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The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this volume do not necessarily reflect the views of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung or fesmedia Africa. fesmedia Africa does not guarantee the accuracy of the data included in this work.
SECTOR 1: Freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, is effectively protected and promoted.

SECTOR 2: The media landscape, including new media, is characterised by diversity, independence and sustainability.

SECTOR 3: Broadcasting regulation is transparent and independent; the state broadcaster is transformed into a truly public broadcaster.

SECTOR 4: The media practise high levels of professional standards.
The African Media Barometer (AMB)

The African Media Barometer (AMB) is an in-depth and comprehensive description and measurement system for national media environments on the African continent. Unlike other press surveys or media indices the AMB is a self-assessment exercise based on home-grown criteria derived from African Protocols and Declarations like the “Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa” (2002) by the “African Commission for Human and Peoples’ Rights”. The instrument was jointly developed by fesmedia Africa, the Media Project of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in Africa, and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in 2004.

The African Media Barometer is an analytical exercise to measure the media situation in a given country which at the same time serves as a practical lobbying tool for media reform. Its results are presented to the public of the respective country to push for an improvement of the media situation using the AU Declaration and other African standards as benchmarks. The recommendations of the AMB-reports are then integrated into the work of the 19 country offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in sub-Saharan Africa and into the advocacy efforts of other local media organizations like the Media Institute of Southern Africa.

Methodology and Scoring System

Every two to three years a panel of 10-12 experts, consisting of at least five media practitioners and five representatives from civil society, meets to assess the media situation in their own country. For 1 1/2 days they discuss the national media environment according to 45 predetermined indicators. The discussion and scoring is moderated by an independent consultant who also edits the AMB-report.

After the discussion of one indicator panel members allocate their individual scores to that respective indicator in an anonymous vote according to the following scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Country does not meet indicator</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Country meets only a few aspects of indicator</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Country meets some aspects of indicator</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Country meets most aspects of indicator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Country meets all aspects of the indicator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sum of all individual indicator scores will be divided by the number of panel members to determine the average score for each indicator. These average indicator
scores are added up to form average sector scores which then make up the overall country score.

**Outcome**
The final, qualitative report summarizes the general content of the discussion and provides the average score for each indicator plus sector scores and overall country score. In the report panellists are not quoted by name to protect them from possible repercussions. Over time the bi- or tri-annual reports are measuring the media development in that particular country and should form the basis for a political discussion on media reform.

In countries where English is not the official language the report is published in a bilingual edition.

Implementing the African Media Barometer the offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and - in SADC countries the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) - only serve as a convener of the panel and as guarantor of the methodology. The content of the discussion and the report is owned by the panel of local experts and does not represent or reflect the view of FES or MISA.

At the end of 2008 the indicators were reviewed, amended and some new ones were added to address the rapid developments in Information Communication Technology (ICT).

By the end of 2011 the African Media Barometer has been held in 28 African countries, in some of them already for the fourth time.

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See above 28 AMB Countries (2005-2011)
Executive Summary

Freedom of expression in Botswana is guaranteed in Section 12 (1) of the Constitution although freedom of the media is not included. The assumption is that this clause provides for freedom of media in particular after Judge IBK Lesetedi in September 2001 stated in a judgement that freedom of the media was one aspect of freedom of expression. This freedom though has limitations through broad provisions related to defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, other people’s rights as well as protecting the freedom of civil servants to perform their duties, among others.

Botswana is a signatory to numerous regional and international instruments relating to freedom of expression and media freedom. The majority are yet to be domesticated. For example the government of Botswana is a signatory to the United Nations' International Bill of Human Rights. However, its conduct during the public workers’ strike was indicative that the content and spirit of this document have not been internalised since children as young as nine-years-old were arrested by the police and held in jail for two days during the strike. The government in its usual fashion denied this.

The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Botswana Chapter has been pushing for an Access to Information Act for years. Toward this end, a Private Members Bill was presented in parliament in 2010 but is yet to be debated. There is a fear that the whistleblower protection legislation may overshadow any hope of getting an Access to Information Act.

In regard to websites, there is no requirement for registration unless one requires a .bw domain. In such a case, one has to register with the state through Botswana Telecommunication Corporation. Also, through the national information and communications technology (ICT) policy, known as Maitlamo, the government is making an effort to extend ICTs to all citizens, including those in remote areas. The policy was adopted by parliament in 2007 but has only been implemented in the last two years. This has been viewed as a progressive development.

Collaboration between media and civil society in advancing media causes is evident as civil society supports and raises media freedom issues, including through the church (through both the Botswana Council of Churches and the Evangelical Fellowship of Botswana), the Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS (BONELA), the environmental group EnviroWatch and the Botswana Secondary
Teachers’ Union (BOSETU), as well as the umbrella organisation, the Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO).

In the exercise of law making, consultations with stakeholders may happen and have in various occasions happened, for example the government involved stakeholders in initial discussions on the Media Practitioners Act (MPA). However, this is viewed as a “façade of consultation” since once the legislation is drafted; the stakeholder input is generally not included.

The country's media landscape has two daily newspapers – the state-owned, free Daily News (with a national circulation of 65,000), and Mmegi (with a circulation of between 11,000 on Mondays to Thursdays and 22,400 on Fridays). Government owns the biggest media companies in Botswana and has the widest distribution in the country. However, it was noted that its content on radio has outdated programming, one-sided reports and little diversity.

In terms of broadcasting, there are six radio stations in Botswana: the government-owned Radio Botswana 1 and 2 (the latter has more of a commercial focus), and the private and commercial stations Duma FM, Gabz FM, Yarona FM and Voice of America. Most of the private radio stations broadcast countrywide and some stations, such as Gabz FM and Yarona FM, as well as Radio Botswana, are streaming their content over the internet. Podcasting is not very common in Botswana.

In the past two years, at least three private newspapers have closed down: the weekly Francistown Blue Jacket News; the fortnightly private newspaper, the Tswana Times; and the Independent Informer which is erratic. None of the state-owned print media entities (Daily News, Kutlwano, and the Botswana press agency) have independent boards of directors, and there is direct political interference in editorial matters. Botswana still has no community media – print or broadcasting.

The advertising 'cake' is very small in Botswana, and the government remains the main advertiser, followed by parastatals, which are viewed as an extension of the state, followed by big business - arguably, a further state extension.

A Competition Commission was expected to be established during June 2011, around the time of writing this report, following the passing in 2010 of a law governing competition. However, the Competition Act seems to be shrouded in secrecy, or at least a lack of publicity, as the panellists were unclear about its contents or its implications on media entities.

Where gender balance in the media is concerned, a Genderlinks Gender and Media Progress Study released in February 2011 indicated that women comprised 20 percent of all sources of media content – an increase from 16 percent of a similar research conducted by Genderlinks seven years earlier. However, the report states, “Out of 80 percent of all news sources, men in Botswana still prevail in the news.” Women’s voices are also largely heard in ‘soft’ beats, such as health and
education, while they are barely heard in sports, politics and economics and not at all heard in media reports concerning mining and housing.

In terms of affirmative action policies for women and vulnerable groups, the state media can be said to be progressive in comparison to the private media. There are more women than men working at Radio Botswana, and the broadcaster also employs a visually impaired announcer. “The State media has a deliberate policy that where it can accommodate the vulnerable groups, it will.”

Of great importance to note is that by and large Botswana journalists are not corrupt and “have a very high standard of moral integrity” considering that most of them are poorly paid, with freelances/stringers greatly affected. However, there have been a few instances where journalists from the private media have had to be removed from their beat due to soliciting of bribes.

In the last two years (2009-2011), the Botswana media environment has witnessed positive developments the most critical ones being that Radio Botswana’s signal is now reaching more people, and for the first time in the history of Botswana, the ruling party split in 2010, with a new opposition forming from this splinter.

The split appears to have contributed to people feeling free-er and less docile, and has brought more debate to the country. There is more openness, and liberal expression, evidenced by the public workers strike. Also, more people call- in to participate on radio talk shows and vent their anger, as well as use Facebook and e-mail as a forum to raise their concerns. Another positive development is that the Media Practitioners Act (MPA) of 2008 has been held in abeyance and is not yet operational.

“What we feared in 2009 has not come true (as the MPA is still not operational)”
SECTOR 1:

Freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, is effectively protected and promoted.
Freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, is effectively protected and promoted.

1.1 Freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, is guaranteed in the constitution and supported by other pieces of legislation.

Section 12 (1) of the Botswana Constitution guarantees freedom of expression: “Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information without interference (whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons) and freedom from interference with his correspondence.”

Although freedom of the media is not included, it is assumed that the above clause includes this, especially after Judge IBK Lesetedi in September 2001 stated in a judgement that freedom of the media was one aspect of freedom of expression.

Freedom of expression can be limited through broad provisions related to defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, other people’s rights, as well as protecting the freedom of civil servants to perform their duties, among others.

“All the tenets of freedom of expression are provided for (in the constitution) but state machinery exists to take away this freedom…”. 
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.7 (2005 = 2.6; 2007 = 2.3; 2009 = 1.9)

1.2 The right to freedom of expression is practised and citizens, including journalists, are asserting their rights without fear.

“You express yourself at your own cost… there is a plethora of people who fear their own shadows.”

Batswana do not feel very free to express themselves, as there is a fear that people are followed by government spies, and the state is scrutinising electronic communication, such as e-mails and text messages, and tapping telephones.

This fear is a direct result of the establishment in 2008 of the spy unit, the Directorate of Intelligence and Security Services (DISS), after President Lieutenant General Seretse Khama Ian Khama succeeded former president Festus Mogae.

The Media Practitioners Act (MPA), passed in December 2008, but not yet operational, contains threatening clauses, including imprisonment that could be taken against journalists who, it is argued by media practitioners; do not toe the government line. In general terms, the act states, under clause 36: “Any person who contravenes any provision of this Act commits an offence and is liable to a fine not exceeding P5,000 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years, or to both.”
The act also gives very broad powers to the minister concerned, under clause 39, stating that: “The Minister may, by statutory instrument, make regulations – (e) … prescribing anything to be prescribed by the Minister under this Act.”

Between January and June 2011, there had already been three cases of photographers being arrested by the police while conducting their work. It is known that not all media workers who are harassed by the police, and even arrested, report such incidents, for fear of further victimisation.

Certain laws, to be discussed in detail under the next indicator, such as the Public Service Act (PSA) of 2008, claw back on this freedom specifically with regards to civil servants, who fear that if they express themselves openly they will be fired, transferred to another position, or fail to get a promotion.

“If it was not for private radio stations, we would be in the dark… there is a black-out in the state media of any opinion contrary to government.”

There is a sense, however, that the fear felt by many Batswana in 2009, when the previous AMB was conducted, was greater than that felt in 2011. This may be because the MPA, which has a number of provisions that limit media freedom, has not yet been implemented, and thus the fears of concerned members of the media and civil society have not been realised. It may also be because the country was about to hold government elections in 2009, and there was considerable fear and uncertainty in this regard.

A public workers strike, which began in late April 2011 and at the time of this AMB had been ongoing for more than seven weeks, is the first such strike of its kind in the history of the country and is relevant with regard to discussions on freedom of expression. The fact that civil servants are striking is an indication that they feel freer to express themselves. The passing of the country’s Labour Act of 1982 and amended in 2010 has given workers the right to unionise and the right to strike for collective bargaining.

In addition, a split in the ruling party, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), lead to the formation in 2010 of the opposition Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), highlighting infighting within the BDP. As a result, people feel freer to express themselves and the media is also able to take advantage of this.

“People can talk, but they are still afraid… You don’t know if you can even think on your own.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.8 (2005 = 1.9; 2007 = 1.9; 2009 = 1.3)

1.3 There are no laws restricting freedom of expression such as excessive official secret or libel acts, or laws that unreasonably interfere with the responsibilities of media.

“The constitution states that you are free to express yourself, but there are various ‘claw-back’ laws that limit this freedom.”

One such law is the Public Service Act (PSA) of 2008, which restricts civil servants from expressing themselves. They can be dismissed instantly for speaking to the media or providing information without the permission of the minister or the permanent secretary.

The laws restricting freedom of expression include the Intelligence and Security Services Act, which established the spy unit, the Directorate of Intelligence, and Security Services (DISS). Other legislation, which impinges on the ability of the media to perform its duties are the National Security Act, the Public Service Act, the Cinematography Act, the Police Act and the Corruption and Economic Crime Act.

Under the Cinematography Act, for example, every film script needs to be approved by the state, as well as any changes made to such scripts during production.

The Botswana Penal Code contains provisions for criminal libel, sedition and the publishing of “false news” or news that might “alarm the public”.

The Media Practitioners Act (MPA), which among others requires all journalists and publications to register with the state, was passed in December 2008 but is not yet operational as regulations still need to be passed and a commencement
date must still be set. Once it is operational, there will be a number of restrictions on media freedom.

In the wake of the May 2009 murder of John Kalafatis, allegedly by state security agents who suspected him of being a criminal, President Khama sued the private *Sunday Standard* newspaper for alleging that he may have been involved in the killing. However, the president withdrew the lawsuit, allegedly due to the pressure from the media.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

**Average score:**

1.2 (2005 = 1.3; 2007 = 1.3; 2009 = 1.0)

**1.4 Government makes every effort to honour regional and international instruments on freedom of expression and the media.**

The state appears to sign numerous regional and international instruments relating to freedom of expression and media freedom, but does not honour them. These include the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Information.

Botswana has signed and ratified quite a number of international and regional treaties and protocols, including the Kyoto Protocol which was signed in August 2003 and ratified in February 2005. However, the major challenge is always domestication. “The government will sign (them), but in many instances, that is as far as it goes”. The key implications of not having signed or acceded to these treaties and protocols are that the rights provided for in the instruments are not recognised by the Government of Botswana, and are not of persuasive value. “Even in most cases, the members of parliament are not informed about what has been signed until civil society takes up an issue.”
The government is also a signatory to the United Nations’ International Bill of Human Rights, but the behaviour of the state during the public workers’ strike indicates that such a document has not been internalised. During the strike, police allegedly threw teargas and shot at children with rubber bullets. Children as young as nine-years-old were arrested by the police and held in jail for two days. The police commissioner went on to state television - Botswana Television (BTV), and denied these actions.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

**Average score:** 1.6 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.3)

### 1.5 Print publications are not required to obtain permission to publish from state authorities.

Currently, state or privately owned print publications must be registered as companies with the General Post Office, under the Printed Publications Act.

Once the MPA is in force, publications will have to be registered and accredited each year with the government, through the statutory Botswana Press Council. Failure to do so could result in a fine of P5,000 (US$765 at June 2011 rates) or three years in prison, or both. The MPA will also empower the state to shut down print publications.

“It will be very difficult to register if the status quo does not agree with what you are doing... The point of registering is so that the government knows your address when they want to raid you.”
Some editors fear their publications may be closed down in future if they are overly critical of the government.

**Scores:**

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.4 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.0)

1.6 Entry into and practice of the journalistic profession is legally unrestricted.

There is currently no restriction in place. The restrictions will come into effect when the MPA becomes operational at a date yet to be determined, there will be restrictions. Once operational, this law will enforce the registration of journalists and the statutory Botswana Press Council will determine who can or cannot work as a journalist.

“Even after studying for three or four years to be a journalist, you will need the state’s permission to work in this field!”

In addition, a number of experienced journalists in Botswana do not have journalism qualifications, but may have another degree, so the criteria to be used by the State to determine who can practise the profession is unclear.

“The law is very vague. The MPA will restrict who can be a journalist as this is at the discretion of the Press Council.” This is in spite of the fact that there are some internationally recognised journalists who do not have journalism qualifications but are very good writers.
### Scores:

**Individual scores:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Score Visualization</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Country meets only a few aspects of indicator</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Country meets some aspects of indicator</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Country meets most aspects of indicator.</td>
<td>✔️ ✔️ ✔️ ✔️ ✔️ ✔️ ✔️ ✔️</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Country meets all aspects of the indicator.</td>
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</table>

**Average score:** 1.3 (2005 = 5.0; 2007 = 4.9; 2009 = 1.0)

### 1.7 Confidential sources of information are protected by law and/or the courts.

Confidential sources of information are not protected by law.

There is also no legislation saying journalists have to reveal their sources. At the time of writing this report (June 2011), there was a case before the courts between Yarona FM and an MP, who is the former Botswana Football Association president, Phillip Makgalemele. The MP is suing the private radio station for defamation following a 2008 broadcast alleging Makgalemele was bribed in China, while the country’s Under-23 football team was touring there. Of relevance here is the fact that the radio presenter is being compelled by the courts to reveal his sources. This is the first test case in this regard.

The MPA, which must still become operational, makes no mention of the protection of sources.

High-ranking government officials have been known to call journalists directly and query the sources of particular stories.

“Journalists have the option to go to jail with the identity of the source intact or reveal the informant and stay free.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.2 (2005 = 1.1; 2007 = 1.1; 2009 = 1.0)

1.8 Public information is easily accessible, guaranteed by law, to all citizens.

There is no law in Botswana guaranteeing access to public information, although freedom to receive information is constitutionally guaranteed. In fact, there are laws that prohibit access to state-held information, such as the Public Service Act, National Security Act, and the Corruption and Economic Crime Act.

Each government ministry has a public information officer (PRO), but they tend to block information, rather than provide access to it. The practicalities of getting information from the government are very difficult, as only ministers and permanent secretaries are entitled to provide information to the public. During the public strike, for example, the health ministry PROs were told not to talk to the media. PROs basically send out approved press releases.

“In the past you could access some public information, but this is becoming more difficult now, even for ordinary members of the public.”

There is no protection for whistleblowers although legislation in this regard is “in the wings”.

The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Botswana Chapter has been pushing for an Access to Information Act for years, and a bill in this regard was presented to parliament in 2010 as a Private Member’s Bill. To date, this has still not been debated in parliament, and it seems the government is a long way from passing such legislation. There is a fear that the whistleblower protection legislation will overshadow any hope of getting an Access to Information Act. MISA Botswana continues to galvanise public support on freedom of information
issues and held three panel discussions and public lectures on the topic during 2010.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.3 (2005 = 1.0; 2007 = 1.1; 2009 = 1.1)

1.9 **Websites and blogs are not required to register with or obtain permission from state authorities.**

If one would like a .bw domain registered, then registration with the state, through Botswana Telecommunication Corporation, is necessary. To date, it is not known if any websites have been denied registration. However, if one wants to register a .net or a .com, it does not have to be registered with the state, as this is done internationally.

Under the Media Practitioners Act (once it is operational) all publications in Botswana, including electronic publications, will have to be registered with the Statutory Press Council.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.7 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.0)
1.10 The state does not seek to block or filter Internet content unless laws provide for restrictions that serve a legitimate interest and are necessary in a democratic society.

Apart from blocking civil servants from accessing certain sites at work, such as social networking and porn sites, there is no known blocking or filtering of internet content by the state. This is standard practice in many countries. Government mail servers also filter out certain mails, such as those originating from Yahoo, but this may be simple firewalling and an attempt to prevent unsolicited mail.

Mails coming from certain sources, such as MISA, as well as mails containing certain phrases and words, for example ‘freedom of expression’, have been known to bounce back on government e-mail addresses.

“MISA’s IP address appears to be blacklisted by government (so mails from this address are not received).”

**Scores:**

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.1 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.0)

1.11 Civil society in general and media lobby groups actively advance the cause of media freedom.

Numerous civil society and faith based organisations such as the Botswana Council of Churches, the Evangelical Fellowship of Botswana, the Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS (BONELA), the environmental group EnviroWatch and the Botswana Secondary Teachers’ Union (BOSETU), as
well as the umbrella organisation, the Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO) raise media freedom issues.

MISA Botswana, as an advocacy group, also plays a strong role in advancing the cause of media freedom and is credited with making civil society aware of its rights and the role of the media in this regard. The self-regulatory Press Council is specifically tasked to look at issues relating to the media, including that of media freedom.

“About ten or fifteen years ago, Botswana civil society was very timid, but then MISA stood up and seriously challenged citizens’ freedom of expression.”

People appear to be speaking more openly now and there has been a visible growth in public opinion about media issues. There also appears to be more of a concerted effort by civil society organisations to work together.

“The private media is virtually seen as the opposition to government. Their voice is much stronger than the official political opposition.”

Ironically, the passing of the restrictive Media Practitioners’ Act (MPA) in December 2008, has been a boon to the media as it has helped raise public debates about media issues.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

**Average score:**

4.1 (2005 = 2.4; 2007 = 2.8; 2009 = 2.2)
1.12 Media legislation evolves from meaningful consultations among state institutions, citizens and interest groups.

Government may involve stakeholders in initial discussions on media legislation, such as the Media Practitioners Act (MPA) but it is a façade. Once the legislation has been drafted, the stakeholder input is generally not visible.

As was the case with the MPA, government did not make the draft legislation available for comments, and it was only seen publicly once it had been published in the Government Gazette.

The private media used to have a seat on the High-Level Consultative Council (HLCC), which is comprised of government and private sector representatives and chaired by the President. This seat was taken away two years ago, when control over the media was moved from the Ministry of Communications, Science and Technology to the Office of the President. Only the state media have remained on the HLCC.

“There used to be lots of talking, but this is all reversed now. The consultation process with the media has been taken away.”

With the Private Member’s Access to Information Bill, there was quite a degree of media consultation, but now stakeholders “have no idea how it will emerge”, if it does emerge at all.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.1 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.0)

Average score for sector 1: 2.0 (2009 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.2)*

* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the sector scores from 2005 & 2007 are not comparable anymore.
SECTOR 2:
The media landscape, including new media, is characterised by diversity, independence and sustainability.
The media landscape, including new media, is characterised by diversity, independence and sustainability.

2.1 A wide range of sources of information (print, broadcasting, internet) is available and affordable to citizens.

Print
The media landscape in Botswana is very similar to how it was two years ago.

The country has two daily newspapers – the state-owned, free Daily News (with a national circulation of 65,000), and Mmegi (with a circulation of 11,000 on Mondays to Thursdays and 22,400 on Fridays). There are 13 private weekly newspapers in Botswana – The Botswana Gazette, Botswana Guardian, Echo, Midweek Sun, The Mirror, Monitor, Ngami Times, Sunday Standard, Sunday Tribune, The Voice and the three new entrants (in the past two years): the Global Post (in Chinese and English), the Weekend Post and the Telegraph. Most of these newspapers are national, while others are limited to specific locations. The newspapers have circulations ranging between 8,000 (Sunday Tribune) and 30,000 (The Voice).¹

In the past two years, at least three private newspapers have closed down: the weekly Francistown Blue Jacket News; the fortnightly private newspaper, the Tswana Times; and the erratically published Independent Informer.

Other private newspapers include the monthly Economic Express, which is published erratically.

There are a number of local magazines, including the environmentally focussed Wena, Hotel and Tourism, the youth publication Lapologa, a farmers’ magazine, and the contemporary state-published magazine, Kutlwano. New monthly magazine entrants in the last two years include Wealth, Flair, Architect Design, Peolwane (Air Botswana’s in-flight magazine) and the general-interest Mahube. Many Botswana magazines are published infrequently.

¹ Mmegi is the biggest private newspaper - the only daily private newspaper in the country - which also owns the Botswana Guardian, its former chief rival. This unlikely merger may not have been sanctioned if there was a coherent Competition Commission established because it does very little to add to media diversity in the country.
At an average of P8 (US$1.22) per newspaper, it was felt that newspapers were not affordable to ordinary citizens in a country where a loaf of bread costs about P7.

Access to print media in rural areas is a huge challenge as the country is relatively large at 600,370 square kilometres (about the size of France or Kenya) but the population, estimated to be almost 2 million, is small and spread-out. The print and some of the broadcast media is mostly centralised around Gaborone and a few other large economic centres, as the costs of distribution and transmission across the entire country are very high.

Another fact that reduces the people of Botswana’s accessibility to the print media is that it is almost entirely published in English, although some newspapers, such as the Daily News and Mmegi, have Setswana pages in each edition. The government radio and television stations, however, broadcast in English and Setswana. English is the official language of Botswana, although the national language is Setswana and an estimated 78 percent of Batswana speak Setswana as a home language. English is spoken by two percent of the population as a home language, Kalanga eight per cent, Sekgalagadi three percent, and the remainder made up of other languages.

Clearly, Batswana who speak English are at a greater advantage in terms of accessing the media.

**Broadcasting**

There are six radio stations broadcasting in Botswana: the government-owned Radio Botswana 1 and 2 (the latter has more of a commercial focus), and the private and commercial stations Duma FM, Gabz FM, Yarona FM and Voice of America. Most of the private radio stations are broadcasting countrywide and some stations, such as Gabz FM and Yarona FM, as well as Radio Botswana, have begun streaming their content over the internet. Podcasting is not very common in Botswana.

Botswana television audiences can access two local TV stations, the state-owned Botswana Television (BTV) and the private e-Botswana, formerly Gaborone Broadcasting Company (GBC), which is now a local collaboration with South Africa’s etv containing a small portion of local news, music and other content. Viewers can subscribe to the South African satellite subscription service, DSTV, through Multi-Choice Botswana. The Batswana can also access SABC TV through the Chinese Philibao (pirated).

In the past two years, the government has installed new transmitters for BTV, which now reaches about 85 percent of the population, terrestrially, and it is also possible to pick it up on satellite, via the DSTV bouquet, countrywide. The reach of

“There has been growth in the use of the internet in Botswana but the costs have not come down. Internet is accessible, but it is not affordable.”
state radio has improved in the last two years and it is now reaching an estimated 85 percent of the population.

Even people off the electricity grid can now watch television, due to the recent availability of cheap, Chinese-made solar panels in Botswana.

There is still no community media – print or broadcasting – in Botswana.

Media ownership
Government owns the biggest media companies and has the widest distribution in the country, thus is most accessible to Batswana. Broadcasting around the country is dominated by state-owned television and radio stations, and the Daily News, a free publication which is widely distributed to most areas in the country. In rural areas, this is often the only print media product available, although it is sometimes up to a week late.

The government also owns the Botswana Press Agency (BOPA).

Internet
Since the government launched the second phase of its Nteletsa (‘Call me’) project in 2010, it has become more common to find internet cafés in rural areas, whereas this would not have been the case previously. This is also a result of communities gaining access to electricity through Chinese-made solar panels. Since 2009, the Botswana Telecommunications Authority has commissioned private telecommunications experts to install phone and internet connections in rural areas. The main problem in getting all these communities linked up, is the lack of electricity, which is being addressed by a government rural electrification project. “In terms of infrastructure, there has already been an incremental improvement and a substantial enhancement to those communities now connected to electricity and telecommunications.”

The penetration of mobile phones in Botswana is very strong: “Everyone has at least one cellphone.” At rural cattle posts, it is common to find people charging their cellphones using solar panels. Most people today are able to connect to the internet using their mobile phone.

In terms of the cost of the internet, however, “competitively, to other SADC countries, it is expensive”. The small bandwidth is a limiting factor in terms of access, while the data itself is very expensive.

“There has been growth in the use of the internet in Botswana but the costs have not come down. Internet is accessible, but it is not affordable.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.1 (2005 = 2.2; 2007 = 2.8; 2009 = 2.3)

2.2 Citizens’ access to domestic and international media sources is not restricted by state authorities.

There are no laws that restrict citizens’ access to domestic and international media sources. However, it can be argued that when the state declares a “financial blackout” against a particular media house, i.e. it withdraws advertising from a media house, this translates to a lack of confidence in that particular media house and the public support for it is reduced.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.8 (2005 = 4.5; 2007 = 4.8; 2009 = 3.0)
2.3 Efforts are undertaken to increase the scope of circulation of the print media, particularly to rural communities.

The government has marginally improved its distribution of the Daily News and is now taking it to a few more remote areas, “although it sometimes arrives a week late”. This free, state-run newspaper has the widest distribution of any print publication in the country and it reaches more rural areas than other newspapers.

The private media are also making some effort to penetrate the rural Botswana market. “These efforts are seen as miniscule though, and don’t make a big difference.”

Private media argue that the high cost of taxation of their business means it is not profitable to increase circulation, and in fact some newspapers, such as The Voice, have reduced their print-run. Another inhibiting and escalating cost is the price of newsprint, while the advertising market “is shrinking by the day”.

Yet another drawback to increased circulation is the lack of a joint distribution network within the media sphere.

“The cost of producing newspapers is getting higher and higher, and rural people cannot afford to buy them.”

Readership per newspaper is estimated to be up to 20 people in rural areas.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.9 (2005 = 2.9; 2007 = 3.4; 2009 = 1.4)
2.4 The editorial independence of print media published by a public authority is protected adequately against undue political interference.

None of the state-owned print media entities (Daily News, Kutlwano, and the Botswana press agency) have independent boards of directors, and there is direct political interference in editorial matters. Currently state media is presided over by the Office of the President, although it used to fall under the Ministry of Communications, Science and Technology.

“It’s very clear: individual journalists from government media are not allowed to think... there is no guarantee of editorial independence.”

An article about the Botswana government giving P1 million to Japan, following its devastating earthquake and tsunami in March 2011, was withdrawn from the Daily News by “higher authorities” as it was felt this would not be welcomed during the public workers strike.

Staff on state-run newspapers and the press agency are employed under the Public Service Act and are told they are civil servants and not journalists. These media entities operate like government organs: professionalism and the media code of ethics are not respected.

“They do what the state tells them to do and toe the line that the state wants them to.”

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.0 (2005 = 1.2; 2007 = 1.6; 2009 = 1.0)
2.5 Adequate competition legislation/regulation seeks to prevent media concentration and monopolies.

A law governing competition was passed in 2010 and the Competition Commission was to be established during June 2011 (around the time of writing this report.) Advertisements for the position of Competition Commissioner have already been published.

There appears to be some secrecy around the Competition Act, or at least a lack of publicity, as the participants were unclear about its contents and the impact of the Act on media entities.

“If it is to be adequate, there should have been consultation with the industry, but this did not happen.”

There have been no legal cases relating to media concentration, although a number of private media houses do have multiple interests. Mmegi, for example, has interests in broadcasting, print, publishing and distribution.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

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**Average score:** 1.9 (2005 = 1.2; 2007 = 1.1; 2009 = 1.0)
2.6 Government promotes a diverse media landscape with economically viable and independent media outlets.

Rather than supporting economically sustainable and independent media outlets, government seems to act in a way that “reduces diversity in the media and promotes violence against the media... the state is increasingly closing the space for independent thought”.

The government has never provided grants or loans to the private media and has not made any effort to protect small media outlets. The state has not made any effort to develop legislation for community broadcasters.

“The emergence of the private media in Botswana just came about while the state was sleeping. Now the government is having second thoughts. It’s harder to establish radio stations and community broadcasting seems like it may not see the light of day.”

The offer by private broadcasters to pay rent to share state infrastructure, notably transmitter towers, has not been accepted, and so private broadcasters spend millions of Pula erecting their own infrastructure. This is in contrast to the telecommunications industry, where there is a sharing of infrastructure among mobile phone companies and the state.

“Private media entities are seen by the state as ‘troublesome children’ but the current legislation does not allow the government to de-register them.”

The ruling BDP has directly and repeatedly threatened private radio stations that are seen to be too critical of the party. The president has told the private media that he does not read local newspapers because they publish “rubbish”. There is concern among the private media that the president is cut-off from the local media and is only informed by his advisors about private media reports that are negative about him and/or the government, and, thus, he is not getting a balanced picture of the industry.

“The government controls 70 percent of the Botswana economy and the remaining 30 percent is an extension of government: this power affects the media space, making it less diverse and less liberated.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

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Average score: 1.6 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.1)

2.7 All media fairly reflect the voices of both women and men.

The media do not reflect the voices of both men and women in a balanced way. The content of the media tends to be mostly male-dominated or presented from a male perspective, and this is probably a reflection of the composition of media houses as most of the senior management positions within the state and private media are held by men.

A Genderlinks Gender and Media Progress Study released in February 2011 showed that women comprised 20 percent of all sources of media content – this is an increase from 16 percent in research conducted by Genderlinks seven years ago. The report states, however: “At 80 percent of all news sources, men in Botswana still prevail in the news.” Women’s voices are also largely heard in ‘soft’ beats, such as health and education, while they are barely heard in sports, politics and economics and not at all heard in media reports concerning mining and housing.

In terms of the public sector strike, all the news reports have included views and comments from men, while no women have been heard on the issue.

Nevertheless, some participants felt there had been some improvement in the media’s discussion of gender issues.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.9 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.3)

2.8 All media fairly reflect the voices of society in its ethnic, linguistic, religious, political and social diversity.

The media in Botswana do not fairly reflect all the voices in society.

“Until parliament recognises the importance of the different dialects in Botswana, there will be an imbalance in its representation in the media.”

The two languages recognised as being official/national are English and Setswana, and these are the only languages that are broadcast and represented in the print media, with English dominating. There are about 26 other languages spoken in Botswana, including 13 Khoisan languages.²

“As long as there are no community radio stations in Botswana, and government fails to recognise the importance of these, there will be no fair representation of the ethnic diversity within the country.”

An example of unbalanced or propagandist reporting is the public workers strike - where government media reflected only government voices, and, in an apparent attempt to balance this situation, the private media amplified the union voices.

Similarly, state media tend to expound the opinions of the ruling party, while the private media is more the mouthpiece for the opposition parties. The media tends to be mostly event driven, with leaders’ voices taking the lion’s share when it comes to content, and the voices of ordinary Batswana hardly being represented by the state or the private media.

In terms of religion, only Christianity receives coverage in the media.

**Scores:**

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**Average score:**

1.9 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.3)

### 2.9 The country has a coherent ICT policy, which aims to meet the information needs of all citizens, including marginalised communities.

The government is making an effort to extend ICTs to all citizens, including those in remote areas, through the national information and communications technology (ICT) policy, known as Maitlamo. The policy was adopted by parliament in 2007 but has only been implemented in the last two years.

An information technology hub has been formed and the state is establishing ICT offices around the country. In recent years, the government has connected a number of public libraries to the internet, providing communities with free internet access.

“The government is taking ICT to the remotest of remote rural areas. They are doing a good job.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.0 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.1)

2.10 Government does not use its power over the placement of advertisements as a means to interfere with editorial content.

The government definitely uses its power over the placement of advertisements as a means to interfere with editorial content. Although there have not been any regulations or court cases to this effect, there is a pervasive undercurrent emanating from state authorities towards private media: “if you don’t behave and support the ruling party’s line, government advertising can be withdrawn”.

Government officials are known to approach the private media with such threats and to strike deals with them. MISA Botswana reported having received regular calls from the private media, from which the government had threatened to withdraw advertising.

“This situation does not favour the government. Everyone knows that if you want your advert to be seen, you must place it in the private media. The Daily News is known to be ‘stifled media’, and the readership and listenership in Botswana is with the private media.”

The private media suffer doubly in this situation, because when the state withdraws advertising from the private media, the commercial sector follows suit “because the government has economic power”.

“If you don’t behave and support the ruling party’s line, government advertising can be withdrawn.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.7 (2005 = 1.3; 2007 = 2.4; 2009 = 1.1)

2.11 The advertising market is large enough to support a diversity of media outlets.

It is generally agreed that the advertising ‘cake’ is very small: government is the main advertiser, followed by parastatals (an extension of the state), followed by big business (arguably, a further state extension). Sometimes, private newspapers have just three main advertisers = the country’s three mobile phone companies, BMobile, Orange and Mascom.

In an attempt to try and stay afloat, some private print publications have been known to undercut their competitors in terms of advertising costs.

“A big problem in Botswana is the lack of market analysis. Some media entities take a greater share of the market just because of perception. There is no scientific targeting of the market, no living standards measurements (LSMs) on which to base marketing strategies, and so the advertisers and the media don’t know about their audiences. They’re shooting in the dark.”

It is argued that if BTV was transformed into a proper public broadcaster, it would not need to rely on commercial advertising revenue.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.0 (2005 = 3.0; 2007 = 3.8; 2009 = 1.3)

Average score for sector 2: 2.5 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.6)*

* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the sector scores from 2005 & 2007 are not comparable anymore.
Broadcasting regulation is transparent and independent; the state broadcaster is transformed into a truly public broadcaster.
Broadcasting regulation is transparent and independent; the state broadcaster is transformed into a truly public broadcaster.

3.1 Broadcasting legislation has been passed and is implemented that provides for a conducive environment for public, commercial and community broadcasting.

The Broadcasting Act of 1998 subscribes to the three tiers of broadcasting: public, commercial and community. However, a draft Broadcasting Policy has yet to be passed and no regulations have been implemented in this regard. Due to the lack of an implementing framework, the legislation concerning public and community broadcasting is on hold.

State broadcasting is operated as an organ of government and thus is not under the jurisdiction of the National Broadcasting Board (NBB), which only has the power to license private broadcasters.

Government officials have previously argued that community broadcasting could be used to divide the country, as was the case with radio in the Rwandan genocide.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.0 (2005 = 1.8; 2007 = 1.7; 2009 = 1.1)
3.2 Broadcasting is regulated by an independent body adequately protected by law against interference whose board is appointed – in an open way - involving civil society and not dominated by any particular political party.

The appointments to the National Broadcasting Board (NBB) were originally conducted in 2001 in a transparent manner. Advertisements calling for applications were placed in the media, and the interviewing panel included both civil society and government representatives.

The then Minister of Communications, Science and Technology was responsible for appointing the NBB’s 11 members, which included a representative from the office of the president, an officer from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, an officer from the Department of Cultural and Social Welfare in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, a representative from the Botswana Telecommunications Authority (BTA), as well as seven people appointed from a list of 10 candidates nominated by the Nominating Committee. One of the 10 candidates is appointed chairperson of the board by the minister.

However, this has become more of a secretive process in the past two years since the Office of the President assumed responsibility for media issues, taking such control away from the Ministry of Communications, Science and Technology which was disbanded and subsumed into other ministries, and the media element taken back to the Office of the President.

“As we speak, we don’t know who is on the board, or even if it has been resuscitated since the members’ term of office expired in 2009.”

The general perception of the NBB is that it is a “toothless body”.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.4 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.0)
3.3 The body regulates broadcasting services and licences in the public interest and ensures fairness and a diversity of views broadly representing society at large.

The NBB has no regulations or policies, and no guiding principles with regard to ensuring fairness or a diversity of views.

Its only real activity is to license commercial broadcasters, which it does well.

“With community and public media, the NBB is dead in the water. The state media is state media, not public media. They (staff) are public servants and not journalists. The NBB has no power over them.”

Internet broadcasters also fall beyond the scope of the NBB.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1 Country does not meet indicator
2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3 Country meets some aspects of indicator
4 Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.9 (2005 = 1.3; 2007 = 2.1; 2009 = 1.8)

3.4 The state/public broadcaster is accountable to the public through a board representative of society at large and selected in an independent, open and transparent manner.

There is no board for Botswana Television (BTV) or Radio Botswana 1 and 2, as they are run as government departments, within the Office of the President, with staff hired by the Directorate of Public Service Management, as is the case with all government employees. Therefore, the state broadcaster is not accountable to the public at all.
3.5 Office bearers with the state and political parties, as well as those with a financial interest in the broadcasting industry, are excluded from possible membership on the board of the state/public broadcaster.

The State Broadcaster in Botswana has no board as the state radio and television stations are run as government organs.
3.6 The editorial independence of the state/public broadcaster from political influence is guaranteed by law and practised.

There is no legislation to guarantee the editorial independence of the state broadcaster in Botswana from political influence. The state broadcaster is under the control of the Office of the President.

“When the state directs its own organ to do something, it is not seen as interference. The state is simply operating its own machinery.”

State house is known to give directives to the state broadcaster about what topics to cover and not to cover.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.0 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.0)

3.7 The state/public broadcaster is adequately funded in a manner that protects it from arbitrary interference through its budget and from commercial pressure.

The state broadcaster is funded wholly by a budget drawn from taxpayers. Money made by the broadcaster through advertising or sponsorship goes directly into state coffers.

The state broadcaster does not serve the public interest, but that of the state.
“As a state broadcaster, its funding is already infiltrated. The state is adequately funding the state broadcaster, so it has control over it, including its editorial content. This funding does not protect it from arbitrary political interference.”

It is common knowledge that “government can stop or delay the news bulletin to serve its own interests”, although an advertiser would not have this kind of control. Other panellists felt that the state was not funding the state broadcaster adequately since BTV, for example, is failing to meet its quota of airing 60 percent local content.

Some programmes aired on the national television station are sponsored by commercial companies, such as the business programme First Issues on BTV, which is sponsored by First National Bank. In this instance, news about other banks would not be covered in this programme, so it could be said that the broadcaster’s content is interfered with through commercial pressure.

“Sometimes what comes to the viewer as ‘news’ is actually paid-for advertorial, although it is not presented to the viewers as such.”

At an individual level, there are incidents of corruption and commercial pressure, whereby radio or television presenters are paid to promote certain products and services.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.8 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 =1.1)
3.8 The state/public broadcaster is technically accessible in the entire country.

The state broadcaster is not transmitting throughout the whole of Botswana, although there has been some improvement in this regard in the last two years (for details, see indicator 2.1), especially with regard to television. Terrestrially, Botswana TV (BTV) and Radio Botswana 1 and 2 now reach a reported 85 percent of the country. According to 2007 AMB figures, BTV reached only 40 percent of the population, while radio was already at a reported 85 percent coverage four years ago.

BTV is also available via the satellite subscription services, DSTV, and can thus theoretically be accessed by viewers with a satellite dish and DSTV decoder throughout the country. Radio Botswana is also available via the internet, but BTV is not.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1 Country does not meet indicator
2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3 Country meets some aspects of indicator
4 Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.1 (2005 = 3.1; 2007 = 3.9; 2009 = 2.3)

3.9 The state/public broadcaster offers diverse programming formats for all interests.

Radio Botswana 1 and 2 used to offer more diverse programming than that which was available on BTV. However, this has changed over the past two years and the offerings on state radio include outdated programming, one-sided reports and little diversity.

“This is a direct result of political interference and fear. As such, staff at the state radio station are not able to address the nation adequately… Information is power and the government wants to keep its information, and in the process, kills diversity.”
State television, *BTV*, continues to push a very one-sided viewpoint (that of government/the ruling party) and it has many repeat programmes and not much diversity. *BTV*’s programming is described as “boring” and “lacking in creativity”. Some 90 percent of *BTV*’s local offerings are “talking heads” as the station rarely goes into the field to interview people. This could be attributed to stifling of programme content in order to stick to what has been approved and agreed upon prior to airing.

Only two languages are used on both state radio and television: English and Setswana.

“People in rural areas and those from low income groups do not watch *BTV* because they feel it is not relevant to them.” The news on both state radio and television is particularly unbalanced and single-sourced.

“*BTV* and *RB 1* and 2 have become channels for government press releases: they will read ministerial statements verbatim. It is that bad.”

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.9 (2005 = 2.6; 2007 = 2.7; 2009 = 1.4)

### 3.10 The state/public broadcaster offers balanced and fair information in news and current affairs, reflecting the full spectrum of diverse views and opinions.

Generally, there is little balance in news and current affairs offered by the state radio and television services, as opposition parties and viewpoints are not given the same platform as the ruling party, which dominates the airwaves. There is also misleading information and propaganda broadcast on *BTV* and *RB 1* and 2.
“Sometimes state media journalists have good intentions, ...but you can’t strike your stomach.”

BTV news was reportedly given an instruction from State House last year (2010) to cover only the president and the vice president as “they talk about issues of national interest”.

“This sometimes state media journalists have good intentions, as it is traumatising from the inside, but you can’t strike your stomach.”

This has led to a general lack of confidence by Batswana in the state broadcaster, resulting in a lot of people not watching or listening to these services.

This deteriorating situation, began with the Media Practitioner’s Bill, passed in 2008.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.0 (2005 = 2.6; 2007 = 2.6; 2009 = 1.2)

3.11 The state/public broadcaster offers as much diverse and creative local content as economically achievable.

The quota for different programming by the state broadcaster is reportedly as follows:

- For BTV, there is 20 percent local news, 30 percent local programming, 10 percent local interviews and 40 percent foreign programming.

- For Radio Botswana 1, there is more local content with 60 percent local news, 20 percent local programmes, 10 percent local interviews and 10 percent foreign programming.

The commercially run Radio Botswana 2 is described as “100 percent local content, through a 100 percent American perspective”.
There is local content on the national broadcaster, but this is not very diverse or creative, especially on BTV. The state television service has a budget of P2 million to procure local content, but this is not sufficient and would only pay for two 24-minute programmes, and not, for example, a 13-episode local series.

“BTV expects quality production from local producers, but the budget is too small for this. If BTV wants quality local productions, the budget for this has to be increased.”

It is argued that BTV “was always meant to be a political mouthpiece of the ruling party, for its own political gain”, and that even if local producers find their own funding, BTV is still reluctant to air the programmes.

“BTV would rather broadcast France 24, than a local production during ‘dead time’ after it ends broadcasting for the day – mostly from 11pm.”

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1 Country does not meet indicator

2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3 Country meets some aspects of indicator

4 Country meets most aspects of indicator

5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.4 (2005 = 2.7; 2007 = 3.1; 2009 = 1.4)
3.12 Community broadcasting enjoys special promotion given its potential to broaden access by communities to the airwaves.

There is no community broadcasting in Botswana (see indicators 3.1 and 3.3).

**Scores:**

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.0 (2005 = 1.0; 2007 = 1.0; 2009 = 1.0)

Average score for sector 3: 1.6 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.4)*

* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the sector scores from 2005 & 2007 are not comparable anymore.
SECTOR 4:

The media practise high levels of professional standards.
The media practise high levels of professional standards.

4.1 The media follow voluntary codes of professional standards, which are enforced by self–regulatory bodies that deal with complaints from the public.

A self-regulatory body, the Press Council established in 2004, handles complaints from the public about the media. There is a counter, statutory body called the Media Council, established by the Media Practitioners Act (MPA), although this is not yet operational as the law has yet to be implemented.

The Press Council was originally intended for all the country’s media – state, private, print and broadcasting. However, it became clear over time, and with the passing of the MPA in 2008, that state media could not be regulated in such a way, as it is in effect operating as a government body and thus answerable only to the state. Thus, only the private media now are members of the Press Council, which deals with ethical and professional issues.

The Press Council’s members have a “good” code of ethics, which has been implemented by private media houses.

The existence of the Press Council has led to a reduction in litigation against the media. However some aggrieved parties still prefer to take a matter to court to get financial compensation.

The statutory Media Council, once operational, will be able to order apologies and corrections; reprimand, fine, suspend and even deregister media practitioners; while the self-regulatory Press Council will demand that any media in the wrong must publish the complaints committee’s report and an apology. Press Council decisions are not enforceable.

In the past two years, it has become part of the licence conditions for all radio stations to broadcast a regular message to the effect that if anyone has any complaints about what is broadcast, they should write first to the programme managers, and if they do not have any recourse in this regard, they should write to the National Broadcasting Board (NBB). No mention is made of the Press Council.

“The NBB should be looking only at regulatory and technical issues, not issues of professionalism or ethics.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.8 (2005 = 3.6; 2007 = 3.3; 2009 = 2.9)

4.2 The standard of reporting follows the basic principles of accuracy and fairness.

Although a code of ethics exists, and is supported by the private media, accuracy, fairness and balance are sometimes found to be lacking within the Botswana media. The reporting is believed to be "generally fair" and is not considered to be "gutter journalism". Government media reportage is largely considered ruling party propaganda, as reflected in discussions in previous indicators.

There appear to be numerous possible reasons for poor reporting, including the fact that many of Botswana’s journalists are young and inexperienced, and do not hunt down enough sources to provide the required information.

It is clear that there is a consistent problem of the inability of private media houses to retain experienced journalists due to poor pay packages, and the fact that corporate / public relations jobs may be more enticing given they remunerate better. This results in a lack of experienced ‘gatekeepers’ to give due and professional attention to copy.

The lapses with regards to fairness and accuracy may also be a result of the pressure of deadlines faced by media houses as well as a lack of access to information legislation.

“Journalists in Botswana operate in an awkward environment, because there is no access to information legislation, so it can be difficult to get to the truth. Generally, journalists have their integrity and don’t intend to report lies.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1 Country does not meet indicator
2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3 Country meets some aspects of indicator
4 Country meets most aspects of indicator
5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.3 (2005 = 2.9; 2007 = 2.1; 2009 = 2.8)

4.3 The media cover the full spectrum of events, issues and cultures, including business/economics, cultural, local and investigative stories.

There is a lack of specialisation in the Botswana media, for example on such subjects as local governance or investigative journalism. This may be attributed to media house owners’ lack of adequate resources to allow individual reporters to spend quality time on specific issues or ‘beats’.

“A lot of the reports in Botswana are event-driven, especially government-related events. There is no in-depth reporting.”

“Journalists are quick to break the news and get the scoop, without doing much research. They also very rarely follow up on stories.”

Developmental stories are covered well by the government media, but not the private media, often because these journalists lack information about government activities and do not know what the state’s intentions are. This relates, again, to a lack of access to information legislation.

There is a high turn-over of media staff with many experienced journalists leaving for greener pastures in public relations, and therefore a lack of institutional memory.

Experience has shown that if there is sufficient support, journalists’ work often improves “If individual reporters are targeted and mentored in their work, the quality of their reporting improves.”
Most events and issues are covered by the media as a whole, but each publication in itself is generally insufficient in its coverage.

Rural issues tend to be the most inadequately represented in the country’s media. Certain cultures, such as the Basarwa (San), are barely given coverage.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.7 (2005 = 3.0; 2007 = 3.1; 2009 = 2.9)

4.4 Equal opportunities regardless of race, social group, gender/sex, religion, disabilities and age are promoted in media houses.

In recent years, there have been some attempts to look at newsroom policies regarding equal work opportunities, including a regional project aimed at developing policies around HIV/AIDS and gender, the Genderlinks’ initiated Media Action Plan (MAP). However, the momentum of such policies does not seem to have gained ground.

In the private sector, where there are women owners of media houses, there tends to be a more equitable gender balance. However, at Mmegi, which is male-owned, there are no women in management positions.

Women also tend to avoid applying for certain senior positions, such as editor, largely because of their societal roles, and associated duties, as child-bearers.

“The issue of funding is very real for the private media, so issues of equal employment opportunities are secondary.”

In terms of affirmative action policies for women and vulnerable groups, the state media appears to be doing better than the private media. There are more women
than men working at Radio Botswana, and the broadcaster also employs a visually impaired announcer.

“The state has a deliberate policy that where it can accommodate the vulnerable groups, it will.”

Generally, religion, race and ethnicity are not considered during employment.

“If private media houses advertise positions and ask ‘marginalised people’ to apply, there will hardly be any decent applicants.”

In terms of ethnicity, again the Basarwa are marginalised within media houses, and there are “very few” people from this ethnic group in newsrooms. In rural areas, the state media tends to send journalists from the cities, rather than use locals, in an attempt to reduce biased reporting.

“There is no attempt to look at the issue of ethnicity, though this needs to be addressed. The same can be said for the poor, the disabled and women: much of what happens in newsrooms’ employment practices are just by default and not through any deliberate effort.”

A positive development is the opening in 2010 of an office for people with disabilities, within the president’s office. Most media houses do not have facilities for people with disabilities.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

**Average score:** 2.7 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.7)
4.5 Journalists and editors do not practise self-censorship.

“Self-censorship is the order of the day at state-run media houses. It is part of the working environment.”

It was noted that this is particularly intense since the current Director of Broadcast Services came on board three years ago. With previous directors, state media “could exercise professionalism, despite the political leadership”.

Generally, private media is less prone to self-censorship, but threats from government or advertisers, who are being pressured by government officials, may encourage journalists to tone down critical reporting.

“The MPA is quite a punitive piece of legislation, and therefore could lead to private media self-censorship in future or at least a toning-down.”

There are also very punitive defamation laws in existence, which encourage self-censorship, and the Sunday Standard, for one, has been hard hit by such lawsuits in the past.

A lack of credible proof also means editors may decide not to run with a particular story.

Culture also plays a prominent role when it comes to self-censorship.

“Journalists are afraid to be too critical and they avoid certain topics, which may offend the elders. What journalists write is always influenced by culture and political hierarchy.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.2 (2005 = 2.5; 2007 = 2.4; 2009 = 1.6)

4.6 Owners of established mainstream private media do not interfere with editorial independence.

The majority of owners of private media do not meddle in editorial affairs.

“Sometimes only after a story has been published does all hell break loose, with post-publication queries. More often journalists and editors self-censor themselves before publication to avoid this.”

Editors are generally considered professional, and thus the extent of the owners’ pressure on them is minimal. However, the smaller the newsroom, the greater the level of interference.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.8 (2005 = 3.0; 2007 = 4.0; 2009 = 2.6)
4.7 Journalists and media houses have integrity and are not corrupt.

Generally, Botswana journalists are not corrupt and “have a very high standard of moral integrity”. There are only a few instances where journalists in the private media have had to be removed from their beat because of bribery.

“Most journalists are not paid well, so it is easy for them to be corrupted, yet generally they are not.”

State media journalists are required to declare ‘freebies’, but there are no such policies in the private media.

“This area needs to be researched so that private media policies can be established.”

It was felt that although state media journalists may have integrity, the institution for which they work struggles with a lack of integrity as it is biased towards the government.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.6 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 3.6)
4.8 Salary levels and general working conditions for journalists and other media practitioners are adequate.

In 2010, the state Labour Department began visiting newsrooms to review salary scales. “It was quite sad... we realised we were being abused and our salaries were some of the worst in the country, but it is very good that Labour Department is looking into this.”

Private media salaries tend to be much lower than those offered to state media employees. Freelancers or ‘stringers’ in particularly are poorly paid in Botswana, and do not have the benefits of state and private media employees. Some small media houses have a ratio of 60 percent freelancers to 40 percent full-time staff. Bigger media houses have 70 percent staff to 30 percent freelancers. Staff are generally not paid for overtime.

As an example, an editor working in the private media may earn the same as a junior journalist in South Africa: P15,000. A freelancer can earn about P1,500 for a main news story.

“Journalists in Botswana are in urgent need of an operational union, which would help address the salary issues.”

“Considering how poorly paid they are, journalists’ integrity is quite incredible.”

As a result of the low salaries, and the long working hours, many journalists leave the profession for more lucrative positions, often in the commercial, public relations world.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.0 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.7)
4.9 Media professionals have access to training facilities offering formal qualification programmes as well as opportunities to upgrade skills.

Various training institutions and facilities offer media training in Botswana.

For the past eight years the University of Botswana has been offering a four-year Bachelor of Journalism (Bjourn) degree. The university also began offering evening classes to enable practicing journalists to study further, but this failed as “media houses did not have the time to release them”.

“The private media face financial constraints, so the incentive to send their staff on training is not so high.”

There are also a number of private institutions within the country, such as Limkokwing University, a Malaysian institution with a branch in Gaborone, and the Gaborone Training Institution, which offer degrees and diplomas in subjects such as multi-media. It is alleged, however, that ‘qualified’ journalists from Limkokwing, “may have the papers but not the skills”.

The media are also exposed to various short courses and professional seminars, including those offered by the Nordic-SADC Journalism Centre (NSJ). There is also “lots of training” offered to state media practitioners.

MISA offers some ‘in-service’ media house training on specific issues, such as the ‘Hearts and Minds’, a US-sponsored project on HIV, where trainers would train journalists on emerging needs. MISA Botswana has also assisted the students of Kagiso Secondary School with the production of their newsletter. These students have been trained by the chapter on story writing and reporting.

MISA has a joint project with ZAMCOM funded by American International Health Alliance (AIHA). In this one, ZAMCOM provides training while MISA Botswana organises media workers, or journalists for these trainings. It is an ongoing project where ZACOM trainers usually come to Botswana to conduct the training workshops. It is not an exchange.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.3 (2005 = 4.0; 2007 = 3.8; 2009 = 3.2)

4.10 Journalists and other media practitioners are organised in trade unions and/or professional associations.

There is a serious lack of operational, professional bodies for media practitioners in Botswana.

“It’s vital for journalists to have a forum, such as a union, where salaries and conditions of work can be discussed.”

Attempts over the last five years to form a new union for journalists, based on a merger between the Botswana Journalists Association (BOJA) and the Botswana Media Workers’ Union (BOMEWU), have not come to fruition. The difficulty in moving the process forward, and having the first AGM, appears to be related to leadership and finding a neutral journalist, and not an editor or similarly senior media practitioner, to chair the union. Funding is another obstacle. BOJA has not been operational for years. Similar challenges face the Botswana Media Women Association (BOMWA), which has not held an AGM in years.

The Botswana Editors’ Forum (BEF) has been recently reconvened, but “what they are doing is a great mystery”. There is general consensus that it needs to become a strong body, and that managers must use it.

MISA Botswana has been trying to encourage sales and marketing media workers to form an association, “but this is a mammoth task due to fragmentation, as they see each other as competition and don’t want to work together”.

“IT’s vital for journalists to have a forum, such as a union...”
“In spite of all the challenges, MISA must step in to ensure that the working environment for media practitioners is conducive, like they did with the Press Council.”

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Scale</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Country does not meet indicator</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Country meets only a few aspects of indicator</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Country meets some aspects of indicator</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Country meets most aspects of indicator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Country meets all aspects of the indicator</td>
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Average score: 1.3 (2005 = 3.6; 2007 = 4.3; 2009 = 2.6)

Average score for sector 4: 2.7 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.8)*

OVERALL COUNTRY SCORE: 2.2 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.8)

* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the sector scores from 2005 & 2007 are not comparable anymore.
Developments since 2009 and the way forward

Positive developments in the media environment in the past two years:

1. *Radio Botswana*’s signal is now reaching more people.
2. For the first time in the history of Botswana, the ruling party split in 2010, with a new opposition forming from this splinter. This appears to have contributed to people feeling less restricted and less docile, and has brought more debate to the country. There is also more openness, and liberal expression, evidenced by the public sector strike and more people calling in to radio talk shows and venting their anger, as well as using Facebook and e-mail as a forum to raise their concerns.
3. The levels of literacy and self-awareness are growing in Botswana: people are becoming more enlightened and want to know more; they are demanding their rights, becoming more liberalised and showing a growing level of assertiveness. “The spirit of activism is returning.”
4. The Media Practitioners Act (MPA) of 2008 has been held in abeyance and is not yet operational.

Negative developments in the media environment in the past two years:

1. There has been a reversal of the management of the government media from the Ministry and back to the Office of the President and a disbanding of the Ministry of Communications after the 2009 elections.
2. People do not know how the government operates anymore and its leadership appears to be controlled by one apex: the President. There is a fear
that Botswana could become a dictatorship as MPs are no longer allowed to express their views as before.

3. Failure to establish a journalists’ union.
4. The strike has highlighted the media’s shortcomings in terms of biased reporting.
5. The private media appears fixated on the President and there is not enough diversity of content.
6. The victimisation of state media practitioners: outspoken staff are transferred and harassed.
7. There are several defamation lawsuits against the media.

**ACTION PLAN 2011 TO 2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACCESS TO INFORMATION: The team tasked with cleaning up the Private Member’s Bill / Access to Information Bill should share the draft with the media sector before it goes to parliament in July 2011. Once it goes to parliament, an advocacy group needs to explain what this bill entails to civil society. MPs must be approached in caucuses to brief them on the bill.</td>
<td>MISA-Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIONISATION: A team needs to be established to look into a union for journalists, spearheaded by journalists not editors, and to ensure that it can become a reality. Advocacy work must be conducted to unite private and public media workers. A labour consultant should be called in to assist with issues of federation</td>
<td>MISA-Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPACITY BUILDING FOR JOURNALISTS: Training must be organised for journalists in particular areas of specialisation to improve the quality of reporting in Botswana</td>
<td>The Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO through its 11 sectors (environment, gender, science etc)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDITORS’ FORUM : The forum needs to be made into an effective body.</td>
<td>Press Council Botswana Editors Forum</td>
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The Panel:

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Modise Maphanyane</td>
<td>Human rights activist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Justin Hunyepa</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Uyapo Ndadi</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Maungo Mooki</td>
<td>Gender activist and development advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Keneilwe Moseki</td>
<td>Environmental activist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Pamela Dube-Kelepang</td>
<td>Media consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Sello Motseta</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Sakaeyo Jannie</td>
<td>Broadcaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Kenneth Moeng</td>
<td>ICT professional and reporter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moderator:

Ms. Grace Githaiga

Rapporteur:

Ms. Sarah Taylor

*The meeting of the panel took place in Kanye, Botswana, from June 3-5, 2011.*