Shaping Our Collective Futures - The Africa We Want

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Shaping Our Collective Futures –
The Africa We Want

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The African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) aims to strengthen the role and contribution of African NGO's focusing on women's development equality and other human rights through communication, networking, training and advocacy.

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Shaping Our Collective Futures - The Africa We Want

The Africa We Want

Nebila Abdulmelik
Editor

Much of the global development in the past decade and a half has been pegged on the Millennium Development Goals that came to be in 2000 with an expiry date of 2015. As 2015 approaches, efforts are underway to shape a global development agenda - the Post 2015 agenda – one meant to be inclusive, consultative and participatory. This agenda also encompasses work around the proposed Sustainable Development Goals, which emerged from Rio+20. As the world deliberates on these agendas, Africa is keen to shape her own – dubbed Agenda 2063. It comes at an opportune time with cel-ebrations of 50+ years of independence, pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. In 50 years, what kind of Africa can we envision, and then proceed to achieve?

What is the world that we want? Not only for ourselves, but for our children, and their children's children *(if we choose to have them)*. What are our non-negotiables? What agenda will see us truly transforming the worlds in which we live? What would it take to realize our visions? What factors will enable us not simply to survive, but to thrive? The seventh edition of the African Women's Journal will seek to address such issues.

We're told that we cannot know where we're going if we do not understand where we have come from. It is apt then that we start the jour-

In our individual and collective capacities, we must do everything possible to ensure that Africa emerges stronger…. Let this be our legacy.

nal off with a historical account by *Camalita* who takes us back 100 years – to the Silent struggles of South African women that still persist today. *Kizito* makes the case for the critical importance of a free, gender-sensitive media to advance gender equality and human and social development. *Sian* explores the body as political and as a weapon in the struggle for women's rights in Zimbabwe. She argues that repression of women and their rights has ironically led to alternative social movements or resistance. *Gbenga* takes a look at whether or not inclusive education using information, communication technologies (ICTs) is a reality or a myth for students with disabilities in Nigeria. *Nelly* takes a look at Agenda 2063 and what factors would ensure that it lays the groundwork for an integrated, prosperous and influential Africa. *Botlhalhe* argues that the focus of the emerging Post 2015 development agenda should

be on strengthening accountability for gender obligations asserting that if human development is not engendered, it is endangered.

In our individual and collective capacities, we must do everything possible to ensure that Africa emerges stronger, that we put in motion structures and systems that enable every citizen of our beloved continent to lead and live dignified lives for generations to come. Let this be our legacy.

Weigh in and join us online to engage in the discussions - #TheAfricaWeWant. ■

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Foreword

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Dinah Musindarwezo
Executive Director, FEMNET

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Recognizes the care economy and unpaid care work, a burden often carried by women and girls.

Ensures decent work and living wages

Provides for universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights

Ensures women & girls access, control and own resources – land, energy, information, technology.

Practices zero tolerance on all forms of sexual & gender based violence

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Calls for an end to all harmful practices such as Female Genital Mutilation and child, early and forced marriage

The Silent Struggles 100 Years On: Women in South African History

By Camalita Naicker

When we ask what kind of Africa we want today, it is impossible to do this without critically reflecting on our long history of colonialism and exploitation by Europe. In South Africa, for instance, a long period of colonialism was followed by 46 years of Afrikaner Apartheid. This had very particular effects on African women specifically. Yet, while reflecting on this colonial history, we must also ask how much has been done to change the legacy of colonialism in these spaces, or whether, as has been the case in South Africa, the project of nationalism also absorbed and inherited colonial practices and forms of social control especially when it came to women-specific issues. It is therefore important to understand how women's voices and narratives of resistance to colonialism have been silenced in some elite nationalist historiographies and how this silencing has circumscribed women's political activities and relegated them to the acquiescent margins of history and politics. The time has come to uncover and revisit these sites of contestation so we can begin to reinvigorate the debate and struggle for women's emancipation today. We need to understand how the political sphere for women has been constituted and how we might begin to open up the debate on what counts as 'political' in order to truly transform the worlds in which we live.

For instance, over 100 years have passed since the passing of South Africa's historic Native Land Act of 1913. This act fundamentally changed the landscape of South Africa's human settlements. The colonial demarcations persist and little of the land annexed by white settlers has been returned to people. The enduring economic, geographic, and political effects of the act have been the topic of much debate in South Africa. Yet documentation of the narratives of resistance to the passing of the act has not given voice to the myriad stories of women's resistance.

By 1913 African men and women, especially from the Cape, started to migrate to other parts of the country to seek work. African women moved with their husbands and children and usually got work cleaning, cooking, and doing laundry services for white women in the towns, or they worked in the shops and businesses sometimes as secretaries.[1] Threatened by the supply of cheap African female labor, the state began to introduce passes so they could reserve secretarial and other "women's jobs" for poor white women.[2] Even when male black labor was required in the towns, the single-occupation, males only, mine –compound style housing was designed to keep the family and wives in the reserves.[3]

[1] Berger, I. 2008. Generations of Struggle: Trade Unions and the roots of feminism, 1930-1960. In, Gasa, N(ed). *Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Johannesburg. P. 187.

[2] Lacey, M. 1981.*Working for Bokoro: The Origins of a coercive labour system in South Africa.* Ravan Press: Johannesburg.P. 270.

[3] Lacey, M. 1981.*Working for Bokoro: The Origins of a coercive labour system in South Africa.* Ravan Press: Johannesburg.P. 269.

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South African writer and activist, Nombaniso Gasa discusses how African women at the time were most affected by the new pass laws which the state had begun implementing in May 1913. During "that month alone, the arrests for pass infringement quadrupled." Many women were carrying up to 13 passes, which had direct economic and social consequences for the women who were supplementing their husbands' already meager salaries, and who had migrated from the Cape and other places to seek a better life.[4]

The women resisted the pass laws. They petitioned the government regularly. Not only was the government unresponsive to their demands to eliminate the laws, many who were involved in liberation politics and struggle did not approve of their actions. Leading intellectuals like Sol Plaatjie, founding member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which would later become the ANC, and Dr Abdul Abdurahman, president of the African Political Organization (APO), criticized women for not consulting the leadership.[5]

On 28 May 1913, 200 women marched to the center of the legislative capital of the Union, Bloemfontein, with placards and songs demanding an audience. The following day, 80 women were arrested and all of them refused to pay the fines the government had imposed on those who broke the law.[6] By the end of the women's marches on the municipality, many of the men were ready to concede that the women were far more militant, determined and unafraid to openly defy the white man, as Plaatjie reported in his newspaper, *"We, the men who are supposed to be made of sterner stuff than the weaker sex, might well hide our faces in shame."*[7]

The militancy of migrant women did not end there. In the Afrikaner town of Potchefstroom in the North-West Province, women also protested against new pass laws, which would have affected their livelihood in beer brewing and housing boarders.[8]

In her article, *Generations of Struggle: Trade Unions and the Roots of Feminism*, Iris Berger[9] traces the feminist tradition present in the unions in the 1980s, to its roots in militant family histories and women who were doing and saying the same in the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) in the 1930s. The ICU was able to mobilize the rural poor in a way that no other political movement had done, infused with the traditions and demands of ordinary South Africans, the movement expanded and gained 100,000 members in a short space of time.[10] They also admitted women. It was through the militancy of Charlotte Maxeke and others, that the ICU was pushed to take gender equality more seriously within the union[11] which had a fair membership of female workers. This was a period

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[4] Gasa, N. 2008. Let them build more gaols. In, Gasa, N(ed). *Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Johannesburg. P. 135.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid, P. 137

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid, P. 147

[9] See Berger, I. 2008. Generations of Struggle: Trade Unions and the roots of feminism, 1930-1960. In, Gasa, N(ed). *Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Johannesburg.

[10] Bradford, H. 1988. *A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa 1924 – 1930.* Ravan Press: Johannesburg. P2

in which African women; leaving the rural areas and entering the towns to eke out their own living were not willing to be passive in the face of state repression which soon disturbed many sectors of South African society. Both single and married women moved into towns in large numbers. These women usually brewed and sold beer or engaged in other 'illicit' activities. They often attached themselves to men for protection and subsistence.[12] Nonetheless, these women faced hostility from multiple actors.

South African historian, Shula Marks, explains how a coalition of forces in Natal - white missionaries, Zulu Nationalists, African Christians and the Department of Native Affairs -rallied against the disintegration of 'tribal discipline' evident in the increasing "immorality" of single women in urban and rural areas.[13] According to Marks, "It was in the position of African women that the forces of conservatism found a natural focus."[14]

[11] Berger, I. 2008. Generations of Struggle: Trade Unions and the roots of feminism, 1930-1960. In, Gasa, N(ed). *Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Johannesburg. P. 187.

[12] Bonner, P. 2009. Labour, Migrancy and Urbanization in South Africa and India, 1900—60.*Journal of African and Asian Studies*. Vol. 44, No. 69.P 84.

[13] Hunter, M. 2010. *Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Gender and Rights in South Africa*. Indiana University Press: Indiana. P. 55.

[14] Quoted inHunter, M. 2010.*Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Gender and Rights in South Africa*. Indiana University Press: Indiana. P. 55.

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In his book, *Love in the Time of AIDS,* Mark Hunter develops Marks's argument further, referring to colonialism as 'an accommodation of patriarchs.' The way colonialism cast and re-cast gendered identities, through imposed taxes, the introduction of marriage laws and the influence of Christian beliefs on sexuality had specific effects on African women particularly, who bore the brunt of this kind of social control.

At first glance, it may appear that attempts to control the urbanization of the African population and to keep African women in the reserves aimed at creating a rural subsidy for male migrant laborers. Yet, the historical evidence points to another possibility, that these measures were also a means to control African women who were far less compliant than men in issues of livelihood and freedom of movement.

From the 1900s and well into the 1950s— the decade of the historic women's anti pass march to the Union buildings in 1956— the militancy of the women, by the men's own admission, far exceeded that of men. This militancy far predated the ANC's mass defiance campaign which began in the 1950s. In fact, when African women contested the pass laws in 1956, they were again chastised for defying ANC leadership and acting on their own.[15] Afterwards the men had to once again concede that a march of 20,000 women on a national scale was impressive by any measure. Women's organizing across ethnic, racial and class divides during that era helped the women's movement to avoid some of the pitfalls of ANC politics, such as urban-bias.

For example, women were at the fore-front of rural organization and protest in the Mpondo Revolts of 1960, a peasant–led revolt against apartheid betterment schemes and the corruption of chiefs and pre-colonial political systems. Betterment schemes, which were aimed at 'improving and restoring the land' in the over-crowded reserves, saw the mass re-settlement of people and the fencing in of grazing and planting land which people depended on and was met with outrage by people in the Transkei. This coupled with other apartheid restrictions served to fuel discontent.

In Zeemont in 1951, for example, the women of Dinokama protested when the National Party government tried to depose their chief for not imposing pass laws on the women in that area. When Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd sent Chief Moiloa, of Zeerust in the North-West Province, a letter ordering him to tell his wife to carry a pass, he wrote back saying, "Who the hell is this Verwoerd? I have never heard of him before. Why is the government interfering with other people's wives?"[16] It was also the women who started the cattle dip boycotts in Ixopo, when the government imposed compulsory cattle dipping which many thought was inferior to their own methods of maintaining cattle. The women started stoning dip tanks, and the riots soon spread to the Transkei.[17]

[15] Gasa, N. 2008.Feminisms, Motherisms, Patriarchies and Women's Voices in the 1950s, In Gasa, N (ed).Women in South African History: *They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Johannesburg.P. 221.

[16] Gasa, N. 2008.Feminisms, Motherisms, Patriarchies and Women's Voices in the 1950s, in Gasa, N (ed).Women in South African History: *They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Johannesburg. P. 226.

[17] Beinhardt, W. 2011. The Mpondo Revolts through the eyes of Leonard Mdingi and Anderson Ganyile. In Ntsebeza, L. and Kepe, T (eds). 2011. *Rural Resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo Revolts after Fifty Years.* UCT Press: Cape Town. P. 100.

This militancy of South African migrant women is once again visible within women's movements and organizations, like *Sikhala Sonke* [We cry together] in Marikana today. Their militancy against police brutality and oppression is evidenced by their marches, protests and demands both from the state and from Lonmin to take their concerns seriously and to treat them as human beings.

Often African women are seen as passive recipients of culture, tradition, custom and state law. This framing not only denies their political agency, but it also leaves them outside of the political sphere where decisions are made. Yet most often women's resistance has been rooted in the everyday struggles they wage against the state, capital, domination and exploitation which are often left outside of the political sphere, and which remains silenced within nationalist historiography. It is this silencing that we must begin to recognize and bring into conversation with our turbulent present if we are to overcome the encroaching rise of tribalism and misogyny in South African society today.

As Nombaniso Gasa (2008) has noted, it is not that African women were silent in the history of resistance to Apartheid, but rather that they have not been listened to. It is elite national historiography which has silenced women and their goals for a future premised on equality, respect and political inclusion. It has often been the case, that when 'gender' and 'women's rights' have been included in the agendas of some states in the global south, many, like the United Nations or international human rights-based NGOs, believe that they are 'introducing' these issues to African states or African people who are unaware of their rights or their freedoms. It is this assumption that creates the image of African women as in need of emancipation or 'saving.' Rather than the acknowledgement of women's political engagements over centuries and decades, that might fall outside the ambit of what counts as 'feminist action.' If we revisit this long history of resistance and struggle, it is possible to find within it, the goals of women of Africa who have always been fighting the battles that institutions like the UN, or other International feminist organizations with savior complexes think they have only recently introduced to African women.

Often it has been the case, that the emancipation of women has been outside of community struggles, or their roles as wives, mothers and care-givers, even when their lives and political decisions are sometimes based on precisely these roles, as if a feminist project can be separated from the emancipation of all human beings. These goals, in my opinion, remain a commitment to humanism, and the possibility for people to define their own lives and how they live and for these forms of organization, decisions and concerns to be included in what counts as political. In this way, setting an 'agenda' for the future cannot be fashioned without women who are already aware of what they want and need for a better society and have already been waging these battles in their everyday lives. The recognition of this sphere of politics will go a long way in overcoming the archaic belief that African women do not know how they would like their reproductive and sexual health or any other social systems to be organised. In fact, if participatory democracy is taken

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seriously, then there is much to be learnt outside of the work-shop environment which assumes it is bringing 'the right knowledge' to women. If we are to think about a truly consultative process then asking, listening to and understanding what people want has to be at the center of any progressive project of transformation. ■

Camalita Naicker is a graduate student, completing an MA at the Political and International Studies Department at Rhodes University. Contact her at camalita.n@gmail.com

The Future We Want: A Gender-Sensitive Press

By Kizito Sikuka

> *The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, or the result of humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition of its victory.''* Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the Chairperson of the African Union Commission reminded us of Samora Machel's words during the commemoration of the International Women's Day held in 2013, adding that '*The struggle is daunting but not insurmountable. The end is close and we must not deviate from the ideals of promoting women's emancipation in a just and equitable world.*'[1]

However, the future is not something that simply happens – humans need to shape it. In this regard, the dream for gender equality may forever remain elusive if the media, a key player in socio-economic development continues to turn a blind eye on gender issues. An abundance of literature clearly shows that the media is generally not gender-sensitive in its coverage of events with voices and stories of women in the media being either misrepresented or totally missed altogether. This is despite the fact that women make-up more than half of the world's population[2]. In this light, there is an urgent need for relevant stakeholders including government ministries, parliamentarians, women's groups, political parties, and men's groups to step-up efforts to reform the press and make it more sensitive to issues that affect both women and men. The elimination of all forms of discrimination based on gender is critical towards achieving a prosperous and integrated community.

Role of Media in Gender Development

The role of the media in society cannot be underestimated. Apart from its critical role of providing a springboard for public debate and deliberation, the media keeps the community informed and educated, ensuring that socio-economic development is achieved and maintained. The media is also a shaper of national vision or identity, as what it writes and reflects on is neither chosen randomly nor without consequences, but rather to shape our "national vision…sense of identity".[3] In the same manner, the existence of a free and gender-sensitive media is critical in advancing the demands and aspirations of women.

A gender-sensitive press is one that seeks to transcend gender-based stereotypes, which contribute to the denial of women's empowerment and rights. It also relies less on assumptions about traditional and outdated views on the roles of men and women, and produces media content that goes deeper than a

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[1] http://wgd.au.int/en/content/international-women%E2%80%99s-day-addis-ababa-ethiopia-8-march-2013

[2] See http://www.globalpovertyproject.com/infobank/women

[3] Patricia Williams, The Rooster's Egg. On the Persistence of Prejudice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995

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male-centric and stereotypical perspective and which can act as a catalyst for gender-equality. A free and gender-sensitive press is thus an important tool in ensuring that the benefits of promoting gender equality are clearly articulated and appreciated by all, particularly the policy-makers.

For example, while governments in Africa are signatories to various regional, continental and international instruments that promote gender equality and empowerment, most governments have not ratified and domesticated the commitments into national laws, meaning that the instruments remain non-binding,[4] even though there are a few exceptions where the constitution of a country provides for self-execution of international instruments upon ratification. However, even those countries that have such provisions or have ratified and domesticated the laws continue to face serious challenges in fully implementing them, as evident by the low representation of women in government, parliament, and other decision-making positions. Therefore, the existence of a free and gender-sensitive media will ensure that there is accountability to women's rights to participate in politics, public life, and governance processes.

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Current Scenario Regarding Gender and Media

The current state of affairs regarding media and gender development is not encouraging. Women's views continue to be marginalized in the media. For example, while women constitute more than 52 percent of the world's population, only about 21 percent of the people that feature in the news are women.[5] Furthermore, when women do appear in the media, they are often portrayed as sex objects, beauty objects or as victims.

Studies have also found that although the number of women working in the media has been increasing globally, the top positions such as producers, executives, chief editors and publishers are still very much dominated by men. This disparity is particularly evident in Africa, where cultural impediments to women continue to hinder them from fulfilling their role as journalists. According to the *2010 Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media*, "women represent only a third (33.3 percent) of the full-time journalism workforce".[6] Another report by the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), a global survey taken every five years since 1995, estimates that about 57 percent of all television news presenters are women, yet only 29 percent of the news items were written by female reporters[7].

[4] SADC, SARDC, (2013), SADC Gender Monitor 2013: Women in Politics and Decision-Making Positions, Gaborone/Harare, 2013

[5] Inter Press Service, (2008), Women in the News: Strengthening the voice and visibility of women in the Africa media's coverage of elections, politics and governance

[6] International Women's Media Foundation, (2011), Global Report on the Status of Women, District Creative Printing, Washington, USA

[7] See http://www.medinstgenderstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/highlights_en.pdf

The same GMMP report says that throughout the world, female journalists are also more likely to be assigned 'soft' subjects such as family, lifestyle, fashion and arts[8]. The situation means that the 'hard' news, which mostly includes politics and the economy, is much less likely to be written or covered by women. This therefore, means that men continue to feature in "hard" news, which is regarded as "more serious" news compared to "soft" and "less important" news often relegated to women. According to one global survey, if we continue at the current rate of progress in terms of gender equality, it will take another 75 years to achieve gender equality in the media[9].

Solutions Towards a Gender-Sensitive Press

"Gender inequality is a problem that has a solution," a forward of the 3rd edition of the Inter-Press Service (IPS) Gender and Development Glossary asserts.[10] It identifies gender awareness and sensitivity as one of the tools towards promoting gender equality as most media are often guilty of being reactive by using vocabulary that reinforces the status quo and reinforce women's unequal position in society. The Glossary continues; "The media can be proactive in changing perceptions about people in society by using new terms regularly, or explaining why a term has become negative and unacceptable to a group of people," for example, by replacing words such as "chairman" with "chairperson".

Another key solution is making sure that the media accurately mirrors society by producing news articles as seen through the eyes of women and men. This could be achieved by having more women in media as not only journalists but also as editors and media managers because the level of participation and influence of women in the media has implications for media content. Female media professionals are more likely to reflect other women's needs and perspectives than their male colleagues. However, it must be noted that not all women working in the media will be gender aware and prone to cover women's needs and perspectives, and thus the need to also train all journalists, male and female to effectively and objectively cover gender issues. Nonetheless, the presence of women in the media is more likely to provide positive role models for women and girls, to gain the confidence of women as experts, sources and interviewees, and to attract a female audience.

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development proposes a number of measures, among them the need for member states to ensure that gender is mainstreamed in all information, communication and media policies, programs, laws and training in accordance with the Protocol on Culture, Information and Sports.[11] The mainstreaming of gender will help the media to be gender-sensitive and responsive, reporting fairly on issues that affect both women and men. However, mainstreaming of such policies will not be enough if governments are not committed to them. In this regard, national governments must enforce

[8] See http://www.medinstgenderstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/highlights_en.pdf

[9] International Federation of Journalist, (2009), Gender Equality in Journalism, Inter Press Centre, Brussels, Belgium

[10] Inter Press Service, (2010),Gender and Development Glossary, 3rd edition, Bangkok, Thailand

[11] SADC, (2008), SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, Gaborone, Botswana

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such statutory regulations and encourage the media to fully implement them.

Best Practices in Promoting Gender-Sensitive Reporting

One of the key strategies to promote greater gender balance and sensitivity to the news is for media organizations to develop gender policies and targets. Gender Links – an organization that promotes gender equality and justice across southern Africa has worked with a number of media houses in the region to develop gender policies. These include the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), a public broadcaster; the Times of Zambia (a state owned newspaper) and Kaya FM, a commercial radio station in South Africa.[12] The policies aim to ensure gender balance and gender sensitivity at all levels. These policies have catalyzed the increase of more women into the media, allowing for an improved representation and balanced reporting. Gender Links also runs a feminist news service, which exclusively produces articles about and for women. This service has created an alternative media for women's voices, ensuring that more female voices are heard and broadcast to the general public.

A number of other non-governmental organizations and media houses are also conducting training on gender reporting to capacitate journalists to effectively and objectively cover gender issues. A case in point is the Thomson Reuters Foundation which holds an annual training course for journalists on women's issues. The themes covered during the course include getting women to speak up, ethics and fact-checking as well as a critical assessment of women's issues coverage in the global media and safety for female journalists.[13]

The Way Forward

As indicated in the article, gender equality is not something that simply happens – humans need to shape it. In the same vein, prejudices do not simply disappear at the dictate of lawmakers. Rather, it takes both private and public debate and discourse to confront the gender injustices. This debate and discourse can effectively be championed and facilitated by a free and gender-sensitive media. Furthermore, considering that advancing the rights of women is critical towards global socio-economic development, it is therefore essential that the media promote gender equality. As Michele Bachelet, former Executive Director of UN Women and current president of Chile rightly says, "When women enjoy equal rights and opportunities, poverty, hunger and poor health decline, and economic growth rises." ■

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[12] http://www.genderlinks.org.za/page/media-gender-policies
[13] http://www.trust.org/course/?id=a05D000000G0CwGIAV

Umzimba Wami! Women's Bodies & Struggles in Zimbabwe

By Sian Maseko

Providing Context

In order to understand the significance of emerging social movements, it is necessary to briefly map Zimbabwe's recent history with regards to women's bodies and sexuality and how the two have been intricately linked. The laws and legislation, informed by a colonial Victorian value system, replicated in many parts of Africa that are former colonies of the British, such as Zimbabwe seem to demonstrate a deep fear of female sexuality and the danger of women's bodies in creating chaos. These sexual, moral panics have appeared at regular intervals throughout Zimbabwe's colonial and post-colonial history.[1] Zimbabwean society is very patriarchal and hetero-normative. The value system places 'ideal' women as submissive and subservient to men.[2] The 'traditional' roles of men and women have inevitably become more blurred with the onset of the economic crisis, but the more public discourse has become increasingly more conservative and rigid.[3]

The recurring theme however has been the need to control women's sexuality and 'protect' women's bodies. In 2009 a debate about dress codes[4] demonstrated the fear of women expressing their sexuality freely and women dressing in a way that 'conflicts with cultural norms and values'.[5] The constant attention on women's dress (in most instances mini-skirts) had led to vicious and dangerous attacks that have put women at serious risk.[6] There has been an increase in religious, but in the case of Zimbabwe, Christian fundamentalism[7] and it is clear that suppression of women's sexuality and bodily integrity is at the heart of this extremism in their promotion of 'unequal power relations' within society, but especially within families as 'God-given' and 'natural'.[8]

The last fifteen years in Zimbabwe has been marred by a repressive and oppressive state.[9] The socio-economic crisis has resulted in high levels of unemployment, lack of access to basic necessities, high prices of water and

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1 '*The antigay and lesbian campaigns of these presidents (Mugabe included) can be seen as present day moral sexual panics*', G. Herdt, *Moral Panics, Sex Panics: Fear and the Fight Over Sexual Rights.* New York University Press, 2009.

2 'Feminity, Sexuality and Culture: Patriarchy and Female Subordination in Zimbabwe', M. Kambarami, Africa Regional Sexuality Resource Centre, University of Fort Hare, 2006.

3 According to the CEDAW State Report (CEDAW-C-ZWE-Q-2-5-Add1)'According to our own cultural systems, values and beliefs, prostitution is also not acceptable. The most common aspect of prostitution is soliciting: whereby women accost men for sex'.

4 'What women do these days is horrible. You see women moving in the streets almost naked, exposing their thighs with no care who sees them. This angers God and that is why the nation is struck by disease and drought. Do you think rain can come under such evil circumstances?' (Chief Masuku, March 2012)

5 http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/misszim20.13342.html

6 http://www.zimbabwelatestnews.com/2012/11/kombi-crew-undresses-woman-for-wearing_5.html

7 I draw on Jessica Horn's definition for my analysis: 'Religious fundamentalisms in this analysis is the strategic use of religious discourse and institutions to forward views that are absolutist and intolerant, anti-human rights and anti-women rights and at their root fundamentally patriarchal.' Horn, J. *Not as Simple as ABC,* AWID, 2012

8 Religious fundamentalisms promote a 'globalised and homogeneous view that rolls back the normalisation in international standards of women's bodily autonomy and freedom of sexuality and belief'. AWID, *Religious Fundamentalisms Exposed,* 2009.

9 In the 1980s in Matabeleland and the Midlands the Gukuranhundi massacres were instigated by the Fifth Brigade and therefore, these provinces and the region of Matabeleland has had experiences of violence under this current government. Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace (CCJP), *Breaking the Silence,* 1997.

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electricity,[10] coupled with the deterioration of medical services with Zimbabwe recording the highest maternal mortality rate in the Southern African region.[11] The suppression of civil and political rights[12] ranges from high levels of political violence[13] and the arrest, detention and abuse of women human rights defenders.[14] In light of this plethora of human rights violations, the plight of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersexed (LGBTI) persons and sex workers may not seem the most pertinent or relevant to many. However, in these struggles, the activism and commitment to human rights and the path of the future is found. As the examples below demonstrate, the struggle for control over women's bodies, in a culture and society that has become increasingly more conservative and repressive has paradoxically become a catalyst for pockets of radical activism that go to the heart of the feminist struggle as women reclaim their space and challenge deeply entrenched societal beliefs and values about women and women's bodies as they do so.

Zimbabwe's President is famous for his prolific homophobia and hate speech that persistently vilifies the LGBTI community. In 2010, for the first time ever in Zimbabwe, LGBTI persons marched during the sixteen days of activism. The banners held high were about an end to 'corrective' rape and violence against LBTI women. This group were marching alongside many other women's organizations in defense of the rights of LBTI women - a strong statement that LBTI

women's rights were an integral part of the campaign against violence against women. The group were asked to leave the march and the following year they were strategically excluded and denied the opportunity to participate. Nevertheless, the visibility of the LGBTI for a few hours on the streets of Bulawayo was a turning point. This was a clear and unapologetic statement about the existence of LBTI women and the importance of their struggle in the wider women's movement. The issue received very little media attention and drew almost no support from women's organizations, which was a clear indicator of how deeply entrenched the invisibility and exclusion of LBTI women is within the women's movement in Zimbabwe.

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[10] Human Rights Watch Report, *Troubled Water,* 2013

[11] Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey (2010-2011)

[12] Human Rights Watch Report, *Sleight of Hand*, 2010

[13] Human Rights Watch Report, *'They beat me like a dog' Political Persecution of Opposition Activists and Supporters in Zimbabwe*, 2008

[14] http://www.southerneye.co.zw/2013/09/20/woza-leaders-arrested/

In 2012 a group of sex workers and friends, in t-shirts labeled - *'Which part of NO don't you understand? End violence on women's bodies!'* took to the streets in masks and carrying bags of condoms and information to give out in bars and clubs. In the second bar people started shouting *amawule* and *isifebe* (derogatory terms for sex workers). The group left disheartened and disempowered and then the conversations started; 'If we are not proud to be sex workers then why are we activists'; 'If we want to hide our faces then things will never change for sex workers'; 'We should be proud of who we are', and so the masks came off and as the song (written and performed by a group of sex workers) lyrics rang out 'sex working is my business….'[1] everyone removed their masks and danced freely in every club and bar in Bulawayo handing out condoms and information encouraging sex workers to fight for their rights.

During the United Nations World Tourism Organization that was hosted jointly by Zambia and Zimbabwe, sex workers travelled to Victoria Falls to launch their campaign: *Sex Workers Against Trafficking*. This campaign exposed the contradictions about the attempts by international bodies and governments to promote rights, but actually being protectionist rather than affirmative of women's human rights. This campaign made a clear distinction between adult consensual sex work and the exploitation of trafficked women. In campaigning against trafficking, sex workers gave a clear message that they control their bodies[15] and in a country that has reinstated many of the colonial laws that governed freedom of movement and freedom of expression - this is radical activism. This activism indicates a shift in the struggle for women's rights. Sex work and LGBTI rights, the latter described as the 'final frontier' of human rights, push the boundaries and by their very nature challenge the invisible and hidden power that underpins our society. These struggles need us to ask some uncomfortable questions and to make the private sexuality a public issue for which we campaign. [16 - 17]

Finally, on 27th November 2013, the Sexual Rights Centre took a campaign to a bus terminal in Bulawayo. This bus station is notorious for the harassment and assault of women deemed to be 'indecently' dressed. Women planned to wash the buses in bum shorts, sporting t-shirts that read '*My outfit is not an invitation…my booty, my business'*. The message of the t-shirts was about the right of women to own

[15] There is much debate about the conflation between sex work and trafficking and sex workers are rarely given an opportunity to present their perspective. In Zimbabwe the 'war on trafficking' has resulted in the inhumane treatment of sex workers, particularly during the World Cup Soccer, but the links between trafficking and sex work are often exaggerated and complex: http://icrh.org/news/female-sex-work-and-2010-soccer-world-cup-no-spike-supply-and-demand-paid-sex-through and http://www.osisa.org/buwa/regional/sex-work-test-case-african-feminism

[16] The most commonly cited examples are Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, which were adapted from colonial legislation and enacted in 2002. Although many of the miscellaneous offences used to target marginalised groups were also not repealed post-independence.

[17] Radhika Coomaraswamy had noted that '*gender based violence … is particularly acute when combined with discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or change of gender identity, violence against sexual minorities is on the increase and it is important that we take up the challenge of what may be called the last frontier of human rights.*' Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. Addendum: 15 years of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on aw, its causes and consequences (1994-2009) – A critical review, A/HRC/11/6/Add. 5, 27 May 2009.

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and control their bodies. Women used their bodies to autocratic politics, the erosion of human rights and

give a clear message that they are not property to be owned and their bodies are the site of struggle and their greatest power. As the police harassed the women about being indecently dressed, they were asked: 'Who defines what is decent in Zimbabwe? When is the time going to come that women make choices about their own bodies without fear of violence or abuse?'[18]

The World We Want

These stories reflect the many alternative forms of power that exist in Zimbabwe. The repressive laws,

the suppression of many voices have ironically created an environment for alternative social movements to emerge and find their voice in creative and innovative ways.

These movements are pushing boundaries in many ways, from challenging our understanding of bodily integrity and what it actually means for a woman to own and control her body to challenging human and women's rights organizations about what it means to advance a human rights agenda that is all-inclusive and premised on the rudiments of equality and dignity. Ultimately, these emerging social movements

[18] sexualrightscentre.blogspot.com

demonstrate that feminism is alive and well. The positing of the personal as political in the removal of the masks by the sex workers in the bar; the use of the body as a form of expression; the positioning of sexuality and identity in the march of the LBTI women and the direct challenge to protectionist legislation in the sex workers embrace of anti-trafficking discourse all these examples point to a future rich with protest and expression in which the body will form a central and integral part. This is what our future should look like.

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Inclusive Education: Using ICTs for Children with Disabilities in Nigeria

ICTs and Inclusive Education in Africa

Information Communication Technologies, or ICTs, can be described as a set of technologies that vary largely within and between subject areas.[1] It simply refers to hardware (machines), software (programs) or networks (communicating with others). Generally, the information age marks an important period[2] that is characterized with the extensive explosion of ICTs and transformative devices for people with disabilities. For example, text to speech software allows blind persons to hear what others read whereas deaf people can read calls converted to text on mobile phones and pupils with greater physical disabilities can participate actively in classes via assistive technologies.[3-4]

Inherent in the development have been the conceptual debates revolving around quality and inclusive education by all concerned stakeholders towards adoption and implementation of more ambitious disability-inclusive normative frameworks and national development strategies with disability-targeted actions. Particularly, the current debate addresses the rights of persons with disabilities and underlies the need to ensure accessibility for, and inclusion of persons with disabilities as an integral part in achieving the MDGs, and in shaping the emerging post-2015 development agendas. By implication, inclusive education indicates that everybody is expected to play crucial roles in mediating the child's use of ICTs. Even though ICTs have historically isolated people with disabilities in Africa, there have been some noteworthy ICT-led initiatives designed to support this marginalized group in the last five years (e.g. South Africa's National Accessibility Portal, the e-disabled project in Tunisia, Adaptive Technology Centre for the Blind in Ethiopia, and the Lusaka Declaration on Supporting Access to ICTs and Services for People with Disabilities). However, very little research about this development has been done in Nigeria.

The Promises of ICTs For Special Education Needs (SEN)

For years researchers have hailed the ICTs as tools that could be used to tutor. Tutor programs symbolize a longstanding type of technology-aided teaching. For example, computer-assisted instruction (CAI) was specifically appealing to teachers of students with special education needs because the programs help to

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1 Loveless, A. and Ellis, V. (Eds) (2001) ICT, Pedagogy and the Curriculum. Subject to Change. London: Routledge Falmer.

2 Castells, M. (2000) The Rise of the Network Society. 2nd ed. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell

3 Assistive technologies are described here as the devices that help people with disabilities to perform functions that would have been difficult or impossible for them to do.

4 Nkansah, G.B., and Unwin, T., (2010) The contribution of ICTs to the delivery of special educational needs in Ghana: practices and potential, *Information Technology for Development*, 16:3, 191-211.

individualize teaching to meet specific needs of learners with learning difficulties. But the recent computer-assisted instruction (CAI) has integrated pedagogical principles of strategy instruction in an attempt to teach pupils with particular learning difficulties to monitor their academic performance.[5]

ICTs can also be used to explore. Exploratory learning environments are based on constructivist rather than the behavioral views of learning. This idea is to support authentic learning with an emphasis on assisting learners to collaboratively construct knowledge.[6] The Internet presents a vivid example of how ICTs can be used to explore. There are several opportunities to do so, since information can be sent and explored through text, pictures or sound. Children with disabilities can also use Internet as a platform to strengthen existing relationships with family and friends and to establish new meaningful relationships.

Lastly, ICTs can be used as adaptive/assistive tools. ICTs are about the skills involved in using tools found in non-educational settings such as the workplace or home, using word-processing programs and hand-held computers. As Bray, Brown and Green[7] note, assistive/adaptive technologies can make something physically accessible that would otherwise be inaccessible (e.g. screen magnifiers, voice-recognition soft-

ware, modified mice or keyboards). In addition, there are assistive technology devices that can help children communicate (e.g. voice synthesizers and voice recognition software). Several symbol communication systems used by pupils with special education needs are supported by software programs to enable them, for example, to write and e-mail[8] and to chat.[9]

Special Education Needs and ICTs in Nigeria

Before mid-1940s, Nigerian children with disabilities who had not been killed at infancy upon the identification of their impairments were either confined to their family homes or institutionalized at distant places where they were hidden rather than being exposed to the public.[10] This was because many Nigerians saw "disability and disabled people as a whole, as retribution or a curse from God who repays everyone according to his or her deeds"[11]. These negative beliefs affected the way in which a majority of Nigerians treat disabled children.

However, the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970 marked the beginning of a demonstrable transformation in the educational system. The Nigerian government introduced the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme in 1976, and then formulated the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1977. The NPE

5 Gunter, P.L., Miller, K.A., Venn, M.L., Thomas, K. and House, S., (2002) Selfgraphing to success: computerized data management, *Teaching Exceptional Children*, 35(2): 30–4.

6 Florin, (2004) Uses of Technology that pupils with special educational needs http://wwwv.openup.co.uk/openup/papers/0335211968.pdf

7 Bray, M., Brown, M., and Green, T. (2004) *Technology and the diverse learner: A guide to classroom practice*. Thousand Oaks, California: Corwin Press

8 Lou, Y., Abrami, P.C. and d'Apollonia, S., (2001) Small group and individual learning with technology: a meta-analysis, *Review of Educational Research*, 71(3): 449–521.

9 Dobransky, K., and Hargittai, E. (2006). The disability divide in Internet access and use. *Information, Communication and Society*, 9(3), 313–334.

10 Abang, T.B., (1988) Disablement, Disability and the Nigerian Society, Disability, *Handicap & Society*, 3:1, 71-77

11 Ibid.: 72

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was revised in 1981 and holds a lot of promises for Nigerian citizens with special education needs (SEN). In 1999, Universal Basic Education (UBE) was initiated as a replacement for previous Nigeria's UPE scheme of the 6-3-3-4 system. Still, most of these transformational promises for special education needs remain at the theoretical level.

As there are reaffirming global waves of relevant stakeholders' resolve in advancing the disability-inclusive development agenda towards 2015 and beyond, the development discourse on ICT for special education needs in Nigeria is also emerging. But there is problem of computer access and usage of relevant ICTs in special education. The direct observation in the special schools visited (between August and September, 2013) in the South-Western Nigeria shows that many of the special schools do not have computers and Internet access. And where computers are available, most of them are outdated computers. All this calls for sustainable public policy that fosters access to up-to-date assistive technologies which are more affordable, universally accessible and locally relevant to help people with disabilities in Nigeria. Likewise, at the time of writing this paper, there were no word processing software and ICT packages for students with SEN in all the special schools that the author visited. In ad-

All this calls for sustainable public policy that fosters access to up-to-date assistive technologies which are more affordable, universally accessible and locally relevant

dition, most of the students who need, for example, assistive packages lack the money to buy them, and most cyber cafe and public libraries which could have compensated for the lack of Internet connectivity in schools, typically lack such expensive assistive packages. It therefore means that for inclusive education to be achieved, there is need for sufficient learning support staff in schools to provide the needed assistance which involves continued funding of the placement of appropriate support staff in special schools and institutions offering special education as a course.

During the author's study visit, it was shocking to see that all the schools visited lacked sufficient professionally trained ICT staff with knowledge of both software applications and hardware procedures that are relevant to the use of ICTs in special education. Some of the lecturers and teachers in the schools visited were not versed in computers as used in special education field. This might have serious effects, in terms of learning, for the students with disabilities. It appears that the use of ICTs for inclusive education in Nigeria has a long way to go. For inclusive education to be achieved, there is a need for the state, non-state actors and members of the society to take proactive action to end the marginalization of persons with disabilities on all fronts.

Conclusion

Drawing on the evidence gained from the literature reviews and author's direct observation, it has been revealed that socio-cultural beliefs, lack of infrastructure, total absence of enabling technological resources and appropriate content to meet special education needs, lack of professionally trained ICT staff, apathy of Nigerian government and problem of policy implementation have affected attitudes towards inclusive education in Nigeria, and the way provisions are made for children with special education needs. Therefore, it is believed that the foregoing problems could be mitigated if special schools and institutions offering special education as a course is given priority attention in terms of provision of appropriate technologies for classrooms and operational functions to support the continued life-long learning of people with disabilities. In addition, as elsewhere in Africa, much research remains to be done in the use of ICT by children with disabilities in terms of the accessibility, ICT content and tools for enhancing both the academic and social performance for children with disabilities. ■

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POUR UNE AFRIQUE INTEGREE, PROSPERE ET INFLUENTE EN 2063

Par Nguegan Nelly Farah

Introduction

Il est difficile de rêver de l'Afrique de 2063, un continent où règne un pessimisme anesthésiant, des problèmes structurels de sécurité alimentaire, de santé, de stabilité, de bonne gouvernance, d'éducation ou d'intégration régionale. L'émergence du continent est une certitude d'autant plus fragile devant l'échec des précédents programmes de développement[1] et la propension de la classe politique à forger des slogans démentis par la réalité. C'est pourtant dans ce contexte que l'Union Africaine (UA) a célébré le 25 mai 2013, son cinquantième anniversaire sous le signe du « *panafricanisme et de la renaissance africaine* ». L'UA a saisi cette occasion pour initier la réflexion sur les cinquante prochaines années: « *la vision 2063*» et y a même consacré une page web destinée à recueillir les contributions des citoyens africains[2], ce qui fait de la vision Afrique 2063 un urgent appel à la pensée[3] et à l'action. Alors, quelle Afrique envisager dans 50 ans? Cet article présente la vision 2063 comme un processus de transformation socioéconomique menant à une Afrique intégrée, prospère et influente.

Des barrières aux passerelles

«*Nous sommes un milliard d'Africains mais en 2011 seulement 16 millions d'entre nous ont voyagé d'un pays du continent à un autre* » à cause des nombreuses difficultés d'obtention de visa. Plus déplorable encore est l'existence des «Afriques» anglophone, francophone, arabophone, lusophone et le casse-tête des conversions des monnaies, des transferts d'argent. En 2063, les camerounais devront pouvoir partir du Cameroun

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[1] Kouassi, René. «Afrique : 50 ans de stratégies de développement. Pour quels résultats?» in *Les Cahiers de l'UA*, No 3 Janvier-Décembre 2013, p.99.

[2] http://agenda2063.au.int/

[3] Kamto, Maurice. *L'urgence de la pensée: réflexions sur une pré condition du développement en Afrique*, Yaoundé, Editions Mandara, 1993.

pour la Guinée Equatoriale sans que des velléités d'occupation leurs soient prêtées par exemple. Les Africains devront jouir d'un passeport unique, d'une zone africaine de libre échange, des infrastructures transfrontalières de transport, des services de transfert d'argent mobile, bref d'une Afrique débarrassée des frontières héritées de 1885.

D'une force africaine en attente à une force opérationnelle de défense

Les interventions de l'Organisation du Traité Atlantique Nord (OTAN) en Libye, de la France, sous le mandat de l'Organisation des Nations Unies (ONU), au Mali devront être parmi les dernières car elles témoignent de l'impuissance de l'Afrique à gérer les conflits. En 2063, l'Afrique doit disposer non seulement d'une force opérationnelle de défense capable de ramener la stabilité en cas de conflit mais aussi diffuser la culture de la paix.

Des seigneurs de guerre aux leaders efficients

Le 3 Septembre 1986,Thomas Sankara affirmé au 8ème Sommet du Mouvement des pays non-alignés au Zimbabwe que : « *le monde est divisé en 2 camps antagonistes : les exploiteurs et les exploités....La patrie ou la mort, nous vaincrons !* ». Trop longtemps, l'Afrique a été privée de tels leaders patriotes, avertis, visionnaires et indépendants. Au contraire, les généraux[4], les pouvoiristes, les rebelles et les marionnettes des puissances extérieures ont régné sur le continent avec pour conséquences, le truquage des élections, la mauvaise gouvernance, le service public inefficient généralement précurseurs d'instabilité. En tendant vers 2063, à la place de cette race de seigneurs de guerre l'Afrique devra être la terre d'un leadership issu des urnes, locomotive d'une gouvernance participative et de la distribution équitable des richesses.

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[4] Pitroipa, Abdel; Mieu, Baudelaire. «Comzone un jour, comzone toujours » in *Jeune Afrique* No 2749, du 15 au 21 Septembre 2013, p. 32.

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De l'extraversion à l'endogénisation des processus de développement

Le capitalisme a institué entres autres la société du risque technologique[5] et une spécialisation internationale du travail réduisant l'Afrique à la production des matières premières et la consommation des produits finis. L'Afrique doit prendre son développement en main. Comme le souligne Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Présidente de la Commission de l'UA « *L'Afrique ne peut plus attendre que l'initiative vienne de l'extérieur* » . En 2063, la dynamique de développement devra répondre aux besoins des générations actuelles sans compromettre ceux des générations futures. La production à grande échelle de kits solaire tels que le M-Kopa développé à l'Ouest du Kenya, et l'utilisation de fonds propres tels le fonds « *Afrique 50* » de la Banque Africaine de Développement consacré aux infrastructures (38 milliards d'euros)sont des exemplesà suivre.

De la consommation à l'innovation

L'auteure nigériane Chimamanda Adichie raconte comment, dans son enfance, elle était convaincue que les romans, dans leur nature, comportaient des personnages aux yeux bleus, à force d'avoir ludes romans avec des personnages aux yeux bleus. Aussi écrivait-elle des histoires aux personnages semblables. C'est le problème de l'acculturation. L'offre africaine ne manque pourtant pas. Nollywood, le Festival Panafricain de Musique, le Festival Ecrans Noirs ; des jeux vidéo africains comme Aurion, inventé par Olivier Madiba,[6]des chaînes d'information telles qu'Africa 24, des bandes dessinées aux super héros africains[7] comme celles proposées par les Editions Ago (Togo), montrent à souhait que l'Afrique peut et doit avoir sa signature comme l'affirme Constant Nemale[8].En 2063 il faudra bien plus de Vérone Mankou, inventeur de la première tablette africaine, le Way-C ou d'Ahmed Al-wakeel inventeur du système de conduite à distance[9].

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[5] Beck, Ulrich. *La société du risque. Sur la voie d'une autre modernité*, Paris, Aubier, 2001.

[6] A. W., «Succes story – Olivier Madiba créateur du premier jeu vidéo camerounais », Excel Africa, http://www.excelafrica.com/fr/2013/08/27/succes-story-olivier-madiba-createur-du-premier-jeu-video-camerounais/

[7] http://economie.jeuneafrique.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19050#!

[8] Constant Nemale, « Rendez-vous en 2063 », in *Africa 24 Magazine,* No 10 Mai-Juillet 2013, p.3.

[9] http://economie.jeuneafrique.com/index.

De la diplomatie de l'absence à la diplomatie d'influence

Les contributions financières réduites et les dissonances dans l'expression de la voix du continent à l'extérieur réduisent la capacité d'influence de l'Afrique sur des décisions qui paradoxalement portent en majorité sur les problèmes africains. L'Afrique a jusqu'ici attendu sa place au Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU, elle doit désormais l'obtenir. Mais avant d'y arriver, encore faudrait-il que les Etats membres apportent à l'UA le soutien le plus simple et le plus symbolique qui soit : hisser le drapeau de l'UA à côté de leurs ambassades et leurs ministères.

De la marginalisation à l'implication de la jeunesse

Bien qu'étant l'avenir du continent, la jeunesse n'a presqu'aucune clé ouvrant les portes de l'emploi, de l'innovation ou du pouvoir.[10] Cette situation engendre au mieux la fuite des cerveaux, au pire la colère et le chômage qui mènent très souvent à l'instabilité politique et l'insécurité[11]. A moins de vouloir les parachuter en 2063, les jeunes doivent être associés maintenant au processus de transformation socio-économique du continent. Osons employer à 23 ans. Osons adhérer aux fora nationaux et internationaux, être acteurs de l'innovation, présidents ou ministres à moins de 50 ans.

Conclusion

Plutôt surprenant est l'engouement que suscite la vision 2063 dans un continent habitué à l'instabilité, la sous-scolarisation, la mal gouvernance et surtout un pessimisme ambiant. Cependant 2063 constitue notre futur commun et il nous revient de le dessiner. Lors d'une conférence consultative, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, a déclaré que : «*l'Agenda africain pour 2063*

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[10] Kingsley Ighobor, « Jeunesse africaine: bombe à retardement ou opportunité à saisir? », in *Afrique Renouveau*, mai 2013, p. 10.

[11] Azeng, Therese; Yogo, Thierry. "Youth unemployment and political instability in selected developing countries", in *working paper series*, No 171-May 2013, AfDB.

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ne peut être défini par les gouvernements seuls ; il doit inclure tout le monde, de tous les secteurs de la société. Nous avons tous notre mot à dire sur le rêve africain au cours des cinq prochaines décennies.»[12] Nous ne serons pas parachutés en 2063. C'est une course de relais où toutes les forces devront être mobilisées, surtout les jeunes et les femmes. ■

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[12] http://french.peopledaily.com.cn/96852/8389019.html

Moving Towards Greater Accountability for Gender Post-2015

By Emmanuel Botlhale

Gender Relations

Gender relations are important variables in the public arena. They determine for instance: who has access to economic resources? Who has access to social amenities? Who gets elected into political office? Some members of the community, particularly women and girl children, suffer socio-economic disenfranchisement. As a result of gender discrimination, they are disproportionately poor, diseased (particularly, they die from HIV/AIDS-related diseases), hungry and are poorly represented in decision-making bodies such as parliament. In recognition of the deleterious effects of gender discrimination, efforts have been made to mainstream gender into public policy through various instruments. Hence, the all-important question is; does the gender talk match the gender walk? Evidence suggests that it does not.

Hence, as we move forward to develop a post-2015 development agenda as set out during the Rio+20 conference that called for the crafting of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the focus, amongst others, should be on strengthening accountability for gender obligations. This is so because there can be no sustainable development in the absence of gender equality. Similarly, if human development is not engendered, it is endangered as stated in the Human Development of 1995.[1] In this regard, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights' framework that places women rights at the centre of the post-2015 development framework is instructive. Particularly, the call for accountability that requires commitment, transparency, institutional mechanisms and measures for monitoring and benchmarking to achieve gender equality[2] is vital.

'Visiblising' Women Through The Gender Lens

All countries proclaim themselves to be democracies, even repressive ones such as Burma. In the words of Holm and Molutsi,[3] *democracy is everybody's mistress and, therefore, everybody takes liberties on her.* Relatedly, over time, all manner of politicians have tried to wrap themselves with a cloth of democracy.[4] Democracy, amongst other things, means inclusion of different sex groups. Thus, in the words of Margareth Abdallah, former Tanzanian MP, "democracy is about inclusion of all, for equal participation," and therefore,

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[1] UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). 1995. *Human Development Report 1995.* New York: UNDP.

[2] OHCR (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights). 2012. *Addressing Gender Inequality in the Post 2015 Development Framework: the Contribution of the United Nations Human Rights System.* Geneva: OHCR.

[3] Holm, J. and Molutsi, P. (eds). 1989. *Democracy in Botswana.* Columbus: Ohio University Press.

[4] Schmitter, P.C. and Karl, T.L. 1991. What Democracy Is…

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it is "clear that democratization that fails to incorporate a gender perspective and impact of certain groups in a given society is a flaw"[5]. In other words, there cannot be genuine democracy if some groups, particularly women and girl children, suffer gender discrimination. Since the incipience of time, gender discrimination has been a fact of life; ruinously, even in very important public resource allocation exercises such as development planning and budgeting.[6] However, there was a change of attitude in the early 1970s. Beginning in 1975, UN women conferences were held: Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). The Beijing conference, held under the theme '*Action for Equality, Development and Peace*', is most noted for the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. There have been other interventions, notably, the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs). Particularly, MDG 3 (*promote gender equality and empower women*) targets gender.

As it is deducible from the above, there is no shortage of gender-affirming instruments signed by the global community. Thus, there is an acknowledgment, albeit begrudging, that gender matters in public life and that there are pockets of gender discrimination as to necessitate action at a global level. Hence, the all-important question is; what is the fit, or lack thereof, between intention and outcomes? In other words, does the gender talk match the gender walk? There have been attempts to answer this question and the most recent and authoritative answers are in the World Development Report 2012; Gender Equality and Development[7] and Global Gender Gap Report 2012.[8] World Bank[9] states that "the lives of girls and women have changed dramatically over the past quarter century". Thus, they are more literate, constitute over 40% of the global labor force and outlive men (ibid). However, there are challenges, e.g., girls and women are disproportionately poor, live in remote areas, are disabled, too many girls and women die in childhood and in their reproductive ages, suffer wage discrimination and are voiceless (ibid). The same sentiments are echoed by the World Economic Forum (2012) through its Global Gender Gap Index that examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment.

A New Gender Charter

There is no disagreement that gender matters and that it must be mainstreamed into public policy-making as sufficiently instanced by various international gender instruments such as the CEDAW. Overall, there is a wide gap between the gender talk and gender walk. However, this not need be the case if we are true democrats. Thus, if we are to live our democratic ideals in

[5] Asimah, F. 2012. *Tanzania: a woman's friend is a woman' - veteran Tanzanian MP*. (6 February). Available from; http://allafrica.com/stories/201202062285.html?viewall=1[assessed September 2013].

[6] Young, K. 1993. *Planning Development with women: making a World of Difference*. London: Macmillan.

[7] World Bank. 2011. *World Development Report 2012*; *Gender Equality and Development*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

[8] World Economic Forum. 2012. *Global Gender Gap Report 2012*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

[9] World Bank. 2011. *World Development Report 2012*; *Gender Equality and Development*. Washington DC: The World Bank. *(pp. xiii)*

the post-2015 world, there is a need for a new gender charter. Unfortunately, signatories of gender charters, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, are not meeting their obligations. Thus far, there have been ritualistic ratifications (often unaccompanied by domestication of the same). In the end, practice has not matched intention with the result that ages-old gender discrimination has continued. The results are unmistakable; unbalanced social and human development. As we near the tail end of the MDG period, it is undeniable that the gender score card in Sub-Saharan Africa is very poor. Unquestionably, the sub-region will get a failing grade for gender equality and its correlate, women empowerment. Moving post-2015, there is a need for a new gender charter.

At a global level, there is a need to develop a generic results-based gender Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) tool that will be customized to individual countries. The tool must have gender-responsive indicators to cover input, process, output and impact dimensions. These must be SMART [Specific; Measurable; Attainable; Realistic; and Time-bound]. Lastly, to implement the M&E tool, the following are vital; (i) capacity building (stakeholders must capacitated to implement the tool); (ii) stakeholder participation (this is a key feature in the implementation and monitoring of the tool); and (iii) ownership, transparency, mutual accountability and participation in M&E. In this regard, there must be accountability for the implementation of the tool, particularly, to parliament. Unfortunately, this will be a tall order in Africa where the executive dominates parliament. Thus, the executive arm of the government must file reports to parliament and a select committee should be assigned to oversee the implementation of the tool. Lastly, and importantly, the implementation of the tool must not be the preserve of the government. NGOs must be involved, including through producing shadow reports to be submitted to parliament.

if we are to live our democratic ideals in the post-2015 world, there is a need for a new gender charter.

Conclusion

Amartya Sen[10] puts it concretely when saying that development is a process of expanding freedoms equally for all people; male and female. Thus, no sustainable development is possible without the participation of all sex groups. However, due to cultural stereotypes, some members of the community, particularly women and girl children, suffer socio-economic disenfranchisement. The results are unmistakable; lopsided social and human development. Admittedly, there are efforts to close the gender divide; e.g., the CEDAW. Mainly, these initiatives

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[10] Sen, A. 2009. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

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have not borne commendable results due to weak accountability mechanisms. Hence, the critical need to develop new accountability mechanisms in the form of a results-based gender M&E tool. Importantly, the implementation of the tool should include state and non-state actors. Doing so will open a new chapter in accounting for gender commitments post-2015. ◼

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