

THE AFRICAN VIEW ON GENDER AND ITS IMPACT ON IMPLEMENTED GENDER POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Whereas African gender policies and programmes have been crafted and implemented to eradicate gender gaps, this paper situates debate on their failure to attain their goal. The paper amply demonstrates that the African worldview continues to be relevant to the success of the implemented gender policies and programs in Africa and concludes that, unless thorough research into the African lifeworld is conducted before crafting and implementation of the gender policies and programs to understand the African psyche, and establish a gender communicative interchange between the African and the Western views on gender, ills of ineffectiveness will continue to be witnessed regardless of how grand the gender projects of the West may be. The paper finds this critical for the sustainability of development efforts in Africa. Insights informing the paper were gleaned from various texts, researches done on African gender policies and programs and the world wide website. The paper recommends a research- informed crafting and implementation of African gender policies and programs.

Keywords: gender, African lifeworld, Eurocentrism, gender policy/program, sustainable development, gender equality, gender gap.

INTRODUCTION

This work is a desk inquiry, essentially in the form of a reflective essay. Insights informing this paper were obtained from several studies on gender policies and programmes in Africa, books and studies on the African worldview, theories of effective learning and communication as well as from the world wide web. Data from these sources are used in the analysis. The article presents the nuances that demonstrate the underlying principles that guide crafting and implementation of gender policies and programs in Africa. These underlying principles are the engine for the viability and sustainability of the implemented programs, for they direct both the thinking and behavior of modern day African citizens.

The paper starts by this introduction which brings out the issue under analysis. It then traces the origins of the term gender before offering a thumbnail definition of the term. In the second section, the paper contrasts Eurocentric and Afrocentric perspectives on gender, building a case that the African worldview shapes the background to the African psyche – an important storehouse of what gender equality means in the context of different African communities and therefore the storage-room of processes required to change African beliefs and practices. This is one of the ground rules for sustainable development of Africa. The third section discusses the nature of African gender policies and programmes, their achievements

and persistent challenges. This is followed by a section on discussion and way forward that offers a definite reflection on the future of gender policies and programs in Africa. The reflection is achieved through both past observation and future steps to take for African gender policies and programmes to close gender gaps. Finally, a conclusion, that emphasizes the need for gender programs to pay attention to the integration and inclusion of the African worldview as a sustainable development imperative, summarizes the paper.

GENDER AND ITS ORIGIN

The term gender, which is central to the arguments of this paper, has travelled a lot, through both time and place. In its journeys through different times and contexts, the meaning of the concept has been shaped in different ways. The roots of this term can be traced as far back as days of modernization, a time when the European cultural hegemony was being established and expanded the world over (Oyewumi, 2002). The term was then universalized. Towing Oyewumi's line of thought, gender was therefore imposed on an already existing African culture through modernization. But is it ever possible to vacuum clean the African mind of all traces of its worldview and then replace it with a generous immersion of the Western culture brought about through modernization? Constantine Ngara in 'Revisiting African Ways of Knowing and Pedagogy' stands to argue 'no' (Ngara 20002), and this article agrees with him.

According to Reeves & Baden (2000), gender refers to the distinctive patterns of ideas, beliefs and norms which shape the way of life and relations of males and females as groups in society. Included in these patterns of ideas are expectations and characteristics, as well as aptitudes and likely behaviors of manhood and womanhood. Because Europe and Africa differ in culture, values and identities, it goes without saying that the application of gender in a European context differs from its application in an African context.

DEALING WITH DIFFERENCES: AFROCENTRIC VERSUS THE EUROCENTRIC PERSPECTIVES ON GENDER

The debate on the nature and texture of an African centered lifeworld is one of the most exciting and eventful happenings to emerge with the advent to search for continuing innovations in African studies (Hallen, 2002). Africa is a country with contrasting economic, political, religions and cultural contexts in different communities in the same country and between countries. Despite this immense diversity which includes hundreds and hundreds of cultures, the African cultures share an enduring commonality that transcends the African geographical boundaries (Goduka, 1999). Because of this, there is unity in diversity in Africa (ibid). Carrying the debate on the nature and texture of African lifeworld further, Ngara (2007, p.7) says the most enduring commonality is undoubtedly what he calls "Africanhood" and elaborates, that this Africanhood includes among other things, ways of knowing that are grounded in indigenous African traditions - what Horsthemke and Enslin (2008) term 'the well spring flowing with African ontology and epistemology' and what Higgs (2003) terms the African ways of thinking and relating to the world. These ways of knowing in this article are referred to as the African lifeworld. Though the terms African thought, African worldview and African lifeworld may mean different things in other contexts, in this paper they are taken to mean the same thing and are used interchangeably. Hallen (2002, p. 2) commenting on the African lifeworld says "it is unique and demands application of its own logic as well as its own criteria of rationality".

Eurocentrism is produced when the African lifeworld is treated as phenomenon to be viewed and judged by Western standards (Hallen, 2002).

To best understand the conception of gender in Africa, one has to understand the African worldview. In an African worldview the highest value of life lies in the interpersonal relationship between humans, hence there is oneness between humans and nature (Idubor, undated). On the contrary, in the Eurocentric worldview there is separateness between nature and humans. Thus, while the survival of the group holds the utmost importance, making one's self complementary to others in an African view, it is the survival of the fittest that matters in Eurocentric circles, making one's self distinct from others (ibid). While cooperation, collective responsibility and interdependence are key values to which all, men and women should strive to achieve in an African worldview, competition, independence, separateness and individual rights are key values to which all men and women should strive to achieve (Idubor, undated; Jenkins, 2004). These African and European ways of knowing, not only reflect the African/European worldviews, but also define gender in the two worlds. Dealing with these differences, is dealing with gender in African/European circles. Gender, as Oyewumi (2002) has said, came with the European view to be imposed on an African worldview, an already existing value system different from the European one. The two Europe and Africa, as shown, are quite distant in perspective and stance, and this is why authors like Oyewumi (2002) on "Conceptualizing gender" warn that Europe should not be used to define Africa, for to do so would obscure much which is at stake. Oyewumi (2002), goes further to warn that when African realities are interpreted based on Western claims, what we find is a total lack of comprehension due to the incommensurability of the social institutions. This is because the historical realities of Europe and Africa, and men and women's stance in society between Europe and Africa are not the same. Though the term has been universalized, gender interpretations are therefore not a universal sisterhood, and hence cultural specific norms of gender should always dominate gender applications.

In the African view, there is a lack of separation between sex and gender, taking the two as synonyms, where being born male means being born a man and being born female means being born a woman. In the European view, gender and sex are different and while nothing can be done about sex, something and enormously something, can be done to gender. This is why Simone de Beauvoir in Singh (1997), a subscriber to the Eurocentric view, says, one is not born a woman but becomes one. Jenkins (2009) on this adds that, in an African lifeworld, many factors in life cannot be known, controlled or predicated. Humans are at the mercy of the forces of life. This is quite in contrast with the Eurocentric view which subscribes to the scientific approach where there is belief in changing own destiny. This is because, Eurocentrically, gender is learnt and therefore can be unlearned. In the African view, there is not this separateness between nature and humans, and gender like sex is natural, fixed and uninterchangeable. The two, Europe and Africa, are therefore, not mutually accommodative of each other as regards the relationships between gender and sex.

Thus, when the Eurocentric view talks of removing gender segregation, it does not make much sense in the traditional African circles, where sex segregation locates its males and females separately and this gender segregation is tolerated and divinely ordained. Same social status or enjoyment of same/equal rights conflicts with the African view which maintains a

social stratification with men on top and women on the bottom stratum. Afrocentrism thus denounces gender theories, warning at they blur the distinction between males and females.

Gender policies and programs which came along with Eurocentrism emphasizing that males and females enjoy equal rights and opportunities, suffer rejection in African circles, latently or openly, voluntarily or involuntarily even by the African women (they are usually purportedly uplifting), hence no gender gaps can be effectively closed in African circles. In an African view, society is organized in ways that result in 'women exclusive' and 'men exclusive' lives specifically because they were born female or male and this is ingrained in the African way of life and influences their behaviors, actions, perceptions, values and attitudes. Thus gender inequality in an African set up is common, normal and tolerated.

AFRICAN GENDER POLICIES AND PROGRAMS ASSESSED.

Gender policies are developed out of the recognition that there are gendered deficiencies in the operation (s) of an institution. A gender policy is an instrument for tackling gender deficiencies in an organized manner with stated goals, time frames for achieving them and methodologies through which the policy will be applied (Module 2). A policy can be verbally declared or written or even just understood. This article, refers to all the three types of policies. A gender program is the methodology or strategy through which the policy is applied (ibid). The grand goal of these gender programs is achieving gender equality and in turn achieve sustainable development. This study takes the multisectoral approach to sustainable development as "...not only environmental, but also social, cultural and political sustainability of development efforts..."(King 2008, p.11). Sustainable development is "integrating the decision making process across the organization, so that every decision is made with an eye to the greatest long term benefits" (US General Services Administration 2000, p.5). In Africa, sustainable development programs (like the gender programs) are aimed at preserving the functionality of the system through ensuring that generations to come will inherit a livable Africa. Sustainable development and gender equality are two sides of the same coin. In fact, it is gender equality which is an essential building block and pathway to achieving sustainable development (Kings 2008).

At this point, the researcher will take a short excursion into studies carried out on African gender policies and programs, mostly just to show that most of them are failing to close the gender gaps that they are designed to help close. This study will not detail the policies and programs. This is not its focus and interest. Its attention is only to highlight comments made about the type of policy and program and recommendations proffered.

Swainson (2000, p.14), carried a study on 'the designing and implementation of gender policies in education in Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe'. She found the gender interventional programs employed to reduce gender disparities "merely piece meal". Swainson went further to note the ineffectiveness of these piece meal gender interventions in the three countries, their general reluctance to upset the status quos and their being oriented to meet the donors' than the recipients' goals. This alone compromises the sustainability of the programs. Swainson (2000) recommends that the implemented programs be tailored to meet the local needs.

Manase, Ndamba & Makoni (2003) in their article on 'mainstreaming gender in integrated water resource management in Zimbabwe' find most Zimbabwe gender policies, just like many other policies in African countries, making mention of gender but not addressing gender in explicit terms, assuming that all people men and female are affected by policies and programs in the same way and that policies and programs have a neutral impact on recipients. They found the outputs of the program totally gender blind and orchestrating gender inequalities on this complacency. The trio concluded that although one of the main objectives of the water reform program is to address gender imbalances in integrated water management, this goal is not achieved. They recommend that all institutions in the water sector have clear gender policies and include a gender perspective in their organizational culture and practices if sustainable development is to be achieved.

Mulenga, Manase & Fawcett (2005) in their article 'gender analysis of sanitation policies in Southern Africa: the case of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Zambia' note that the sanitation gender policies of these countries are gender insensitive. The trio enumerate gaps in the policies and lament the policies' and programs' focus only on practical needs. They recommend that the policies be gender sensitive, gender awareness raising programs be held and that policies be turned into law.

Wendoh & Wallace (2005) working on 'rethinking gender mainstreaming in African NGOs and communities with special reference to Zambia, Rwanda, Gambia and Uganda' acknowledge the rather pervasive resistance to gender equality issues by African NGOs and communities with which the Western donor community worked. Because of this resistance the goal of gender equality is not attained. In their discussion, the authors lament the fact that the implemented gender projects remain external and irrelevant to the Africans. They concluded by a strong recommendation to the effect that the Western donors, as external agents to Africa, should not determine what changes Africans need, or tell Africans what roles they must play. Change, they maintain, should start from within and not an imposition from outside. True sustainable development for Africa depends on the inclusion of men and women in the programs, not only as passive participants, but as powerful agents of the social and economic development brought about by the programs.

Chirimuuta (2006) in her works on the 'Zimbabwe Education Policy and Gender' concluded that the policy circulars derived from the Zimbabwe Education Act (Chapter 25:04) suggest that the Zimbabwe Education System is a 'gender neutral space.' Because of this, the Zimbabwe Education policies and circulars have no ultimate agendas to cater for the specific needs of female and male students- hence differential opportunities and access to the education system between the two sexes remain untouched. She recommends gender consciousness raising campaigns at all levels of the Zimbabwe society.

SARDC-WIDSAA (2008) comments on gender policies and programs in many Southern and Eastern African Countries. SARDC-WIDSAA (2008) reporting on the gender situation in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe note that these countries have National Gender Policies whose general vision is to achieve gender equality and equity in all sectors of their economies. However, citing the example of the countries' ICT policies, the text finds the gender policies of these countries gender neutral or gender blind. Gender neutrality is functioning as if gender did not matter hence policies and programs tend to focus on 'people' rather than on men and women (March, Smyth, & Mukhopdhyay, 1999). Gender blindness on the other hand is total failure to conceive that due to the structural power inequalities between males as a group and females as a group, policies and programs have different effects on men and women. This rigidity orchestrates gender

discrimination. The text notes that while acknowledging the gender gaps in the different sectors of the economy, the sort of measures put to curb the constraints to gender equality do not seek to promote gender equality or to downplay the gendered relations. Citing the Zambian ICT policy in particular, the text says that the policy claims that the threat to using ICT is women's low interest in ICT. Yet, in this case, it is not a question of women's low interest but an issue of 'why' the low interest of women in accessing ICT. This shows a blindness to the real gender issues at stake, and the result is that the gender gaps remain untouched. Researches done in this area of ICT, reveal that the gender policies and programs in Africa are mostly fire fighting, treating only the symptoms of gender inequality (e.g. in this case women's low participation) but not addressing the causes of gender inequality (in this case 'why the low women participation). Commenting on this scenario, Assie-Lumumba (2006) says that this is why the gender policies and programs in Africa, even sometimes reporting impressive quantitative achievements, have high structural inequalities with regards to gender.

Concerning Governance and Decision Making policies and programs, SARDC-WIDSAA (2008) notes that there is still low-level policy intervention to close the most serious gender gaps. Where policies cite political intervention programs, the few initiatives that the programs advance as ways of closing gender gaps tend to be sensitive only to practical gender needs and not to strategic needs, hence the women's position and status in society remains inferior. Practical needs relate to the concrete improvement(s) in the women's lives. Strategic needs relate to an improvement in the social status of women as well as their opportunity to participate in and influence the political process (March, et al., 1999). It is the satisfaction of strategic needs that really counts in attainment of gender equality. That is why Assie-Lumumba (2006, p.26) reiterates the fact that achievement in attainment of gender equality "should not be measured by simple statistics, particularly in terms of the number of policies and programs designed. Rather, the real indicators of substantive equality are in terms of the actual improvements in chances for women to increase their consciousness and have more of their informed participation in all decisions and knowledge production." Because of this, removal of gender gaps in these African countries remains only cosmetic, ending mostly as political rhetoric. Hence in Africa, even if African electoral laws borrow from Eurocentric politics and give adequate attention to gender equality, very few women get nominated or find it easy to campaign. The result is that, despite the many gender policies and programs instituted to empower women, politics and decision making remain male domain.

Seeking to change women's status and position in society does not go down well with the much cherished African principle of perennialism. According to this principle, what is done in society must promote knowledge of essential values which have emerged in the past. Changing women's status and position is therefore going against the grain and the feeling and fear is that there is going to be disruption of the status quo and non continuity of and eventual extinction of essential values. Because of this, Africans sometimes deliberately ignore the idea of strategic gender needs simply because there will be no mutual accommodation between them and the African worldview. The net effect is failure of the policy programs to close the gender gaps. Thus besides the gender equality rhetoric in the continent gender equality in the continent is just an illusion and gender policies and programs remain either gender neutral, gender blind or gender insensitive - thus failing to change the gendered structural status quo in the African set up. When the status quo remains gendered, programs fail to equally benefit males and females. No sustainable development can be achieved if part of the population is excluded, be it in issues of education

(Swainson, 2000, Chirimuuta 2006); water and resource management (Manase, Ndamba and Makoni (2003); ICT (SARDC-WIDSAA, 2008) or in sanitation projects (Mulenga, Manase and Fawcett 2005).

DISCUSSION AND WAY FORWARD

This study, while acknowledging the Western designers, donors and implementers of gender policy programs in Africa's endeavors to the sustainable development of modern Africa, laments the rather ineffectiveness of the policy programs and their failure to achieve the envisaged goal of gender equality. This study totally agrees with all the recommendations made by the various cited studies. The departure that this study makes is on the starting point. All the recommendations made, to this paper, form secondary and tertiary steps. The starting point, according to this paper, which it finds missing from other studies, is the need for thorough research into the African lifeworld by the Western donors and designers of the African gender programs. As long as the Western designers, donors and implementers of the gender projects fail to research on and focus on critical issues of the African lifeworld, no fruitful results can be realized.

Drawing from the sobering discussions and comments made about the African gender policies and programs and from the discussion on African worldview, this section finds the challenges that confront the African gender policies and programs rooted in the West's failure to understand the African gender psyche. Because of this gap, the approaches of the Western designers and funders of the gender projects have little impact for they are ignorant of the long held African beliefs and practices on gender, hence ignore and cannot devise processes required to change these long held beliefs. Simply holding gender awareness raising programs without this sound knowledge base is only cosmetic.

Western demands to create gender equality in Africa fail because they do not work in tandem with the African worldview. Whatever values projected within the schema of Eurocentrism, it is a position too plain to be contested that without a recourse to local African realities, the Western designers and donors of the gender programs will continue to witness the ills of disappointment and failure regardless of how noble the many gender programs of the West maybe. Sustainable development programs in Africa must, as a matter of fact, respond to the needs, interests and respect the African worldview. The implemented gender projects must therefore take strong normative bases and efforts to ensure that they are in tandem with the African worldview. The program designers and implementers must prioritize this interdependency to ensure viability and sustainability of the gender programs.

As way forward this paper proposes that first and foremost, the Western donors and designers of the gender programs undertake research on the African lifeworld. This will help them in understanding the African psyche on gender, - an element which is very crucial in understanding both the promises and hazards of African thoughts on gender. Ausubel (1962)'s 'Theory of Meaningful Learning' proposes that the primary process in learning is subsumption in which new material is related to the learner's existing knowledge. New information should be acquired by linking it with the learner's own cognitive structure, thus then the most important single factor influencing learning is what the learner already knows. For this study Eurocentricism is the new knowledge and Afrocentric view on gender is what the learner already knows. The views of Ausubel's cited theory, are in line with Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford (1986)'s views on the 'Frame Theory.' A

frame is “an interpretation scheme that structures the meaning of reality” (Verloo, 2004, p. 6). According to the Frame Theory, as espoused by Snow et al. (1986), new proffered frames (in this case the Eurocentric view) must fit within the norms and values of existing frames (in this case the Afrocentric frame).

Concurring also with this line of thinking, Obotetukudo (2001) in Ngara (2007) advances the notion that communication (making sense of the stimuli) depends on integration of any new material with cultural knowledge and values. In this study the, the new stimuli (i.e. the Eurocentric view of gender) has been shown to bear little resemblance with the old (the Afrocentric view), there is therefore great need for the integration. This paper is against Elgstom’s views in Walby (2005, p. 3) who suggest that “new norms need to fight their way into institutional thinking in competition with traditional norms.” A close analysis of the dynamics of the transformation induced by the gender policy programs is such that the transformation cannot be achieved through competition between Eurocentric and Afrocentric views on gender or through a displacement of the old by the new. This paper, agreeing with Ausubel’s cited theory, with Obetetukudo’s cited views and with Snow, et al’s Frame Theory, is elegantly of the view that negotiation, cooperation and integration of Eurocentric and Afrocentric views on gender rather than simple displacement of the old and adoption of the new is necessary. If the new is not negotiated and integrated into the communication interchange, then a sense of alienation ensues, and the new latently or openly suffers tissue rejection and no achievement of the intended goal of eradicating the gender inequalities can be expected or realized. But the integration and negotiation is only possible after research. There is, therefore, an extricable linkage between the integration and negation on the one hand and sustainable development on the other.

This research will yield forth understanding of the African structures which are critical to the successful implementation of the gender projects. These traditional structures, no matter how weak and loosely tied to the system they may appear, are in fact important. The study here needs to zoom in on the definition of gender mainstreaming (a global strategy adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1995 as the strategy through which gender equality can be attained). According to the demands of gender mainstreaming, as propounded by the UN, attainment of gender equality involves cooperation of the ‘regular actors’ those who are routinely involved in policy making. In an African set up, these traditional structures are the regular actors in policy making in their communities and societies and the policy making process they are involved in does not (as in the case of Eurocentrism) have to be written down or verbally declared, but may only be understood by members. Unless these traditional structures are penetrated to their hearts and made to see and feel the benefits of the projects, Western donor efforts at eradicating gender imbalances in Africa may come to a waste. This penetration can only happen after research into the African lifeworld. The trick to achieve sustainable development is to seduce the African structures, by connecting to their values. The research carried out should provide the Western donors and implementers of the gender projects with ways of how to build strong alliances with traditional structures in such a way that the traditional structures will, themselves, push forward the gender agenda. Successful implementation is enhanced when these structures support the process and encourage change themselves.

Agreeing strongly with Wendoh & Wallace (2005), this article is of the view that seeds of change lie in African communities not with the Western gender project designers and donors. Winds of gender change should blow over Africa in ways and at speeds that do not demoralize, threaten or choke the Africans, but that stimulate and excite them. When Swainson (2002, p.

61) cited earlier on concludes that “there has been a general reluctance to upset the status quo”, this paper begs to disagree. To this paper, it is not reluctance on the part of Africa but ignorance on the part of the West to comprehend the African psyche. The argument of this paper is that lack of research into and understanding of the African psyche inhibits the West from starting from where the African is so that the African moves from known to unknown. Western gender project designers and funders should shed off colonial views on Africa when Africa was portrayed as the Dark Continent or as Ngara (2007) put it ‘*terra incognita*’ meaning land without a culture. This is a misrepresentation of facts, for Africans of long ago and today do have a culture. There is also need to shed off the unfounded thinking that Africa has a dependency syndrome and is a receptacle of both pity and charity from the West (Ngara, 2007), so one can go with any project and the Africans can take it as long as there are some handouts. In fact, as Wendoh & Wallace (2005) found out, the Africans attended the donor meetings and participated in the projects, received their *per diem* and after that life continued as before.

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that the envisaged goal of African gender policies and programs of closing the gender gaps in Africa is merely fleeting in tenure because the policy programs do not get to the root causes of the problem. A review of literature located reasons for failure in the lack of the Western designers, funders and implementers in understanding and appreciating the African psyche, - hence lack of a gender communicative interchange between the views of the designers and those of the recipients of the of the projects. Because of this gap, what the designers and funders of the gender projects bring, remain mere blue print ideas that have no meaning for Africans. A permanent solution has been shown to lie in research into the African lifeworld so as to work from an informed position, and also in allowing for the Africans to analyze their gender situation and confront the need for change themselves. Taking the African worldview and knowledge system on board is therefore, not only a question of social justice, but a prerequisite for the utility, viability and sustainability of gender developmental programs in Africa.

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