on gender and trade unionism which indicate that there are several obstacles to women participation and representation in unions.

This study contributes to the body of existing knowledge about women in trade unions. It confirms findings of other studies that women still experience structural disadvantages as unionists, despite trade unions' constitutional support and the changing environment in legislature.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANTUSA	Teachers Unions of Southern Africa
BAC	Botswana Accountancy College
BCA	Botswana College of Agriculture
BOFEPUSU	Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions
BOFESETE	Botswana Federation of Secondary School Teachers Union
BOFUS	BOSETU Funeral Scheme
BFTU	Botswana Federation of Trade Unions
BOPEU	Botswana Public Employees Union
BOSETU	Botswana Secondary Schools Teachers Union
BPATA	Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers Association
BTU	Botswana Teachers Union
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DPSM	Directorate of Public Service Management
FAEU	Francistown Employees Union
FES	Fredrick Ebert Stiftung Foundation
ILO	International Labour Organization
NATEX	National Executive Committee
NCC	National Consultative Council
NPSA	New Public Service Act
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
SACCOS	Savings and Credit Cooperative Society

SADC	Southern African Development Community
UB	University of Botswana
WAD	Women Affairs Department

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The study is aimed at investigating the nature of women's participation and representation in Botswana Public Sector Unions with regard to labour legislation and gender transformations. I will use Botswana Secondary Schools Teachers Union (BOSETU) as my case study. The chapter introduces the background to the study, the rationale and research questions.

1.1 Background to the Study

Transformation and changes in various legislations in Botswana have given workers the right to join unions. These are, among others, the rights given by the Constitution of Botswana, Section 13(1), ILO Convention 87 Freedom of Association and Protection of Rights to Organise ratified by Botswana Government, ILO Convention 151 Labour Relations which led to the New Public Service Act of 2008. The Trade Union and Employers Organization Act (Cap 48:01), Section 2 defines a trade union as an organization whose principal objective is to regulate relations between employees and employers or between employer or employer organizations and employees or employee organisations. Tlou and Campbell (1997) allude to the formation of labour movements in Botswana as a response to their working conditions under the colonial government. They argue that even though the conditions of service for civil servants improved after independence, conditions of service for teachers remained worse than those of other civil servants. It was out of these unfavourable conditions that the first teachers association was formed in 1937, the Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers Association (BPATA), which later became Botswana Teachers Union (BTU). Such movements were formed to fight for improvement of working and welfare conditions of the workers.

Gaborone et al (2005) define a trade union as a voluntary, autonomous, democratic and continuous organization formed by employees to protect and advance interests and rights of the members. Besides legal rights, there are several other reasons why workers join unions. Such reasons include the need for better conditions of work, better pay, and training for new skills, advice and support. Healy and Kirton (1999) classify the reasons for joining trade unions into two: -instrumentalism and solidaristic collectivism. According to them, individuals cannot protect and improve their own conditions of work alone, they need the strength of collectivism, and, therefore, support and negotiating functions of the union are part of the reasons for joining unions.

It is on the understanding of the legal rights and also the reasons outlined above that women workers, like men, join unions. They have similar interests to those of men and even more, women have peculiar problems such as the need for maternity leave and issues of feeding hours among others. These issues are often seen as domestic and therefore society deems them as women's responsibilities. Other challenges peculiar to women include gender inequality and sexual harassment.

It is worth noting that women's issues have always been unique in Botswana, one of the many reasons that led to the formation of the early labour movements. As Tlou and Campbell (1997) in Hunyepa (2008) point out:

> During the protectorate era, teachers' salaries were lower than those of other civil servants…Teachers complained about these things as well as … and discrimination

against female teachers. In those days, pregnant unmarried teachers were suspended or dismissed (2008:16).

Healy and Kirton (1999) further argue that the external equality strategies saw the need for trade unions to develop a feminised, 'pro-women' bargaining agenda which emerged from the belief that women workers have different bargaining priorities from those of men. That is, their needs and concerns are to some extent different from those of men. It will therefore be important for the study to examine the position of Secretary of Gender Affairs, a Constitutional position in BOSETU, which has been occupied by a male representative for some time with the aim to find out how far this office has been able to address the issues of gender inequality in as far as representing interests of women are concerned.

1.1.1 The Legislation Background to the Labour Environment in Botswana

Prior to 1997, public servants in Botswana were denied the right to unionize and could only operate as associations due to the fact that Botswana had no enabling legislation to support such a set up. The FES Report of 2008 indicates that the only legal framework that existed was the Bill of Rights which only guaranteed freedom of association with certain limitations (Section 13 (1) and (2) of the Constitution of Botswana). Hunyepa, (2008:3) says:

Public Sector Organisations in Botswana operated as staff-associations since the colonial and post-independence era. The organisations relied on the good will of the colonial government in improving the working and living conditions of the workers of Botswana. The White Government controlled all the public sector.

It is only recent legislative reforms that have led to the formation and unionization of public service workers as also noted by the Fredrick Ebert Foundation in 2008. This is what is said:

> The changes to the labour laws were effected through a series of amendments to key labour statutes which included the enactment of a new Trade Dispute Act and significant amendments to the Trade Unions Employers' Organization Act (FES 2008:9).

In 1997, the Botswana government ratified twelve (12) ILO Conventions, of which two were Convention 87 and Convention 151. For the first time in the history of Botswana, public sector workers were allowed to organize freely and form trade unions. Even though the ratification was done in 1997, there was still need for some Botswana Government Legislation to be amended before the public sector associations could register as trade unions. It was only in 2004 that the law was reviewed and amended to be in line with the ratified ILO Conventions and national labour laws. These changes led to the revision and enactment of the Employment Act, a comprehensive Trade Dispute Act and the Trade Union and Employers Organisations' Act which made provision for public sector employees to organise and form trade unions. As a result of these legislative changes, former associations (seven of them) registered as trade unions between 2006 and 2008 and joined Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU). For example, the Botswana Federation of Secondary School Teachers Association (BOFESETE), now Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union (BOSETU), was registered as a recognised trade union in 2006 and it became the first association to do so.

In December 2008, the Parliament of Botswana passed The Public Service Act no. 30 of 2008, an act with collective rights for the public service, which was implemented on 1st May 2010. This brought in a further transformation in the labour movement of Botswana. It led to the birth of the Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU) in 2008, the second federation to be formed in Botswana with its affiliates as public sector unions including BOSETU. With all these developments and transformations in labour movements, women as a specific group of worker unionists were also affected.

1.1.2 Gender Equality and Empowerment: Vision 2016

Botswana has taken significant measures to create a policy environment which promotes gender equality. Discriminatory laws have been reviewed. Political commitment to gender is reflected in the appointment to the cabinet and senior civil service. A fully-fledged department (The Women's Affairs Department-WAD) was established to coordinate and implement government policies on Gender. As the Minister of Labour & Home Affairs noted, "the existence of Gender Inequalities has been a source of concern within the Public and Private Sectors as well as Civil Society in Botswana" (foreword in the National Gender Program1998:i).

There has also been significant progress in promoting Gender Equality by removing discriminatory clauses. These has been necessitated as there is a lack of women in decision making positions such as politics, senior management both in public and private sector and in traditional male domains such as Chieftainships and the priesthood. Today, Botswana has one ordained woman priest, three women in the house of chiefs, three Cabinet Ministers. The difficulty of improving on this is that there is a strong influence of tradition and institutional

culture, which lag behind legislative and progressive policy reforms. Besides labour law transformations, there have also been transitions in other sectors of Botswana society which also affect women. These include the political, educational, socio-cultural, religious and economic set up. These will be discussed next.

1.1.3 Social, Cultural and Economic Background

Besides the legislative transformations in the labour environment of Botswana, there are other changes which are taking place in the world today that impact upon Batswana. They include: the rapid expansion of knowledge and technology, migration to cities and towns (social change), political, religious and economic changes.

The social/ cultural tradition of Botswana in terms of education was based on what are called "Initiation Schools" (Bojale for girls and Bogwera for boys). Girls were initiated into womanhood as care takers who look after the home and children and as transmitters of tradition-teaching children moral/ cultural values. Boys were initiated into manhood by being taught to be strong, to head the family, to provide for the family, plough in the fields, hunt and to provide security/protection to the family. Men could also go out to work while women took care of the home and fields. These traditional practices have started to change although the initiation schools are still maintained in some tribal groups.

The disparities between male and female have been eliminated in most formal educational settings. For instance, the 2001 government statistics confirmed that male and female enrolments in schools showed no significance differences. But although the statistics reveal these results

with respect to education, there is a deep gender gap in tertiary education. For example, statistics reveal that enrolment at Teacher Training Colleges and Nursing Institutions is higher than that of males. In the University, males dominate in science-based training while females dominate in the Humanities and Social Sciences. With regard to professions, women dominate what are considered to be feminine or caring jobs.

1.1.4 Women Participation in Leadership

The political setup of Tswana tradition is male dominated. There is what is called "The Kgotla", a traditional court which governs traditional communities through Customary Laws. The Kgotla is headed by a Chief (Kgosi), who is always a man, working with what are called "Advisors", usually the uncles acting as his counsellors. Women are traditionally not allowed in Kgotla meetings and therefore, do not participate in decision making. According to Cassidy (2001:14),

> The kgotla is the formal meeting-place presided over by the village chief, where community members gather to learn about, discuss and sometimes vote on community issues. The kgotla is seen as the centre of village life. Meetings at the kgotla tend to be formal, with individuals waiting to be recognized by the chief or meeting leader before speaking… Organizations that include all community members tend to be dominated by men. Decisions are made by leaders, who are usually men. Voting takes place in the kgotla, which is dominated by men.

Although Cassidy (2001) commends organizations which are using their resources in Botswana to raise awareness on gender inequality and helping women get involved in planning and

decision-making; the 2002 statistics revealed that political power is still largely controlled by men.

1.1.5 Women in Politics

As discussed in the introductory chapter that among the many changes taking place in the world today are because of the political change, Botswana has also experienced political changes in recent times. Botswana gained its independence from foreign rule in 1966 and had since become a self-governing territory and continued to be seen as a liberal democracy. Like many of the African countries which became independent, Botswana subscribes to various international organisations and world-wide movements which brought nations together into international cooperation and in particular for human development. Some of these political and social cooperation organisations include the United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, Organisation of African Unity (OAU), African, Caribbean and Pacific group of countries, Lome Convention, the Commonwealth, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), African Development Bank, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). As a country, Botswana is known to be an African example of democracy, with a written Constitution containing the bill of rights outlined in Section 3. Among the basic human rights enriched in the constitution is the right to equality. However, the status of Batswana women in politics still remains unequal to that of men. Botswana is the lowest country in Southern Africa in terms of the representation of women in politics.

In most SADC countries, the primary source of human rights is the bill of rights in the constitution, where such exists. In those countries with constitutions, gender discrimination is

outlawed. In many cases, however, the same constitutional provisions that guarantee gender equality allow “derogations” or exceptions in the so-called “private law” areas of customary law, personal law and family law (Gender Links- 05.09.10). This is the case in Botswana, where Traditional Authorities are legally recognized, and the Customary Courts often apply laws which are in line with some cultural practices but deviate from the rule of law and seem to be exempted from the Constitution. For example, the customary law of inheritance which allows for the male-only inheritance of the family home by the youngest –born son in the Ngwaketse Tribe. It is noted in the Sunday Standard (October 21-27, 2012) that in 2008, the Human Rights Council recommended that Botswana must increase efforts to raise awareness of the precedence of the constitutional law over customary laws and practices to promote gender equality. The paper states that the recommendation was rejected by Botswana insisting that it would be absurd to declare the abovementioned discriminatory customary law unconstitutional because the law is recognized and practiced by majority of the population in Botswana. This is said to have been argued by the Attorney General (Sunday Standard: October 21-27, 2012). Interestingly, this is a government body headed by a woman, the first woman Attorney General in Botswana and a reputable women’s rights activist of the time.

Botswana is the host of SADC, with the Secretariat in its Capital City, Gaborone. Out of the 15 SADC countries that have a commitment to the spirit of the SADC Gender Protocol, it is only Botswana and Mauritius which have not signed the SADC Gender Protocol. It is argued that both countries rank among the oldest and best established democracies in SADC, widely known as peaceful and respected both regionally and internationally. Both take their regional and international commitments seriously. In the SADC Gender Development Index (SGDI),

Botswana ranks first out of the 15 SADC countries in the economy and education sectors, scoring 87% and 100% respectively; and at least one of the top five countries in the areas of HIV and AIDS, health and media with scores of 59%, 77%, respectively in the 2011 Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance Barometer, but the governance sector pulls the country backwards where it is at position 11, scoring 29% in terms of political decision-making: that is, parliament, local government and cabinet. The overall SGDI results for Botswana at number six out of the 15 countries in terms of progress on achieving gender equality. This analysis indicates the state of which women in Botswana in terms of their involvement and participation in political decisions making policies on gender equality will, therefore, not always be implemented or enforced to benefit women.

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development encompasses commitments made in all regional, global and continental instruments for achieving gender equality. These include the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set for 2015; the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); Beijing Declaration and Plan of Action; AU Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, and the AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. The Gender Protocol also enhances these instruments by addressing gaps and setting specific timeframes where these do not exist. Therefore, if Botswana does not sign within or before 2015, its democracy and legitimacy to commitment in all these instruments will be questionable.

Against this background, it is worth noting that women in Botswana do occupy the private space more than the public sphere. They are still dominated by men, led and decided for by their male

counterparts and, therefore, less influential in policy making decisions. The question now is why this happens and whether it is reflected in the trade union movements of Botswana, using BOSETU as a case study.

1.2 Aims of the Study

This study is aimed at investigating reasons for low level of representation and active involvement on the part of women members in BOSETU.

1.3 Rationale for the Study

There are a number of reasons why this study is important. Firstly, the topic has not been researched in the Botswana Trade Union Movement and therefore the research will be advantageous to the labour movement in the sense that it will contribute towards an understanding of the challenges women unionists face in the changing situation of unionism in Botswana. Managing the gender gap (inequality between men and women) within the public sector unions will be an important factor towards the success of unionism in Botswana. The research will also add to the volume of research work carried out in the country. To date, little research has been done on women's participation and representation in unions in Botswana. This research, therefore, aims at finding out the extent to which Botswana secondary school women unionists face challenges in terms of their participation and representation in BOSETU. It also considers why such challenges persist and how they can be addressed

1.4 Research Questions

The study will answer the following questions:

1. What motivated women to become union members, their roles and the benefits these women members have in joining trade unions, BOSETU in particular?
2. What are the challenges/ obstacles they face as women unionists and how do they cope with the challenges they experience as women union members?

1.5 Chapter Layout

The research starts with chapter one which encompasses the introduction, background, aims of the study, rationale, and context of study. Chapter two is a review of literature which will identify and discuss the theoretical and conceptual issues central or key to the research problem. This will be followed by chapter three which focuses on methods employed by the research in addressing the issue of lack of women participation and representation. Chapter Four analyses the findings and discusses them. Finally, chapter five presents the conclusions of the research findings and offers some recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

This study adopted a qualitative research methodology, what Neuman (1997) calls “interpretive approach”. The study used an interactive mode of enquiry using in-depth face-to-face techniques to collect data from the participants as well as observation which involved looking at people’s behaviour and explaining it. The study was more interested in interpreting data in words and not in numbers (the quantitative research method) as this provides true experiences, feelings and opinions of the interviewees. The study, therefore, adopted a triangulation of methods through the use of in-depth interviews, observation and document analysis. Triangulation of methods allows the researcher to “view the same phenomena from different angles giving the researcher a better understanding of the problem” (Babie and Mouton, 2001:125). In addition, Cohen and Marion (1994) argue that two instruments could be used in one research because they provide a wide and rich scope of information. The researcher, therefore, used an interview guide in conducting interviews with the respondents in the population sampled.

2.1 Data Collection Techniques

The data was collected from a sample of female and male trade unionists from the following public sector union: Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union (BOSETU). Data collection techniques included semi-structured interviews, with some open-ended questions to complement the semi-structured questions. The researcher wrote down notes during the interviews and audio recorded a majority of the respondents with their consent.

The following principal techniques of data collection were applied. These were used interchangeably.

2.1.1 Archival and Documentary Analysis/ Research

A synthesis of archival material was conducted to capture information on past events and to get primary data which may not be provided by secondary sources of data. This provided background material and informed the selection of the case study for an in-depth examination. This was conducted at the University of Botswana Library and other archives such as the National Archives, Ministry of Labour (WAD Library), Ministry of Education, Trade Unions and other research institutes.

2.1.2 In-depth Interviews

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews at two levels. The first level was with key informants. These were people with special knowledge on the subject such as Trade Union officials, employer official from the Ministry of Education, labour relations officials from the Ministry of Labour and officials from the Department of Women's Affairs. The second level of in-depth interviews involved men and women unionists identified through snowballing. The interviews were informal and semi-structured so as not to constrain the deliberations. An interview guide was used to ensure that all the themes of the study were covered during the interview.

2.1.3 Observation

I attended some meetings, workshops and some union gatherings. Using this technique provided the researcher with a range of information on a large group of people. Notes collected from the observations were also used in the semi-structured interviews to seek clarification on some behaviour noted during observation. The meetings workshops and union gatherings observed are listed below.

- I observed two BOSETU gatherings. One was a National Consultative Council (NCC) meeting and the other one was the Annual Conference. At both gatherings, women were the least represented. There were thirty (30) Regional Chairpersons at the NCC, two women and 28 men, plus twenty National Executive (NATEX) members. The two resource persons were all men and there were only five (5) women attendees at that meeting. All the four women leaders in NATEX which is the union Political Leadership sent their apologies, they were said to be engaged in preparations for the upcoming conference. Even the Secretary of Gender Affairs, also a woman, was not present at that meeting. For purposes of comparison, I also observed a shop steward Training Workshop organized by BFTU. There were twenty-four (24) shop stewards representing twenty-four unions. There were a total of six women attendees out of twenty-four unions represented.
- The second gathering observed was the Annual Conference attended from the 1st to the 4th August 2012. The conference was attended by Delegates (Regional Chairpersons and Secretaries to discuss the reports (i.e. Presidents, Secretary General and Treasurer's Report) as well as reviewing Congress resolutions. There were other presentations by some committees and business companies that have partnered with BOSETU. The Guest Speaker and other Stakeholders also made their Presentations. Stakeholders ranged from

the Minister of Education and ministry officials, Directorate of Public Service Management (Employer) officials, political parties representatives, Local Unions representatives, observers as well as Teachers Unions of Southern Africa Representatives. It was at this conference that BOSETU celebrated its 25th Anniversary and a Gala Dinner was held to honour some of the members for their loyalty and support of the union. They were given awards, and from my observation, only two out of more than ten award recipients were women.

A number of committees were represented, the majority by men. It was out of these observations that I wanted to interrogate women's representation in these committees, a question I will return to in Chapter 4.

2.2 Sampling

The population sample was BOSETU women and male unionists. A total of twenty (20) respondents were interviewed, eleven (11) of them were male and nine (9) were women; five (5) of whom were ordinary members, one (1) Regional Organizer, one (1) personnel officer and two (2) in the political leadership positions. The male respondents included the National Organising Secretary, one (1) Regional Organizer, two (2) men in leadership positions, four (4) ordinary male unionists, one (1) personnel Officer, one (1) media officer from BFTU and one (1) Radio Presenter from Duma FM Radio Station. A breakdown of the participants interviewed is presented in the table below.

Table 1: A breakdown of the number of participants interviewed

Respondent	Office/ School	Gender	Position at work	Position in Union
Kemo	Mogoditshane Senior	Female	Senior Teacher (ST) 2	member
Bame	Kagiso Senior	Female	Senior Teacher (ST)1 (Science)	Vice chair (branch committee)
One	Taun CJSS	Female	ST2	Member
Moshi	Lobatse Secondary	Male	ST2	Member
Moagi	Naledi Senior	Male	ST1 (Science)	Website Manager (Publicity Committee)
Oagile	Tonota CJSS	Male	ST1(Staff Development)	Research & Documentation Committee
Jabu	Mochudi CJSS	Male	Deputy School Head	Member
Neo		Female	Labour Relations Officer	Personnel
Bobby		Male	Labour Relations Manager	Personnel
Moses		Male	Regional Organiser (Maun Chobe)	Personnel
Chippa	Moeding College	Male	ST2	National Organising Secretary

Bonnie	Duma FM	Male	Radio Presenter	
Michael	BFTU	Male	BFTU Media Officer	

2.3 Access

Bell (1993) argues that access to collect data from institutions, organizations or materials cannot be demanded. The researcher is asking for a favour from the participants and therefore the researcher should negotiate to get permission. I, therefore, made a formal written request to BOSETU, the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour, National Archives, and to individuals outlining the plan of the research.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

In undertaking this research, there were a number of ethical considerations. Paramount among such considerations was the need to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. There was also the need to ensure that people who contributed to the study were doing so willingly and without coercion. The principles of confidentiality, anonymity, guarding against bias in report findings, voluntary participation, informed participant consent, no harm to participants, guarding against deception, i.e. the researcher not deceiving the participants, obligation to analyze and report the study were highly considered and adhered to by the researcher. The researcher also followed the requirements of the Wits University to apply to the Ethics Committee for guidance on ethical principles given that “many professional associations have created and published formal codes of conduct describing what is considered acceptable and unacceptable professional behaviour” (Barbie 2001:528). Wassenaar (2006: 61) has also noted that, “Ethical review is increasingly becoming mandatory for social science research globally. In South Africa, most leading

universities require that all social science research involving human participants be reviewed by an independent research ethics committee (REC) before data collection can commence."

2.5 Data Analysis

A process of qualitative analysis was employed to analyze and interpret the data. This involved a "systematic process of selecting the data, categorizing the data, comparing the data, synthesizing and interpreting the data to provide explanations of the phenomenon" (McMillan and Schumacher, 2001:462).

2.6 Limitations of Study

Due to financial constraints, the research was a challenge for the researcher since the actual activity of collecting data needed funds, particularly for travel and daily maintenance, but also for internet and telephone communication during interviews. These financial implications meant that the study had to confine itself to a sample of respondents from the same town in which I resided, thereby increasing bias in the report. Additionally, there was very little published literature on unions in Botswana, especially on BOSETU. This is both a good rationale for conducting the study, but also made it challenging as there was little data from which to work. Furthermore, the issue of gender in unions has not been much extensively studied and published in Botswana. Materials on it made it difficult for the researcher to get most of the secondary data. There were also time constraints, particularly given that the research was done simultaneously with course work. The only time to collect data was during school vacation which was only three weeks. There was not, therefore, enough time to do follow up interviews or to include more participants in the study. The major challenge arose from BOSETU's late response when the

researcher was left with only a week to re-open school. The other challenge was that the researcher was robbed during the research trip and all the research materials including the laptop and data were lost.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0 Introduction

Literature on gender and trade unionism indicates that there are several obstacles to women participation and representation in unions. Women still experience structural disadvantages as unionists, despite trade unions' constitutional support and the changing environment in legislature. However, there is very little research on the extent to which this problem exists in unions in Botswana. It is against this background that the study aims to find out the challenges women unionists face in the changing situation of unionism in Botswana. Identifying such issues will help manage the gap between men and women within the public sector unions and contribute towards the success of unionism in Botswana.

In locating these challenges, the study will explore multiple key concepts such as patriarchy, oligarchy, masculinity, segregation, gender stereotypes and, in trying to understand the low levels of women participation and representation in union structures, particularly in BOSETU. When Khoali et al (1992) asked women why they were not actively involved in union activities in South Africa, they were overwhelmed by the 'streams' and 'floods' of the answers they got. To put it in their own words, they asked:

> Why are so few women active in the unions? The answers came- small streams, a river, a flood: prejudice, male domination, sexism, tradition, housework, motherhood, marriage, sexual harassment, power games, jealousy, control, upbringing, shyness, and fear…"I thought I knew the problems facing women, but I have gained more (1992).

All these answers relate to the topic that is explored in this study. Before I analyse key theories that set out to explain the challenges outlined above, I turn to a background of women's involvement in trade unions in Africa in general. I then focus on the development of trade unions and women's participation in Botswana in particular.

3.1 Trade Unions

According to Sakhela Buhlungu (2012), trade unions in Africa emerged during the colonial period; "they are a creation of colonialism". They were formed first by the white immigrant workers and later local workers took the idea and formed their own trade unions separate from those of the white workers to address issues specifically affecting them. Thus, trade unions in Africa were a response to a capitalist economic order (Chingunu, 2011). Buhlungu (2012) also notes that, unlike in other parts of the world, trade unions in Africa started mainly in the teaching profession, public service, railways and mining, and not in the industrial sector and agriculture because many of the African economies were mainly natural resource based. Trade and industry came later in Africa.

Some of the issues that led to the formation of trade unions were low wages (low wage economies of the colonial periods), discrimination (racial and ethnic), lack of trade union rights for the black/local workers, conditions of service (e.g. health issues), humiliation (loss of dignity), exploitation (e.g. forced labour) among other reasons. Hence, trade unions in Africa were a response to a capitalist economic order (Chingunu, 2011).

Buhlungu (2012) argues that the issue of gender at that time was not among the concerns. His contention is that women in Africa joined unions at a later stage and not at the time of their formation because it was only males in the world of work especially migrant labours: instead, women got involved in the world of work later on Buhlungu, (2012). Conversely, Tshoaedi (1998), claims that trade unions in South Africa emerged in the early 1970's for black workers and their main aim was to build a strong worker organisation to challenge inequalities in the workplace. Black people in South Africa occupied a lower structural position, relative to that of whites, where both sexes were oppressed by the white management and the state because of the colour of their skin. Tshoaedi (1998) argues that this oppression influenced the development of a common identity among black people, resulting in intense solidarity between men and women. Women in South Africa became involved in the initial stages of trade unions in the 70's, unlike women in most developed countries. A similar observation is made by Tlou (1997) in the context of Botswana. He notes that one of the many reasons which led to the formation of the early labour movements in Botswana was the issue of gender, particularly the treatment of women in the workplace. For example, teaching conditions of the colonial period were worse than those of other civil services of the colony and women, who were dominant in the teaching profession, were adversely affected. There was gender based discrimination and sexual harassment of female teachers in the teaching profession. For instance, female teachers could be suspended or even expelled from work for becoming pregnant. This was one of the issues of concern at the time and it led to the formation of one of the first trade unions, the Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers Association (BPATA) in 1937.

3.1.1 Trade Unions in Botswana

Like many countries in Africa, Botswana was a colony (British colony) which was also affected by the coming of trade & industry by the colonial capitalist who took advantage of Africans as a source of cheap labour. They also used slaves and, at times, forced labour; in most cases that of migrant labourers. The Batswana people went through the same experiences as their other African counterparts and it was out of such harsh conditions that labour movements were formed to fight for the rights of the workers and an improvement in the conditions of their work. The first union formed in Botswana was the Francistown Employees Union (FAEU) in 1948 (FES 2008). Francistown was the centre of trade and commerce and dominated by Tati trading company which controlled a large share of resources and land in the town and surrounding areas. Therefore, trade unions in Botswana were formed to fight for the improvement of conditions of service for the workers both in the public and private sectors. The formation of the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU) in 1977, to which most of Botswana trade unions affiliate was a response to such concerns in the work place.

3.1.2 Women and Trade Unions in Botswana

Women in Botswana, like anywhere else in the world, join trade unions for protection against exploitation and abuse in the world of work, struggle against the social injustice of capitalism, (FES, 2008) as well as for bargaining purposes. Healey and Kirton (1999) argue that women join unions for instrumental and solidarity reasons. They say individuals on their own cannot protect and improve their own conditions of work. Therefore women as individuals also need the strength of collectivism for support and negotiating functions of the union and those become part

of the reasons for joining trade unions. Further on, in the results chapter, I will expand upon the specific reasons for which women joined BOSETU.

Even though women joined unions such as BOSETU, a union where women are the majority, they still lag behind in effective participation and representation in the union. In one of the meetings I attended as an observer, I noted that positions of Regional Chairpersons were dominated by men. Out of the thirty regions, there were only two female Regional Chairpersons and the other three women present were representatives from Primary School Teachers and Non Formal Education. Again, at an annual conference I attended, most women present had come to provide entertainment as part of a traditional dance group and a choir. Others who had portfolios such as the Secretary of Gender Affairs were in the organising team, focusing mainly on the catering services.

Tsomondo's (2010: 1) observation in relation to the South African situation reflects a similar scenario:

> Though trade unions purport to fight against discrimination and inequality in the work place, they can be seen to be also propagating it as shown by the low numbers in the top echelons of these organizations... A history of women in trade unions shows that women have been active for a long time in South Africa and their membership has increased. However, their participation and increased membership has not been similarly reflected in their representation at the leadership level of the trade unions even where the union members are mostly women.

Further, she claims that trade unions are male-dominated organizations which display the influences of a patriarchal society. She points out that women provide them with a certain degree of political leverage:

> Trade unions must appear to serve women and must be able to attract women if they are to hold the claim that they are progressive democratic organizations (2010:3).

As highlighted earlier, it is common knowledge that trade unions are social movements whose main objective is to fight social injustices. Trade unions as agents of social change and there is a general expectation that they have the goal to fight and eliminate injustices or any signs of injustice within their own ranks before going out to fight injustices at societal level. Their constitutional objectives are designed to address issues of gender inequality and the promotion of women empowerment, as in the case of BOSETU. As indicated in most literature, however, trade unions are unable to fulfill this commitment themselves. This is evidenced by the low participation and representation of women unionists in different unions of the world. Ledwith et al (2012) argue that

> Trade unions cannot credibly maintain their important place in the global community as agents of change if their own internal decision making bodies do not reflect the basis of their constituency.

Research on women and trade unions indicates that women membership around the world has been on the increase but it has also shown that male unionists continue to dominate spheres of

decision making (Ledwith 2012). For instance, the Botswana Formal Sector Employment Report of 2000 indicates that there has been an increase in the proportion of women in employment since 1991, with the Local Government recording the highest increase of female workers. This increase is attributed to the fact that there has been a decrease in what are called 'male dominated industries', such as, construction and an increase in what are called 'women dominated industries' which include education, commerce and business services such as banks. The report states that, in September 2000, Central Government recorded the highest female employees, boosted by the public education sector which constitutes 65% of government employees, mostly in the Teaching profession, followed by Public Health and Community Services through Nursing and Social Work, professions which are female dominated (Botswana CSO, 2000:9).

Generally, the literature indicates high numbers of women in the work force as the main reason there have been an increase in women membership. Yet what is surprising is that their participation in trade unions is still very low.

3.2 Patriarchy, Oligarchy and Hegemonic Masculinity

Ledwith et al (2012) identified some social processes and tendencies of trade union one of which is oligarchy, a system whereby those who have been elected into power, most of whom are men, will want to retain their position forever because they do not want their power to be challenged. Tshoaedi (2008) argues that men are usually threatened by women who are more informed of trade union issues and therefore, try to bring women down and undermine them by not giving them adequate information on trade union activities.

Another central challenge identified by research is that of patriarchy, a system in which men dominate, oppress or exploit women in social relations. For example, Ledwith et al (2012) identify the problem of masculine hegemony, which involves the dynamics of power relations in structures and processes. In most cases, men use power to control women thereby making women fearful, with low self-esteem. As Ledwith et al (2012) put it, "gendered power is seen as the capacity of one sex to control the behaviour of the other." With respect to the current study, all these issues affect women's participation and representation. In spite of the high numbers in membership, the question remains: are women actively involved and their interests well represented?

The issue of patriarchy is raised by Tshoaedi (2008) in relation to South Africa who observes that for the most part, the history of trade union organization in South Africa has emphasized the roles played by men in the mobilisation and building of the trade union movement. Analyses of trade union struggles during this period make little reference to the initiatives and leadership of women in the workplace struggles for trade union mobilization. Women often get but a cursory mention and their involvement in the labour movement as activists receive fewer acknowledgements.

This argument was confirmed in an observation at BOSETU Annual Conference Gala Dinner during presentation of awards. During the introductions of Founding Members and Veterans of BOSETU, there was one woman unionist introduced compared to more than five male unionists as members of the Committee which formed BOSETU. Surprisingly, when that committee was presented with awards which were categorized under 'Pillar of the Nation Award', 'Naledi ya

Sechaba', all the male unionists of that Committee received the award except that one woman. Asked why she did not receive the award, this is what she had to say:

> I do not know why I am not one of the award recipients but all I know is that I was with these guys in the first committee to be elected during the formation of this union. I worked with them during that time when there were not even resources to run the union. We used our own resources and we used to meet at night trying very hard to make things work. I was the only woman in the committee at that time (Interview with former woman leader of BOSETU-August 2012).

The fact that women have always fought for freedom and that women make sacrifices in the revolutionary struggles, but when men get into positions of leadership, helped by women, their interest and concern for women fade has been noted by a number of feminist scholars such as Shireen Hassim, Janet Jaquett, Carole Pateman and many more others. Molyneux (1985: 229) poses a crucial question about the relationship between social revolution and women's emancipation that:

> If women surrender their specific interests in the universal struggle for a different society, at what point are these interests rehabilitated, legitimated and responded to by the revolutionary forces or by the new social state?

Clearly, one of the challenges to achieve this is, as Tsomondo (2010) points out, even those who continue struggling to get actively involved, have difficulties in balancing union activities and

the demands of a patriarchal society: housework, husbands, children, particularly what is referred to as ‘double shift’, where women work in the home (unpaid job) as well as at their paid employment. Another challenge here is that men do not always recognise women leaders because of the idea that women should do what they call ‘precarious’ work (Ledwith 2012), these are jobs viewed as feminine in the masculine-feminine politics of patriarchal mentality which perpetuates the view that women are made for homecare. Women get challenged or threatened when they get into positions of leadership. Khoali et al (1992) also described the militancy of women unionists during strikes but were puzzled by their negative representation at union leadership levels and political organizations in general. This issue of leadership is a major challenge to women unionists. In an observation noted during the 2011Botswana Public Service Unions (BOFEPUSU) strike in which I used the attendance list sampled from one school, I noted that in the first week, there were 33 women18 men striking at the sampled school which translates to 64.7% women participation in the strike against 35.3% men in the strike while in the second week, there were 35 women 23 men striking translating to 60% women striking against 40% striking men.

Even in the political sphere, women attend political rallies in large numbers and even more, constitute a large number of voters during elections but they are less represented. Jaquette (1998) argues that men, especially educated men, do not want to put women in positions of leadership because they are afraid that those women will become their competitors. Men are threatened by women who speak and also by women’s involvement. Men may interpret the presence of women as a threat to their power and this may increase harassment. Previous research have shown that men may become angry and violent and even beat up their wives for coming home late if they

had attended union meetings after work, the main reason married women and women with partners may not be actively involved in union activities, as one of the respondents mentioned in Tshoaedi (1998). On the contrary, married men can afford to stay away from home and family weekend after weekend because they believe that they have bought their wives by paying *lobola* (bride price) to perform household work on their behalf, another cultural stereotype in Botswana society.

3.3 Patriarchy, Capitalism and Masculinity

According to Connell (1990), radical feminists ascribe patriarchy to the "modern western patterns of men's domination over women to the rest of the world and the rest of history". Connell further argues that male dominance is not something that is innate but something that is created by society rooted in social life situations as reflected in the family and the workplace; "generated by the functioning of the economy, reproduced over time by normal operation of schools, media and churches" (1990). Again, patriarchy as a social system was first explained by socialist theories of class which influenced feminist theorists to speak of it as a "sex class" alongside "economic class" in which the ruling class, through the state, could solve an economic problem by exploiting women. According to Connell (1990), socialist feminism linked the family and the economy to the oppression of women. Similarly, Walby (1986) and Hartmann (1997) define patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". These social structures may mean family, workplace, unions, school, and so on.

Additionally, Burton, in Connell (1990) argues that the state plays a role in dividing the society into categories of masculinity and feminity, especially though its policies. Again, Scutt, in Connell (1990) argues that the state itself is the oppressor because its laws are made to protect men and not women. She based her argument on the Australian rape case where feminists were defeated in their proposal to reform the rape law. She said, “governments are established for the benefits of men”. This statement, according to Connell shows how the state is construed as socially masculine and patriarchal. Connell (1990) further contends that this does not necessarily mean that “government is women’s enemy” though, but only a structure of power dynamics, especially gender power. For instance, Hartmann (1997) noted that in the labour market, jobs are segregated according to wage with high wage jobs normally occupied by men and low wage jobs usually for women and children. Connell refers to it as a division of labour according to gender. This job segregation by sex, which puts women into low paying jobs, ensures that women remain economically dependent on men so that they can continue to dominate, oppress and exploit them. This forces women to occupy positions which are described as “wifery” or more “human-service” (Cassidy 2001).

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter has discussed the literature on gender and trade unionism indicating that there are several obstacles to women participation and representation in unions. The discussion started by looking at trade unions and women involvement in general through to women’s involvement in Botswana Trade Unions, BOSETU in particular. It is imperative to point out that much of the literature used was drawn from South African studies due to the fact that there is very little research done on gender and trade unions in Botswana. The South African context is also of

great importance in this study as it brings out the differences in levels of participation and political militancy between South African women and Batswana women. It further discussed Feminist Theories such as patriarchy to provide a background to the low level of participation and representation of women in trade unions. The chapter further pointed out that there has been an increase in the number of women joining trade unions even though their membership is not proportionally represented nor is their participation robust enough. The chapter confirmed that women still experience structural disadvantages as unionists, despite trade unions' constitutional support and the changing environment in legislature.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to link the status of women in Botswana society with the extent to which women participate in BOSETU. The chapter presents the research findings and analysis of the study which in turn answer the research questions. The researcher interviewed a total of 20 participants (9 females and 11 males). As Tshoaedi (1998), and Colgan and Ledwith (1990) argue, women's membership/ numbers in trade unions have increased in recent times but this is not reflected in their representation.

In what follows, I will explore the reasons why women participate or get involved in trade unions. In other words, what is their motivation for joining trade unions? Are there any benefits besides what Kirton and Healy (1999) described as solidaristic and instrumentalism? Are these the sole reasons women join unions or are women used by the unions as political leverage? Is their role traditional or political, as asserted in Tshoaedi (1998)? The concepts of Patriarchy (Hartman, 1997, Walby, 1986 and Bellhooks, 2004), Oligarchy (Ledwith, 2002) and Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell, 1987) will be used to explore and explain the many challenges women face and affect their participation and representation in trade unions.

4.2 The Status of Women in Botswana

Rathapo (2000) argues that although some positive steps have been taken towards repealing discriminatory laws and that efforts towards gender mainstreaming have been made in Botswana, a lot still needs to be done in improving the status of women. Women in Botswana still occupy a

disadvantaged position, the position; they were in twenty-five years ago when four women activists presented a seminar entitled 'Women and the law in Botswana', which outlined some of the discrimination women faced. The National Policy on Women in Development indicates that there are still some laws and cultural attitudes that limit women's effective participation in economic activities, public and private life. Such a situation was vehemently rejected by a High Court Judge, Key Dingake, in a landmark judgment, when he ruled against the Customary Law practice which bars women from inheriting the family home of their deceased parents (*Sunday Standard*, October 21-27, 2012).

Statistics on post -secondary education, especially vocational and technical schools, show a smaller proportion of women and this has a bearing on women's access to job opportunities. This is in spite the recommendations of the National Education Commission of 1976 which formed part of the National Policy on Education of the Republic of Botswana in 1977 as a way of striving to achieve equal access to universal education by both boys and girls. Participation of women in political and decision-making positions is still low. As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter, there are only three women in Cabinet, one woman priest and a handful in executive positions of companies in the private sector.

In addition, the girl-child is confronted by more socio-cultural obstacles than her male counterpart, as lamented in a poem recited by one Ene Galeemelwe, a Standard 4 pupil during the Sixteen Days of Violence Against Women and Children on 10th December 2012, entitled 'What's Wrong with my Being a Girl'? The following is an excerpt from the poem:

Me, me, me always!

What's wrong with my being a girl?

Did God make a mistake by creating me?

No! God does not make mistakes…

During my Grandma's childhood, I was not allowed to go to school

My parents said it was a waste of money

So I had to stay home while the boys went to school…

Ladies and gentlemen, please give me a chance!

May be I will be a good future mother, friend, businesswoman…

I believe, yes I can.

The poem reveals some of the many challenges a girl child faces in traditional Tswana society which embraces gender segregation even in the home setup. It depicts a situation whereby girl children and women are not given a chance to prove to the world that they can. This is normally portrayed as if it was something pre-destined by God or something that God pre-planned when creating a woman that she should be unequal to a man. It is a poem depicting a woman or a girl fed-up with the situation and crying out to be freed from those chains of bondage. This is probably what the recent women movements are calling upon, including Botswana's 'Emang Basadi', a name that literally means 'Women Stand Up'. This is a movement that calls upon women to stand up for themselves, fight for their rights because they cannot be given to them freely; the attitude that I would encourage BOSETU women members to adopt.

Notable is the fact that even where there have been changes in laws and policies set to address women's issues and needs, implementation is a major problem. Added to all these, Botswana has not signed the SADC Gender Protocol. Botswana has not enacted any legislation to address issues of gender equity unlike South Africa. Issues of affirmative action and gender mainstreaming are only theories in Botswana; there is no implementation despite Cassidy's (2010) praise of the progress made by Botswana with regards to issues of gender.

4.3 Women in the Workplace

Notwithstanding the fact that there has been an increase in women joining the paid labour market in the twentieth century, leading to many of them joining trade unions as a response to social forces such as poverty, changes in legislation and the changing nature of the workplace, sexual segregation continues to persist in the workplace, which in turn is reflected in trade unions. Transformation in the workplace did not only involve adjustment of wages and benefits, it also involved adjustment in terms of managerial control, industrial relations, working conditions and training' (Masondo, 2005:150). But these changes seem not to have been enjoyed by women; they continue to be concentrated in lower paying jobs, what Hellen Schwenken perceive as a mismatch between men and women in paid work, normally supervised by men who, ultimately, become leaders and even their representatives in trade unions. Statistics from ILO Global Employment Trends show that women are more than 50% of the total workforce (2010). In the context of Botswana, Chapter 3 showed a large proportion of female workers, especially in the Local Government, a sector in which Secondary School Teachers who are members of BOSETU are part of. It is evident that while women remain in low ranking positions, male teachers occupy most leadership positions of School Heads and Deputy School Heads or even Senior Teacher

Grade 1 (ST1). This is evident in my discussion of the respondents' profiles presented later in this chapter. Another example is the fact that the leadership of BOSETU is predominantly male which will also be evident in my discussion of BOSETU structure and membership.

4.4 What is the Nature and level of Women participation in Botswana Public Service Unions? A Case Study of BOSETU

In trying to address this question, I will discuss the background of BOSETU, interrogate representation of women in BOSETU, looking at the total membership, number of women members and the number of women in the structures of the union.

4.4.1 Background

Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union, formally Botswana Federation of Secondary School Teachers Union (BOFESETE), formed in 1987 by a group of Secondary School Teachers who felt Botswana Teachers Union (BTU) was not effectively addressing their concerns as secondary school teachers. It has since changed its name, at the Madinare Congress of 2011, to Botswana Sectors of Educators Union (BOSETU) to open up its membership not only to Secondary School Teachers but also to all professional educators whose rights and interests need to be defended and advanced in their workplace. "The organisation was formed to provide an alternative and credible voice to address issues affecting conditions of service for teachers" (Hunyepa et al 2012:20).

BOSETU has a Constitution whose objectives among others are to combat all forms of racism and bias or discrimination in education and society due to gender, marital status, sexual

orientation, age, religion, political opinion, social or economic status or national or ethnic group; to give particular attention to developing the leadership role and involvement of women in society in the teaching profession and organization of teachers and education employees. It is also dedicated to the cause of trade unionism and convinced that it is the inalienable right of all workers to advance worker democracy (BOSETU Constitution).

4.4.2 Membership

At its 25th anniversary, celebrated at the 2012 Annual Conference held in Francistown on 1-4th August, BOSETU's membership stood at about 12800, with an increased staff / employees from 1 in 1998 to 30 in 2012. This growth is attributed to its "commitment to advocacy for teachers' welfare" which makes it a current union of choice, attracting educators from all sectors in Botswana. The increase is also attributed to the 2006 transformation of BOSETU, from being a staff association to a trade union after the amendment of some labour laws which allowed public servants to unionise and belong to unions of their choice.

The actual membership and the total number of employees of BOSETU as at 25th February 2013 was 13,000, with a total of 8, 024 women and 4,976 men. This means that 62% of BOSETU members are women and men constitute only 38% of the total membership. Out of a total number of 42 employees, 28 are females and only 14 are male, 66.7% women employees of BOSETU against 33.3% male employees. With regard to BOSETU investments and business wings represented by the board members, there are 12 men and 3 women in the BOFUS board, 4 men and 2 women in the PEUBO board and 3 men and 2 female board members in the Credit

Control of SACCOS while the Management Committee of SACOSS has 8 members, all of whom are men (BOSETU Accounts Office- 2013).

Due to the unavailability of statistical data, I was not able to get the total number of female and male unionists at the lower structures of BOSETU in order to get a clear picture of the percentage of women that BOSETU is representing in the public sector workforce. I therefore sampled 30 Secondary Schools out of 238 in 10 Regions out of 30 to get a glimpse of the real picture. This is presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Total Membership by Sex, Region, and School

Name of Region	**Name of School**	**No. of Male Unionists**	**No. of Female Unionists**	**Total**	**% of Female Unionists**
Kgatleng	Sedibelo	26	24	50	48
	Kgabo Sereto	3	1	4	25
	Kgamanyane	29	23	52	44
	Artesia	22	9	31	29
Jwaneng	Maiteko	8	4	12	33
	Morama	13	25	38	66
	Mogale	15	16	31	52
	Kgosimpe	9	14	23	61
	Maiteko	7	10	17	59
Tonota	Shashe	63	46	109	42
	Tashata	22	33	55	60
	Tonota	22	31	53	58
	Letlhabile	17	30	47	64
	Tonota College	29	17	46	37

	Rutwang	29	27	56	48
Kanye	Mookami	18	21	39	54
	Tlhomo	10	22	32	69
	Seepapitso	61	60	121	50
North East	Maruje	15	15	30	50
	Zwenshambe	12	14	26	54
	Pelaelo	8	11	19	58
	Batanani	16	17	33	52
	Ramoja	7	5	12	42
	Masunga	35	20	55	36
	Maenjane	10	10	20	50
Nata Gweta	Nata	23	31	54	57
	Sowa	33	35	68	51
	Dukwi	24	22	46	48
	Thamani	11	16	27	59
Gaborone East	Ledumang	5	17	22	77
	Totals	**602**	**626**	**1228**	**51**

From Table 2, it is evident that there are marginally more women in BOSETU than men, with the sampled population standing at 51% females. This is probably a reflection that there are more women in the teaching profession, as statistics provided in an earlier chapter indicated. Teaching is one of the jobs grouped under care-giving or ‘precarious’. Given traditional understanding of what constitutes work suitable for women, it is therefore not unusual that BOSETU represents more women than men. What is still to be discussed is whether this female population is well represented in the decision making echelons of, BOSETU.

4.5.3 Women's Participation and Representation in the Structures of BOSETU

BOSETU is governed by both direct and indirect forms of democracy. Members of the union participate directly in the affairs of the union at branch or school levels where the leadership of the union is elected. These committees, known as the "political leadership" because of the nature of the appointments (i.e. through voting), are the Branch or School Committees, Regional Executive Committees and the National Executive Committee (NATEX). It is out of these committees that representation is made in the following governance meetings:

1. Delegates Congress (DC) which consists of the National Executive, regional chairpersons and secretaries and shop stewards/school representatives.

2. Annual Conference (AC) which consists of the National Executive Committee and Chairpersons and Secretaries of Regions.

3. The National Executive Committee (NATEX) which comprises of The President, the Vice President, the Secretary General, Vice Secretary General, the National Treasurer, the National Organising Secretary, the Publicity Secretary, the Secretary Of Gender Affairs, the Secretary for Sports and Culture, the Recording Secretary and four additional members. Additionally, there is also the Executive Secretary who is an employee of the Union and has no voting power. She sits in the NATEX and is responsible for the day to day running of the Secretariat under the supervision of the National Executive Committee. Article 16.3.1 of the Constitution stipulates that no member shall be eligible to be elected to the National Executive Committee unless s/he is a fully paid up member

of the Union, is a professional secondary school teacher, has been employed by the sector within the scope of secondary schools and that she is not an officer of another trade union or an employee of the Union.

4. National Consultative Council (NCC) which consists of National Executive and Regional Chairpersons.

5. Regional General Meeting (RGM) which consists of Regional Chairpersons, secretaries and school representatives/shop stewards.

7. Branch/school general meeting or school/ branch committees which consist of branch committee and bona fide members of the union in the branch.

These are the decision making bodies of BOSETU, presented above in descending order of activity. It is in these decision making bodies that women's participation and representation were investigated to find out whether its main undertaking of fighting all forms of discrimination, including gender at the workplace, are reflected within the union itself. In order to achieve that, I will discuss participation and representation at the level of NCC and the Annual Conference only because these were the two gatherings which I managed to observe during the period of my study. I will also use information from some of the interviews conducted and an analysis of some archival documents.

4.5.3.1 The National Consultative Council (NCC)

The National Consultative Council is mandated by article 16 of the Constitution of BOSETU, to liaise with the National Executive Committee. It meets from time to time with the National Executive Committee to disseminate information to the Regions and get information from the Regions. It shall serve as an advisory body to the National Executive Committee, chaired by the National Organizing Secretary. Its meetings shall be held three times a year.

I attended one National Consultative Council (NCC) meeting for observation on the 12th July 2012 held in Tlokweng. This was the second meeting of the year. I was informed that the meeting was attended by all Regional Chairpersons of the union to consult with the National Executive who were in turn going to go back to the regions and call regional meetings to report to their structures. There are 30 regions according to information provided. What I observed at that meeting was that women were less represented. Out of the 30 regions represented by their Chairpersons plus the National Executive (NATEX) of about twenty (20) members and the 2 resource persons (all men), there were only five (5) women attendees including one (1) woman Regional Organizer and two (2) women representing the Primary Sector, and Tertiary and Technical Sectors. Thus, only two (2) women attended out of 30 Regions, translating to a 7% women representation at Regional level. The total number of female representation at the meeting was 10%. This means that 90% of NCC is male and, like the National Organising Secretary stated in an interview, this is the advisory board to the National Executive Committee that implements decisions. If women are under- represented at this level, their interests could not be expected to be well represented. All the four women leaders (i.e. those in NATEX which is the union Political Leadership) sent their apologies; they were said to be engaged in preparations

for the upcoming Conference. The Secretary of Gender Affairs, also a woman, was not present at this meeting nor was her report discussed.

Given the low representation of women at these levels, it is not surprising therefore, that issues that concern gender, particularly women, are rarely tabled for consideration at the highest levels of decision making in BOSETU. This is consistent with Tshoaedi's (2008) characterisation of women's role as traditional in African trade unions. Tshoaedi argues that women in trade unions occupy the bottom positions with limited participation or influence in decision making structures. Observations at the union's office also revealed that more than 90% of top positions of the total workforce of the union itself are male while women occupy bottom positions. This was also revealed in an interview with one key informant, a union official. One respondent, the National Organiser, making a comparison of women representation in trade unions with women representation in the political leadership of the country said:

> Just like at the national level of this country, in terms of the structures, and in terms of leadership, we have very few women- (interview with the National Organizer - July 2012).

4.5.3.2 The Annual Conference

The second union gathering observed was the 2012 Annual Conference which was held in Francistown from 1-4th August 2012. The Annual Conference (AC), as already outlined above, consists of the National Executive Committee and the Chairpersons and Secretaries of Regions. Article 16.2 of the BOSETU constitution stipulates that it shall meet at least once a year except

on the year of the Delegates Congress. Its functions include the ratification of decisions of the National Executive Committee and the adoption of policy issues of major importance in between Delegates Congresses. The Annual Conference is chaired by the president of the Union or whoever the president delegates. This is where delegates meet to discuss the Annual Reports (i.e. Presidential, Secretary General, and Treasurer's Report) as well as reviewing Congress Resolutions. There were other presentations by some committees and business companies that have partnered with BOSETU. There was also a Guest Speaker who is usually invited from the Ministry of Education and this time it was the Minister of Education, Skills and Development, Hon. Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi. Stakeholders ranged from the Minister of Education and Ministry officials, directorate of Public Service Management (Employer) officials, political parties representatives, Local Unions Representatives as well as Teachers Unions of Southern Africa (ANTUSA) Representatives.

What also stood out at this gathering was that the number of females relative to that of males was very low. During introductions of different portfolios and committees of the union, there were either no women or only one woman representative. The majority of the women attendees were from the department of Sports and Culture, with the specific role of providing entertainment during the conference. Over lunch, one male unionist commented and said:

> Eish! You know I think we should start telling men that there is no space for more recruits in our union. I am tired of so many men around me! When I turn this side, I see a man, when I turn this way, I step on a man! It is high time we bring more women into this

union. I am not going to recruit any more men in my region (Regional Chairperson-August 2012).

From observation, even among the invited guests, there were more male representatives than females. There were only two (2) women from ANTUSA, one (1) woman representative from local unions, one (1) woman representative from political parties, and two (2) female officials from the Ministry including DPSM (Employer) representative. These numbers are a clear indication and a reflection of what is happening in Botswana as a society where men dominate the public sphere and women occupy the private space. It also confirms previous research that women are relegated to the bottom occupational positions, considering that the people who were sent from the different departments and different stakeholders were people with portfolios. This being the case then, I would argue that it is probable that low representation affects women's interests in Botswana and in BOSETU. Considering that issues of gender equality are stated out in the governance principles of the two Constitutions, this seems to be violating the democratic principles of the country as well as those of the union.

Dauda (2007) says that according to ILO, unions should evolve strategies that will consistently encourage equal representation of both men and women in leadership positions because women account for an increasing proportion of the workforce. For unions to be credible and strong, they must address the priority concerns of its current and potential members, and women concerns are numerous.

4.5.3.3 Gender Structures in BOSETU

BOSETU has a Gender structure constitutionally headed by the Secretary of Gender Affairs at the National Executive level. There are other Gender structures at the Regional and Branch levels represented by Gender Representatives at those levels, positions mostly held by women unionists according to observation by the researcher. This position however does not have representation at NCC and Annual Conference. My view is that this state of affairs makes it difficult for the union to develop and drive Gender programs in BOSETU.

4.5.4 Why do Women Join Trade Unions?

In this section, I will explore the reasons why women in Botswana join trade unions by looking at their roles in the union as well as assessing the previous discussion about their membership, participation and level of representation. Women, like male employees, join trade unions so that their interests and rights can be protected and advanced as union members. Besides legal rights, there are several other reasons why workers join unions, and these include the need for better conditions of work, better pay, and training for new skills, advice and support. The Labour Relations Officers at BOSETU indicated that an equal number of male and female members are assisted on a daily basis on some of the mentioned issues of concern, especially workplace issues. One of them, a female officer said:

> I do not have statistics but I would say the members who come on daily basis seeking help in matters concerning their employment and conditions of work are equal between men and women-(female labour relations officer-July 2012).

Another one said,

> Ever since I came to BOSETU, I have only attended two cases... but it was 50/50, two women and two men on cases of unfair labour practices- (male labour relations officer- July 2012).

One respondent said:

> Organizationally it is important to bring in women and of course not for cosmetic purposes because women are too cosmetic in this country. We need activists. (National Organiser- July 2012).

The need for activists is for, among other reasons, strengthening collective bargaining process because, as Healy and Kirton (1999) argued, some of the reasons workers join trade unions are that, individual workers, on their own, cannot protect and improve their own conditions of work. The strength of collectivism, support and negotiating functions of the unions are motivating factors that attract workers to join trade unions. As Tshoaedi (2008) notes, trade unions of black workers emerged in the 70's and their main aim was to build strong worker organisation to challenge inequalities in the work place. Tshoaedi argues that in South Africa, black people occupied a structural position both in the work place and society where both sexes were oppressed by the white management and the state. The oppression, therefore, influenced the development of a common identity resulting in intense solidarity between men and women. This explains South African women's involvement at the initial stages of trade union formation.

Tshoaedi points out however, that even though this has been the case, even in South Africa, the roles and contributions of women in the building of trade unions is still not much emphasized and that it is less acknowledged.

It is imperative to note that struggles against racial and gender oppression were reasons for women's involvement in politics, social and trade union movements (Tshoaedi 2008). Unlike in Botswana, the experiences of South African women in different spheres of their lives are central to their agitation and mobilization (2008). Tshoaedi argues that the workplace or workplace issues were not the only source of their mobilization; they had prior awareness which informed their mobilization, that is, racism and the apartheid domination. In addition, their experiences as activists developed their gender consciousness (inequalities and discrimination). Comparatively, Batswana women occupy more private space, as discussed earlier. Therefore, their motivation for joining trade unions is mostly for economic, social or material benefit and workplace bargaining, as explained by Healy and Kirton (1999). Ninety percent (90%) of women interviewed gave collective bargaining and representation of workplace issues as reasons for joining the union. Here are some of the responses to the question: 'What motivated you to become a member of the union (BOSETU)?

> To fight for my rights as a teacher, unions can really a teacher in his/her workplace- (Interview with Bonyana- July 2012).

> To have representation in terms of labour disputes and collective bargaining- (Interview with Bame- July 2012)

> I was motivated by the fact that I can be able to have a say through the union in the workplace- (Interview with One- July 2012)

> So that I am represented in case I have problems at work or with the employer- (Interview with Kemo- July 2012)

The lack of gender consciousness and the fact that Batswana women largely occupy the private space (i.e. they do not occupy public positions because of the widely held belief that they belong in the kitchen) explains their low level of participation and representation in decision making bodies. They have, consequently a dormant position in trade unions, BOSETU in particular. This is what the female labour relations officer said when asked about the issue of inequality in the workplace and/or in trade unions:

> The political structure of BOSETU is male dominated; managerial positions in the union are male dominated. There is no woman member in the current Bargaining Team. To me this translates into unequal representation- (July 2012).

Asked why that is so, she further explains:

> It is not necessarily that policies are not empowering women, the problem is implementation of policies which I think emanates from the issue of low level of women representation in positions of leadership, I don't think men can have that burn to push issues which do not concern them per se. Obviously when we talk of issues of gender and

> one group is not represented as in the case of the current bargaining team, the group that is not represented will have no one to push their issues of concern-(July 2012).

On the issue of labour laws in Botswana, particularly the New Public Service Act (NPSA) to address women issues in the workplace, this is what the same respondent said:

> The NPSA has advocated for both men & women because they both form part of the union membership and the workforce, the Act advocates for equal rights of both groups. There is no specific Section that addresses women issues. I think that would be contravening the advocacy for equal rights because once it specifies a particular group then it will mean there is discrimination/ inequality- (July 2012).

This is something I disagree with. My point of contention is that women are part of the marginalized groups and they are a specific group/class with peculiar issues of concern which needs special attention in every society. I therefore find it incorrect to say having clauses in the legislation to address women issues is contradictory to the idea of equal rights.

CHAPTER 5: CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN BOSETU

5.1 Why the Low Level of Participation and Representation of Women in Botswana Public Sector Unions, (BOSETU)?

To answer this question I will draw my discussion from the respondent's responses, I will first discuss their profiles, including their age, gender, marital status, position at work, level of education and will then discuss their hindrance to full participation in union activities.

The respondents were male and females unionists from BOSETU, one male radio presenter from Duma FM radio station, one male and one female labour relations officers from BOSETU although males were more than females. Most of them are aged between 31 and 41. All of them have a university degree and mostly were single men and women.

I must highlight that while I was out doing field work, it was difficult to get women unionists to agree to be interviewed. During the course of that time, I used to listen to Duma FM Radio Station which had, at the time, a live show running from 3pm to 4pm by a certain Bonie Dintwa. In this show, I listened to different topics particularly when the discussions were about trade unions and workers' issues. This was the time when issues of unions and workers' grievances were at the peak in media because of the recent suspended public servants' strike in Botswana, "The Mother of All Strikes" in 2011. In the afternoon of June 2012, around the same time, I switched on my car radio as I was driving to BOSETU Office. Coincidentally, as I switched on to Duma FM, Bonie was urging women to call in and tell him why they were lagging behind in terms of leadership and decision making in the country. He jokingly said, "Today I want to get it from the horses!"

Struck by this kind of a presentation, I decided that I should make an arrangement to officially get this important information which was actually what I needed most. I was excited by the fact that my worry about women's reluctance to participate in my study was about to be answered in this show but at the same time, worried that I could not listen to the live debates because I had to conduct an interview with one of the key informants at BOSETU. I then decided that I will call Bonie off air, requesting him formally to make a follow-up on his show in the form of an in-depth face-to-face interview. I wanted to know the outcome of the debate, the extent to which women participated in the show and what women advanced as reasons for their lack of participation in decision making and leadership positions. This was to help me review my research strategy, particularly to have an understanding of the silence in women and to find ways of getting them to take part and speak in my study; they were my target group as much as they were Bonie's. I discussed my proposal with him; he then referred me to his Producer who suggested that I email both of them (Bonie and his Producer) a detailed interview schedule and go ahead with the interview with the presenter.

After I successfully managed to setup an interview with him, the first question that I asked was; "What prompted you to come up with such a topic? What was on your mind? Was there any objective you wanted to achieve? This is what the radio presenter said:

> I asked a question 'Why is it that in a country where there is three women in terms of citizens to one man and I am hearing now statistically there is about nine women to every two men which is about four & half women to one man including foreigners who work in

Botswana who are female which citizens is three women to one, why is it that even in class even when I was growing up in the 80's, in class there were always more girls than boys at school, at University level, you go to UB (University of Botswana) and other highest learning institutions like BAC or BCA, they have more female graduates than male, and yet when it gets to the Corporate world and even the Political world, our leadership is male dominated, the business world is male dominated in terms of positions, eeh, there has never been a female President or Vice President in Botswana, aah, there are very few women in Parliament, very few women in Cabinet, I think right now there's about two or three women in Cabinet, ummh out of all those positions and Ministries with portfolios. So I was concerned about why in a country with so many clearly gifted and intelligent women, why they struggle when it comes to this level", (Bonnie- Duma FM Radio Station, July 2012).

It was from this interview with this Radio Presenter that I learnt something about Batswana women and their silence, which ultimately translates to what is happening even among women trade unionists.

Table 3: Profiles of the Respondents

Respondent	Office/ School	Gender	Age	Level of Education	Position at work	Position at Union	Marital Status
Kemo	Mogoditshane Snr	Female	31-40	BA	ST2	Member	single
Bame	Kagiso Snr	Female	31-40	MSc	ST1 (Science)	Vice Chair (branch)	single
One	Taun CJSS	Female	31-40	BA	ST2	Member	single
Moshi	Lob Sec	Male	31-40	BA	ST2	Member	single
Moagi	Naledi Snr	Male	31-40	BA	ST1 (Science)	Website Manager (Publicity)	single

Oagile	Tonota CJSS	Male	31-40	BED (Hons)	ST1 (Staff Development)	Research & Documentation Committee	married
Jabu	Mochudi CJSS	Male	31-40	MEd	Deputy School Head	Member	single
Neo		Female	31-40	BA	Labour Relations Officer	Personnel	single
Bobby		Male	41-50	BA	Labour Relations Oficer	Personnel	single
Moses		Male	41-50	BA	Regional Organiser (Maun Chobe)	Personnel	married
Chips	Moeding College	Male	41-50	BA	ST2	National Organising Secretary	married
Bonnie		Male	31-40	BSc	Radio Presenter	Key Informant	single
Michael		Male		BA	BFTU Media Officer	Key Informant	single
Ree		Female	41-50	BA	Regional Organiser	Key Informant	single
Moniks		Female	31-40	BA	Regional Chairperson	Key Informant	single
Buthel		Female	41-50	BA	NATEX Additional member	Key Informant	single
Chris		Male	31-40	MA	ST 2	Member	married
Tonzzy		Male	41-50	MA	ST 2	Regional Chairperson	married
Misto		Female	31-40	BA	ST 2	Member	single
Kondo		Female	41-50	BA	Personnel-Women Affairs Dept	Key Informant	married

Summary Totals

Age	31-40	13 (65%)
	41-50	7 (35%)
Gender	Male	11 (55%)
	Female	9 (45%)
Marital Status	Single	14 (70%)
	Married	6 (30%) 1 female = 16% 5 males = 84%

Table 3 above presents interesting results from the respondents. Out of a total of 20 respondents, 65% were aged between 31 and 40, while 35% were aged above 40. Fifty five percent of the respondents were male while female respondents accounted for 45%. In terms of marital status, 70% of the respondents were single and only 30% were married. The percentage of single women outweighed that of men, 90% to 10% respectively. Out of the 6 married respondents, 5 of them were men and only 1 was a married woman. Interestingly, this woman is not a union member which means I did not get acceptance for interviews from married female unionists. All the respondents had a University Degree and above. These figures indicate that the BOSETU membership is predominantly aged between 30-40 years with majority of them possessing a university degree. The education level for both women and men is almost equal hence the union represents workers who should be entitled to similar conditions of service, for example, equal pay and almost hold same positions at work. But these statistics reveal that a high number of male unionists are either in positions of leadership at workplace or at union whereas the number of women respondents without any post of responsibility out-numbers that of male unionists. This shows the low level of representation of women in positions of leadership, both at the workplace and in the union. The other notable revelation is that married women unionists do not seem to be taking part in union activities and they are not present in the structures of the union. These findings will be discussed in details when discussing the challenges faced by women in trade unions.

5.2. Hindrance to full Participation of Women in Trade Union Activities/ Challenges- Key to Low Level of Participation and Representation in Trade Unions (BOSETU)

Statistical analysis presented earlier in this chapter revealed that there were less women (45%) compared to 55% of men who participated in the interviews. The other notable problem was their

low level of representation in the structures of the union as observed in the two union gatherings that I attended during my field work. Some of the reasons given for this failure of women from playing an essential role at union level range from, the gendered structure of trade unions, to the patriarchal nature of our society. Other factors include class consciousness, the curriculum of the Botswana education system, and lack of political will on the part of policy makers or government.

5.2.1 The Gendered Status of Trade Unions/ Gender and Power in Trade Unions

Tshoaedi (2008) argues that there are unequal power relations within social movements whereby collective action and collective identity are structured along the lines of power and domination and, in most cases, these power relations are gendered. That is, men are regarded as powerful and dominant while women are seen as weak and dormant/ subordinate. This is what is called 'gendered power', which Ledwith et al (2002:4) define as "the capacity of one sex to control the behavior of the other". Trade unions, as one type of group among social movements, are therefore not different. This is evident in BOSETU where statistics revealed a high number of males in leadership positions. Data from a study carried out by a group of gender and trade unions counter-hegemonic project also revealed lack of proportional representation in trade union structures and decision making positions in spite their policies on gender equality (Ledwith et al 2002). In answering the question of who holds power in trade unions and in whose interest is such power exercised, Ledwith et al (2002) argue that trade unions are embedded in a system of power relations that supports the persistence of male dominance and that union structures and operations serve male interests. It is therefore evident that BOSETU has a gendered power relation in its operations and structures and that such power is held by men and

serves their interests. Schwenken (2012) argues that the world is still far from achieving gender equality and that it is time to change these unequal gender relations.

5.2.2 Patriarchy

It is worth noting from the above discussion that some of the key issues highlighted with regard to low levels of women participation and representation are the issues of patriarchy, which is inherent in the cultural background of our society (upbringing) and stereotype (perception and/or categorizing women as a lesser group). Patriarchy, as defined by Hooks (2004:2) is;

> a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence.

In the interviews done, all the respondents mentioned “patriarchy” as the cause of all evil. The respondents understood patriarchy as male domination and female subordination in society. One of the women respondents said:

> You know when I talk of patriarchy, women are dominated and because of that, they don’t know anything other than being under men- (Reigh, December 2012).

Botswana is a patriarchal society and all the responses about the attitude and behaviour of women in Botswana were predicted on the issue of patriarchy. Patriarchy was used to explain why women do not speak, why they are not involved in union activities and so on.

Here is a Life Story of one woman unionist. She is the only woman Organizer, the only woman in BOSETU Management and the former Secretary of Gender Affairs:

> My name is Rhei Kay, am 44years old born in Khisa, a small village near Tsabong. I am single and have a Bachelor's Degree in Agriculture, was a teacher for 12 years. I joined this union in 1999 to be precise and in 2002 I was encouraged by the then Secretary General, Mr Richard Boitshwarelo to join the National Executive. He told me he saw something in me as a woman and at the time there was only one woman in the NATEX and he said to me "we need women in the National Executive and I've seen something in you". I tried to ask him 'what have you seen' and I don't know what he saw but he said I have what it takes to be a leader. When you are a leader and people come to you and tell you that you are a leader, you don't argue with them. So I came in and in the same year I eventually stood for elections at a National Congress in Mochudi, when BOSETU was still called BOFESETE. At the time I was an additional member, it was only me and the current Vice President, only two women that stood for elections at the National Congress and later two other women were co-opted as additional members and you can imagine the two of you and all these people are men so there was a problem… I heard a lot of male chauvinism in the NATEX, I remember the likes of so and so you know, hey, when issues of gender were discussed, they would always feel it's a waste of time, why, you

> are wasting resources, you know just because this is a patriarchal society-(Rhei-December 2012).

This excerpt highlights some of the challenges of women especially those in leadership in a patriarchal society. Some of the challenges include hostile reactions from male members which discourage women from participation and involvement, the issue of power relations, patriarchy and many others which I will discuss later.

Asked about their understanding of patriarchy, this is what women teachers of English at a certain School said:

> Patriarchy is the traditional belief on male dominance. Our culture promotes patriarchy, it is not something that is taught but that we are socialized into this culture. That is why there is a Setswana proverb which says, “ga di ke di etelelwa ke manamagadi pele” (a direct opposite of the English expression; “Women first”). Another Setswana expression to show that women are not equal with men is the one which says “monna ke tlhogo ya lelwapa”, meaning a man is the head of the family and hence there cannot be two heads in the family. We found our parents doing it and therefore also belief in it and practice it-(February 2013).

In a conversation that I had with two male unionists, this is what they mentioned:

> You know what Tshetsana! “Poo ga di ke di tlhakanela lesaka”. This literally means two bulls cannot be in one kraal and therefore if a woman becomes another head of the family because she is equal to her husband, she will be another bull in the kraal and that would cause trouble… We are telling you, no man would like to be under a woman’s control, they will feel like their manhood is being taken away/ they have lost their dignity as men and they will run away. That is why men usually do not marry women who are economically independent, those who have property and money. They do not want to feel like they are being reared by those women. You can just take a look around and check how many women in top positions are married here in Botswana. Tell us if you can count up to ten- (February 2013).

There is also a popular saying that, ‘Ga di ke di etelelwa ke manamagadi pele’. This means that women are not supposed to lead, women are supposed to submit to men. This is a cultural belief which is normally reflected in the behavior of Batswana women because they are socialized into it from childhood and it is highlighted in the following excerpt:

> When I was a regional chairperson and branches were to elect shopstewards, women would raise their hands up and say, I elect that gentleman. You know I would ask these women why they can’t volunteer to be in the committee and they would say to me “nna kana ga keitse go bua” meaning I don’t know how to talk. That’s what they would say and I would wonder why women do not trust that they can lead- (Female NATEX member, December 2012).

Culturally, a woman is not supposed to speak for herself or stand up for her own right. She is portrayed as someone who needs protection of a man from the challenges of this world. In a patriarchal society, assertive women are considered a nuisance.

Of course some men are critical of patriarchal relations in Botswana as one male respondent who is the Deputy School Head commented:

> I feel women are oppressed because I don't see why I can't just wake up in the morning if my wife/woman does not and wash my clothes, dishes, prepare breakfast and wake her up to eat... You know in our society there is a culture or mentality that women who speak of equality between men and women even in this era where equal rights is a talk of the day, men feel they are those who are not married or divorced and probably that is why they are not married. That is wrong and our society has raised men wrongly to perceive them in that way and treat them as their objects, (Interview with Jaba, a male unionist, Deputy School Head- July 2012).

BOSETU, as a trade union representing many of the social institutions in the type of society described by many above is not an exception. It reflects many of the patriarchal characteristics of a society where men dominate, rule, and make decisions while women obey or submit. Helen Schwenken in her seminar presentation says:

> It is a vicious cycle, patriarchal society produces hegemonic masculinity, produces gendered socialization, produces unequal power relations, social and health inequality, which produces social reproduction of patriarchy in the long run (23rd of May, 2012).

5.2.3 Lack of Political Will

There was a concern from the respondents particularly males respondents that, Botswana in general at policy making levels/ law making levels, seem to be too reluctant to put in place policies that will empower people who have been disadvantaged/ marginalized like women; this is not to suggest that women in Botswana have been ill-treated before as in racism, but just in order to make sure that they are given the same opportunities as men.

Although efforts have been made both internationally and regionally to come up with instruments to fight the violation of human rights (e.g., The SADC Gender Protocol), challenges still remain. At national level, Botswana is not doing well on the issue. Botswana has not yet signed the SADC Gender Protocol as mentioned earlier in this study and there is no legislation to empower women. This was also noted by the respondents as one of them said:

> Botswana as a country does not have a Citizen Empowerment Act/ Law, there are no actual laws that I know of that actually say there are certain percentages of women that should be in management positions or as part of your employees. As far as I know, that does not exist. We saw policies put in place in first world such as in the UK and US in the sixties in order to make sure that women were given the same opportunities (Bonnie-Radio Presenter, July 2012).

Not only was it about laws not enacted but it was also about implementation and enforcement of existing policies:

> Maybe one of the things that make all these things to lag behind is that, much as we appreciate that Botswana is trying in its policies to conform to the international standards for gender equality and women empowerment, Botswana has not signed the SADC Gender Development Protocol (Male Labour Relations Officer, July 2012).

Justice Dingake called on the judicial system of Botswana and Parliament to assume their role as foundations of justice and guardians of the constitution. He said,

> There is an urgent need for parliament to abolish all laws that are inconsistent with section 3(a) so that the right to equality ceases to be an illusion or a mirage…It seems to me that time has come for the justices of this court to assume the role of the judicial midwives and assist in the birth of a new world struggling to be born, a world of equality between men and women as envisioned by the framers of the constitution (*Sunday Standard*- October 21-27, 2012).

In terms of union policies towards women, respondents were of the opinion that BOSETU, unlike other unions, does not have affirmative action policies. The following excerpts illustrate that point.

> Like I said, the thing with us as BOSETU is that we do not have a special programme for women empowerment. We expect women to compete on equal footing with their male counterparts. It could be unfair but I think that could be an issue for another day that we should look into the issue of women empowerment not only through elections but on numerous issues, or may be capacitating them on issues that will make them feel this is also their union and that they need to also take part in union activities (National Organising Secretary, male- July 212).

> BOSETU does not have a quota unlike other unions such as BOPEU and BTU. There are no reserved seats for instance in the NATEX, whether 30% or 50% as is the case with these other unions- (Male Labour Relations Officer, July 2012).

The union has no proper systems in place to attract women to join a number of committees given that there are no training programs to empower women to be eligible to serve different structures of the union. I believe that training on unionism and leadership are important in empowering women to be able to compete for leadership positions in the union (Otty- August 2012).

One Labour Relations Officer, male, when asked what is contributing to the situation of inequality in Botswana and even in the unions that makes is so impossible to implement and achieve the goals of trying to change the situation, he said,

> I think without necessarily repeating, I think patriarchy and the issue of transformation/ change are a serious problem. If you look at the objectives of BOSETU for instance and

> the many other resolutions made towards empowering women, the National Executive is just relaxed about implementing them because these people do not see the need, they don't see the value, they don't believe in it and they are just doing it in order to appease the international community or whoever is complaining about it- (July 2012).

Another one, a regional organiser, also male said,

> It is a challenge not only in our union but globally and in Botswana as a country which then translates into every organisation you can come across in the country. Talking about BOSETU, we are celebrating 25years, but not in its history or even a single time that a woman stood for a political position of President of the union, not that one once stood and lost, but not even once that it has ever happened. Whether you go at the national or regional levels of BOSETU, you will find that women are holding positions of secretaries or additional members, it is like we told ourselves that the position of chairperson is only for men because they can lead-(July 2012).

The patriarchal conceptions of women's role in the socio-political growth of Botswana are directly reflected in the structures and operations of the country's trade unions. Politically, as discussed earlier, women were traditionally not allowed at the Kgotla to speak and take part in the discussions, matters of politics and decision making were for men. This practice has been carried along even when we speak of transformations in the recent times and has translated into other spheres such as trade unions. Pateman (1980:4) argues that democratic or political theorists proclaim that women have a political disorder and therefore cannot be entrusted with the public

world: “The disorder of women means that they pose a threat to political order and so must be excluded from the public world.” Pateman’s argument is that this thinking and belief by Freud and Rousseau is based on ancient mythological and religious views which were influenced by patriarchy. Men do not trust women because of the biblical Eve and the Oedipal Complex (the super ego) and men are afraid that women may cause trouble if given the chance to lead.

In the context of Botswana, men may have been influenced by the teachings of Christianity and the influence of some Christian missionaries who brought the Christian teaching during the colonial period. Christianity is predominant in Botswana and men might use it to support their actions. But I contend that the Missionaries only brought Christianity to Africa around 19th Century but African women were still experiencing inequality, where men were heads of the household and roles of the ‘kitchen’ were for women back then, so this has got little to do with Christianity.

Tshoaedi (2008) also argues that patriarchal oppression within the household, which is not intrinsic to African culture, is often reinforced by the state as in the case of the Apartheid state in South Africa, which was also the colonial state. This is in agreement with what Connell (1990) asserted that: the State is socially seen as patriarchal and masculine, its structure of power dynamics. Tshoaedi argues that African men (Batswana men inclusive) who were labourers in the South African mines of the colonial apartheid state experienced ‘inferiority status’ whereby they could not have control over their own labor, their own land or their wives and children. They may have is might transferred their pain to women. This may have impacted most societies in which men experienced what Cooke refers to as “multiple oppression” which might even

cause physical or emotional violence against women. This helps explain why there is even unequal power/gender relations within the family where brothers must speak and decide and sisters and mothers just have to keep quiet and follow. But I maintain and agree with the perspective that patriarchy has not only served to control the dominance of men in social, economic, legal and religious spheres but has also served to control women so that unequal gender power relations are deemed natural and unproblematic, (Haffejee 2003) and that male dominance is not something innate but something that is created by society rooted in social structures such as the family, schools, churches, workplaces and trade unions, (Connell 1990), social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women, (Walby 1986 and Hartman 1997). These structures and operations of the patriarchal social institutions such as trade unions sometimes include informal procedures in the unions for nominations or appointments based on established male networks which automatically exclude women.

The issue of women's exclusion is also a result of the fact that women are less keen to caucus formally unlike men and this is one of the weaknesses that leads to their being sidelined. Men meet outside formal meetings at clubs and other places to caucus on issues and these informal meetings normally do not discuss issues affecting women, Tshoaedi (2008)refer to these as 'boys clubs'. Haffeje (2003) argues that women lack what is referred to as:

> 'social capital', features of social life such as networks, norms and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (2003:30)…Economically disadvantaged groups such as women not only lack economic resources but also lack social capital to address their problems (2003:31).

I observed that most of the members who after elections are co-opted into Committees and sub-committees were male. The observation was that most of the executive committee members who oversee these committees are male and the appointments are probably made on the basis of "lebandla", meaning that one belongs to our group or one is a circle of friends with us. This was mainly observed on BOSETU Facebook page where debates about the publicity committee raised a lot of questions on how the committee was chosen and whether procedures for co-opting members were followed. The issue attracted the intervention of the President of the union who had to call the commentators to order due to exchanges which were harsh. Women were particularly involved in these groups of the very few who took part and were are time and again asked what they want around males, and labeled as always negative (to provide an example of such a conversation). In one of the heated debates where female members took part and eloquently voiced their discontent, they received hostile reactions from male members who even went to the extent of sending those females threatening messages (inbox) if they would not stop 'interfering'. These women went through an experience which Cooke (2012) referred to as being 'violently silenced'.

5.2.4 Are Women in Botswana Silent or Silenced?

One question that has been asked throughout this study and has been an issue of concern has been the silence of Batswana women. Women in Botswana are silent; they do not speak, be it in workplace meetings, in Kgotla meetings, in union meetings, on radio, in public debates or even in the latest social network debates. For instance, one radio presenter said,

> Women in Botswana seem to be afraid to speak out so that's why I need you to look at this issue socially, may be the culture of Botswana raises daughters to be submissive to men and that's what translates into the world of work- (July 2012).

He further observed,

> Something that stood out when we asked women to tell us why they are not participating was that we got a lot more sms's than calls and one male caller said the fact that you asked women to call and they are too afraid to call and speak on air may be one of the reasons why Batswana women do not get heard, Batswana women do not want to speak out for themselves and maybe that's one of the reasons Batswana women do not get ahead. So it was disappointing that they were too afraid to speak on air but they were willing to send an sms which is a little bit more anonymous, and may- be we need to get to one of the core issues which is, are women in Botswana empowered or do we feel like they have the right to speak out? I had males call, women not call and then I had a lot of women sms's so women preferred to speak in secret, not on air (July 2012).

In addition, women did not choose to participate in this study at the rate which I had wanted since they were my target group. I ended up with more men participating than women. One respondent had to say this:

> I think we need to engage in a genuine conversation, a real genuine conversation, where is not just a conference or forum, but like I said, at a level where everybody who is in

> labour and at a professional level like you guys could try to figure out what the mentality of a female Motswana is in terms of does she feel that she deserves to be in power because sometimes the issue is not necessarily that women are not given the opportunity like in the case of my programme where I gave them a platform to call and tell us what their problems are and they became too afraid to call on air, preferred to send sms's which clearly showed that women in Botswana seem to be afraid to speak out (Bonnie-Radio Presenter 2012).

Indeed, observation from the conference clearly gave me an insight of how both men and women tend to focus on the women's performances and admire their beauty rather than listen to them debate/discuss issues of their concern, those are for men to do. The ululations from the crowd during traditional dance and choir performances were about admiring their beauty and also the appearance in terms of dress code and facial make-up of these performers. After the performances, they would go away until they are called back on stage for further performance. The observation was that, some of these actions are a result of the stereotypical/cultural beliefs that women are raised to be seen and not to be heard.

5.2.5 Stereotypical Beliefs

Gender stereotype is a perception and/or beliefs in categorizing women as a lesser group. According to Haffejee (2003), cognitive psychologists identify two types of gender stereotypes, the descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes. The descriptive stereotypes are beliefs about what one gender has and prescriptive stereotypes are beliefs about what one gender should have. For example, the expectation that women will be care takers is descriptive while the one that women

should be care takers is prescriptive. Haffejee says cognitive psychologists argue that the prescriptive stereotyped notions of gender difference affect how women and men think and behave. For instance, they often generate hostile reactions as women will be seen violating or deviating from gendered expectations when they act/behave outside the expectations. In most cases women are punished for that deviance, they experience violence on the part of men. Men often become violent against women or they become threatened by such women and women on the other hand become afraid or fear men.

In connection to this, a female respondent said:

> Women see themselves or a woman as somebody who should be calm, collected and want to be seen as modest. They define modesty as not standing up/ not talking much and to them, a woman who is too much involved such as those who do so in trade unions are viewed as not women enough, they are called ‘tom boys’. When they see you as a woman unionist spending time in those things and saying this and that, they look at you and say, this one is not a woman. A woman to them is someone who is so collected, submissive like I said and so that’s a woman. So those are issues which affect women (Nicky August 2012).

Yet another one said:

> Lack of support from women is a problem. You know I can talk, am a talkative person and you know women when another woman talks, they despise her (One-December 2012).

On a similar note, another male respondent lamented:

> Women are too cosmetic in this country, women like decorating themselves and sit at the back as if they are flowers to be admired (you will pardon me for that). We need 'activists'. When we go for excursions, our women will be all over the place than men, but come to political issues, they would not be there. If you come to observe the Conference, you will see a lot of them there involved in the choir, traditional dance and when political issues are on the floor, they would go out and practice their dancing, they will come and dance and then go away, they are not interested in political issues or what is being debated (male unionist- July 2012).

Women who speak are regarded a threat and are not to be trusted. This is a cultural stereotype which one respondent pointed out:

> This issue of culture has affected us so much that we don't see it has brain-washed us. We were raised as women in our culture to be silent and let our brothers speak for us. Even in our homes you know that as a woman, when serious issues are discussed you cannot be called, you will be told that this is not a girls issue. Serious issues are for men,

> a social construction that even led to weaker men to be referred to as girls or women in Botswana because of the belief that women are a weaker sex" (Nicky- August 2012).

The cultural belief that a woman belongs to the kitchen and therefore cannot speak in public is also highlighted. I would probably agree with Fortmann (1986) that "the kitchen kills more than the sword".

Chips explains this stereotype:

> Women do make a contribution in numerous fora but when it comes to leadership they prefer to shy away and that's why I want to attach it to our upbringing as Batswana where women prefer to stay at home, or in the kitchen or in the background and not want to come forth in some other numerous instances (July 2012).

Interestingly, Tshoaedi has a contrary view about South African women. She says the actions of South African women to challenge Pass Laws in 1912 were a challenge to the stereotypical beliefs about women's traditional roles. In this particular case, women initiated actions that affected their fate. She says, "In these protests, women acted in contradiction to their assumed submissiveness and engaged in actions that their male counterparts at times dared to initiate" (2008:6). This shows that South African women have long been conscious of the unfair social practices against them. This in turn has made them assertive, even where men are not there. Batswana women, on the contrary, need more support to reach the level of South African women.

Nicky, a female respondent also confirms this when she said:

> When we teach the issues of culture to women, we need to uproot this issue that culture forbids that a woman cannot stand in politics, on our own as women, we are used to looking down upon ourselves (go inyatsa) and many times we ask ourselves 'can I really make it/ can I really do this?' Low self- esteem but at times not necessarily low-self - esteem but this being something that was built in our culture, culture dictated it not that someone is necessarily being failing to act- (December 2012).

Another stereotypical belief about women is that they are care givers, mothers and wives. As such, it is believed that women cannot occupy positions of leadership which are too demanding and challenging to be combined with their other work which, Hellen Schwenken (2012) refers to it as "unpaid work". Schwenken argues that women do twice as much unpaid work as men do, household work, care giving (elderly and child care) as well as purchasing goods and services. Using the example of New Zealand, which ranks number 11 on Gender Empowerment Measure, Schwenken says, "63% of men's work is paid while one other hand 65% of women's work is unpaid". So women do more unpaid work than men do which in turn leads to exclusion of women in the male dominated activities of the union resulting in their less participation and involvement. In the case of Botswana, one woman unionist said:

> I am still nursing a two year old boy mma! So I can't leave him alone. Ha ha ha! You always say "the pains of motherhood". I think i am going to be free only after three years.

> Even if you can go to my house now, you will see how the boy has turned my house upside down. Ijoo! Maids cannot stay! Now being active means going to meetings, attending union activities and the times for that are not suitable for us “batsetsi” (meaning nursing mothers)- (July 2012).

In support of Tshoaedi’s argument that gender stereotypes that are dominant in societies influence appointments of union officials into decision making structures, Haffejee argues that women are viewed as “women first and workers/leaders second”. Their personal lives and roles as mothers and wives make them less invested and less reliable workers/leaders. Haffejee says most employers view women as “potential liabilities”, generally viewed as physically weak, irrational, less intelligent, emotional, hormonal and potential risks, for example, pregnant women. Therefore policy makers who are mostly men are likely to develop more hostile policies or even apply and enforce existing policies which are discriminatory. They are likely to ignore issues of concern to women, for example, the issue of maternity.

This is what DPSM representative at the Conference said:

> Another condition that has improved is that one of Maternity Leave, where prior to the implementation of the New Public Service Act No 30 of 2008 in May 2010, female employees including teachers were entitled to full pay for three confinements as long as the confinements were in a space of two years… The Public Service Act now entitles female employees to full pay for three confinements and thereafter 50% payment up to the fifth confinement-(August 2012).

Asked why the law only allows women to be paid full salary for only three confinements, she said:

> Is not that workers are governed on how many children they should have but it is because at times as the employer, you look at how much you can afford. The law does not limit how many children an employee should have but it says if you have a number of children you decide to have, you can have them as you wish, but me as the employer will pay you in this way-(August 2012).

This is one of the many discriminatory laws against women in Botswana which trade unions in have not challenged even after the recent legal status of the trade union movement of Botswana, to show that they also advocate for the rights of women. Bobbit- Zeber in Haffejje (2003) found that primary causes of sex discrimination are rooted in cultural beliefs and secondary causes are related to organizational structures, institutional policies and practices/procedures. These are called salient mechanisms, mechanisms important enough to affect behavior in a meaningful way.

This was confirmed by my observation at the 2012 Annual Conference. The few women who attended the union gatherings were either in attendance to perform some welfare activities/ duties such as planning for these events, ushering, catering, all of which one may refer to as errands or just to provide entertainment. Women were busy with these activities rather than in participating in the discussions and decision making debates. For example, the Vice President's duty at the

Conference was to hand over to the needy, the Secretary of Gender Affairs was in charge of catering, another female member in the National Committee presented the awards during the 25th Anniversary Gala Dinner. There was no report from the Secretary of Gender Affairs in all the meetings attended by the researcher, nor did any of the presentations reflect any issues concerning women.

This is how one respondent put it:

> Probably, this is a result of a stereotype, that, eeh, a woman belongs to the kitchen. I recall that the last reshuffle that we did after elections, we insisted on bringing in more women to deal with this issue of lack of women in the National Executive, a disparity which needs addressing because a very few of our women stand for elections and a very few of our women who stand for elections win them, women do not vote themselves into power, they would rather vote men, it is a painful stereotype. We are alive to the fact that for us to organise well we need women, but most of the women who come to the union come for material benefits, they have not embraced the tenacity of unionism, all they look for is what they get out in terms of material benefits. So it's a pain, organisational pain that we face because it implies or it indicates that eeeh, our education is still wanting, (National Organising Secretary- July 2012).

Nicky (female), adds to this by saying:

> Let me tell you this: Women are raised to understand that issues of standing out to advocate for people, let me say political issues is not their thing. Culturally you know that at the kgotla, women used not to say a thing, they would not take part in Kgotla discussions, is a thing of men. That is a cultural issue that women would go to the kgotla and listen to men speaking and would not comment. So culturally we were raised like that. And that is why women step back on political issues you see. To them it is a men thing, they freak out, and why because men do not support women in politics, just because of our culture that a woman cannot stand out to say something. (August 2012).

A woman unionist said:

> You know even we as women you see, we are also contributing to our own oppression because if there are elections, we do not vote women or we doubt their capabilities/abilities somehow you see and I believe this is just like in the national elections. (July 2012).

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has given the profile of the respondents starting with their ages, which showed that most of them were mostly middle aged with most of them holding positions of responsibility, either in the work place or at union level. It has been shown that women unionists are faced with many challenges with regard to representation and participation in unions ranging from issues of patriarchy, lack of political will, gender stereotypes and the gendered structures of trade unions, just to mention these among others. Patriarchy has also been shown to be a challenge to the full

participation of women as shop stewards. Even though statistics revealed a high number of female members in BOSETU, the union is still dominated by men in leadership positions which means women are not proportionally represented in the union. This has been revealed in both the union structures and the union staff. The numbers of women members in BOSETU indicate the fact that teaching is a profession generally regarded as precarious and meant for women. It probably shows that women belong to the least paying jobs hence faced not only with social injustice but also economic inequalities. The silence in women is also illustrated in this research in which men's voices are louder than those of women. It is a reflection of the Botswana society which is influenced by the patriarchal culture.

Due to the many challenges outlined above, women's interests and issues of concern are not properly addressed by the union even with the recent transformations in the labour environment and other changes which are meant for human development. There was no indication of the union prioritizing on women issues to the bargaining council even in the year plan and hence women issues do not seem to be addressed any time soon. I therefore argue that women in BOSETU do not benefit much out of their union membership and are probably used for political leverage which seems to be the norm in patriarchal societies.

It was also evident from the findings that there is no female representative in the bargaining council, a development brought about by the enactment of the NPSA No. 30 0f 2008, which will definitely exclude women from benefiting in this new dispensation.

CHAPTER 6: CONLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This study has revealed low levels of participation and representation of women in Botswana Public Service Trade Unions, in particular BOSETU. The study has also identified some of the challenges women in BOSETU face leading to this low representativity and active involvement on their part. The study further revealed some motivations and some benefits that come with being members of trade unions for women. From the discussions, the findings suggest that women do not benefit enough from trade unions as expected. Trade unions also are not doing enough to motivate women to be actively involved and to be proportionally represented in union structures so as their concerns can effectively be addressed. These revelations therefore suggest what may be referred to “democracy deficit in trade unions”, (Ledwith Seminar Presentation-2012).

6.2 Summary

In an effort to effectively address these concerns for women in trade unions, Ledwith et al (2002) argue that unions cannot be democratic if they do not represent membership proportionally or have parity in participation. Therefore there is need for trade unions to deepen their democracy and go beyond what is already there. Ledwith et al call for a disruption of the union’s traditional male hegemony and for continued use of trade unions by women as agents of change, (Ledwith et al 2002).

Trade unions must demonstrate that gender equality is an integral part of their own policies and structures in order to be credible. Growing numbers of women workers are standing up for their rights and seeking support from their male counterparts. Women members are positively changing the way unions work and improving the image and influence of unions. Unions must therefore take advantage of that and improve. The promotion of gender equality helps unions strengthen and reaffirm their key role as agents of social change and that the promotion of gender equality provides common ground for unions to forge alliances with other social actors given the stipulation of the its constitution and other policies.

The findings further suggest that patriarchy in the society influences the nature of women's participation and representation in trade unions. Hartman (1979) argues that the role of patriarchal social relations interacting with capitalist economic structures play a crucial role in perpetuating segregation by sex, especially social institutions such as the family, workplace, schools as well as trade unions. Chuchu (2011) points out that in the African culture, from a tender age, the socialisation process differentiates the girl child from the boy child. Males are socialised to view themselves as breadwinners and heads of households whilst females are taught to be obedient and submissive mothers and wives. The cause of such differentiation and discrimination is the fact that society views women as sexual beings and not as human beings. Women are not only constantly defined in relation to men, but are defined as dependent and subordinate to them as well. As a result, women are socialized to be gentle, passive and submissive. This fits them into a relationship of dependence on men (Kambarami 2006). Hartmann (1976) further argues that segregation by sex cannot be eliminated unless socially imposed gender differences which encourage sexual division of labour itself are eradicated. The

mindset of the society towards gender segregation of labour has to be addressed so as to have a progressing society where jobs are allocated by ability and not by gender. Men need to accept women as partners in all spheres of life, from home to the workplace and even to trade unions.

Findings have also shown the gendered power relations in BOSETU. Tshoaedi (2008) argues that unions are structured around masculinity and solidarity is based on shared beliefs. Men's beliefs in masculine and feminine differences and their actions and reactions towards women unionists may put women on the receiving end because in most cases, women are excluded or isolated and do not feel they belong which may discourage them from participation. The study revealed that BOSETU structures and operations favour and serve the interests of men than women and therefore it will be important for the union to change this status quo and include women in their advocacy. For women, even when they have power advantage, for instance, there are more women than men in BOSETU, organisational policies and procedures often impact on how they are represented and therefore weakening their power to address their concerns. Bobbit-Zeber (2011) argues that structural aspects of organisations promote power inequalities between genders and set the stage for discrimination.

Findings have also shown that there is minimal political will by trade unions to support women empowerment. Government and policy makers are therefore encouraged to take all necessary measures to empower women, strengthen their economic independence and promote women's participation in all decision making positions (Mkunu 2005) in Chuchu (2012).

6.3 Recommendations

There is little literature on the involvement of women in union activities in Botswana to motivate women to be involved in union. Therefore, there is need to research on the involvement of women in unions. The union should develop policies on women empowerment and review it periodically. I believe that training on unionism and leadership are important in empowering women to be able to compete for leadership positions in the union. The union should also plan its activities by taking into consideration the family commitments of members. The union should create a position of training coordinator and develop materials targeting all members. The union through the Gender Affairs office should develop programs of attracting women into union leadership. Lack of Union Education and training on the part of the union are therefore contributing factors to low levels of women's participation and representation in trade unions of Botswana. It is quite clear that education and training are imperative to women empowerment.

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INTERNET ACCESSED DOCUMENTS

Gender Disaggregated Data on Decision Making Positions

http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/Ministry-of-Labour--Home-Affairs-MLHA/Gender-Issues/Gender-Disaggregated-Data-on-Decision-Making-Positions/?p_id=1437

Gender Equality Policy

http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/Ministry-of-Labour--Home-Affairs-MLHA/Gender-Issues/Gender-Equality-Policy/?p_id=1437

Gender Disaggregated Data on Decision Making Positions

http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/Ministry-of-Labour--Home-Affairs-MLHA/Gender-Issues/Gender-Disaggregated-Data-on-Decision-Making-Positions/?p_id=1437

www.genderlinks.com

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Introduction

My name is Tshetsana Motsatsing. I am a student at University of the Witwatersrand, doing M.A. in Industrial Sociology with the Global Labour University (GLU), in the Department of Sociology, Johannesburg, South Africa. The interview is done as part of my M.A. Degree Research Project of the GLU Programme in the Department of Sociology, Wits University in Johannesburg, South Africa. The purpose of the research is to explore the nature of women participation in Botswana Public Service Unions. This interview is therefore to get your views on the participation of women in your union.

PLEASE NOTE:

Confidentiality and Anonymity are guaranteed. You must be assured that your responses will be treated as confidential and will not be used for any other purpose apart from my research. The findings will not be published without your consent. Your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary and you can choose not to participate or decline to participate during the course of the interview.

---

1. Age

   21-30 31-40 41-50 50+

2. Gender

   FemaleMale

3. Marital Status

Single Married Divorced Widowed

4 Do you have children?

Yes No

If Yes, how many?

5. Place of birth

6. What is your highest level of Education?

Post-Secondary Education (Vocational/ Trade) College Certificate/Diploma

University Degree Other (Please Specify)

7. What is your occupation?

Assistant Teacher Teacher Senior Teacher (Please Specify) Head of Department (Please Specify) Deputy School Head School Head

8. What motivated you to become a member of the Union (BOSETU)?

9. For how long have you been a member of the Union (BOSETU)?

10. Do you hold any position in this union? (Please Specify)

11. What do your duties involve as a holder of this post?

12. Please narrate in detail how you came to hold this position and what motivated you.

13. Could we talk about any challenges or obstacles you have faced as a woman being in this position?

14. Do you think there are any benefits for being a member of this union?

Yes No

If yes, what are they?

15. Have ever had a grievance at work?

Yes No

If yes, would you tell me what was it and how your union helped.

16. Have you ever sought any assistance from your union apart from work related problems?

    Yes No

    If Yes, Briefly explain what it was about and how the union assisted.

17. Have you ever been called for a disciplinary hearing at work?

    Yes No

    If Yes, briefly explain what it was about and how your union assisted you.

18. Would you tell me about the roles women play in BOSETU?

20. Can you tell me about the challenges/ obstacles faced by the women in the union?

21. Please tell me what you think are the women's responses to the challenges/ obstacles.

22. How do you think women should be helped to cope with the challenges they face in the union?

23. How would you describe the level of union education in BOSETU particularly in women?

24. Would you encourage your fellow female teachers to join the union? Why?

25. Is there anything else you would like us to discuss that was not covered in this discussion?

Thank you for your answers. It has been a pleasure conducting this interview with you.

Appendix B: Applications to Carry Out Research in Different Institutions

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Private Bag X 3,

Johannesburg, 2050

11 June 2012

The Secretary General

Botswana Secondary Teachers Union

P O Box 404341

Gaborone

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: APPLICATION FOR ACCESS TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN YOUR UNION.

My name is Tshetsana Motsatsing. I am a student at University of the Witwatersrand, doing M.A. in Industrial Sociology with the Global Labour University (GLU), in the Department of Sociology, Johannesburg, South Africa. I am seeking permission to carry out research in your union from the 25th of June 2012 to the 15th of December 2012. The purpose of the research is to explore the nature of women participation in Botswana Public Service Unions. This research is therefore to get the views on the participation of women in your union.

The research will involve interviews with female and male unionists and some of the union personnel. The intended research involves in-depth interviews with some of BOSETU

officials who are key informants in the proposed research. The second part of the research is 'Direct Observation' which involves attending workshops, meetings, conferences and other union gatherings. The last part is called 'Archival and Documentary Analysis' and this will include analyzing some Congress Resolutions, Minutes of Meetings, Memoranda of Agreements/ Understanding.

Confidentiality and Anonymity are guaranteed. You must be assured that the responses will be treated as confidential and will not be used for any other purpose apart from my research. The findings will not be published without your consent. Pseudo names will be used in the final report which will be available on request and in the library at the University of The Witwatersrand.

Regards,

Tshetsana Motsatsing

0027 73 462 1520 / 00267 7225 1356

e-mail: tshetsana.motsatsing@students.wits.ac.za/ mtshetsa@gmail.com

School of Social Sciences

University of the Witwatersrand,

Private Bag X 3,

Johannesburg, 2050

Department of Women affairs

Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs

Private Bag 00107

Gaborone

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Tshetsana Motsatsing. I am a student at University of the Witwatersrand, doing M.A. in Industrial Sociology with the Global Labour University (GLU), in the Department of Sociology, Johannesburg, South Africa. I wish to carry out a research in your department to explore the nature of women participation in Botswana Public Service Unions. I would like to conduct an interview with you therefore, to get your views on your experience in this area.

I would like us to focus on how issues of transformation in labour laws as well as in labour movement in Botswana are impacting on women participation within the Public Sector Unions with specific reference to BOSETU. The study intends to investigate the reasons for the low level of representation and active involvement on the part of women members in BOSETU.

This study can then help trade unions in understanding and addressing the challenges faced by women unionists in the changing situation of unionism in Botswana. It can also help trade unions to manage the gap between men and women within the public sector unions which will be an important factor towards the success of unionism in Botswana.

The information is strictly for academic purposes.

Your assistance is highly appreciated.

Regards,

Tshetsana Motsatsing

0027 73 462 1520 / 00267 7225 1356

e-mail: tshetsana.motsatsing@students.wits.ac.za/ mtshetsa@gmail.com

NB: Please provide me with your convenient time for the interview. I called your office today in an effort to remind you about the appointment and left a message for you with a certain Michael to let you know I needed to talk to you.

School of Social Sciences

University of the Witwatersrand,

Private Bag X 3,

Johannesburg, 2050

ATT: Rorisang Malete

Bonnie Dintwe

Duma FM

Gaborone

Dear Sir

My name is Tshetsana Motsatsing. I am a student at University of the Witwatersrand, doing M.A. in Industrial Sociology with the Global Labour University (GLU), in the Department of Sociology, Johannesburg, South Africa. I am carrying out a research in Botswana Secondary Teachers Union (BOSETU) to explore the nature of women participation in Botswana Public Service Unions

My study focuses on how issues of transformation in labour laws as well as in labour movement in Botswana are impacting on women participation within the Public Sector Unions with specific reference to BOSETU. The study intends to investigate the reasons for the low level of representation and active involvement on the part of women members in BOSETU.

I would like to conduct an interview with you therefore, to get your views in this area particularly because I heard for the first time in media, a discussion made in relation to the issue in your show of 12 June 2012, and because I could not listen to the live discussion, felt the need to make a follow up with you.

This study can then help trade unions in understanding and addressing the challenges faced by women unionists in the changing situation of unionism in Botswana. It can also help trade unions to manage the gap between men and women within the public sector unions which will be an important factor towards the success of unionism in Botswana.

The information is strictly for academic purposes.

Your assistance is highly appreciated.

Regards,

Tshetsana Motsatsing

0027 73 462 1520 / 00267 7225 1356

e-mail: tshetsana.motsatsing@students.wits.ac.za/ mtshetsa@gmail.com

Appendix C: Interview Schedule Duma Fm Radio Presenter

I would like us to address the following themes

1. **Respondent's background information e.g., age, place of birth, marital status, education credentials, employment history etc.**
2. **Your job description (typical activities and responsibilities)**
3. **What was the topic and what prompted you to come up with the topic? What was on your mind? Any objectives?**
4. **How many of your callers were women and what was the overall number of callers?**
5. **You highlighted that you needed women to be in the forefront of the debate because you needed to get the information on the issue from the "horses", what was the outcome of your wish?**
6. **What were some of the problems of women highlighted in the discussion on the issue?**
7. **What do you think was the attitude of male callers on the issue?**
8. **Any Acts of Laws/ Policies/ Institutions that you know of that have anything to do with inclusion of women in decision making in Botswana?**
9. **Do you think women are knowledgeable of these acts? If no, do you think enough is being done to conscientise them?**
10. **In your opinion, why do you think we continue to have inequality (gender) in decision making forums in Botswana despite the availability of the laws and institutions?**

11. In your view, is implementation of such laws effectively carried out? Explain your view.

I thank you for giving me an opportunity to do an interview with you.

Appendix D: Informed Consent Form for Interviews

University of the Witwatersrand,

Johannesburg

Private Bag X3

Johannesburg, 2050

Informed Consent Form for interviews

I……..hereby consent to participate in the interview for the research project conducted by a University of the Witwatersrand Sociology student, Tshetsana Motsatsing. The purpose of the study has been explained to me and I understand that my participation is voluntary. I am aware that my responses will be kept confidential and that there will be no direct benefits or rewards for my participation in the study.

Signature…….

Date……....

Appendix E: Consent form for tape recording

Private Bag X 3,

Johannesburg, 2050

Consent form for tape recording

I _____ agree to my interview with Tshetsana Motsatsing for her study to be tape recorded. This tape and transcripts will not be seen or listened to by anyone else besides Tshetsana Motsatsing and will solely be used for her Masters Research. All the recordings will be archived, with my identity protected, after the research.

Date…….

Signature…….

Appendix F: Interview Schedule with Women Affairs Department

I would like us to address the following themes

1. **Respondent's background information e.g. age, place of birth, marital status, education credentials, employment history etc.**
2. **Your job description (typical activities and responsibilities)**
3. **What is the mandate of your department? Who are the partners in the Department? Development Agents?**
4. **Any Acts to do with inclusion of women in the workplace and labour movement?**
5. **Do you think women are knowledgeable of these acts? If no, is there anything done to conscientise them?**
6. **Why do you think we continue to have inequality at the workplace and even within trade unions despite the availability of the labour laws and institutions?**
7. **In your view, is implementation effectively carried out? Explain your view.**
8. **Why is the Gender n Equality Protocol NOT SIGNED by the Botswana Government?**
9. **How far has the Department gone in helping trade unions in Botswana address the issue of Gender Inequality? / How do you get involved with trade unions as a Department?**

I thank you for giving me an opportunity to do an interview with you.

Appendix G: BOSETU Permission Letter

B O S E T U

Teacher Pillar Of The Nation

BOTSWANA SECTORS OF EDUCATORS TRADE UNION
African Mall, Babereki House, 3rd Floor-Office No. 2S, Plot 871/2/3/4
Gaborone P.O. Box 404341 Tel: 3937472/3 Fax: 3170845 Mobile: 71437651
Francistown P.O Box 30424 Tel: 2402070
Maun P.O. Box 1940 Tel: 6863869 Fax: 6863867
PEOUBO Loans Tel: 3105837 Cell: 73105745
Email: bosetu@bosetu.org.bw , **www.bofesete.org.bw**

3rd July 2012

REF: req/mots/001/12(1)

Ms. Tshetsana Motsatsing
Global Labour College
Wits University
South Africa

Dear Madam

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH FIELD WORK

1.0. Reference is made to your letter dated 25th March 2012 in which you requested to be permitted to carry out a research field work with BOSETU as part of your partial fulfillment of the course you are undertaking with the Global Labour University.

2.0. We are happy to grant you permission as requested and you shall be referred to the union offices of the Secretary General, Labour Relations and the Organizer South Region for assistance in your endeavors.

3.0. Feel free to contact the Secretary General, Mr. Tobokani Rari, the Industrial Relations Manager, Mr. Handy Motiki and Organizer South Region, Ms Remember Kelefhile for any assistance.

Thank you,

Yours faithfully

Tobokani Nicholas Rari, Secretary General

Board Members; S. Hlabano (President), T. Sebogodi, T. N. Rari, I. Mannathoko, S. Moffat, M. Modise, R. Malinga, F. Malemane, S. Batsietswe, H. Kaisara, M. Mmitsi, L. Sekgopa, T. Bapaphi, K. Dioka, J. C. Hunyepa (Executive Secretary)