



Youth, Gender and Citizenship (Dfid funded project 2005-2010) Ghana, Kenya, India, Pakistan

'YOUNG WOMEN AS CITIZENS'

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In Africa, as elsewhere, there is a growing obsession with belonging, along with new questions concerning conventional assumptions about nationality and citizenship. (Nyamnjoh (2005:18)

Poverty is a crucial element of female subordination (N.Stromquist 1999)

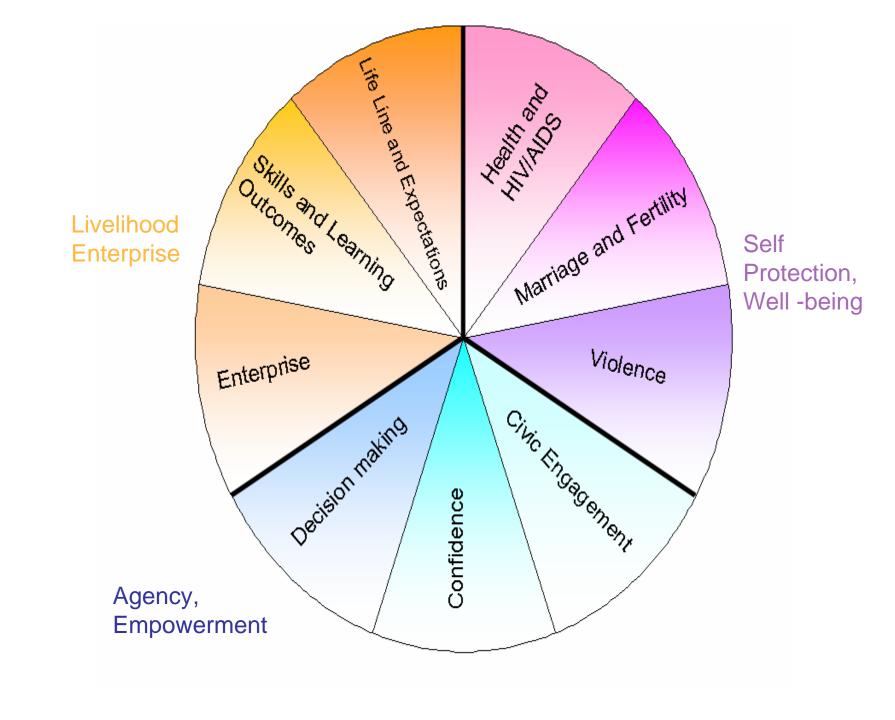
Civic identities are not just about 'being' but about 'becoming' and, further, about 'longing to become' (N.Yuval Davis 2006:202)

Shifting the social and the sexual contract between men and women is essential to any notion of *democratic*, inclusive and equal citizenship. (M.Arnot 2010)

Young people are experiencing a range of social forces today:

- Globalisation is associated with urbanisation, individualisation through global mass media.
- Increasing rural/urban poverty, growing gaps between rich and poor people.
- Educational expansion associated with loss of traditional skills, individual mobility, gender change.
- Pressure to sustain patriotism, national identity, cultural heritage.
- Negotiating traditional ethnic, patriarchal, gerontocratic and gender cultures

(Burgess 2005)



- Comparative (Kenya, Ghana, India, Pakistan) quantitative data from household survey of rural and urban communities.
- Qualitative inter-generational study of 20 households 80 interviews with male and female youth aged 16-30 and 40 interviews with mothers and fathers/figures.
- Three exit points:
 - (a) No schooling or incomplete primary schooling
 - (b) Basic: those who had completed primary/junior/middle
 - (c) Post Basic: those who had attended or completed secondary school and gone further.

Some key issues for female Commonwealth citizens:

- 1.Liberal democratic models of citizenship: the gendering of public and private spheres
- 2. Universal human rights: a secular agenda?
- 3. Substantive gender equality: micro-change and masculinity

Liberal democratic models of citizenship

- 1. The civic brotherhood and the sexual contract.
- 2. Male public/female private spheres
- 3.Inclusion but exclusion of women from full citizenship
- 4. Gender of the abstract citizen: male worker, voter, soldier
- 5. Gender differentiated education

[Post independence] State power in Africa remains conspicuously male power ingrained with predominantly male values, ideology and vision of the world. This male constructed machinery codifies, institutionalizes and legitimates patriarchy, a system that manifests itself not only in social and economic life but also in the law and biased political and legal statuses of women (Nzomo 1998, quoted in Nasang'o and Ayot 2007, 170).

'It is important for us [women] to have equal rights... The way it is said that women should enter parliament in a given percentage. 30%, maybe for the next time... next we will be pushing for 50%. Men... 50 us [women]... you start from scratch... then you build up. [our addition]' (Kiberan young woman)

'Like the other day women went up there to a [politician's] rally. They were given money. After being given that money, they were raped. So why should I wake up early in the morning, clean my house and to take a cup of tea, to go for only one hundred shillings only to come back with injuries?' (Kiberan young woman)

'... [B]eing the eldest I have to take care of my mother and siblings and I also have a three year-old child. I have to struggle to take care of my child and also my sisters who are still in school, one is in Class eight (....). They [her parents] are important because even when I have problems they are with me, comforting me, you see?' (Kiberan young woman)

School based research agendas:

- 1. Representations of public and private spheres in curriculum materials?
- 2. Teachers' representations of men and women's role in each sphere?
- 3. The gendering of spaces and agency in school?
- 4. Anti-violence and sexuality education as citizenship education?

	UK	Greece	Portugal
Men in public life	Powerful Competitive	Competitive	Competent
Women in public life	efficient competitive	active effective	active competent
Men in domestic life	Disorganised hesitant		
Women in domestic life	Efficient competent	Maternal	
Men in private life	disorganised dependent insecure	sensitive emotional insecure	Paternalistic
Women in private life	Efficient	Sensitive caring emotional	Caring Maternal

2. Universal Human Rights

- •A secular discourse of personhood: an uncontroversial agenda?
- Powerful challenge to family cultures/ customs when linked to sexual/reproductive rights
- Post-independence human rights education: discourse of resistance?



Women's rights and social customs

As a Kenyan, as a girl... I have a right to go to school, a right to be married, and also a right to love the person I want to...I have got the right to choose whatever I want to do. I cannot be forced to follow some cultures because my parents want me to. As a girl I must not go to be circumcised because my parents follow the culture... I am not supposed to do that because as a Kenyan we have got some communities which follow their culture but as for me I can't follow them. You can follow them if they are good...but if they are bad they are going against my rights, I cannot follow them. (Mumbi Kiberan female youth)



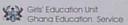
Human rights discourse as resistance

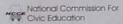
I have the right to choose, the right to be respected, the right to speak, to right to go everywhere, to walk around the country, the right to worship God, rights to serve my country, the right to decide what I want to do in the future. I learn all these rights from TV, Radio and from people's mouths, but where I got it most is the school.

(Annang, urban Ghanaian male youth secondary educated)

Education of the girl child is KEY to Ghana's development









3. Substantive Gender Equality: diversity, masculinity and micro-change

- •Moving off the notion of the 'girl child' as a unitary category. Need to focus on diversity of young women (ethnicity, class, regionality religion).
- •Promoting substantive (not just formal) gender equality involves the reframing of gender relations by transforming masculinities as well as empowering women.
- •Empowering women is not sufficient for realising gender equality. Gender equality is about engaging with gender relationships.



MASCULINITY AND MALE CULTURE PLAY A MAJOR PART IN THE SHAPING OF WOMEN'S LIVES.

- •Gender equality through education is about empowering men to challenge gender constructions.
- •Key to masculinity is the notion of 'respect' female respect of men can men sustain such respect in light of gender change?
- •Dominant forms of masculinity and aggressive counter-cultural masculinities are often a form of resistance to structural violence and discrimination.



MICRO-GENDER CHANGE THROUGH EDUCATION

There is evidence, as a result of schooling, of a reduction in the micro\inequalities associated with gender relations

- Literacy, communication skills and private gender interfaces
- Brothers and sisters rather than sexual targets
- Independence/decision-making/autonomy (e.g. mothers in law)
- Family and personal hygiene/health (protection)
- Social skills in interacting with other peers and diversity
- Small acts of citizenship and critical awareness
- Shifts in planning education of their children



The Policy Agenda

Establish strong gender and education research centres to explore the education of the female citizen and educating for citizenship.

- Young women need not just to feel proud of their country, and their historical contribution to it.
- Governments need to act to protect women from violence and acute poverty.
- Educating a mother, educating a child.....but the role of mothers in supporting schooling is only now coming onto the agenda
- •Young women hope to bring their future sons and daughters up in an equal way, particularly in relation to schooling; this can be developed
- •Young women need to be listened to by governments and those concerned with poverty assessments.
- •Recognition of difference and inequalities within female and male categories not just across gender divides.